Carlotta Pupulin

ANGELICAL MUSIC FOR A NEW WORLD

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To my grandmother Paddy,
a woman with an enormous heart and great passions;
and to Adriano, who will not get to know her
but to whom everything she has taught us will be transmitted.

ANGELICAL MUSIC FOR A NEW WORLD

Carlotta Pupulin

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Student number

3231607

Main subject teacher

Christina Pluhar

Research Supervisor

Dr. **Inês de Avena Braga**

Master Circle leader

Johannes Boer

Format

Exposition

Front cover

Adoration of the Sheperds (top, detail), by Francisco Zurbarán (1638). Grenoble, Musee des Beaux-Arts. Bottom, **The Mulatto Gentlemen of Esmeraldas**, by Andrés Sánchez Galique (1599). Madrid, Museo del Prado.

Back cover

Archangel with harp, by anonymous painter of the Escuela Cuzqueña. Private collection.

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Acknowledgements

When, in the first year of my Master's degree, I started this research, I wasn't sure I could complete such a huge amount of work. As the days went by, and as the information to look for, the pages to write, the things to fix became increasingly more overwhelming, I had the immense and essential support of my father Franco, without whom this book, with all that it entails, would certainly not exist. A companion of work, a source of inspiration, a continuous factory of ideas and advice. Thank you!

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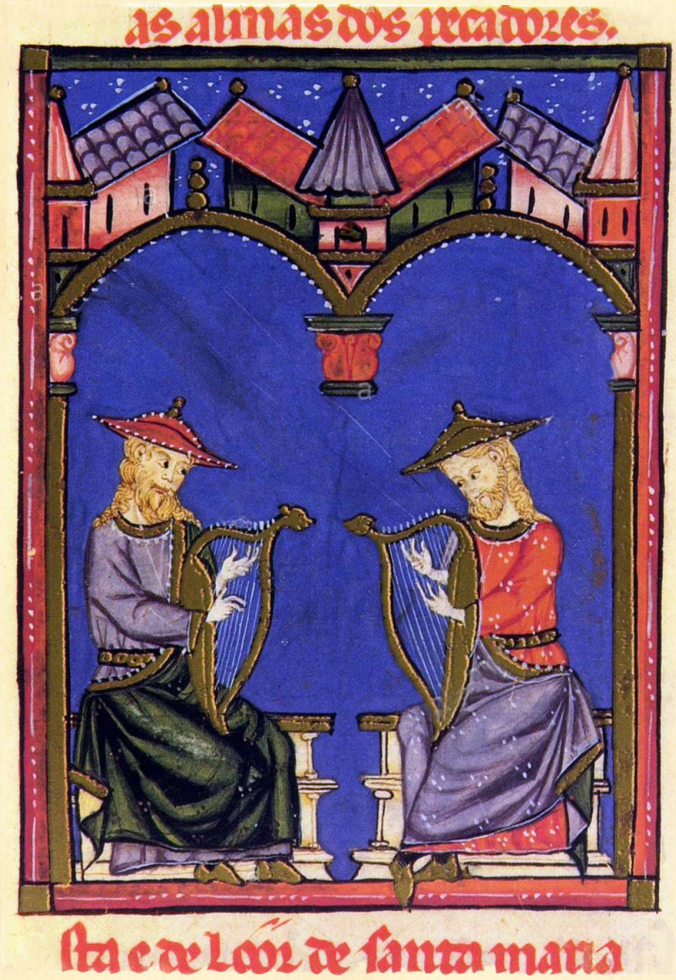


Introduction

Previous page, figure 1. Players of arps. *Cantiga* 380 from the XIII century manuscript *Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso X El Sabio. Madrid, El Escorial Library.

> "The music that was produced and performed in Spain and its colonies between the reigns of the Catholic Kings and that of reflects the internationalization of Spanish politics, the same as in other artistic fields. […] Talking about its music is an almost unapprochable task today, in the absence of works that study in depth topics such as […] the early stages of the musical colonization of America."
>
> Maricarmen Gómez, *Historia de la música en España e Hispano América. 2. De los Reyes Católicos a Felipe II* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2012), p. 18.

After having interpreted the liquid sounds of Impressionism in an almost essential way, the modern harp plays only a marginal role in the instrumental repertoire of classical music, not to mention contemporary popular music. For today's observer, it must be difficult to imagine that the harp was more than an "angelical" instrument available to both the educated and the popular musician. Yet precisely the characteristic sound of the harp made it a privileged instrument in the music of the European Renaissance as well as in that, which was its immediate descendant, transported to the New World with the Colombian Caravels.

In the Spain of the Catholic Kings, who indirectly propitiated the American adventure, the "sweet" stringed instruments — the lute, the *vihuela* and the harp — and the keyboard instruments were in practice the only ones to be considered worthy of attention by part of the educated courtier. It is no coincidence that are precisely the stringed instruments for which, starting from the mid-XVI century, a series of publications begin to appear in Spain that will have an important impact not only in Spanish music but in general in all European music. The study of the harp was perhaps not as widespread and common in the courtly environment as that of other plucked instruments, which were used to accompany singing and recitative, but since the musical collection of Venegas de Henestrosa in 1557 the harp it is normally included among the tools for which systematic treatises are developed. Unlike the vihuelas and the lutes, however, no XVI-century harps or contemporary music specifically dedicated to the harp has been conserved.

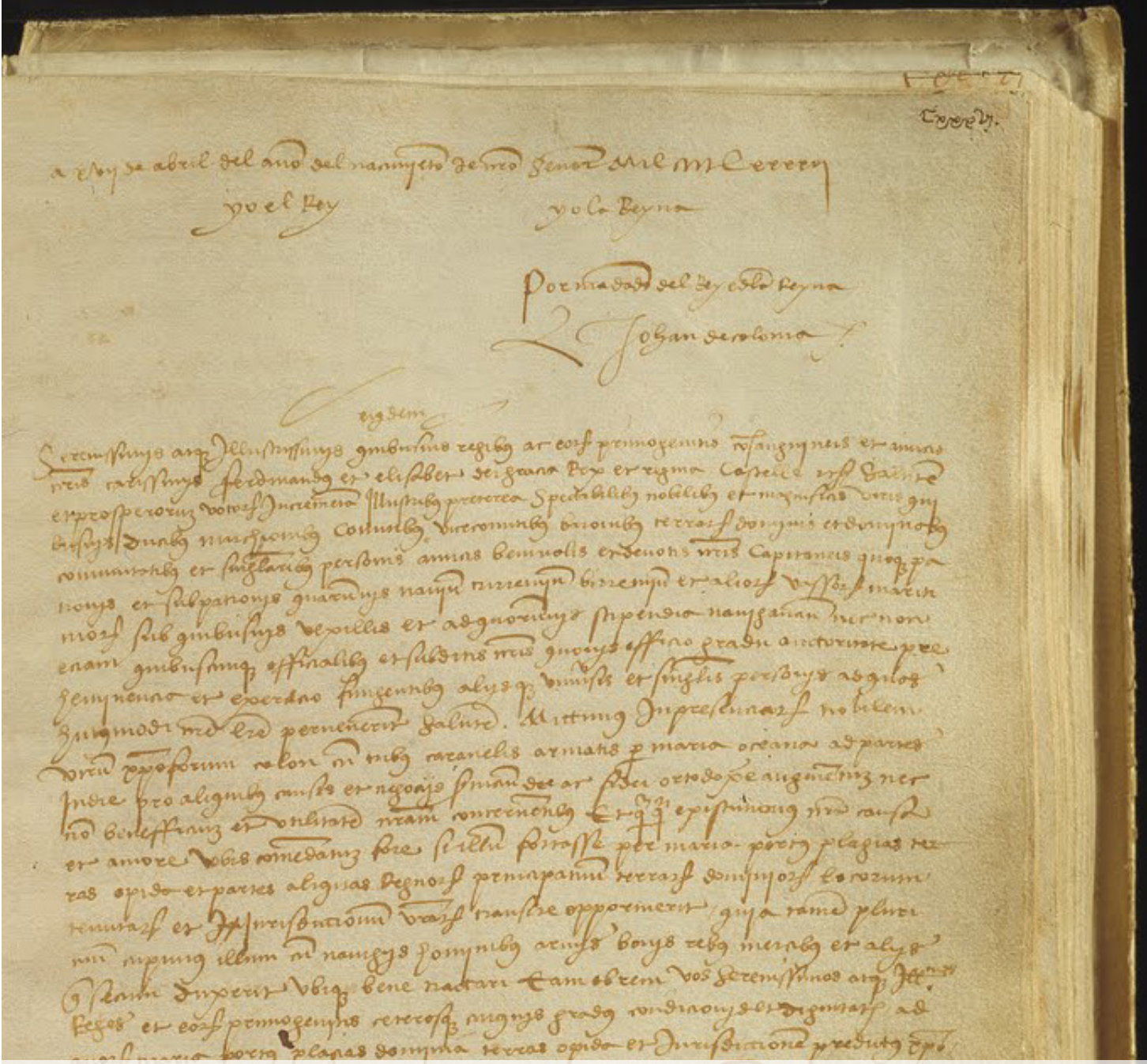
To understand what the harp was in use at the apogee of Renaissance music in Spain, that is, the instrument that would have first crossed the ocean to reach the new world, we have to resort to coeval iconography. This shows us how, around the end of the XV century, the instruments in use were diatonic harps or with a very variable number of strings, of a slightly larger size than the torso of the musician who played them. Already during the following century, however,

the harp was perfected with double rows of strings, chromatic and diatonic, crossed in the Spanish harp and parallel in the Italian *arpa doppia*. Most of the instruments that the colonists brought with them on their journey to the new Spanish possessions overseas were probably of this type.

These were the instruments that quickly became part of the instrumental repertoire also of the American natives, who adopted them to perform the music of the conquerors, as well as their own music, and were apparently able to copy and to reinterpret since the origins of colonization. We are not aware, on the basis of direct sources, of the extent to which the harp, with its unprecedented sonority, has been adopted in Amerindian musical practice, but certainly the continued use of the harp and its adaptation to most of the great cultural currents of contemporary Latin America seem to indicate that this instrument found its privileged place in the American autochthonous musical imagination. In the absence, at least to date, of documents from the early periods of American colonization, the task of tracing the original history of the harp must be entrusted essentially to patient comparative work.

How was the Spanish music with which the American natives came into contact at the end of the XV century? How was the musical environment organized in the New World in the absence, at least for a few decades, of professional musicians? What repertoires existed alongside the liturgical music imported into large cathedrals? Who were the composers who dictated American musical "fashions" in the XVI and XVII centuries? How did the music of the conquerors interact with the native linguistic and musical traditions? And finally, is it possible to identify the specific ways, the stylistic features that characterized American colonial music and made it distinct from its original model?

The permanent use of the "angelical" instrument in Latin American traditions suggests that the harp played an essential role in the musical colonization of Spanish America, but its use — outside the liturgical environment — had to be configured as a set of musics that in many cases were created almost like improvisations on the basis of some pre-existing scheme. These "fashion" themes, which varied continuously, were probably not considered important enough to be transcribed and therefore could not be transformed into a consolidated repertoire. This work aims to explore the arrival of European music in America and the influence that musical colonization had on the future of American music by doing without these sources, which would seem indispensable to the historiographic investigation. This is why, in essence, it is proposed as a musicological research.



Chapter 1.

Politics and culture in Spain on the eve of the American adventure

Previous page, figure 2. Capitulations of Santa Fe de la Vega, the agreements between the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand II and Isabella I, and Christopher Columbus signed on April 17, 1492. Archive of the Crown of Aragon, Barcelona.

> "The conquest of Granada and the discovery of the America represented at once an end and a beginning. […] Both reconquest and discovery, which seemed miraculous events to contemporary Spaniards, were in reality a logical outcome of the traditions and aspirations of an early age, […] the ideals, the values and the institutions of medieval Castile."
>
> John H. Elliott, La Spagna imperiale: 1469-1716 (Bologna: il Mulino, 1982), pp. 44–45.

On October 19, 1469, when they married at the Palacio de los Vivero in Valladolid, Isabella and Ferdinand were two young heirs to the thrones of Castile and Aragon, just eighteen and seventeen years old, respectively. In a few years, at the death of King Henry IV and against his late will, Isabella proclaimed herself Queen of Castile, anticipating the allegation by Juana la Beltraneja, supposedly illegitimate daughter of Henry IV (the Impotent!), who in 1475 claimed the throne for herself. After almost a decade of struggle for succession and civil war in 1479, the entire territory of the Kingdom of Castile was eventually in the hands of Princess Isabella. Ferdinand's ascent to the Aragonese throne in the same year led to the personal union of Aragon and Castile. Isabella and Ferdinand's marriage not only represented the first step for the reunification of Spain after centuries of divisions and internal fights but also opened the doors for a period of growing success for the country, which would eventually elevate Spain to a dominant world power.

Under the rule of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Spain of the last quarter of the XV century was politically and culturally homogenized under the flagship of Catholicism. The introduction of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478, the reconquest of Granada from the Moors and the order for all Spanish Jews to convert to Christianity or face expulsion in 1492, followed by a similar order for Spanish Muslims four years later, created the internal conditions that would make possible the forthcoming colonial activity and would lead Spain to an époque of great prosperity and imperial supremacy.

It will be in this atmosphere of a cultural and economic renaissance that, sponsored by Isabella and Ferdinand, the Italian explorer Christopher Columbus will discover the New World for Europe in 1492, claiming those rich and unspoiled territories for Spain. Naturally, what no one could expect when Christopher Columbus left for his expedition in search of an alternative way to the Indies, was the geographical impact his discovery would have, and its economic and political repercussions for Spain in the first place but also for the rest of Europe.

The year 1492 represents a symbolic date for the beginning of the imperial adventure of the case of Castile, with the end of the Moors' rule over the Iberian Peninsula – which ended the exhausting era of the reconquest wars – and with

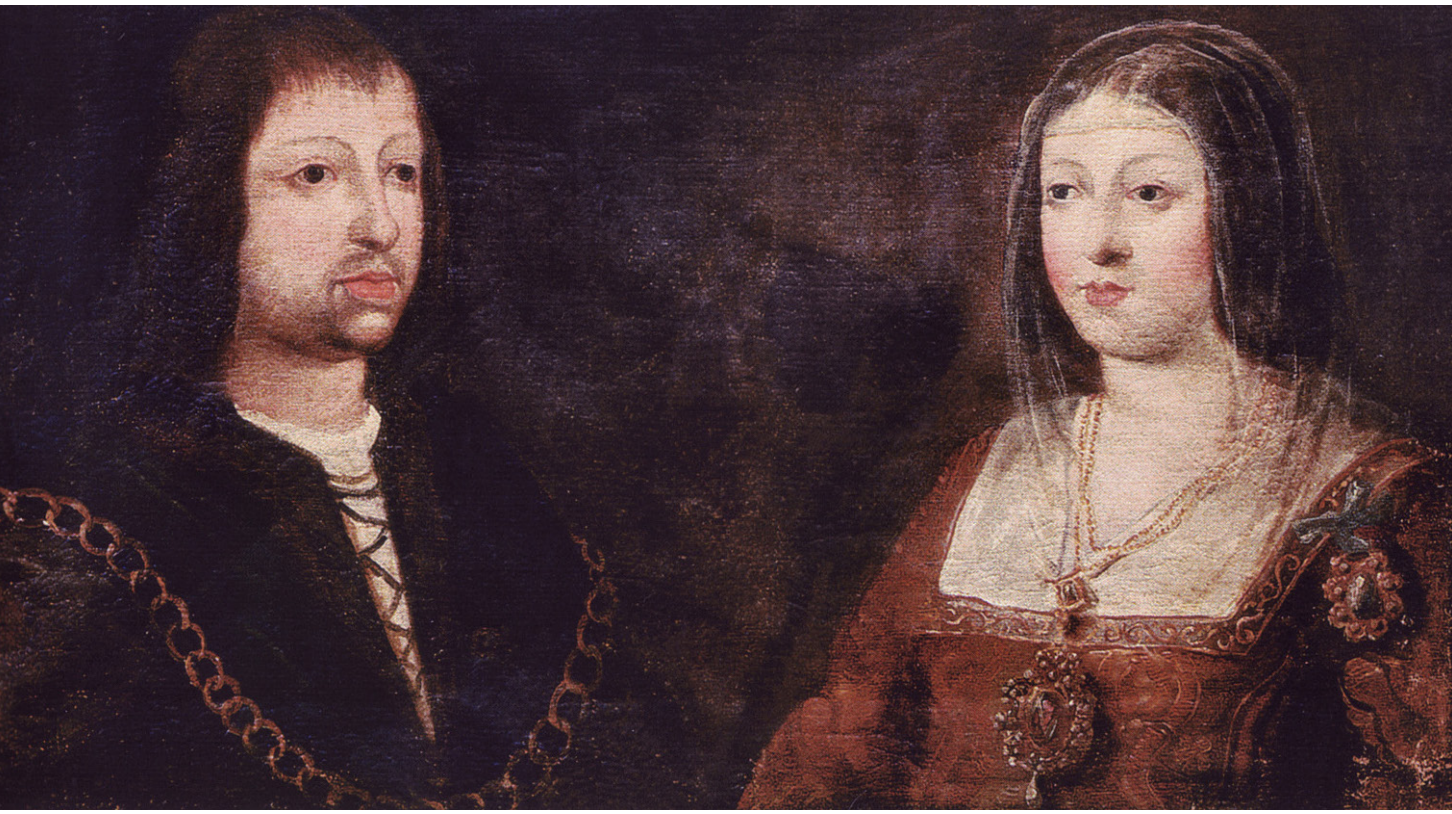


Figure 3. Wedding portrait of King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabel of Castile, 1469. Anonymous painter.

the agreement with Christopher Columbus for his proposed journey.

After almost eight centuries of Muslim domination, and battles between Muslims and Christians, the siege of Granada (1481-1492), which ended with the capitulation of the last reduced Muslim of the Iberian Peninsula, was an event of the utmost importance, which opened the doors to the expulsion of the Moors in 1502/1503, assisted by the Holy Inquisition. As early as 1492, the Spanish Court of Inquisition had been responsible for the conversion or expulsion of the Jews from the peninsula, helping the crown of Aragon to see forgiven the numerous debts contracted by the King with Jewish bankers to marry his son with Isabella of Castile.

As for the "discovery" of America, that modern scholars interpret more accurately as an introduction of the Americas to Western Europe, we will discuss in the following chapters the profound impact it had not only in the geopolitical reorganization of the world but also in the concept that humanity had of its own planetary habitat.

To quote one of the greatest historians of Imperial Spain, «the conquest of Granada and the discovery of America represented both a beginning and an end».[1] Whilst the successful entry into Granada marks the end of the reconquest of Spanish ter-

[1] Elliott, John H. La Spagna imperiale: 1469-1716. Bologna: il Mulino, 1982, p. 47.

Figure 4. Capitulation of Granada, by Vicente Barneto y Vázquez

ritory, it also inaugurates a new phase of the crusade against the Moors, with the Inquisition and the advances on African soil. On the other hand, the discovery of the New World marked the beginning of the Spaniard transoceanic colonization, while at home it ended the era of Castilian expansionism.

Nevertheless, in order to understand in which atmosphere the Hispano-American culture of the early Sixteenth century nurtured its roots, a look at the Spanish manifestations of intellectualism at the time of the conquest is necessary.

Figure 5. Master of the Catholic Monarchs. "The Virgin of the Catholic Monarchs" (1491–1493), detail. Mixed method on panel. Madrid, Museo del Prado.

In light of the imperial pomp which developed in Spain during the sixteenth century, trying to visualize the cultural climate that preceded and in which the colonization of the New World was prepared could be misleading. The courtly environment of the Catholic Kings, still unaware of the American wealth, was in essence a simple environment, for which the adjective of "real" was used rather broadly. Isabella and Ferdinando did not, in practice, have a specific royal residence, but moved between castles and palaces to maintain and extend their control over the broad domains of their joint families.

The cultural project of the Catholic Kings, which was apparently carried out under the flagship of the Roman Catholic religion, was essentially driven by geopolitic aims and the necessity to create a common feeling in the newly established Kingdom of Spain. Catholicism as a common belief, and the Castilian as a shared and official language of the lands under the Kings' rule, represent the unifying forces under which Isabel and Ferdinand create the cultural identity of pre-Renaissance Spain.

Historians recognize that Ferdinand, and mainly Isabella, were instrumental to the establishment in their courts of new forms of literacy and art in general, by

Figure 6. Emanuel Leutze (1816–1868). "Columbus Before the Queen." Oil on canvas.

means of a liberal patronage of writers, poets and musicians (not only Spanish but also coming from Italy, Catalonia, Aragon, Portugal), and also of literary visitors from Germany and Poland. The valet of Isabella, Juan Álvarez Gato (1433-1509), was a recognized poet of whom 104 compositions have been conserved.

What is certainly true is that Spain under the rule of the Catholic Kings, as the rest of Europe, was beginning to make the slow transition from the medieval age, with the primacy of didactic style and strictly religious themes, to the courtly and renaissance age, with its celebration of courtly love and the triumph of theater and profane poetry. It is not fortuitous that two key works of Spanish literature of those times, the *Coplas* by Jorge Manrique, and mainly the *Celestina* by Fernando de Rojas[2] saw the light in the last decades of the century, and that the first grammar of modern European language, the *Gramática Castellana* (Castilian grammar) by Antonio Nebrija, dedicated to Isabella, was justly published in the febrile year of 1492. The court of Ferdinand and Isabel had its own poet in the figure of Pedro de Cartagena (1456–1486), of whom 88 compositions have been conserved, including *canciones, villancicos, esparsas* (monostrophic poems of troubadour descent), *motes* (mots), and several *decires amatorios* (love

[2] Whether the author was real or fictitious is outside the context of this study.

Figure 7. Frontiespiece of Fernando de Rojas *La Celestina*. Burgos, Fredrique Aleman, 1499.

Figure 8. Juan de Borgoña (c. 1470–1536), the High Renaissance painter born in the Duchy of Burgundy, who brought the *Quattrocento* form of paintings into Castile.

declarations), some of which of moral theme and other burlesque.[3]

Of course, Isabel's literary patronage is only explained as part of her attraction for all aspects of culture: from architecture to the plastic arts, from music to the celebration of religious and profane events, from her late commitment to learning Latin to her favor for the diffusion of the Castilian, that strived in speaking and writing with neatness. In the same field we must place her obsession to elevate the cultural atmosphere of the court, supporting the establishment of outstanding humanists and favoring the creation of libraries; and the tenacity with which she insisted for her children to receive a careful education.[4]

Art patronage at the courts of Castile was extended to a number of painters, the most famous of which was probably the Master of the Virgin of the Catholic Monarchs, the author of the panel commissioned by the Kings, which portraits Ferdinand V and Isabel with their Saint patrons, the Infant Don Juan and the Chief Inquisitor.[5] The Kings also sponsored the work of several foreign painters active in Spain, like Juan de Borgoña (1470–1536), native of the Duchy of Burgundy (before it ceased to exist as an independent state), whose earliest documented work was painted in 1495 for the cloister of the Cathedral of Toledo. He worked in Spain until his death in 1536 and is considered the author who brought into Castile the painting style of the Italian *Quattrocento*.

Among the protection of the arts, it is necessary to also place the patronage dispensed by the Kings to music, as musicians had become indispensable in ceremonial and courtly spectacles, as well as in those *cancioneril* poems that were accompanied by music. Throughout her reign, Isabel was surrounded by a prominent body of *atabaleros*, trumpetists and minstrels; she considered music a form of regal propaganda and she worried, as per age-long tradition, about the musical educa-

[3] Ana M. Rodado Ruiz. La métrica cancioneril en la época de los Reyes Católicos: la poesía de Pedro de Cartagena. *Ars Metrica* 2012(5).

[4] Nicasio Salvador Miguel. El mecenazgo literario de Isabel la Católica. In: F. Checa Cremades (comm.). Isabel la católica. La magnificencia de un reinado (Catálogo de la Exposición celebrada en Valladolid, Medina del Campo y Madrigal de las Altas Torres, febrero-junio de 2004). Salamanca, 2004, pp. 75-86.

———. La actividad literaria en la corte de Isabel la Católica. In: N. Salvador Miguel (comm.). Isabel la Católica. Los libros de la Reina (Catálogo de la Exposición celebrada en Burgos, diciembre de 2004-enero de 2005). Oviedo, 2004.

[5] Due to the widespread influence of northern art in Castile, the extensive borrowings from the Masters of Netherlandish art do not necessary lead us to suppose that he had lived outside Spain. For a long time attributed to Fernando Gallego (ca. 1440–1507), the altarpiece is assumed today to have been created by a follower of the Salamancan master, whose origins and nationality remain uncertain. Nevertheless, the high quality of the paintings attributed to the Master and the likely patronage of the Catholic Kings leave no doubts the fact that he was an important artist. Ferdinand and Isabel apparently commissioned also the retable "The Marriage at Cana", where the prominent display of their heraldic devices and those of Maximilian I was probably meant to commemorate the marriage of their younger daughter, Juana of Castile, to Philip the Fair, Maximilian's son (September 1496), and that of their son, Juan of Castile, to Margaret of Austria, Maximilian's daughter (April 1497). See Brown, J. & R. G. Mann. *Spanish Paintings of the Fifteenth through Nineteenth Centuries*. The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 92-93.

Figure 9. Master of the Catholic Kings. "The Marriage at Cana" (c. 1495/1497). Oil on panel. Washington, National Gallery of Art.

Figure 10. Paolo da San Leoncadio (1482-1484). “Virgen de Gracia”. Church of San Miguel, Enguera.

Figure 11. Tomás Yepes-Hiepes. "Still life with *vihuela*" (1595). Oil on panel. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

tion of his children, whose houses she endowed of numerous instrumentalists and composers who had the responsibility of rejoicing their moments of idleness and of educating them in the musical field. Just as an example, Prince John, at the young age of twelve, already counted with a musical chapel composed of 8 members.

Also, in their concern for courtly music, the Kings supported a nationalist project, aimed at creating the bases for an autochthonous music. For centuries, before their ascent to the throne, it had been very common for kings to go and find singers for their musical chapels in Flanders, Germany and France. For Isabel and Fernan-

Figure 12. Frontespiece of Luys Milán's *El Maestro* (Valencia, 1536), the first knonw printed music for the Spanish *vihuela de mano*.

do, however, it proved to be very important to build an exclusively national music chapel (Isabel had only *cantores* and *chantres* from Castile), aimed at encouraging the development of a "typical" Spanish music. Within this nationalistic approach, a place of honor certainly belongs to the *vihuela*, musical instrument among the favorites of the Catholic Kings. The oldest images of this instrument, which had as many names as there were places where it was played (*viola de ma* in Catalunya, *viola da mano* in Italy, *viola de mão* in Portugal), are found in the *Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso X of Castile, dating back to the XIII century. Unfortunately, there are no manuscripts of music for this instrument dating to the time of the Catholic Kings (the music press in Spain has never had great success, let alone with Spanish composers) but as early as 1536 Luys Milán (ca. 1500–ca. 1561) gave to the press his work *El Maestro*, the earliest known publication of vihuela music, including a number of fantasias, pavans, and vihuela settings of Italian sonnets. In the next forty years, another nine printed books of music for vihuela were to be published.

As far as the musical repertoire of the time is concerned, secular music was undoubtedly the one most strongly characterized by the national "typism" so coveted

Figure 13. Altarpiece in the Monastery of Santa Clara, Beldorado (Sec. XVII). In the central panel, on the left of the Virgin, an angel plays a *vihuela de mano*.

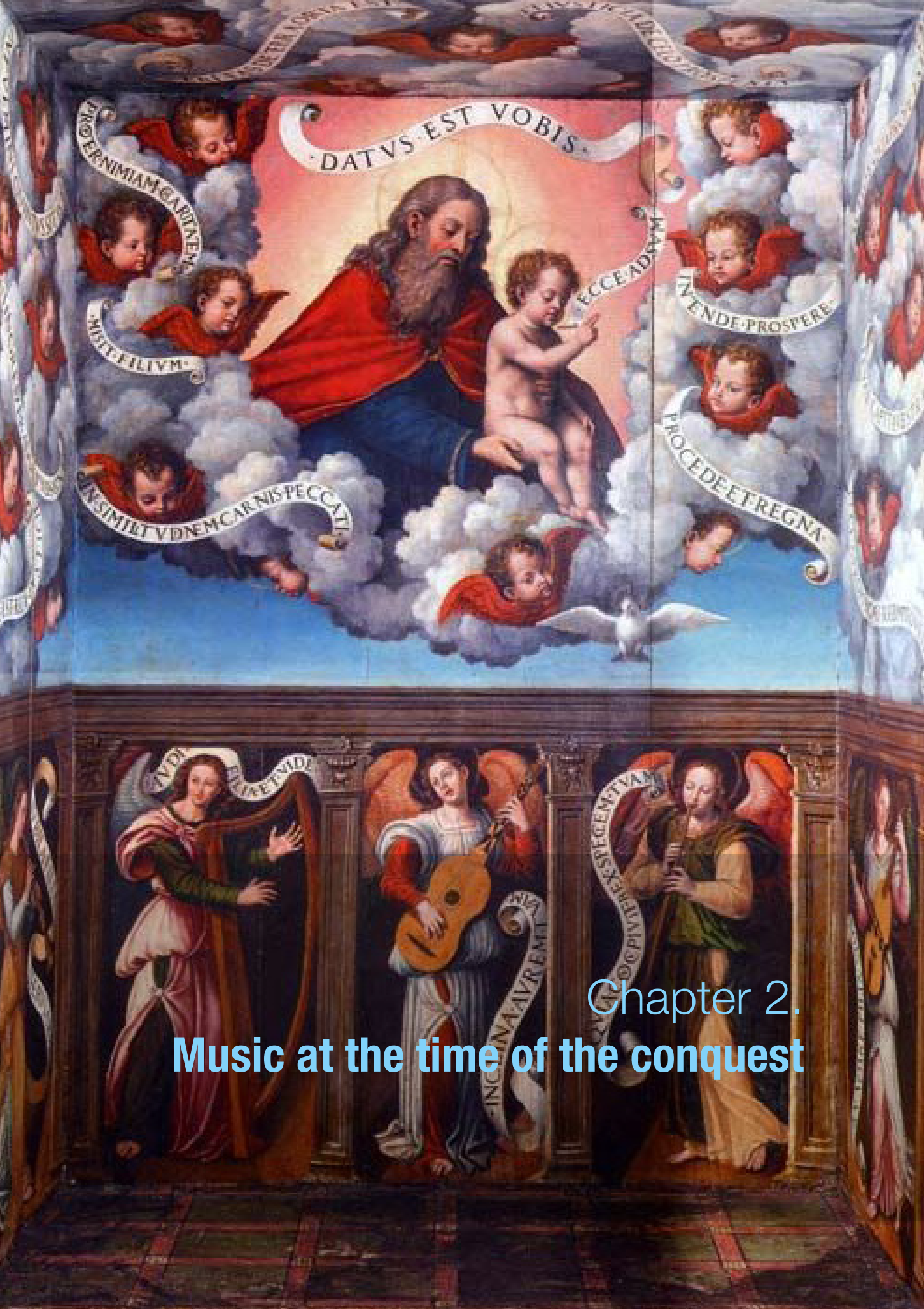
by the Catholic Kings, especially the repertoire of amorous music that, at their time, had a portentous blooming . These songs with love lyrics were one of the greatest glories of the court of King Fernando and Queen Isabel, highly esteemed and typ-

ically Castilian. With three or four voices, alone or accompanied, but also for solo voice or purely instrumental, they were characterized by a simple technique and no artifice. This period also saw the amazing flowering that took place in the field of dance, which has always been the fulcrum of secular music. The alta and baxa dances were the favorite and best known in the court of the Catholic Kings, as well as in the Aragonese court of Naples and, practically, in the courtly environments throughout Europe (we remember the famous Belgian collection of Basses dances where we find a series of dances entitled *Portingaloise, Navarroise, Barcelone, La Basse dance du roy d'Espagne*).[6] Together with the music, they accompanied the great majority of public and private events of the nobility.

In the field of sacred music, the Spanish monarchs always distinguished themselves for their commitment to making the music of their chapels as worthy as possible of "the honour and glory of God". Here too emerge elements of "typism". Even though they were not as strong as in secular music, they still represent a clear anticipation of what will be created later. Whilst the whole Spanish sacred repertoire of the late XV century resumes, as far as the musical forms and technique are concerned, the technique of the Flemish composers, the themes of its melodies were almost exclusively drawn from Gregorian melodies and not from profane songs (such as *Adiu mes amours* or *L'ome armé*).

This was the fertile climate at the court of the Kings of Spain, on which the rich Renaissance music of the XVI century would nurture its root and that Columbus' followers will eventually help to project overseas. But let us have a closer look at some of the emergent figures who defined the environment of Spanish music on the eve of the great discovery that would forever change the history of two continents.

[6] Higinio Anglés, *La musica en la corte de los Reyes Católicos, vol. I. La polifonia religiosa* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1941), p. 62.



Chapter 2.
Music at the time of the conquest

Previous page, figure 14. Juan de Juanes: *Trinidad con querubines y ángeles*. Convent of Santa Clara, Gandia (Valencia), Spain.

"Music […] was never a side show on life but part of the great emotions, religion and love: voice of the first language, that of the heart."

John A. Crow, *The Epic of Latin America*, 1st ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: The Country Life Press, 1946), p. 316.

Considering the importance American aborigines gave to music for their social and religious life, the scarce amount of documentation made by the Spanish must be assumed to be only a pale representation of American indigenous music. Notwithstanding the efforts made by ethnomusicologists to shed light on the reality of ancient American music, the lack of any single original document on Central and Southern American music has been an insurmountable impediment to present knowledge — this was largely a result of the *Conquistadores*' destruction of the written sources of the New World civilizations. Even referring to "Hispano-American" music implies the existence of a false assumption of cultural homogeneity that is thought to have existed during the XVI and XVII centuries within Northern and Southern American territories — extending from modern day New Mexico all the way to Tierra del Fuego.

On the other hand, the influence of indigenous music of the Americas on the Spanish, had little to no effect on the musical performance of Spaniards during the XVI and early XVII centuries. For instance, the apparatus of the American conquest was for a long time essentially a military, administrative, and religious force, which only allowed for a marginal amount of artistic and musical participation. For almost fifty years since the "discovery", America had no formally trained European musicians and instead indigenous players, perhaps with their own instruments, had to be employed in religious and secular acts.

It was not until 1497, five years after Columbus' first voyage to America, that the Catholic Kings ordered the shipment of some "musical instruments and music for pasatiempo of the people who have to stay there" (*Instrucción* of July 15th, 1497, in Urchueguía 2012).[7] Even though the same ship brought to America the first group of friars committed to evangelize the New World, it is easy to speculate that the instrumental repertoire was not intended for liturgical use. The first European music that the native Americans heard was a secular sound.

[7] Cristina Urchueguía, "La colonización musical de Hispanoamérica," in *Historia de la música en España e Hispano América - De los reyes catolicos a Felipe II,* ed. Maricarmen Gómez, Fondo de Cultura Economica, vol. 2, 8 vols. (Madrid, 2012), p. 479. [The translation from Spanish into English is mine].

Figure 15. Pre-Hispanic Mayan fresco at Bonampak (Chiapas), Mexico.

The advent of European music in the newly discovered continent was a gradual, nonlinear, and "imperfect" process, in a large way driven by forces that were not, in essence, of a musical nature. One century after the arrival of Columbus on the American soil, there were grossly one hundred thousand Spaniards who migrated to the New World and established themselves in the West Indies, New Spain and the Viceroyalty of Peru. The brutality of the conquest and the epidemic illnesses brought to America by the Europeans severely transformed the demographic structure of the New World, and Spanish colonies soon felt obliged to hire new workmen through a broad use of slavery.

According to the musicologist Cristina Urchueguíea by 1570 the number of black slaves brought from Africa almost tripled that of their white "owners".[8] By the end of the century the ethnic and cultural composition of Hispano-American society was completely different from what the Spaniards had found when they first arrived in the New World. The society and the culture created by European colonizers was now a pyramid headed by a minority of Spaniards and their descendants of Hispanic origins born in America (the *criollos*), followed by the *mestizos* generated by the

[8] Cfr. *ivi*, pp. 469-470.

Figure 16. Bonampak mural. Room 1, west wall: a procession of dancers, musicians and members of the nobility.

mixing of Spaniards with the indigenous population, whom were extended certain rights and had access to instruction (musical and writing). Finally, at the bottom of the social scale and without any rights, were the indigenous and black slaves and Afro-descendants. An unexpected result of this social context was that the music in the New World, due to the lower population of the Spaniards, obliged them to depend on neo-Hispanic musicians, and it was among the lowest castes that the white colonizers mostly recruited musicians.

In 1535 and 1542, respectively, the Spanish crown organized its American possessions in two Viceroyalties, the Viceroyalty of New Spain, including the Spanish possessions in North America and Central America, excluding Panama, and the Viceroyalty of Peru, including Panama and the South American continent, with exception of the Portuguese possessions. In 1542 the crown created the General Capitaincy of Yucatán, followed in 1564 by that of New Granada. This is the political and administrative background which now frames my overall research, as the partition of the Viceroyalty of Peru into the new Viceroyalties of New Granada and Rio de la Plata, as well as the creation of the General Capitaincies of Chile and Ven-

Figure 17. Huehuetl teponatzli. From s *Psalmodia christiana y Sermonario de los sanctos del año en lengua mexicana* (Mexico City, 1583).

ezuela did not take place until the XVIII century, and mostly in the late decades of that century.

It is true that the original dream of Isabella and Ferdinand was to avoid the development in the New World of a powerful aristocracy reproducing the feudal tendencies that had hindered the power of the crown in Castile. However, this was a short-lived hope. The administrative model of the "*encomiendas*", or the temporary assignation of rights over a given quantity of indigenous people who had to pay tributes, was soon superseded by a true monarchic organization.[9] The appointment of Antonio de Mendoza y Pacheco, heir of a family from the first Castilian aristocracy, as the first Vice-King of New Spain in 1535, opened in effect the doors to the creation of a courtly environment in the American colonies that would have important consequences also on the cultural life of the Spanish overseas territories. Even though the material conditions of the New World, as well as the lack of human resources trained for music slowed the process, both the secular and religious forces pushed towards the creation of a cultural and musical environment that was considered crucial for the effective control of the overseas possessions. In a steady process, during the XVI and XVII centuries, New Spain before, and the Viceroyalty

[9] John H. Elliott, *La Spagna imperiale: 1469-1716* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1982), p. 80.

Figure 18. The first cathedral in the Americas, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Santo Domingo.

of Peru later, developed an autochthonous music that can be considered as splendid and colorful as the European music of the time.

Under the impulse of a powerful and ambitious aristocracy, and under the guidance of a clerical apparatus committed to evangelise an entire continent, not only the capitals of the Vice-kingdoms and of the principal Capitaincies, but soon others among the most conspicuous Spanish settlements of the New World, equipped themselves with important cathedrals, symbols of the new earthly power and the new religious universe. Urchueguía traces the early stages of the diocesan colonisation and the consequent architectural colonisation represented by the erection of the cathedrals across all the territories of the New Spain and the Vice-kingdom of Peru, beginning with the cathedral of Santo Domingo in 1511, followed by Panama in 1515, Jamaica (1515), Baracoa in Cuba (1518), Mexico City (1530), and then León, Oaxaca, Honduras, Lima and Quito. By the mid-XVI century, at least twenty-five cathedrals of the Roman church were shining under the American sun, and these cathedrals had to resound with music.[10]

The year of 1537 marks the first official establishment of a professionally trained musician in America, with the arrival at Cartagena of the "*maestro de capilla*" Juan Perez Materano. In 1539, Juan Xuarez is appointed as the first chapel master of the

[10] Cristina Urchueguía, "La colonización musical de Hispanoamérica", *op. cit.*, p. 482.

Figure 19. Map of América by Sebastian Munster (1561). Munster's maps of the continents originally appeared in an edition of ***Geographia*** by Ptolomeo printed in Basel. Note the expression "***Nouus Orbis***", New World.

Right, Figure 20. The two Viceroyalties that Spain established in the New World during the XV and XVI centuries. To the North, the Viceroyalty of New Spain, with its capital inMexioc, extending soutward to western Panama. To the South, the Viceroyalty of Peru, with its capital in Lima, the City of the Kings, occupying most of the South American continent.


N
W
E
S
Santa Fe
San Diego
San Antonio
VICEROYALTY OF NEW SPAIN
Founded in 1521
Gulf of Mexico
Havana
Mérida
Mexico City
Veracruz
Oaxaca
Guatemala City
San Juan
Santo Domingo
Caribbean Sea
Cartagena
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
Bogotá
VICEROYALTY OF NEW GRANADA
Founded in 1740
Quito
Amazon
Recife/Olinda
BRAZIL
Salvador de Bahia
Lima
Pisac
Cuzco
Andahuaylillas
Lake Titicaca
Arequipa
Copacabana
Sucre
Potosí
Ouro Prêto
São Paulo
Rio de Janeiro
VICEROYALTY OF PERU
Founded in 1543
Jujuy
Salta
VICEROYALTY OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA
Founded in 1776
Córdoba
Santiago
Buenos Aires
AUDIENCIA DE CHILE
Founded in 1609
The Viceroyalties of Peru and New Spain
Spanish holdings
Portuguese holdings
Viceroyalty borders circa1542
Viceroyalty borders Founded in the 18th century
Modern borders
★ Viceroyalty capital
☆ Modern capital

Figure 21. The Cathedral of the *Inmaculada Concepción* in Comayagua, Honduras.

Figure 22. The Cathedral of the Asunción in León, Nicaragua.

cathedral of Mexico, soon followed by Hernando Franco. Before the end of the XVI century the figure of the New Spain composer Juan de Lienas emerges.

These musicians, chapel masters and composers were finally able to leave a corpus of works that testify to the development of music by the American colonies during the first two centuries that followed the conquest, a set of scores and styles that, as said, rival the pomp of European contemporary music from which they derive directly.

Certainly, the Neo-American music of which we possess tangible evidences is essentially the ecclesiastic one, because this was considered as the most important among the musical forms and, for this reason, it was transcribed, copied, conserved, and sometimes printed. This musical practice has undoubtedly left us masterpieces in the figures of the chapel masters who travelled from Spain before, and then from their *criollos* followers, born and trained in American soil, and some of whom we will deal with individually in the following chapters of this discussion. I then will present work devoted to these emerging figures in the history of colonial music.

Due to the nature of courtly pomp in the centres of colonial power, as handed down to us in the paintings that illustrate the life in the Hispano-American courts, as well as the presence on the American soil of professional musicians since the early decade of the XVI century, there is no doubt that music must have

Figure 23. Entry of Viceroy Archbishop Morcillo into Potosí. Painting by Melchor Perez Holguín 1660-1732). Madrid, Museo de América.

played a significant role in secular life. Unfortunately, we do not possess neither direct sources – scores, manuscripts and other documents – nor indirect, in the form of detailed reports, which allow us to document with certainty the development of secular music in the American colonies. Nevertheless, if one looks at the Viceroyal palace of Mexico City in the XVII century, as depicted by an unknown artist on a room divider now at the Museo de América in Madrid; the painting by an artist form Cuzco of the marriages between the Loyola and Borja houses and the descendants of the Inkas (now at the Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima); the splendid and detailed view of the arrival in Potosí on the new Vice–King Morcillo, painted by Melchor Pérez Holguín (Museo de América, Madrid); and, most of all, the splendid portrait of María Luisa de Toledo, daughter of the Vice-King of New Spain, Antonio Sebastián de Toledo, marquis of Mancera; it is absolutely clear how the grandeur of architecture, the style and richness of the costumes, the

elaboration and the magnificence of the processions, as well as the individual care of the person, were typical of a feudal aristocracy not dissimilar in its uses from that which constituted its European roots. The palaces of the American colonies were surely equally enlivened by a rich courtly musical practice.

In the same way, we do not possess tangible documents of the other great current of colonial music, represented by the veritable melting pot of styles, ethnic and cultural traditions that took shape in the Catholic missions in charge of opening new routes of evangelisation. It is here, where Spanish dogmatism left room for a more fruitful relationship of teaching and learning with the native population and with the new Afro-American inhabitants, where the premises were created for the development of an "own" New World music, whose unique features are still visible today. The "*música de las misiones*" will be the theme of the next chapter of this work.

Figure 24. Lady María Luisa de Toledo y Carreto, portrayed with her indigenous companion (ca. 1670), attributed to Antonio Rodríguez. Madrid, Museo del Prado.

Figure 25. Marriage of Martin de Loyola to Princess Doña Beatriz and Don Juan Borja to Lorenza. Cuzco school, 1718. Lima, Museo Pedro Osma.

Pre-colombian music

The large number of different ethnic and cultural lineages that have populated pre-Columbian Americas surely accounts for a vast, rich and articulated musical landscape. This is true despite the direct sources on the American music that preceded the arrival of European conquerors being scant, and in large measure biased by the general attitude with which the Spanish used to denigrate and diminish the indigenous Amerindian cultures. For the specific aim of this introduction to the musical aspects of the American cultures, as they were known by the conquistadores and as they in someway marginally influenced the early colonial

music, I will limit my overview to the two most important civilizations that the conquerors found in America, namely the Aztecas and the Incas.

As explained earlier in this discussion, at the time of the first encounter with the Amerindian cultures, the Spaniards often adopted, in their chronicles and diaries, an attitude of disdain for those populations that they considered barbaric (a concept that was recurrent until the XVII century, when Pérez de Ribas entitled his book *Historia de los Triunfos de nuestra Santa Fe entre gentes las mas bárbaras y fieras del Nuevo Orbe*, stating that the natives were "much inferior in quality"). The emphasis on some aspects of the American cultures that resulted ethically and religiously unacceptable to the European man of the Renaissance, like the ritual human sacrifice and, in some cases, the practice of cannibalism, must have partly influenced the negative approach that the *conquistadores* reserved to the inhabitants of the New World and their traditions. The Spaniards could not deny the magnificence of the cities, the richness of the jewels or the opulence of the festivities of some of the indigenous peoples. Music, however, was not one of the indigenous arts praised and appreciated by the conquerors. Undoubtedly, the fact that they were suddenly faced with a sound for which they were not prepared and that they initially associated with fighting, did not encourage the appreciation of the music played by the American natives, a form of art that had to sound quite rudimentary to a European ear. Nevertheless, in many of the early Spanish chronicles we can find an irrefutable recognition of the natural musicality of the inhabitants of the New World.[13]

Despite the almost total absence of original written music sources, there is still a body of iconographic and written evidence transmitted by the Spanish historians who visited the New World during the Conquest, that inform us that the natives had their own musical culture and that, although varying from tribe to tribe, that culture had common general characteristics.[14]

As with most cultures based on mythical thought, those who lived in the New World also believed that music, as well as some of their musical instruments,[15]

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[11] Enrique Martínez Miura, *La música precolombina* (Barcelona: Paidós Iberica, 2004), p. 30.

[12] Bernal Díaz del Castillo describes the use of music to inculcate fear and uncertainty, saying that the natives "[…] played their damned atambor and other trumpets and atabales and snails and gave many cries and screams […]", (Miura, *La música precolombina*, *op. cit*., p. 33).

[13] In this regard Geronimo de Mendieta in his *Historia eclesiástica indiana* tells us that "One of the main things that in all that land was, were the songs and dances [...]. And for this reason, and because it was a thing of which they did much, in every town and every lord in his house had a chapel with his singers […]". (Miura, *La música precolombina, op. cit.*, p. 39).

[14] Shirley M. Smith, "The History and Use of Music in Colonial Spanish America 1500-1750" (Loyola University Chicago, 1948), p. 1.

[15] According to the myth, for example, the Sun gave the huehuetl and the teponatzli to Texcatlipoca, who in turn passed they on to humans (the two Aztec names are linked to those of the two deities who, against the will of the Sun, brought music to humans and for this reason were banned on earth in the form of musical instruments).

Figure 26. Macuilxochitl singing and playing the Mexican drum ***huēhuētl***, from the ***Codex Borbonicus***, written by Aztec priests shortly before or after the Spanish conquest of Mexico.

had been given to them by their gods. For the Aztecs, Quetzalcoatl[16] extracted music from the Sun and then handed it over to men, so that they were not sad and had a suitable way to worship the gods. The Incas believed that was the god Tambo who had gifted the music to humans. For the Maya, the god Hunhunahpu "[...] taught his two sons [...] to play the flute, to sing […]").[17] Being so closely linked to the mythical-religious world, it is therefore understandable that the whole indigenous musical world was directed and organized by the priestly

[16] Deity from the Mesoamerican culture whose name means "feathered serpent"; god of wind, air and learning.
[17] Miura, *La música precolombina, op. cit.*, pp. 49-51.

Figure 27. Aztec jugglers, from Christoph Weiditz' (1498–1559) *Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz von seinen Reisen nach Spanien* (1529) *und den Niederlanden* (1531/32). The hand painted image was created in the court of Charles V, about 1529.

caste, which was responsible for the rituals and the education of musicians, as well as for the custody of the musical instruments.

As far as Mexican[18] culture is concerned, music related to religious rites and ceremonies was composed and performed by *cuicapiztles*, a privileged class of professional musicians, prepared in specific schools for music and dance called *cuicacallis* ("houses of song"). Being a member of the "caste" of singers and musicians was a great honour and privilege, but also a great responsibility as the music was not only accompanying the ceremony, but it was the core of ceremony itself. A mistake in the musical performance meant a mistake in the

[18] The word "Aztec"is a neologism introduced in the eighteenth century and thus unknown to the Mexicas, the ancient inhabitants of the Mexican plateau. Tess Knighton, Companion to: *Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*, vol. 1, Companions to the Musical Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Europe (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 333.

observance of the ritual, which compared to an insult to the gods (punishable by death!). It is therefore easy to deduce that the technical and executive level of indigenous musicians and dancers had to be very high. On his return to Spain, Hernán Cortes, the conquistador responsible for the conquest of the territories corresponding to present-day Mexico, will bring with him some natives musicians, singers and dancers - along with some acrobats and jugglers - to exhibit them in front of His Majesty Charles V and the Pope who, according to the reports of the time, were duly impressed.[19]

For the Incas, a society deeply based on agriculture, music was more integrated in their daily activities, used to celebrate the harvest, sowing, the rainy season, but also for more familiar celebrations. It was not unusual for ordinary citizens to have flutes and percussion instruments for use during agricultural ceremonies and rites, but also for use in any gathering situation.[20]

Musical instruments

Indigenous instrumentation is common to almost the entire geographical extension of Latin America – with the adoption of different terminology among each nation.[21] The instruments used can be divided into three main categories: percussion, noise and rattles, and wind instruments.

The most important group, particularly for the people of Mesoamerica,[22] was that of percussion, associated with war and festivity. At their arrival in the New World, the Spaniards were fascinated by these instruments capable of producing a music that can invigorate the soul but also intimidate listeners. Although they referred to these instruments with the general terms *atabales* or *atambores*, they took care to transcribe, in their writings, their names in the indigenous terminology, in order to better convey the idea of the enormous difference in timbre that characterized each of these instruments. In this group we find instruments such as the *huehuetl*[23] or the *teponatzli*[24], widely spread in Mexico and Central America, or even the smaller tinya used mainly in the Andean area up to Peru.

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[19] Mark Brill, *Music of Latin America and the Caribbean* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2011), p. 65.

[20] Cfr. *ivi*, p. 300.

[21] The Aztec *teponatzli* can be found in the Mayan *tunkul* or the Zapotec *tun*, or the Aztec *huehuetl* with the Mayan *zacatan*. (Miura, *La musica precolombiana, op. cit*., p. 110).

[22] In the Andean area the family of flutes was of greater importance.

[23] Large wooden cylinder carved into a single block and closed by a membrane on one side, used mainly to accompany the dance, but also to signal dangers or for the call of warriors. Marguerite and Raoul D'Harcourt, *La música de los Incas y sus supervivencias* (Lima: Occidental Petroleum Corporation of Peru, 1990), p. 19.

[24] Hollow wooden cylinder with a rectangular opening on one side and an H-shaped opening on the other, capable of producing two different sounds. It always accompanied the huehuetl in the dances. (Marguerite and Raoul D'Harcourt, *La música de los Incas y sus supervivencias, op. cit*., p. 21).

Figure 28. Pre-Columbian Colima 4-Chamber Flute. Colima Culture, West Coast Mexico, ca. 200 BCE –300 CE. L. Kalina Collection, Laguna Beach, U.S.A. Composite flute that directs the air from the narrow mouthpiece to 4 chambers simultaneously with 10 notes. There is a small eagle head molded on the mouthpiece. These complex composite flutes are extremely rare and seem to be unique to West Mexico. They were made by attaching the flute chambers together and connecting them to a single mouthpiece so multiple notes could be played at the same time. The author has seen examples made with 2, 4 and 5 chambers. The longer chamber served as a drone.

Figure 29. Folding Screen with Indian Wedding and Flying Pole. Unknwon author, Mexico, c. 1690. An harp can be observed in the center of the painting. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

In the second group we find instruments such as rattles (*chicahuatzli*, like a rain stick), and rasps (*omichicahuatzli*).

Among the wind instruments – probably a later group, given the complexity of the thought behind the operation of these instruments – we find trumpets, which could be large shells (*atecocoli*), pumpkins emptied or pieces of wood machined and drilled at the ends and flutes, mainly in bone, clay (*tlapitsali*)[25] or cane (*antara* or *siku*,[26] *quenaquena*[27]).

[25] They were clay flutes (more rarely in stone) that could be single but also multiple, able to produce more sounds at the same time. The latter deny the theory of the total absence of harmony within the indigenous music system. Surely the melodies were thought of as monodies, but the sense of harmony (as fullness of sounds, of colour) was certainly there in indigenous populations of Latin America. The construction of this type of instrument, in fact, requires a great deal of knowledge at the acoustic level from the manufacturer, and technical knowledge from the performer. Even today, in the region of Lake Titicaca, there are complexes of *tarqas* and *pincullus*. Samuel Martí, *Music before Columbus - Musica Precolombina*, 2nd ed. (Mexico D.F.: Ediciones Euroamericanas Klaus Thiele, 1978), p. 85.

[26] These are the names used for the instrument that today is known as the flute of Pan, an instrument composed of several pipes of different sizes linked together, able to produce different sounds.

[27] Still widely used today, with the name of quena, it is a pierced tube barrel and can produce up to seven different sounds.

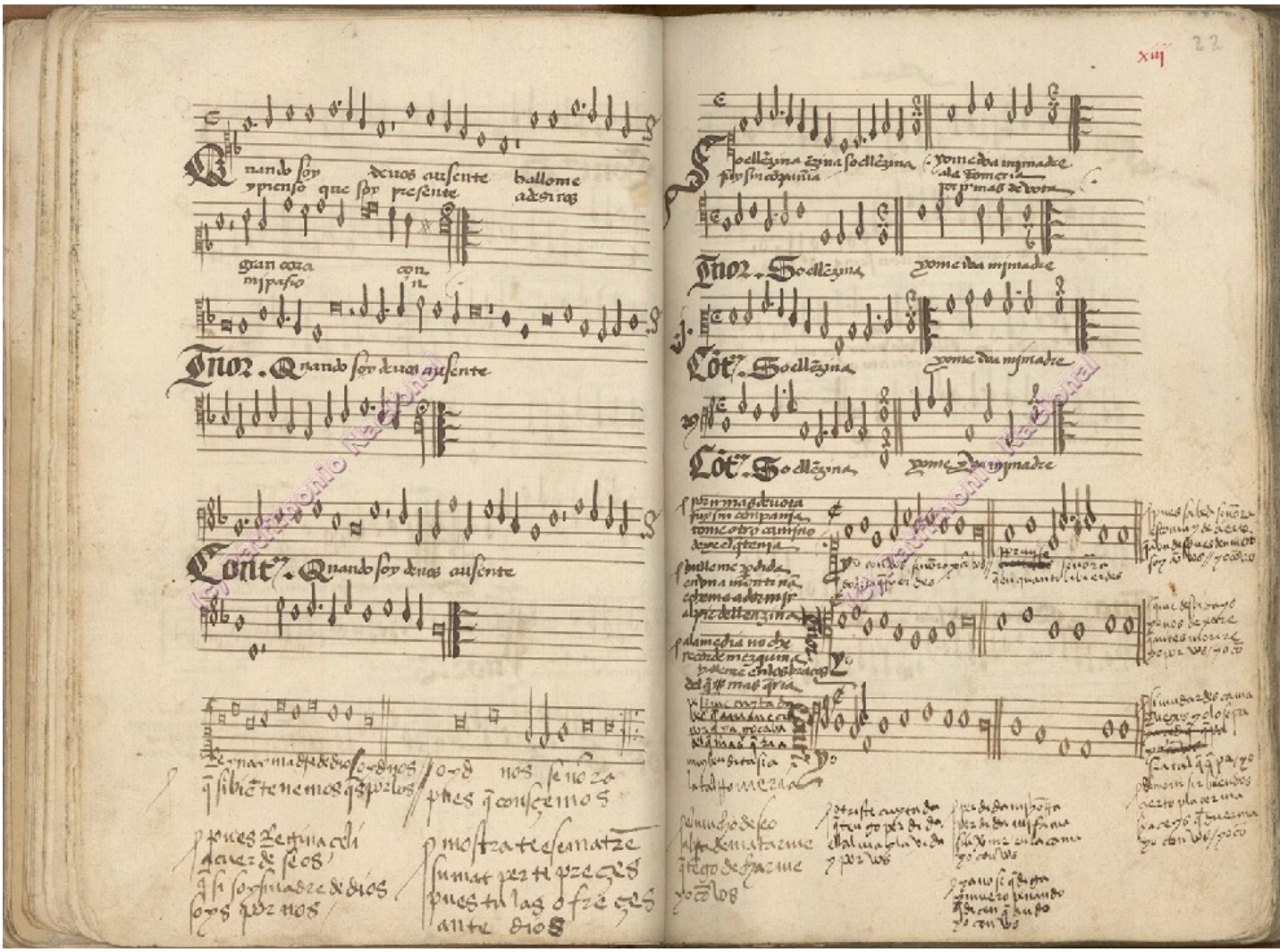

Figure 30. Pages from the *Cancionero de Palacio*. Madrid, Real Biblioteca.

With the arrival of the Spanish, the indigenous "instrumentarium" will expand with the adoption of instruments imported from the old world (especially those with strings, plucked and bowed) and, later, with the construction, on site, of instruments derived from those of the Spanish (remember for example instruments such as the *charango*, *cavaquinho*, *cuatro*).

Starting with the first expedition of musical instruments by the Catholic Kings in 1497, instruments that were fundamental to music as it was conceived in the Old World were imported from Spain. It is therefore legitimate to speculate that the first instruments imported were harps, guitars and *vihuelas* and *organetti* (the four main instruments of the basso continuo in the Iberian peninsula), but also wind instruments such as flutes, *chirimias* and *cornetti*. The introduction of

Figure 31. The three musicians, by Diego Velázquez (1599-1660). Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

stringed instruments into the New World was an incredible novelty given their total absence from the indigenous corpus of instruments.

As far as music in the Old World is concerned, it is necessary to remember, as specified in the previous chapter, its importance in the political and spiritual world of the Catholic Kings. It is no coincidence that one of the largest collections of secular songs of the time – the *Cancionero de Palacio* - was compiled for and by the will of the Catholic Kings. This collection, which includes 550 songs by different authors (Juan de Anchieta, Lope Baena, Juan del Encina among others) and dates back to the last third of the XV century, is the largest collection of court songs and includes all sorts of lyrics (chivalrous, picaresque, pastoral, historical, religious, humorous) – mainly in Castilian, but also in Italian,

[26] "A kind of verse that is composed solely to be sung [...]. In the villancicos there is a head and a feet; the head is a verso of 2, or 3 or 4 lines [...] which is customary to repeat after the feet. The feet are a stanza of six lines, being a sort of variant of the theme contained in the head" . Juan Díaz Rengifo, *Arte Poética Española* (Salamanca: 1592).

[27] A term associated, in Hispanic-Arabic sources, with a strophic poem with a precise structure and language. Otto Zwartjes, *Love Songs from Al-Andalus: History, Structure, and Meaning of the Kharja*, vol. 11, Medieval Iberian Peninsula (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 95.

Basque and Portuguese - while the prevailing musical form is the *villancico*.

The *villancico* was one of the most widespread musical forms in Spain. It has a strophic structure,[28] often associated with the Arabic *zajal*[29] and owes its name to the *villanos* (= villagers, commoners), being a type of composition of a popular nature, used during rural festivities, similar to other musical genres developed simultaneously in other areas of Europe, such as the Italian *frottola* or the French *chanson*. Later it will also be introduced into the ecclesiastical environment and from there associated in particular with the Christmas period.

In the New World, the *villancico* was exported only as a religious composition. In the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, in particular, there was an enormous flowering of the kind, used for the liturgical office of holidays.[30] It was in fact one of the tasks of the chapel masters to compose villancicos that would replace the motets and responsories in Latin.

However, the liturgy was not the only destination of the new villancicos which, while maintaining their sacred character, were used as an indispensable component of festivities and manifestations that took place outside the sacred place.

In the colonies of America, the structural elasticity of the Spanish *villancico* led to a new and unthinkable outcome: the absorption, under the pressure of the Indian and African-American substratum, of elements foreign to the European tradition, and the flowering, alongside the traditional *villancico*, of the vernacular villancico in its two main types of *indio*, in Quechua or Nahuatl, and of *guineo*, in the Creole dialects. This new American variant of the villancico is more evident in the rhythmic field: in the simplified European schemes syncopes and counter-tempos are inserted, all on the accompaniment of plucked or percussion instruments. These *villancicos* could be called negrillos or *negritos*, *inditos*, *guineos* depending on which pseudo-language was inserted within the text, generally written in Spanish.

Among the most outstanding New World composers of villancicos are Manuel de Sumaya, Juan de Araujo and Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, which we will discuss in more detail in the next chapters.

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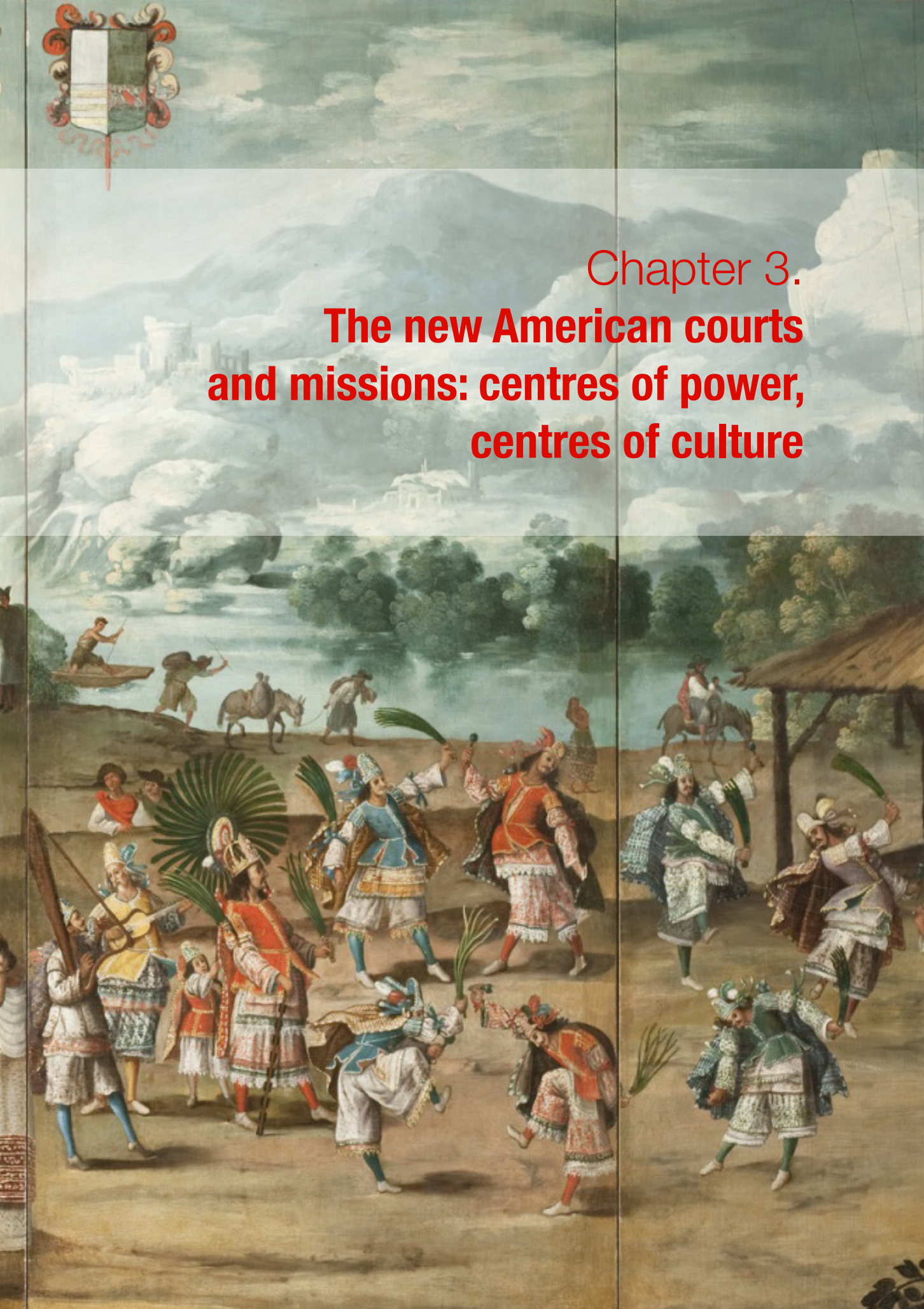
[28] "A kind of verse that is composed solely to be sung [...]. In the villancicos there is a head and a feet; the head is a verso of 2, or 3 or 4 lines [...] which is customary to repeat after the feet. The feet are a stanza of six lines, being a sort of variant of the theme contained in the head". Juan Díaz Rengifo, *Arte Poética Española* (Salamanca: 1592).

[29] A term associated, in Hispanic-Arabic sources, with a strophic poem with a precise structure and language. Otto Zwartjes, *Love Songs from Al-Andalus: History, Structure, and Meaning of the Kharja*, vol. 11, Medieval Iberian Peninsula (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 95.

[30] Remember that the *villancico*, in the Old World, has a sacred character but not liturgical, never being included in the celebration of masses and other religious rituals.



Chapter 3.
The new American courts and missions: centres of power, centres of culture

Previous page, figure 32. Folding Screen with Indian Wedding and Flying Pole (*Biombo con desposorio indígena y palo volador*), Mexico, c. 1690, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

"In several reductions there are, nowadays, Indian masters who know how to make of the vibrant cedar wood a harp of David [...]"

Antonio Sepp, *Continuación de las labores Apostolicas*, (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1973), vol. 2, p. 137.

At least three main scenarios should be identified when referring to the cultural life of the American colonies south of California, including Central America and the West Indies, as well as most of the South American continent, and in particular to the *loci* (from Latin *places*) of colonial music: the baroque cathedrals, the missions, and the court palaces.

The existing literature on colonial music in America is relatively abundant as to the sources of religious music in the capitals of the Spanish Empire and in the outposts of penetration of Catholic religious culture in America, the religious missions aimed at the evangelization of the native Americans.[31] When the present research was designed, it seemed logical to develop a line of investigation also in the direction of secular music which certainly had to exist in those societies that were gradually defining themselves as true vice royal courts in the Spanish overseas domains. As we observed in the previous chapter, there are clear signs that the Spanish courts of the new world had an advanced and prosperous cultural life, with elements that progressively assumed a specific identity, autonomous from its Spanish origin. The American paintings of the colonies, as well as the exuberant baroque architecture and decoration, are clear examples of the cultural vivacity of the New World Spaniard society, as we briefly mentioned it in the previous chapters of this study.

Apparently, however, access to the direct sources related to courtly life in the New World is particularly difficult to access compared to the documentation available on the religious life and culture. In essence, there is a general lack of studies on the secular music in the colony, as the result of a reduced corpus of original documents that could be partly due to a certain reticence that was typical of the Spanish government in America in leaving the sources of government recorded. It was a tendency of imperial Spain for a long time, perhaps even until the dissolution of the empire and the conquest of the independence of the overseas lands, that the Spanish government maintained a system of strong cultural closure with

[31] See for example, among others, to the *Codigo Martinez Compañon*, the *Codex Zuola*, the music preserved in the Musical Archive of Chiquitos (Santa Ana y San Rafael de Chiquitos, Bolivia) and in the Archive of the Cathedral of Puebla (Mexico).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F.149


F.161

Figure 34. Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujandas, Bishop of Trujillo, Peru(1737–1797). Unknown author, ca. 1790.

respect to the entry and exit of information relating to the government of the colonial territories. This was probably largely due to the fear that other countries and cultures might have more information about Spain's American domains and, to an equal extent, to the fear that new enlightened ideas might in some way question the Spanish system of government in its colonies. It is a fact that, from our point of view, one must assume the existence of a rich and advanced secular music, somehow comparable in complexity and originality to the other forms of cultural expression of the colony, but the access to direct information about these sources proven to be an insurmountable task, at least through the electronic information system available in the net.

Considering the capacity of the outpost music, and in a certain measure also of the formal liturgic music, to incorporate elements of the native cultures, it is evident that the secular music, less tied to rigid patterns of style and representation, must have enjoyed greater freedom for this incorporation — both at organological and stylistic levels —, thus contributing at defining in a sharper form its own autono-

Left, figure 33. Aspects of the musical life in XVIII century Peru. From the Martínez Compañón Codex, also known as the "Codex Trujillo del Perú", composed in 1782–1785 by Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón, Bishop of Trujillo. Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real.

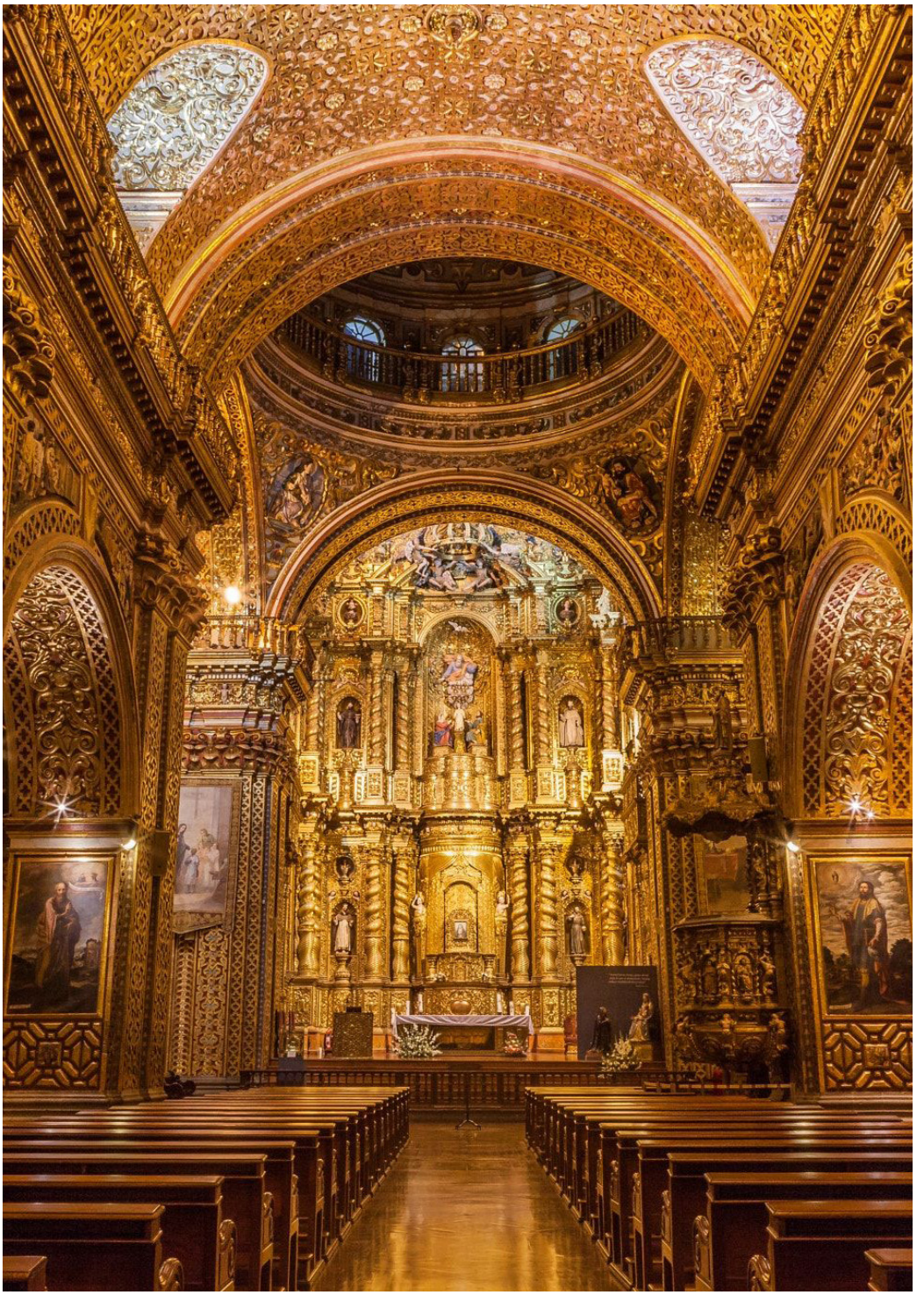

Figure 35. Interior of the Jesuit church of San Francisco in Quito, Ecuador. The intricate decorations are covered in true gold.

Figure 36. Façade of the Zacatecas cathedral, Mexico.

mous characteristics. We still hope that new, unpublished documents could shed light on the non-religious music of the American colonies, but this will probably require a direct analysis of the sources on site, through direct visits and searches in the archives of the great capitals of the Spanish empire; this goes beyond the purposes set out for this study.

Music in the American cathedrals

The very opulence of the American metropolitan cathedrals must be interpreted not only as an effort by the Catholic Church to show its religious and secular power to the new American societies but also as a political show of power and a symbol of the economic competition between the different cities of the American colonies. The tender for the construction of the most beautiful catholic temples in the New World was probably a phenomenon analogous to that already happened in the European capitals of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period, when the aristocratic families that governed the different centres of power in Europe competed, among other things, also in the magnificence, richness and beauty of the cathedrals built in their domains.

In the first fifty years after Columbus' finding of the overseas territories, ten architectonical relevant Spanish cathedrals had already been built in Santo Domingo, Panama, Jamaica, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, Honduras, Peru, and Ecuador.

The extraordinary flowering of the colonial Baroque style, with its hyper-decorative models where all the available space was filled with ornaments, is a clear testimony of an interest that transcended those strictly religious. The sumptuous and extensive decorations in pure gold of the Quito cathedral cannot be interpreted exclusively as an attempt to exalt the love for God, but also as a bold statement about the wealth and power of the new dominant classes.

But the splendour of the great houses of the Christian God in the New World could not be limited to the grandeur of architecture, the harmony of proportions, the nobility of materials or the sophisticated, hyperbolic exuberance of decorative elements. American cathedrals had to resound with heavenly music.

The incorporation of the "cultured" musical components into the liturgical system and, more generally, into the representative pomp of religious activities and ecclesiastical ceremonies, was not an immediate process. For a few decades, colonial cathedrals had to settle for a mixture of musical "intentions" of European origin and performances carried out by *criollo* apprentices, sometimes in a substantial measure. It was only thirty-five years after the Colombian "discovery" that the spiritual power of the colony — and probably also the temporal one — could justify the need and find the resources to contract trained clergy musicians from the mother country. Juan de Alcalá was, in 1530, the first official organist appointed in the American continent, where he served in the Mexico cathedral. In 1537, the *maestro de capilla* Juan Pérez Materano (?–1561) was appointed by the Spanish court to occupy the position of director of the choir of the cathedral of Mexico, the capital of the kingdom of Nueva España. Passing through Cartagena de las Indias along his itinerary, he was convinced by the Cabildo of the city to stay there as a musician. His place in Mexico was taken in 1538 by the precentor Cristobal de Pedraza, who travelled from Seville with eight priests to serve in the choir of the cathedral.[32] As to Pérez Materano, after becoming cleric and eventually, since 1554, dean of the metropolitan cathedral of Cartagena, he never left Nueva Granada, where he died in 1561.[33] In 1554 he was the author of the *Libro de canto de órgano y canto llano*[34] - probably the first theoric book of music written in American soil -, to which a *cedula regia*[35] granted a licence to be published in 1599.

[32] Tess Knighton (ed.), *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*. Leiden: Brill, 2016, p. 350.

[33] Juan Friede, "El primer libro colombiano," *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico* vol. 4, no. 12 (1961), p. 1181.

[34] Juan Pérez Materano, *Libro de canto de órgano y canto llano (1554)*, Catedral de Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, cited in María Gembero-Ustárroz, "Pérez Materano, Juan", Books of Hispanic Polyphony, ed. E. Ros-Fábregas, CSIC, Institució Milà i Fontanals, Barcelona.

[35] Real cédula otorgando a don Juan Pérez Materano, deán de la iglesia Catedral de la ciudad de Cartagena de Indias, el derecho exclusivo... Valladolid, 11 Aug. 1557. Archivo General de Indias.

Figure 37. The cathedral of Cartagena de Indias, home of the first ***maestro de capilla*** in the New World.

The establishment of a real music chapel is also late in the process. The *actas de erección*, at least until 1622,[36] contemplated, as only musical places, those of the *chantre*[37] and the organist.[38] It is very likely that this fact was due, at least in part, to the lack of funds available to the cathedrals, which were forced, when their incomes were too low, to rely on the *dos novenos* reales loaned by the king[39] or to the *capellanías*, sums of money that the devotees granted to religious institutions, in exchange for masses celebrated in their memory. It was thanks to the latter in particular that cathedrals could afford to pay singers and musicians, thus expanding what would become the cathedrals' musical chapels.[40]

The newborn musical chapels of the New World were composed of singers of all ages and vocal registers (low-pitched voices were much sought after, as they were

[36] The only exception is the cathedral of Buenos Aires (1622), probably because of the construction later in time than the first "wave" of Latin American cathedrals.

[37] "Ancestor" of the maestro di cappella, responsible for the composition of songs for religious liturgies and in charge of musical teaching.

[38] Alejandro Vera Aguilera, "Música en Hispanoamérica durante el siglo XVII," in *Historia de la musica en España e Hispano América - La musica en el siglo XVII*, vol. 3, 8 vols. (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016), p. 645.

[39] With the institution of the royal patronage, the king had the right to appoint the main charges of the cathedrals and to collect a part of the rents of the cathedral itself, the two royal ninths (the entire amount of the rents was divided in half: a fourth ended up in the hands of the bishop and the other in those of the ecclesiastical chapter; the rest was divided into nine parts, two of which were destined for the Crown).

[40] Vera Aguilera A., "Música en Hispanoamérica durante el siglo XVII", op. cit., p. 645-648.

Figure 38. Painting of the different castas in the hispanic New World.

uncommon among the natives) and of musicians of all sorts of instruments — harpists, organists, cornetists, dulcian players. All of them, with the exception of the organists, were part of the so-called *ministriles*, groups of musicians already existing in the old world, contracted by religious institutions to complete the instrumental staff during religious celebrations. The main characteristic of the *ministriles* of both the old and the new world was the social — and ethnic — differentiation, as far as Latin America is concerned, with respect to the religious members of the musical chapels: the musicians tended to be of low social extraction and, in Latin America, they were, moreover, natives, negroes and mulattos.[41]

It was only in the early XVIII century that the musical chapels themselves began to function, made up of 30/40 members including violinists, *violone* players, double bassists, harpists, flutists and trumpeters. The transition from the *ministriles* groups of the previous century had already started in early 1701 when Father Anton Sepp, a German Jesuit, introduced the teaching of the violin, thus expanding the musical and stylistic possibilities of the cathedral and missionary musical chapels.[42]

Music in the American courts and cities

Keeping in mind the premise made in the previous chapters, concerning the state of the arts in the old world, it seems logical to think that, upon their arrival in the new world, the Spanish authorities, but also the settlers of all social backgrounds, accustomed to such splendour, felt a deep nostalgia for the atmosphere — smells, natural and urban landscapes, sounds — of their native land. All this formed part of an identity that they tried at all costs to preserve on American soil, especially to distinguish themselves from an élite criolla that, with increasing insistence, tried to rise to the heights of viceroys and governors arriving from Spain. It is not strange, therefore, that many prominent personalities travelled with musicians and singers in their entourage, to be able to keep close the memory of the sounds heard in the motherland.

Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to trace the documentation of private homes because, unlike in the religious sphere, they were not obliged to account to anybody for their activities and their trade. There is little information about expeditions of nobles of which we are aware. We know, for example, of the Viceroy Count of Lemos who, on his journey to the New World in 1667, brought to his retinue Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco (chapel master of the cathedral of Lima since 1676), very well-known nowadays in the musical field thanks, among other things,

[41] The use of indigenous people inside the musical chapels was particularly in fashion given the savings that followed: many of these natives were yanaconas (they had to contribute free of charge with some services in order to be exempt from paying taxes).

[42] Leonardo Waisman, "La musica en la America española," in *Historia de la música en España e Hispano América*, 1st ed., vol. 4, 8 vols. (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2014), p. 560.

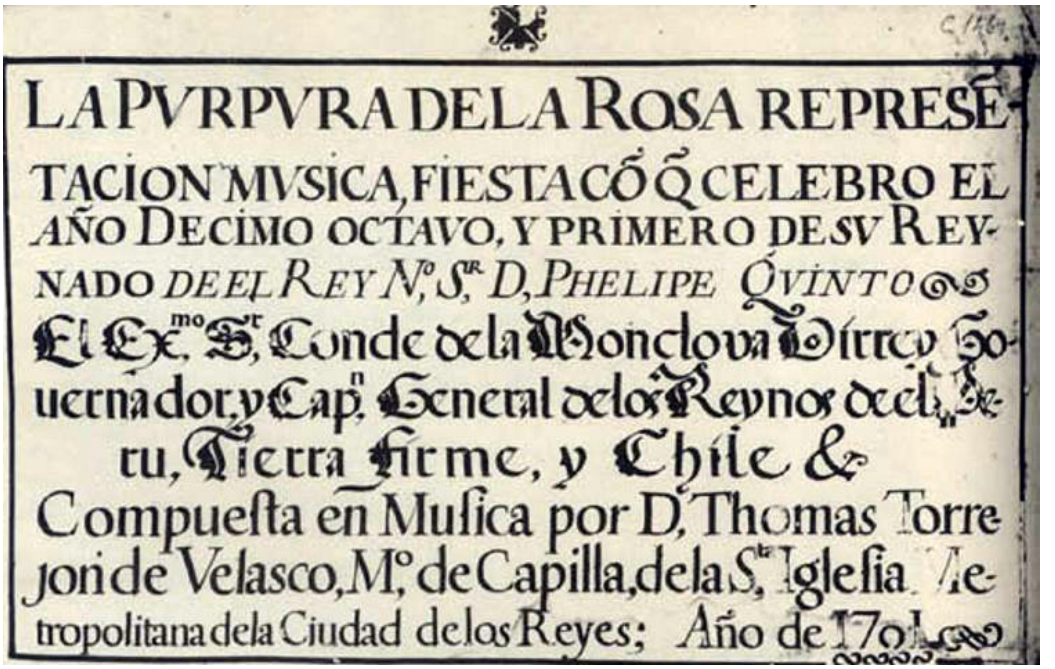
LA PVRPVRA DE LA ROSA REPRESE-
TACION MVSICA, FIESTA CÕ Q CELEBRO EL
AÑO DECIMO OCTAVO, Y PRIMERO DE SV REY-
NADO DE EL REY Nº S.R D. PHELIPE QVINTO
El Exmo Sr Conde de la Monclova Virrey Go-
uernador y Capn General de los Reynos de el Pe-
rv, Tierra firme, y Chile &
Compuesta en Musica por D. Thomas Torre-
jon de Velasco, Mº de Capilla, de la S.ta Iglesia Me-
tropolitana de la Ciudad de los Reyes; Año de 1701

Figure 39. The *Púrpura de la rosa* score frontispiece, composed by Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco to a libretto by Calderón.

o the numerous preserved villancicos, and Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, less known but interesting for this research, as will be seen later. However, almost no trace of the musical activity that took place in the great houses of the aristocracy remains. The Count of Lemos and his successor, the viceroy Count of Monclova, despite their being prominent figures in the Spanish-American world of the time, have not left any documentation that speaks of the important musical activity that was to take place at the time in their homes. Their name was passed on to posterity only thanks to Torrejón de Velasco (the Count of Lemos for having introduced him to the New World and the Count of Monclova for having commissioned the opera *La púrpura de la rosa*, to a libretto by Calderón).

Unlike the XVI and XVII centuries, the XVIII century provides much more information about the musical environment other than the ecclesiastical one. In line with the new political idea, tending towards the European Enlightenment, there was an increase in the opportunities for participation in operas of the cultured theatre, on the other hand repressing the *coloquios*, small comedies with music at the end of which dances were performed, since they were the activities of the natives and the *castas*.[43]

[43] This enlightened mentality, imported from Europe, wanted to modernise and acculturate society, but at the same time it ennobled the need for order and denigrated the festive idleness typical of the popular sectors (*carnavales* relegated to the suburbs, the *jamaicas* - popular dances performed in private houses - are forbidden by the viceroys).

Figure 40. The antique cathedral of Lima (photographed before the disastrous heartquake), where Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco was chapel master since 1676.

As previously mentioned, the century opened with the premiere of *La púrpura de la rosa*, in the viceroy palace of Lima in 1701, followed by *El mejor escudo de Perseo* (1708) and *La Partenope* by Manuel de Sumaya (1711).[44] The world of theatre thus began to take its place within colonial society, especially in its function of moral and civic education,[45] and to endeavour to improve the quality of the show, by calling famous actors, singers and musicians from Spain[46] (although the best of them tended to switch to the musical chapels, attracted by better working conditions).

The significant growth of semi-public opportunities to make music, comparable to the European "living rooms", also dates back to this period.[47] According to historical sources, the best evenings were those offered by the viceroys of New Spain

[44] Of none of these works, with the exception of the *Púrpura de la rosa*, the score has survived to the present day.

[45] Due to its educational function, there are several regulations that regulate to the smallest detail the management and behaviour of comedians, musicians and the public.

[46] "[…]Verás como es diferente / de este nuestro coliseo [de Mexico], / que toda la compañía / se compone de europeos. // Pues de España conducidos / sólo a costa de dinero, / reluce la habilidad, / resplandece el lucimiento.[…]". Simon Ayanque, *Lima Por Dentro y Por Fuera* (Valladolid: Maxtor Editorial, 2012).

[47] The concept of public concert with entrance to be paid for had not yet been introduced.

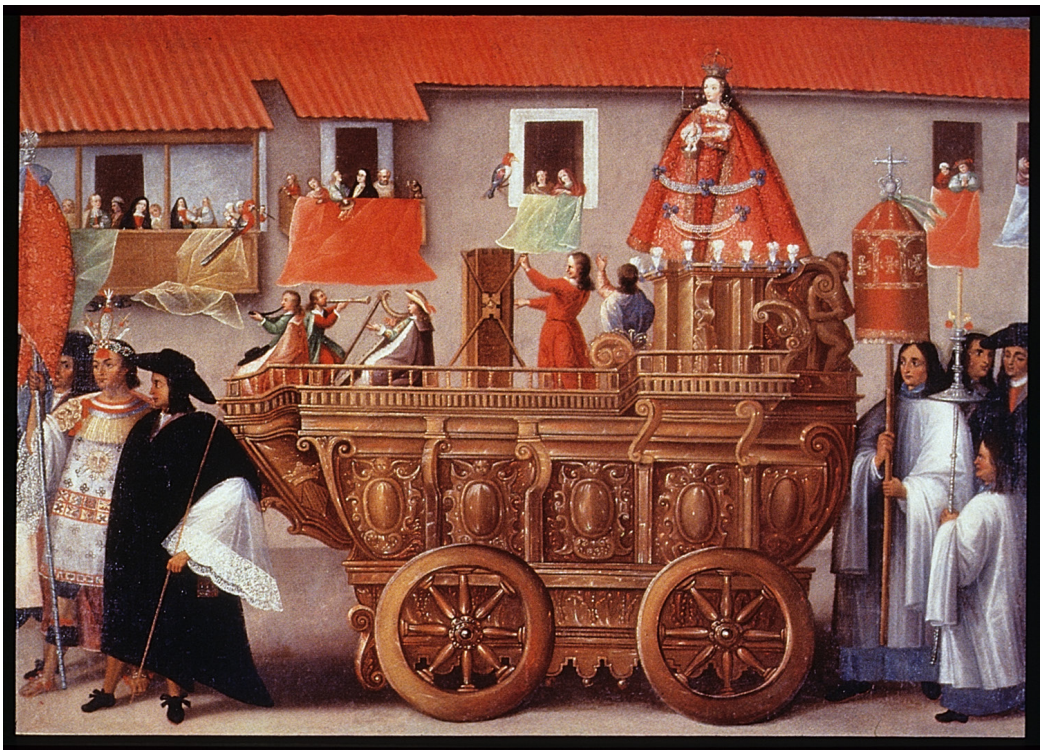

Figure 41. Procession of the Corpus Christi in Cuzco, Peru. Anonymous author, 1680.

and Peru in their respective palaces, where the best musicians of the city were hired, including those of the cathedral's music chapel and the master of the chapel itself. But not only were the viceroy's palaces entertained by the best music, both European and local/autochthonous, of the time, but also the noble palaces and those of the upper-middle class. It is very likely, moreover, that "cultured" music was not limited only to the palaces of wealthy people, but that public meetings and evenings, in general, were accompanied by the sound of symphonies and chamber music of composers such as Boccherini, Clementi, Dittersdorf, Gossec, Haydn, Mozart,[48] although, unfortunately, we have no sources to confirm it.

Music in the outposts of the Catholicism

With the arrival of the conquistadors, and with them the first settlers, it became indispensable, among other things, the need to create an ecclesiastical system that emulated that of the distant motherland. Already the first expeditions, in fact, partly for this purpose and partly for the spiritual care of the settlers and soldiers, were

[48] In 1801 a merchant from Mexico City had for sale symphonies of these composers, as well as chamber compositions of these and other composers, both European and novohispanic. Waisman L., "La musica en la America española", op. cit., p. 639.

Figure 42. The mission of Santa Cruz, Bolivia.

accompanied by chaplains, charged with celebrating mass and bringing spiritual relief to those who had just left their homeland.

For the first time in the history of the Papacy, at this time of great territorial discoveries, the patronage law was introduced, which, in a heritage of the Arab world, tended towards the almost indissoluble unification of temporal and spiritual powers. The Kings, and by their hand also the conquerors, had the right, economic and political, on the new conquered lands, but they also had the duty of the "propagation of the Faith" among the newly discovered populations.[49]

An incredible need for evangelising fathers was therefore created since the above-mentioned chaplains were in a decidedly small number to be able to carry out this task also.[50] Thus, as soon as the first news from the new lands reaches the old world, a small group of Franciscan fathers will ask Charles V, through Father de Gante (his close relative), to be able to go to the new world to take charge of the approach to the Christian faith of the indigenous peoples.

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[49] Enrique Dussel, *Historia de la iglesia en América Latina : medio milenio de coloniaje y liberación (1492-1992)*, 6th ed. (Madrid, Spain: Mundo Negro-Esquila Misional, 1967), http://bibliotecavirtual.clacso.org.ar/clacso/otros/20120215100901/iglesia.pdf, pp. 80-81.

[50] Robert Stevenson, *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), p. 155.

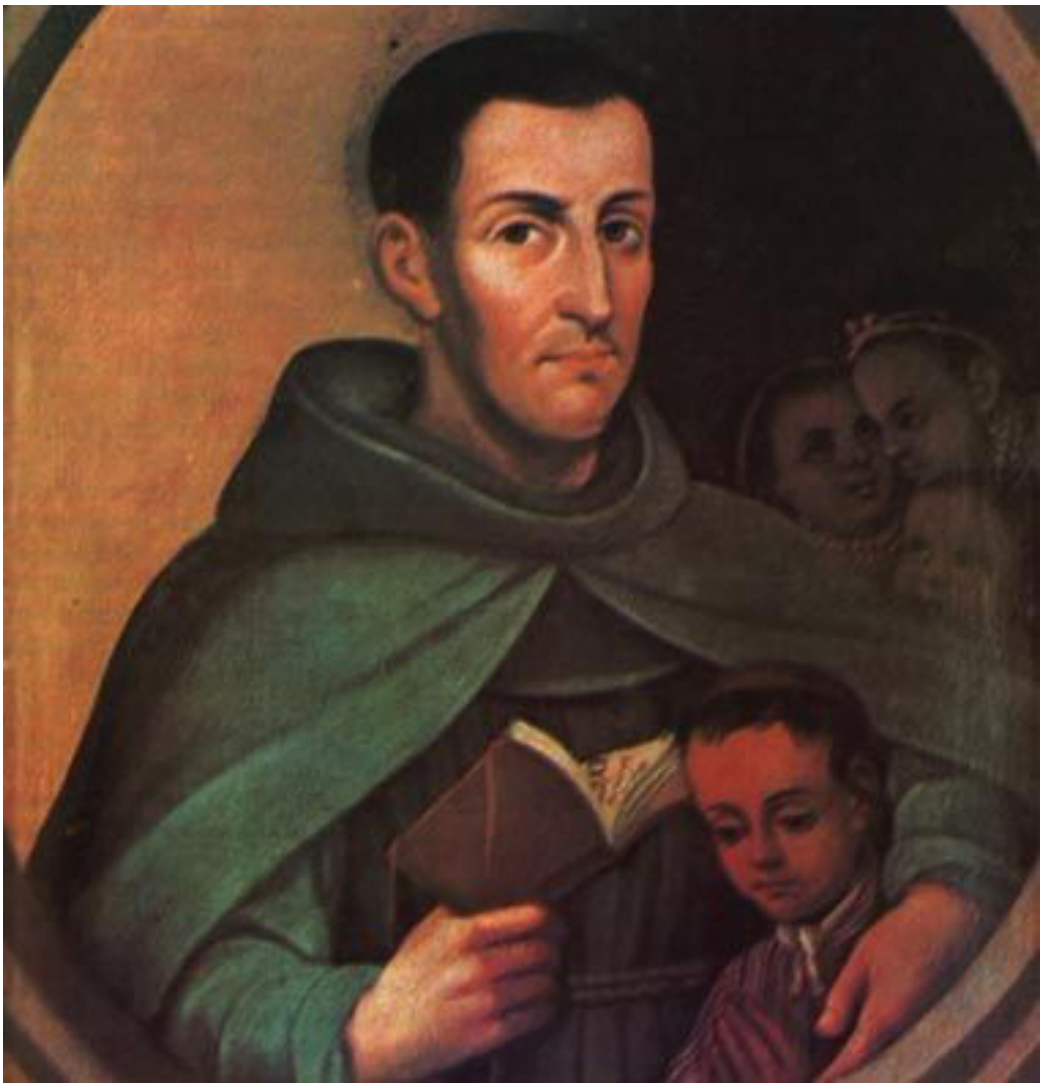

Figure 43. The Franciscan missionary Fray Pieter van der Moere, also known as Fray Pedro de Gante or Pedro de Mura (ca. 1480–1572).

When they arrived in 1524, it became immediately clear that there was a need to get closer to the local culture, in order to fulfil the task of bringing the latter closer to that of the invaders, and what better method, if not to learn the language? The three Franciscans, after having learned the local language (the nahuatl), were granted the use of some spaces in the palaces of Texcoco (Mexico) where they opened the first European school in the new world, soon followed by that of San José de los Naturales (Mexico City).

> But for the grace of God I began to know them [Indians] and understand their condition and their value, and how they should be treated, since all their praise to their gods was to sing and dance in front of them, because when they had to sacrifice some

Figure 44. Pedro de Gante's cathechism manuscript.

victims for any given reason or to obtain victory from their enemies or temporal needs, before killing them they had to sing in front of their idol. And since I saw this and that all their songs were dedicated to their gods, I composed very solemn verses about God's law, faith, how God was made man to save humanity, and how He was born from the Virgin Mary, remaining pure and undefiled. All this in more or less two months before the Nativity of Christ, and I also gave them cattle skins to paint as capes to dance in, as they used to do, since, fitting the dances and songs [cantares] they performed, they dressed in happy, mourning or victory attire. And then when Christmas was approaching, I called all the people from twenty miles around Mexico to come to the feast of the birth of Christ our Redeemer, and when they came there were so many people that they did not fit in the courtyard, although it is very large, and each province had made its own tent where they received the main people, and some came from seven or eight leagues away, sick people in hammocks, and others came from six and ten leagues away by water, and they listened on Christmas Eve to the angels singing: 'Today the Redeemer is born to the world'.[51]

[51] From the fifth letter of Friar Pedro de Gante to King Philip II: Carta de Fr. Pedro de Gante al Rey D. Felipe II. De San Francisco de México junio 23 de 1558. Emilio Ros-Fábregas, "'Imagine All the People...': Polyphonic Flowers in the Hands and Voices of Indians in 16th-Century Mexico," *Early Music*, Vol. XL, no. 2 (May 2012), pp. 177-179, and Ernesto Torre Villar, "Fray Pedro de Gante, Maestro y Civilizador de America," *Estudios de Historia Novoispana* 5, no. 5 (1974): 1–81, http://dx.doi.org/10.22201/iih.24486922e.1974.005.3252, p. 4.

Figure 45. Frieze with angels playing music. Jesuitic mission of Trinidad.

The method which Father de Gante employed in the evangelization of the natives, and then spread to the great majority of the missions of the New World, was based on the association, already existing in the populations of the entire territory of the New World, between music and religious rites, as de Gente himself explained in his letter of 1558 to Philip II.[52] The work of the missionary was made easier, it was sufficient to write new texts (in the native language) to associate them with the melodies already in use so that the association of their music with the "old" divinities could be "broken", theoretically eradicating paganism in the process

This approach proved so effective that even the Jesuits, since their arrival in the New World, adopted it within their native *reducciones*. Upon their arrival in the mid-1940s, the *Real Cédula* (1545) initiated the creation of indigenous communities — "administrative" units designed to simplify tax collection and to ensure concentrations of easily available manpower, but also to accelerate the process of physical control and acculturation of the newly subjugated populations. Christian

[52] In Stevenson R., Music in Aztec & Inca Territory, op. cit., p. 92, the letter is dated 23 June 1557.

preaching, and Christian songs, were powerful instruments in the hands of the Jesuits to create their own *reducciones* and to develop their own political, economic and cultural system. "Isolated populations" were more easily managed "so that their way of life may be removed from the vileness and meagre nature of their natural and ancient way of life; thus they will be taught how to be good spouses and know how to manage their estates and raise and marry their children".[53]

Under the government of the *reductions* by the Jesuits, American indigenous people learned how to become good Christians in a place where the laws and norms of the Catholic Church eventually prevailed. So vast and so powerful were these Jesuit reducciones, particularly that of Chiquitos and that of Moxos (or Mojos) — both in the territory of present-day Bolivia — that they managed to build an independent and self-sufficient state, where the natives could devote themselves to divine worship, crafts, agriculture and music, being as far away as possible from the "bad" influence of the Spanish settlers.

After the establishment of a church, the first task of the missionary in founding a new village, thanks also to the Synod of Trujillo in 1623, was to establish a school that would teach the children of the *caciques*,[54] and other prominent figures and their children, to read and write in Latin, Spanish and the local language, as well as, of course, to play and sing.[55]

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[53] "[…] poblaciones distintas y apartadas, para que su modo de vivir sea muy fuera de la vileza y poquedad de su natural y antiguo modo de vivir; y así se les enseñarán cómo han de ser buenos casados y saber regir sus haciendas y criar y casar sus hijos […]". Manuel Ruiz, "Espíritu misional de la Compañía de Jesus," in La misión y los jesuitas en la América española, 1566-1767: cambios y permanencias (Sevilla, Spain: CSIC. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005), p.24. From Astrain, *Historia de la compañía de Jesus en la Asistencia de España*, t. 2, Madrid 1905, p. 144-145.

[54] "[…] que haya escuela de canto y musica para el servicio y adorno de las iglesias […]. From Vera Aguilera A., "*Música en Hispanoamérica durante el siglo XVII*", op. cit., p. 676;

[55] Throughout the work of evangelization of the New World one can see a close relationship between music and alphabetization as both were considered, by the Spanish and the inhabitants of the Old World, as a symbol of "civilization".

Chapter 4.
The Old-World composers

Previous page, figure 46. Francisco Serrano, La huida de Egipto (The flight from Egypt), 1663. Detail with instruments. Iglesia de Tinta, Cuzco.

"[…] el harpa (en lo politico) el mas adecuado Simbolo de una Monarquía, y su acorde consonancia, descripción de un Reynado feliz, quando al acertado impulso de la mano que le rige, cada cuerda suena, según el temple que la determina [...]"

Diego Fernandez de Huete, *Compendio numeroso de zifras armónicas* (Madrid: Imprenta de Musica, 1702).[56]

Music in Spain, and especially Spanish music, lived in the second half of the XV century a period of extraordinary fervor. If the complex information transmitted by the documentary sources is mainly relating to the sacred music and the music of the great aristocratic courts, it is however certain that music must have had an increasing importance also in the daily life of pre-imperial Spain. It is no coincidence that, in 1498, when the king and queen of Castile authorized the shipment of some music and musical instruments to the New World, these were not primarily aimed to triumphantly celebrate the arrival in the new lands of the Admiral of the sea Ocean, Christopher Columbus, nor to resonate in religious liturgies, but rather were expressly conceived "as a pastime"[57] to accompany and delight the conquerors.

The repertoire of this popular music in the Spain of the Catholic kings has been handed down only fragmentarily, and this, as we have seen in the previous chapters, prevents us all the more from visualizing its modes and contents once it was transferred to the new American lands, first with the discoverers and later with the new settlers.

Fortunately, however, the direct documents relating to the music, as well as the indirect ones relating to the customs of Ferdinand and Isabella's Spain, allow us to get a rather clear picture of the music, its functions and its artistic and organological components, as well as of many of the emerging figures in the Spanish musical scene of the last quarter of the XV century, on the eve of the discovery a new continent. We have already had the opportunity to observe, however imperfectly, how Spanish music in America was fundamentally organized in two large currents, to a large extent independent from one another: one — sacred music — that followed the path of development of the great cathedrals and the outposts of the catholic faith in the evangelizing missions, and the other that was being organized around the

[56] "[…] the harp (in the political) the most adequate Symbol of a Monarchy, and its consonance, description of a happy Reign, when to the right impulse of the hand that governs it, each string sounds, according to the temple that determines it […]". Diego Fernandez de Huete, *Compendio numeroso de zifras armonicas, con theorica, y practica, para Harpa de una orden, de dos ordenes y de Organo*, 1st ed., vol. 1, 3 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta de Musica, 1702), p. 1.

[57] The Catholic Monarchs to Admiral Christopher Columbus. Instruction for the good government of the people of the Indies, (June 15, 1497).

new American courts, secular music of which in the New World little information has unfortunately been kept. America inherits this bipartition from the Spanish scenario from which it derives directly.

Although in theory and on paper, and to some extent also in practice, religious music and secular music from Renaissance Spain are two separate "disciplines", what made them permeable was the "hybridization" made possible by the most gifted among the "chapel masters", whose services were appreciated — often at the same time — both in the choirs of the large metropolitan churches and in the private apartments of the most prominent aristocratic families. Since their foundation in the fourteenth century, the chapels of the great lords — and in particular those of kings and pontiffs — performed an essential function as centers for the avant-garde music, so sacred as profane, since their singers, who were often also excellent composers, practiced both "disciplines". Although we have no documentary evidence, this hybridization of musical functions must certainly have been even more prominent in the Spanish-American domains, where the reduced number of formally trained "masters" had to favor the application of their skills and style in all the areas required by the official musical activities in the new Vice-kingdoms and their cathedrals. Thanks to the manor chapels, from the beginning of the fourteenth century the court musicians had to become experienced composers and cultists of both repertoires, sacred and profane, to fulfill the many functions that music played within the life of the great lords. If, on the one hand, the chapel singers intervened in the liturgical services, on the other, they were also in charge of interpreting the vogues of polyphonic lyrical repertoire, whether at parties or in private, as it is well illustrated by the presence of Juan de Anchieta (chaplain at Granada Cathedral) and some chapel boys in the chamber of Prince Don Juan, who liked to join their voice to his during the summer meetings if the court.[58]

At least until the end of the XV century, it is likely that the figure of the professional musician necessarily included knowledge and skills of both fields, liturgical and courteous, and the documented cases of Masters around the court of the Catholic Monarchs who carried out their activities both in the manor chapels and in the choirs of the cathedrals, are not uncommon.[59]

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[58] Maricarmen Gómez, "El Renacer Del Repertorio Lírico Español," in *Historia de La Música En España e Hispano América - De Los Reyes Catolicos a Felipe II*, vol. 2. (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2012), p. 33.

[59] For instance, mention, among others Pedro de Escobar who was hired as a cantor and composer at Isabel's chapel in 1489, and since 1507 he also assumed the charge of Chapel Master at the Cathedral of Sevilla. Among the conserved works of Escobar are two *missae*, several motets, antiphons, hymns, and almost twenty *villancicos*.

Francisco de Peñalosa (1470?-1528) also worked in both environments. On the one hand he worked for Ferdinand the Catholic's chapel from 1498 until the death of the King in 1516. From 1511, he was the personal master of music of Ferdinand I of Hapsburg, the Infante of Spain. On the other hand he was appointed contemporarily, and on express request of the King, as the *canónigo* of the Cathedral of Sevilla, a charge that he maintained since 1513 until his Italian journey (1517-1521), where he worked for the Chapel of Pope Leon X. One of the most acclaimed composers of his generation, Peñalosa left seven *misas* (six of which complete) and a large number of motets, magnificats, hymns, and *lamentaciones*.

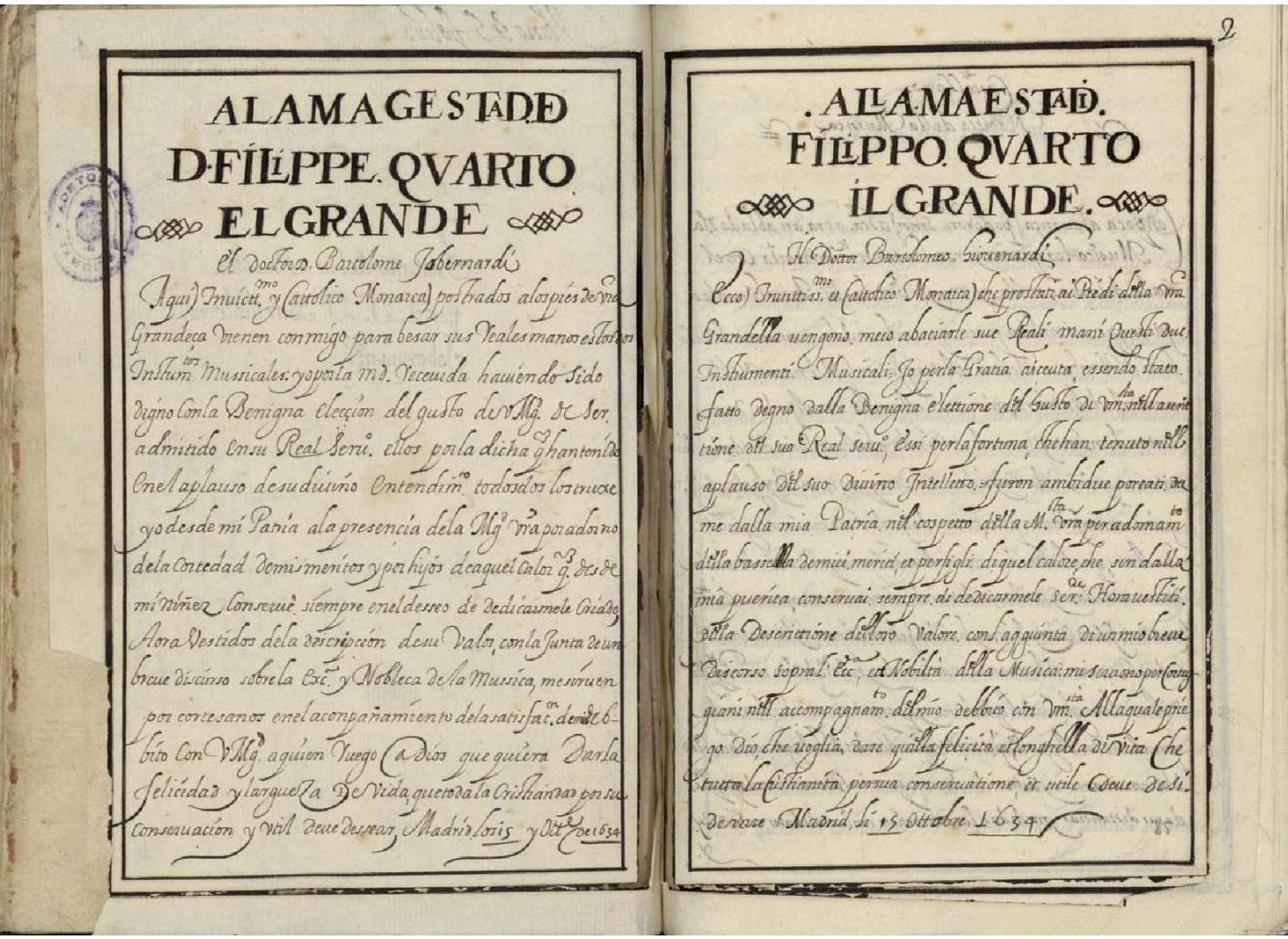

Figure 47. Bartolomeo Giobenardi (Jobenardi), *Tratado de la Música*, 1634. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 8931, fol. 2r.

The prodigious development of Spanish secular music of the late XV century is merely a reflection of the expansionist aims — both territorial and cultural — of the Catholic kings. The reconquest of the southern regions of the Iberian Peninsula, after centuries of Arab domination, culminating with the capitulation of Granada in 1491, always offered new opportunities for triumphal entries of Fernando and Isabella in the new liberated territories, accompanied by a growing ostentation of instruments a fiato, "*bastardas e clarines e trompetas italianas e cheremías e sacabuches e dulçainas*",[60] that underline the dignity of the sovereign

[60] Tess Knighton, *Música y músicos en la Corte de Fernando el Católico, 1474-1516* (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 2002), p. 151.

Figure 48. Denis van Alsloot Celebration of the Ommegang in Brussels: the procession of Our Lady of the Sablon (1616). Madrid, Museo del Prado.

couple. Not only for the "general public" of the parades and city triumphs, but also for the more restricted and selected one of the aristocratic courtly environment, music becomes an instrument of representation of prestige, which accompanies the most beautiful names of Spain in all their movements, both for reasons of war and peace. As Maricarmen Gómez points out,[61] the chapel, with its masters and singers, becomes a tool to project the image of the monarch — or of the powerful aristocrat — into the land of the sacred. The number and quality of the royal singers increases in parallel with the prestige of the sovereigns. In the Queen's Chapel, the singers tripled in fifteen years (1490–1504), in that of King Fernando they go from ten to fifteen in ten years. At the death of the queen, the king will incorporate some of the singers of Isabel into his own chapel, and at the end of his reign almost forty singers will serve the music of the king.[62] Interestingly, all these masters were Spanish.

[61] Maricarmen Gómez, "El Renacer Del Repertorio Lírico Español," op. cit., pp. 33-34.

[62] *Ibidem*, p. 34. Within the Spanish court at the time each member of the royal family owned their own musical chapel, with musicians and singers who belonged exclusively to them.

Under the aegis of the Catholic Monarchs, Spain begins — and to a certain extent completes — a project that is at the same time political, ethnic and cultural, aimed at defining a recognizable national identity, rooted in the values and symbols of Castile. The military expulsion of the Arabs from the peninsula, followed a little later by the political expulsion of the Jewish community from Spain, represents the tangible aspect of a Hispanic vision of the world that is reflected — in a less obvious way — in culture, the arts and music as well.

The music that will reach the New World at the end of the XV century is not only "of Spanish origin" but, rather, a characteristic expression of the Hispanic culture, as it was configured in the historical moment in which it was defining its own autonomous identity. Even if this analysis would go beyond the specific purposes of this study, it would be interesting to compare the musical repertoires and the organological ensembles that participated in the incipient American colonization in the area of Spanish influence with those influenced by the other European powers that set out to conquer the New world. It is easy to foresee that Ibero-American music had at most a reduced kinship with the "rest" of European music.

Courtly music

Regarding its identity in the field of secular music, XV-century Spain is still strongly anchored in the traditions of the *Ars antiqua*,[63] coming from medieval teachings and carried out with great fervor by Alfonso X the Wise who, during his reign, fostered a political sense of national unification, leading to a "spirit" and a sound easily identifiable as Spanish. Despite the attachment to medieval ways of making music, XV-century Spain was flooded with foreign currents of thought from England, France and Italy, corresponding to the *Ars nova*.

Relations with the other European powers of the time were particularly strong, especially those with France and Italy. It seems right, therefore, to assume that during the two centuries that lasted the Renaissance in Europe, the music of the various countries, among other things, has merged and mixed. Think, for example, of the case of the "twinning" with France - with the family relations between the Spanish and the French families of the Anjou and Burgundy - from which will come ballads, virelais and cancioneros to cheer the courts of Castile Aragon; or the political-territorial union with Italy, thanks to the Kingdom of Naples, which will bring with it a fusion of the Spanish villancicos with the Italian *frottole*.[64]

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[63] *Ars antiqua* refers to the first great Pythagorean school in Europe, the school of Notre-Dame, which gave rise to a first great experience of counterpoint, in opposition to the polyphonic movement that would emerge in the fourteenth century, the *Ars nova*.

[64] The term *madrigal* itself was, in Spain, a locative word, even before the Italians sang their *mandriali* – from Latin *mandria-mandrialis* in reference to the rustic and pastoral content, or from *matrix-matricalis*, "of mother tongue, dialectal".

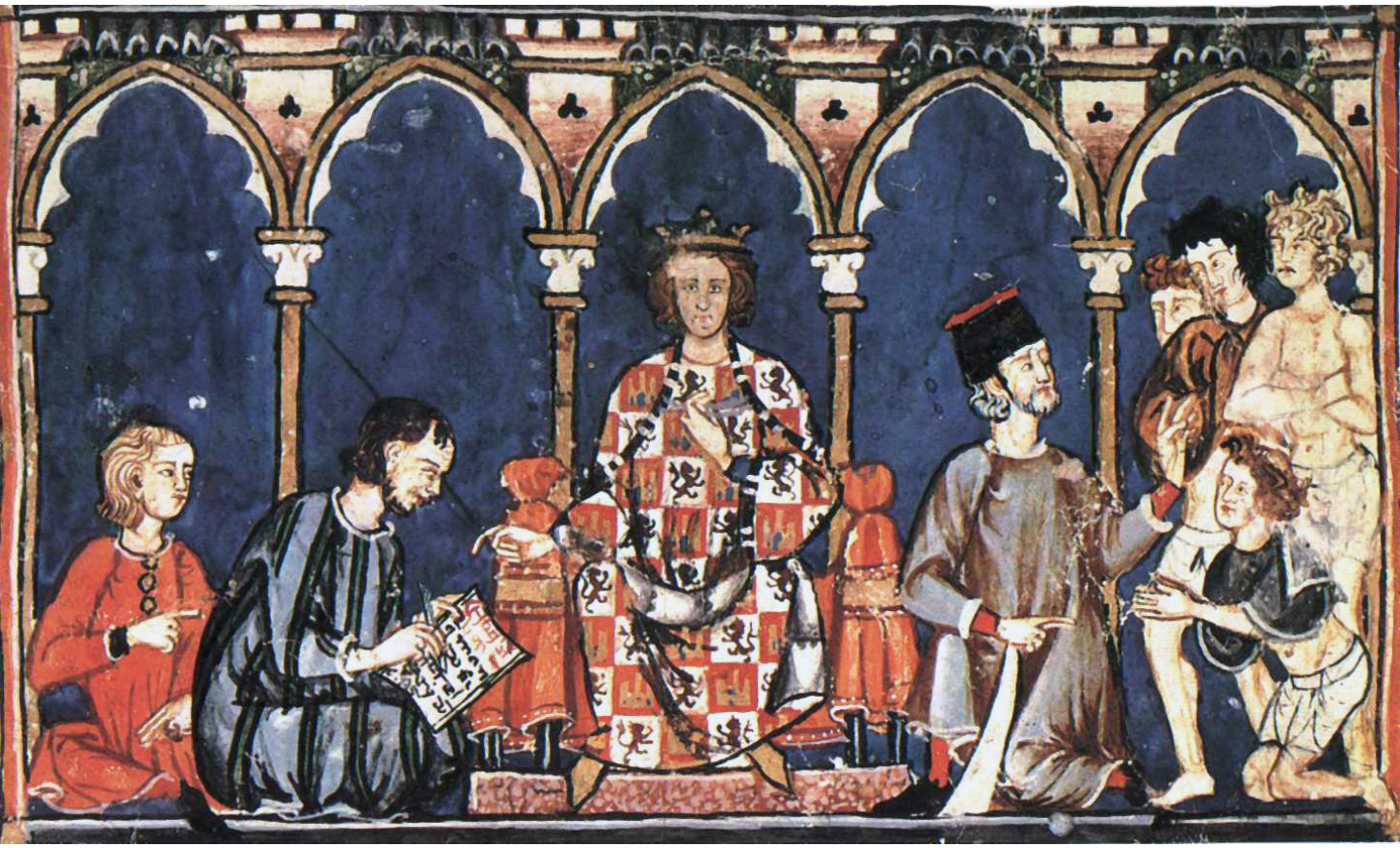

Figure 49. Alphonso X's ***Libro de los Juegos*** (Book of Games) or ***Libros del Axedrez, Dados et Tablas***, commissioned by the King of Leon and Castile. Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de el Escorial.

The XV century, until the first half of the XVI century, was also the period of development of the cancioneros — collections of *cantigas, serranillas, villancicos* — such as the *Cancionero de Palacio* (1490–1530),[65] the *Cancionero de la Colombina* (end of the 15th century),[66] the *Cancionero de Medinaceli* (mid-XVI century)[67] and the *Cancionero de Uppsala* (1500–1550).[68] In these *cancioneros* we find compositions by various authors but the composer Juan del Encina (1468–1529) stands out,[69] for quantity and quality.

[65] Preserved in the library of the Royal Palace of Madrid and containing 460 works by authors from the end of the XV century and the beginning of the XVI century.

[66] It derives its name from the fact that it was found in the library of Hernando Columbus, son of Christopher Columbus, in Seville.

[67] Otherwise known as *Cancionero musical de la casa de Medinaceli*. Collection of more than one hundred works, including songs and madrigals, by Spanish composers.

[68] So called because it was found in the library of that city. It is also known as *Cancionero del duque de Calabria*. It contains popular *villancicos* (especially on Christmas themes), *madrigals* and *canciones* of European composers.

[69] Most frequent composer in the *Cancionero de Palacio*, with his 61 compositions.

Juan del Encina was recognized first as a poet and playwright and then as a composer. After completing his studies at the University of Salamanca, — the same *alma mater* that formed Antonio de Nebrija — he became part of the choir of the cathedral of the same city, first as a *mozo* (1484) and then as a chaplain (1490). Although he has spent much of his life in ecclesiastical institutions, as far as we know he never composed anything related to the world of religious music.

With the writing of his *Cancionero* in 1496, containing the fundamental material of his literary production (eight eclogues, the translation of Virgil's Bucolics, as well as works in prose and rhyme), he was to establish himself as a leading figure in the Spanish literary world of the time. His being a man of letters made his villancicos and his vocal compositions spectacular, because the power of his music resided in the word and in its extraordinary spontaneity.[70]

As for the written material regarding vocal and instrumental music — both musical and theoretical — that has come down to the present day, it is impossible not to notice the enormous quantitative difference between the two. This does not mean, however, a lower technical level of instrumental musicians or a more occasional use of instrumental music,[71] but largely depends on the fact that the latter, as well as its technique, used to be transmitted orally, very rarely in formal treatises: after all improvisation, both direct and on pre-existing material (diminution), was extremely widespread.

Among the relatively reduced corpus of treatises aimed at formal teaching, it is important to remember the figure of Luis Milán, Spanish composer and *vihuelista*, composer of *El Maestro y las estrellas*,[72] the first book published in Spain dedicated to the teaching of a musical instrument and written in tablature. Published in Valencia in 1536, it does not contain adaptations of polyphonic vocal pieces, unlike other books for vihuela of the time, but original pieces, composed by Milán specifically for this instrument, including fantasies, *pavanas, tientos, villancicos*.

One of the most popular instruments at this time in Spain was the harp, as we have seen. Almost all of the treatises and music collections dedicated to this instrument in the history of Renaissance and Baroque music date back to this geographical region, and to the centuries examined in this research. In addition to being a fundamental instrument in the basso continuo, and therefore in all religious institutions, it was endowed with numerous technical and musical possibilities, which made it the prince, together with the organ and the *vihuela*, of instrumental music in the Renaissance period.

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[70] Cristina Urchueguía, "La colonización musical de Hispanoamérica," in *Historia de la música en España e Hispano América - De los reyes catolicos a Felipe II*, ed. Maricarmen Gómez, Fondo de Cultura Economica, vol. 2, 8 vols. (Madrid, 2012), p. 70.

[71] The first didactic treatises, as Silvestro Ganassi's *Fontegara* (1535) or Diego Ortiz's *Tratado de glosas* (1553), for recorder and viola da gamba respectively, dating back to this period, denote a very high technical and musical level.

[72] Its full title is *Libro de música de vihuela de mano intitulado El Maestro*.


ESCVELA MVSICA,
SEGVN LA PRACTICA MODERNA,
DIVIDIDA EN PRIMERA, Y SEGVNDA PARTE.
ESTA PRIMERA CONTIENE QVATRO LIBROS,
EL PRIMERO
TRATA DEL SONIDO ARMONICO, DE SVS divisiones, y de sus efectos.
EL SEGVNDO,
DEL CANTO LLANO, DE SV VSO EN LA Iglesia, y del provecho espiritual que produce.
EL TERCERO,
DEL CANTO DE ORGANO, Y DEL FIN, PORQVE se introduxo en la Iglesia, con otras advertencias necessarias.
EL QVARTO,
DE LAS PROPORCIONES QVE SE CONTRAEN DE sonido à sonido; de las que ha de llevar cada Instrumento Musico; y las observancias, que han de tener los Artifices de ellos.
SV AVTOR
EL PADRE Fr. PABLO NASSARRE, Organista del Real Convento de San Francisco de Zaragoza.
Y LO DEDICA SV PRELADO
AL ILVSTRISSIMO SEñOR
D. MANVEL PEREZ DE ARACIEL, Y RADA, ARZOBISPO DE ZARAGOZA, del Consejo de su Magestad, &c.
Con licencia: En Zaragoza: Por los Herederos de DIEGO de LARVMBE, Año 1724.

SEGVNDA PARTE
DE LA ESCVELA MVSICA,
QUE CONTIENE QUATRO LIBROS.
EL PRIMERO,
TRATA DE TODAS LAS ESPECIES, consonantes, y disonantes, de sus qualidades, y como se deven usar en la musica.
EL SEGVNDO,
DE VARIEDAD DE CONTRAPUNTOS, assi sobre Canto Llano, como de Canto de Organo, conciertos, sobre Baxo, sobre Tiple, à tres, à quatro, y à cinco.
EL TERCERO,
DE TODO GENERO DE COMPOSICION, à qualquier numero de vozes.
EL QVARTO,
TRATA DE LA GLOSSA, Y DE OTRAS advertencias necessarias à los Compositores.
COMPUESTO POR FRAY PABLO Nassarre, Organista en el Real Convento de San Francisco de Zaragoza.
Año 1723.
CON LICENCIA: EN ZARAGOZA:
Por los Herederos de MANVEL ROMAN, Impressor de la Vniversidad.

Figure 50. Frontispieces of Pablo Nassarre's *Escuela Música* (Saragoza, 1724) on the left, and of the second part of the same work (Saragoza, 1725) on the right.

There are not many treatises left, if one thinks about the totality of what was written at that time, but, given the scarcity of any other type of material regarding the harp in the rest of Europe, the little that remains is very valuable. Suffice it to say that, between the first treatise that talks about the harp of two orders and the last, in a span of exactly two centuries, as many as ten treatises, or music collections, have discussed, more or less extensively, this instrument.[73] Among them, there are different approaches through which the instrument is discussed. Some discuss extensively about its construction, as well as giving general instructions on tuning, transposition and accompaniment;[74] others are more pragmatically directed towards the "practice" of the instrument, including tablatures and technical instructions for playing;[75] others still refer of the harp only marginally, including it in their

[73] The first being Bermudo's *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (1555) and the last Minguet's *Reglas y advertencias generales* (1754).

[74] Pablo Nassarre's *Escuela Música*, published in 1724 but probably written before 1638, deals with the most disparate topics related to musical performance, technique and sound proportions tied to the construction of musical instruments. In this chapter it deals in detail with the construction of the harp, following these proportions.

[75] This is the case with treatises such as *Libro de cifra nueva para tecla, Arpa y Vihuela* (1557) by Luis Venegas de Henestrosa; *Obras de música para tecla, arpa y vihuela* (1578) by Antonio de Cabezón, posthumously


LVZ, Y NORTE
MVSICAL
PARA CAMINAR POR LAS
Cifras de la Guitarra Eſpañola, y
Arpa, tañer, y cantar á compás por
canto de Organo; y breue explicacion
del Arte, con preceptos faciles, indu-
bitables, y explicados con claras
reglas por teorica, y
practica.
COMPVESTO POR D. LVCAS RVIZ DE RIBAYAZ,
Presbitero, Prebendado de la Iglesia Colegial de Villafranca
del Bierço, y natural de Santa Maria de Ribarredonda,
Merindad de Bureba, Montañas de Burgos.
CONSAGRALE A LA REYNA DE LOS
Angeles MARIA Santiſsima de Curiñego,
Patrona de dicha Colegial.
CON PRIVILEGIO.
En Madrid: Por Melchor Alvarez. Año de 1677.

Figure 51. Frontespiece of Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz' *Luz y Norte Musical...* (Madrid, 1677).

sections of continuous bass methodology, in most cases together, with the organ and the baroque or vihuela guitar.[76]

The work of Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz deserves to be discussed in more detail. The full name of his treatise, *Luz y Norte Musical para caminar por las cifras de la guitarra española y arpa, tañer y cantar a compás por canto de órgano, y breve explicación del arte, con preceptos fáciles, indubitables y explicados con claras reglas por teórica y práctica*,[77] is already quite descriptive in itself. Apart from the fact that it

published by his son Hernando; *Luz y Norte musical* (1667) by Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, first printed publication of harp tablature; or the two volumes of the *Compendio numeroso de zifras* (1702-1704) by Diego Fernandez de Huete.

[76] Gaspar Sanz's *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española* (1674); Joseph de Torres' *Reglas generales de acompañar* (1702); Pablo Minguet's *Reglas y advertencias generales* (1754).

[77] "Musical Light and North to walk through the numbers of the Spanish guitar and harp, play and sing in time with the organ chant, and a brief explanation of the art, with easy precepts, indubitable and explained with clear rules by theory and practice".

is the first printed publication of harp tablature,[78] the work by Ruiz de Ribayaz is also a proof of the assiduous use of the harp in the New World. In the prologue he mentions his experience, useful in writing the book, saying that "[…] the world is great […] and that the Author has experience (because he has visited different kingdoms, remote provinces, and overseas) […]".[79] It should be remembered that, as already mentioned in the previous chapter, Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz was part of the retinue of the Count of Lemos, XVII viceroy of Peru, on his journey from Spain to Lima in 1667. It is therefore possible that, although he was mainly a guitarist, he wrote a treatise including the harp inspired by the fact that "[…] they do not know, nor practice, the aforementioned cifras, nor of any other kind: because even if they play, and sing, it is only by heart […]".[80]

Unlike the aforementioned *Luz y Norte musical*, a collection of pieces composed by other composers (of which, however, no names were conserved), the treatise by Diego Fernandez de Huete, *Compendio numeroso de zifras armónicas, con theorica y practica, para harpa de una orden, de dos ordenes, y de órgano*,[81] is entirely constituted of pieces composed by the author. In his treatise, as well as in that of Ribayaz, he will devote a large number of pages to the theoretical part of the approach to the instrument. In the fourteen chapters that make up the "instructions" to the musician, he will explain how to interpret the cifras, both on the harp with one order and on the harp with two, but also the difference in the execution of the same tablatures between the harp and the organ; of the signs of Flat and Sharp and of how to perform them on the harp with a single order, but also how to distinguish them in the harp with two orders of strings; how to "use" the fingers of the hand — one of the very few treatises that provides instructions on this point, as far as the harp is concerned — so as to facilitate execution.[82]

[78] In the prologue he explains the difficulties he encountered in the Court's printing presses with musical notation using *cifras* (=numbers, referring to the harp tablature), due to the unusual nature of such a print genre: "[…] *fue preciso traducir la cifra del Arpa, pues para imprimir de la otra suerte, era necesario hacer caracteres nuevos con diferentes matrizes, lo cual no se ha podido ajustar, porque no ha habido quien lo haga* […]".

[79] Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz y Norte Musical para caminar por las cifras de la guitarra española y arpa, tañer y cantar a compás por canto de órgano, y breve explicación del arte, con preceptos fáciles, indubitables y explicados con claras reglas por teórica y práctica*, (Madrid: Melchor Alvarez, 1677), http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000160002, from p. 1 of the *Prologue to the curious reader.*

[80] *Ibidem*.

[81] The entire work is divided, according to the author's prologue, into three volumes. Of these, only two have arrived today, published in 1702 and 1704. Both volumes that I have been able to find are, furthermore, divided into three "books". The subdivision of the first volume, containing secular pieces, is conceived to differentiate the compositions for beginners, intermediate and advanced players, respectively divided into the first, second and third book. The second volume, containing sacred compositions, also consists of three books: the first containing 26 *passacalles* demonstrating the Huete's 11-modes system; the second presents the modes in ascending and descending octaves; the third consists of psalm settings for one or more voices and harp (or organ).

[82] "Great care must be put in the good order of the fingers, because the facility for the execution and composure of the hands depends on it, and in those who pay little attention to this, it is extremely difficult

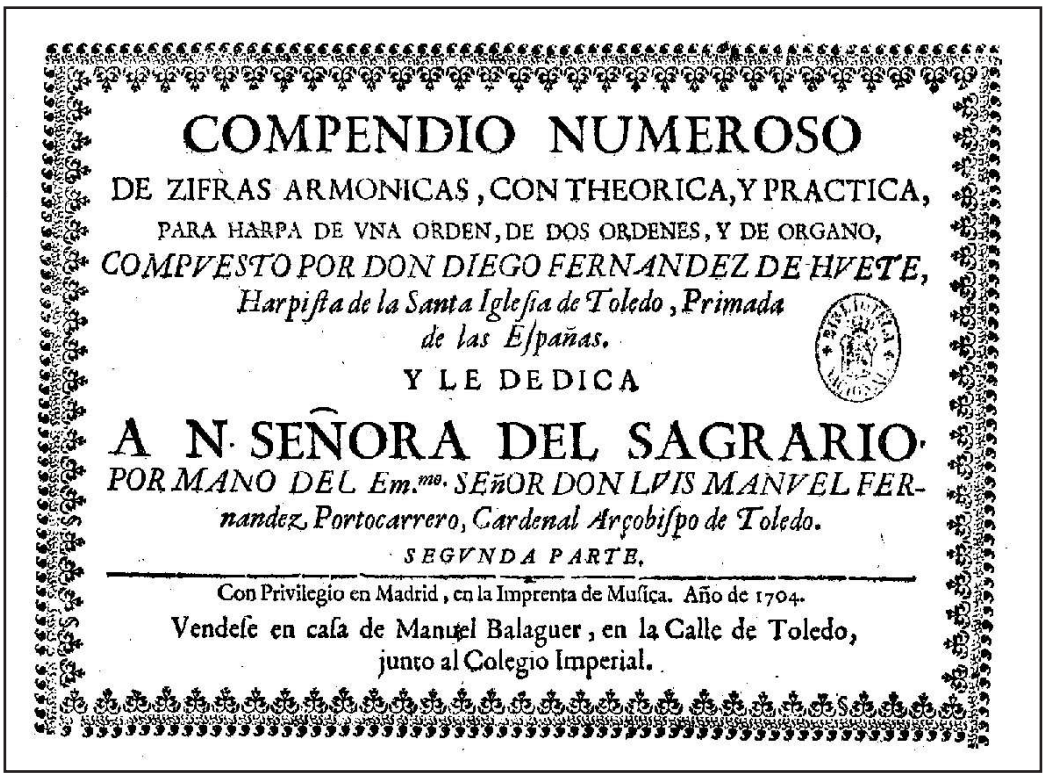
COMPENDIO NUMEROSO
DE ZIFRAS ARMONICAS, CON THEORICA, Y PRACTICA,
PARA HARPA DE VNA ORDEN, DE DOS ORDENES, Y DE ORGANO,
COMPVESTO POR DON DIEGO FERNANDEZ DE HVETE,
Harpiſta de la Santa Igleſia de Toledo, Primada de las Eſpañas.
Y LE DEDICA
A N. SEÑORA DEL SAGRARIO
POR MANO DEL Em.mo. SEñOR DON LVIS MANVEL FERnandez, Portocarrero, Cardenal Arçobiſpo de Toledo.
SEGVNDA PARTE.
Con Privilegio en Madrid, en la Imprenta de Muſica. Año de 1704.
Vendeſe en caſa de Manuel Balaguer, en la Calle de Toledo, junto al Colegio Imperial.

Figure 52. Frontespiece of Diego Fernández de Huete, *Compendio Numeroso de Zifras Armónicas.*. (Madrid, 1702–1704).

Don Diego (1633–1713) — harpist, theorist, composer and teacher — spent his entire life in Toledo where, from 1681 to 1710, he served as the cathedral harpist. It is highly probable that among his teachers during his studies can be included the theorist Andrés Lorente and Juan de Navas, the Court harpist at the time; in the Prologue to the reader he says that "[…] the little I know, I learned from the best Masters of Spain […]".[83] His treatise is, in fact, more specific towards the harp technique, including information on fingering and ornamentation.

Religious music

During the Renaissance period, and in large way independently from the influence of local cultures, Europeans expressed their devotion through two main musical genres, both written in Latin: the mass and the motet. Throughout Europe we find great representatives of these musical genres, such as Palestrina and Dufay, with their masses on *cantus firmus*, generally for four voices. In Spain, the greatest

in the execution, for which the Rules that are put for this must be observed. […]". Diego Fernandez de Huete, *Compendio numeroso de zifras armonicas, op. cit.*, p. 7.

[83] *Ivi*, from the very first page of the *Prologue to the Reader*.

Figure 53. Portrait of Cristobal de Morales, in Angelo Rossi, *Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia*: *Tanto nelle Funzioni ordinarie, che straordinarie* (Roma, 1711), p.164.

representatives of the genre, particularly of parody and paraphrase mass,[84] were Cristobal de Morales, Francisco Guerrero and Tomás Luis de Victoria, the three most prominent Spanish polyphonists of the XVI century.

Just as de Victoria, as will be seen further on, Cristobal de Morales composed only vocal pieces linked to sacred music throughout his career.[85] Born and raised in Sevilla, he received his musical training as "*niño cantor*" in the choir of the Cathedral of the city, whose musical chapel was under the direction of Francisco de Peñalosa, importer of the Flemish technique. In 1535, following the spread of his fame as a singer, he entered the service of the papal chapel of Pope Paul III, where he remained until 1545, and where he had the opportunity to meet the most

[84] A parody mass is a mass that uses, as part of its melodic material, a fragment of an existing composition, such as a motet or a *chanson*; while a paraphrase mass uses, as a basis for the composition, a very elaborate version of a *cantus firmus*.

[85] Although the doubling of voices by instruments was common in the performance of vocal polyphony. It was common, however, in the performance of vocal polyphony, the doubling of voices by musical instruments.

Figure 54. El Maestro Francisco Guerrero, in Francisco Pacheco del Rio, *Descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones* (Sevilla, 1599), p. 172).

skilled composers of the time, such as Costanzo Festa, Jacques Arcadelt and Nicolas Gombert, also members of the papal choir. Forced to return to Spain, he obtained the position of choir master in the cathedral of Toledo, where he remained for a couple of years and where he had the opportunity to become master of other great composers of the time, including Francisco Guerrero.

Francisco Guerrero is the only one of the "polyphonist trio", and one of the few Spanish authors of the time in general, to have also developed the secular song in his volume *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* (1589).[86] Little is known about the childhood and formation of the Sevillian composer, except his being a disciple of the already mentioned de Morales. After completing his training at the cathedral of Toledo, in 1546, at the age of 17, he was appointed chapel master of the cathedral of Jaén, where he remained until 1549, before moving to Málaga and then returning to Seville. Unlike Morales or Victoria, as we will see, Guerrero spent much more time in Spain, despite a multitude of trips to Europe and then to the Holy Land. He differs from the other two composers for the presence, in the corpus of his works, of profane and instrumental compositions. His reputation, already at a young age, was so vast that his works were published and performed abroad especially, and for a long time (at least until the end of the XVII century) in American cathedrals.

Tomás Luis de Victoria, Born in castile in 1548, was mainly active in Italy, where he raised from the change of voice, probably around 1567, until at least 1585 – when he was hired to the service of Empress Maria of Austria, sister of Philip II –, but his work was widely appreciated and recognized also in the mother country. During his time at the Germanic College in Rome he certainly met Giovanni Pierluigi da palestrina, from whom he could have received musical lessons, given the considerable influence of the Palestrinian style since its first publications and with whom he shares being counted among the most important composers of the Counter-Reformation. Unlike many of his contemporaries, but also previous and later composers, during his career he devoted himself exclusively to sacred music, composing between 1572 and 1605 countless motets, masses and polychoral works, collected in numerous books that he himself dedicated to leading political and religious figures of his time.

The participation of musical instruments was not uncommon in the performance of vocal polyphony. This is made evident by the regular presence in Spanish cathedrals of groups of *ministriles*, as well as by the possibility of a purely instrumental performance of vocal polyphonies, both at the hands of *consorts*,[87]

[86] Francisco Guerrero, *Canciones y Villanescas Espirituales* (Venezia, 1589).

[87] The term *consort*, used in England during the 16th and 17th centuries, indicated an instrumental ensemble. This could be "whole" (or "closed") if it was composed entirely of instruments from the same family, or "mixed" (or "broken") when it was composed of instruments from various families.

Right, figure 55. Maria of Spain (1528-1603), Empress of Austria. Anomymous. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.

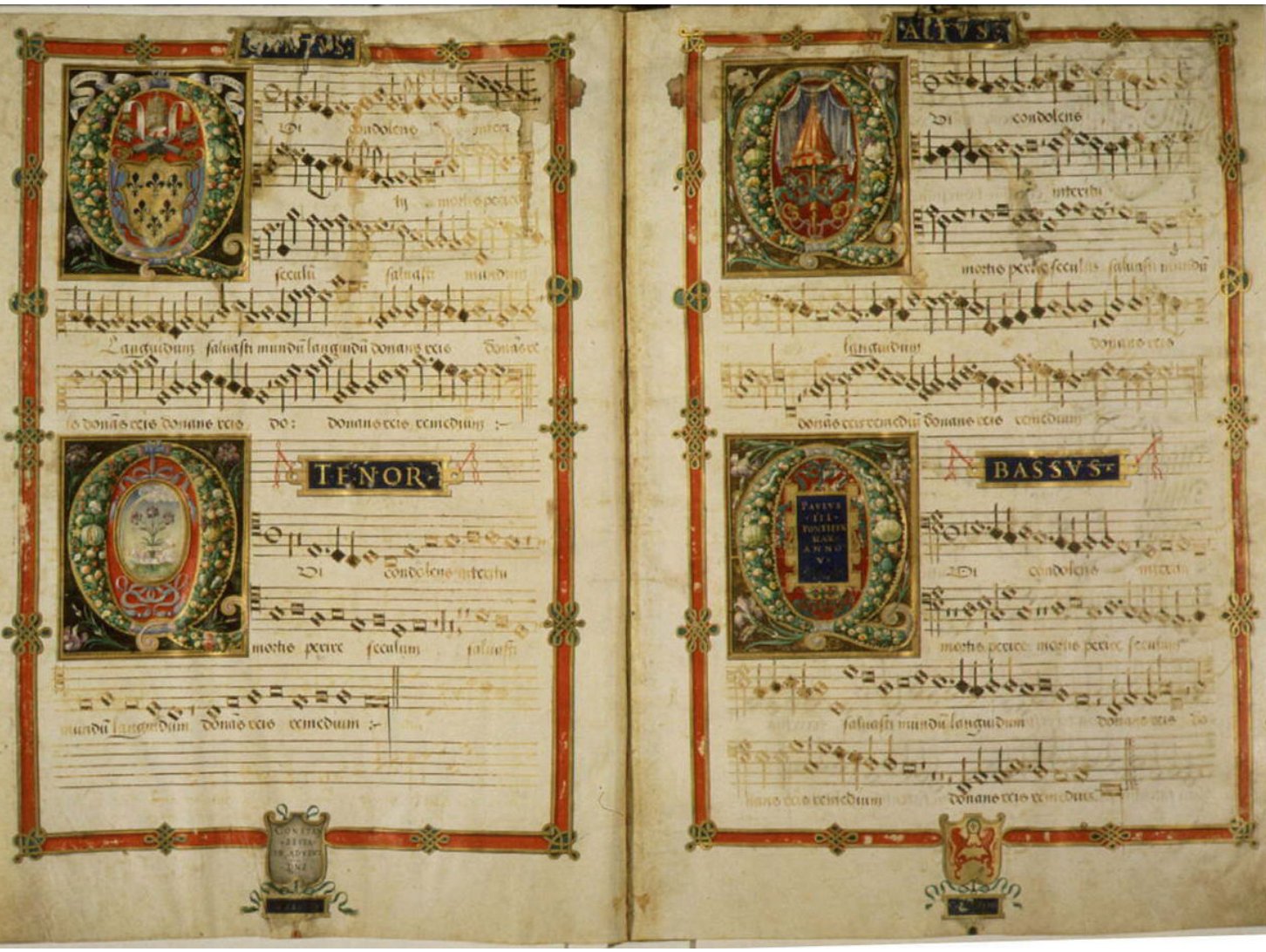

Figure 56. Polyphonic hymns and magnificats of Costanzo Festa (ca. 1538). Rome, manuscript from the Library of the Cappella Sistina.

combined groups of instruments from different families and instruments properly polyphonic, such as the organ, the virginal, the harp, the lute or – in Spain – the vihuela. It is also common, in the Renaissence petiod, the amateur performance of music in domestic parlors. Frequently these musicians were not able to read conventional musical notation, so various types of tablatures began to develop, one for each type of instrument, as seen in the previous section, facilitating and spreading the study of musical instruments even outside ecclesiastical institutions.

Musical instruments

Speaking about the music of the time, it is impossible to avoid the topic of the instruments that were used to produce it — which are after all, with some exceptions, the instruments that will be transplanted into the New World. As we will see later, the three main instruments of the musical life of the Spanish Renaissance were the organ, the vihuela and the harp, which all belonged to the so-called *Bassa cappella*.[88]

The organ is one of the oldest instruments still used today. Its origin is historically associated with Ctesibius of Alexandria who, in the third century BC, would have designed an instrument called *hydraulis*, which entrusted the administration of air, necessary for the production of sound, to the pressure of water through a series of pipes. Its implementation and development has been constant over the centuries, first with the elimination of the hydraulic system in favour of leather bellows, then with the construction of "positive" instruments instead of the "portative" ones; the transformation of the keyboards from the coulisse system[89] to the one, similar to the modern one, equipped with keys; the redistribution of the pipes, first arranged in sound "blocks" and then subdivided so as to produce distinct registers.

However, its privileged position within the world of sacred music was not adopted until late. For a long time it was used mainly in all ceremonies and circumstances related to the court and the secular world, which may require the presence of an instrument of great sound power.[90] The change of destination seems to have taken place thanks to a completely random event: in 757 the Emperor of Byzantium, Constantine Copronymus, gave an organ to Pepin the Short, who placed it in the church of Saint Cornelius in Compiègne, France. From that moment on, the instrument began to spread rapidly in Christian places of worship and in the liturgy, becoming what will very often be called the "king of instruments".

As we saw in the first chapter, the vihuela was associated, during the reign of the Catholic Kings, with the nationalistic approach to music so dear to them. Although extremely used in Spanish territory, this instrument was also widespread in the rest of Europe, adopting, for each country, its own name (as we have seen before we find the *viola de ma* in Catalonia, the *viola da mano* in Italy and the *viola de mão* in Portugal).

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[88] Or *Bassa musica*. A group of musicians distinguished by a modest sound volume such as, for example, lutes, violas and flutes, as well as the aforementioned. This term is used in opposition to *Alta cappel*la, or *Alta musica*, composed of wind instruments such as bombards, bagpipes and trumpets, also called "Pifari").

[89] Levers, pulled by the musician, which allowed or not the flow of air through certain pipes.

[90] Among these secular "tasks" we find, for example, that of a war machine, pulled on a wagon, suitable for terrorizing enemies; that of accompanying, inside the stadiums, sports competitions or gladiatorial games.

Figure 57. *Viola di sette ordini*, from Juan Bermudo, Declaración de instrumentos musicales (Osuna,1555), fol. cx.

Deriving from the medieval *viella*,[91] which could be played *de mano* (plucked) or *de arco* (with a bow), it developed in the kingdom of Aragon from the middle of the XV century. This instrument basically consists of a flat-backed Renaissance lute, sharing the tuning with it. Already at the end of the XVI century the *vihuela* began to disappear, leaving room for the baroque guitar, which will replace it in all environments, including the "trio" of instruments of the basso continuo in Spain.

The harp, the last of the important instruments of the basso continuo in Spain, is perhaps the oldest string instrument known to date.[92] Originated, according to the findings, in the Far East by the development of the musical bow (or bowstring), it will spread first in the African continent and then in Europe, but adopting different forms. While in Asia and Africa angle and bow harps were preferred, in Europe the "closed triangle" model is favored, still in use today, in which, with the addition of a "column", the structure in use up to that moment is "closed". The first European representations of harps of this type date back to the eighth century, carved on Pictish stones in Scotland. From that time until at least the XVI century, harps will remain almost identical, with a single order of strings, small in size and with tuning varying according to the repertoire to be played.

Starting from the XVI century, however, the inefficiency of the diatonic instrument is being questioned, given the complexities that the music written in that period presented. The process that led to the creation of chromatic instruments began, almost simultaneously in various parts of Europe. The chromatic

[91] As you can see from the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X the Wise, where are represented, one next to the other, a player of *viella de arco* and one of *viella de mano.*

[92] The oldest instruments found date back to 3500 BC, in Sumer (now southern Iraq).

Figure 58. Diego Valentin Diaz's "Presentation of Christ in the Temple" (first half of the XVII century). National Museum of Sculpture, Valladolid.

problem was managed in various ways by the instrumentalists: some pressed the string against the harp's neck,[93] when in need of a sharp;[94] others transposed the entire composition, so as to facilitate its execution, according to the tuning of the harp.

Juán Bermudo, in his *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (1555), after noticing the inadequacy of the harp to contemporary music,[95] is the first to think and propose the possibility of transforming the harp into a chromatic instrument, by no longer adapting the music to the instrument, but making it more modern and versatile. His proposal was to insert eight new strings among the diatonic ones, to be tuned so as to make the performance of the cadences of the different modes possible.[96] This method, however, instead of simplifying the performance, ended up complicating it further since the space between the strings, thanks to the addition of the new ones, had ended up being halved.

Despite what is written in Bermudo's treatise, there is no evidence that by the XVI century the harp had already evolved into a double rowed instrument. The iconographic sources do not provide relevant information since, even in the images of the XVII and XVIII centuries, the instruments are always single ranked,[97] and the treatises published between Bermudo's (1555) and Jobenardi's Tratado de la Mussica (1634) do not have the organological characteristics of the instruments described.[98]

The first report on a two-order harp is by the luthier Antonio Hidalgo who, around 1615-1616, built two instruments for the court harpists of the time, Juán de Sanmartin and Lope Machado. In his account he says that they are "*de dos ordenes enteras y universales*",[99] thus including the complete set of chromatic strings. At no time does Hidalgo mention the fact that they were two crossed orders of strings (a typical feature of Spanish harps), but this characteristic can be deduced from Jobenardi's treatise, written some time later, in which, describing the instruments used in Spain, he states that "[...] the crossed-string harp is called

[93] Technique used by Ludovido, harpist to king Ferdinand. Cristina Bordas, "The Double Harp in Spain from the 16th to the 18th Centuries," Early Music XV, no. 2 (May 1987): 148–63, https://doi.org/10.1093/earlyj/XV.2.148, p. 148.

[94] The only way to produce the flat notes was still to tune the harp before execution.

[95] "As it has been seen, the harp in the temple that she was made (that is the set of the white monochord) is imperfect for the Music that now is used; because she is for the diatonic genre, and what this time is played is semichromatic genre." Juán Bermudo, *Declaración de Instrumentos Musicales* (Osuna: Juan de Leon, 1555).

[96] These new strings were to be colored red, so as to make them more recognizable.

[97] The only exception is Diego Valentin Diaz's "Presentation of Christ in the Temple", which dates back to the early 17th century. Cristina Bordas, *The Double Harp in Spain from the 16th to the 18th Centuries*, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

[98] Neither the *Libro de cifra nueva para tecla, Arpa y Vihuela* by Luis Venegas de Henestrosa nor the *Obras de música para tecla, arpa y vihuela* de Antonio de Cabeçon by Antonio de Cabezón, of 1557 and 1578 respectively, mention the type of harp on which their tablatures are to be executed.

[99] = "of two whole and universal orders".

two-order […]".[100] Only after 1650 did the cross-strung chromatic harp emerge as the favorite among the three types of harp in use up to that moment (diatonic, semi-chromatic and chromatic),[101] thereby occupying an outstanding role within the courtly and ecclesiastical musical chapels.

[100] Bartolomeo Giobenardi (Jobenardi), *Tratado de la Mussica* (Madrid, 1634), Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 8931, in: http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000077606&page=1.

[101] Between 1600 and 1650 three types of harp coexisted: the diatonic (with a single row of strings), the chromatic (or double, characterized by two rows of strings, one diatonic and one complete chromatic) and the semi-chromatic (also with two rows of strings, one diatonic and one chromatic, but the second incomplete, without, in other words, all the chromatic notes that are part of a scale).

Chapter 5.
Composers in the American colonies

Previous page, figure 69. Cuzco School artist (Viceroyalty of Peru, late XVII century), Saint Michael the Archangel firing an arquebus.

"I kneeled and kissed the land that I had reached from Europe, with great devotion in order to impregnate it with my sweat and blood: this land where I want to work and fight, and on which thanks to divine mercy, I long to find the beatitude of my soul."

Anton Sepp, *Relación de Viaje a Las Misiones Jesuíticas* (Brixen, Editorial de Paul Nicolaus Fuehr, 1696).[102]

In the same way that for many centuries Venice was considered the great *Porta d'Oriente*, the American Caribbean functioned at the end of the XV century as the great *Porta d'Occidente*.[103] Like the sun, the "new" came from the East. But unlike the city of Venice, where the agenda was trade, exchange of cultures and interest in the new, the Caribbean was instead the scene of a violent, conquering and evangelising vortex that will end imposing in the Americas the European vision of the world and the government, and (as a corollary) resulted in the decimation of local populations. The modernity of the cultural project arisen from those events would reveal only much later in what we can call today the Latin American way of life..

The transition from the post-feudal society of late XV century to modern European society, which through the industrial revolution would eventually lead to capitalism, had in America, across the gateway of the West Indies, a definite geographic concretion. The trafficking of the "American treasure" (the gold and silver of Peru and New Spain) probably explains Spain's interest in new lands to be "discovered" and conquered and the Spanish expansionism in America, as well as the closure of the American domains under the Spanish crown to any foreigner influence, both commercial and cultural. This gave the region a twofold function: on the one hand, as a true geographical gateway to and from the continent and, on the other, as a prelude to a new socio-economic model based on the forced integration of the many cultures present at the beginning of the XVI century in the vast regions of the colonisation process, and those imported from Europe and Africa. A sort of anticipation of what we know today as "globalisation".

At the beginning of the European penetration in the New World, the West Indies, and later the great American continent, were (and still are) an enormous melting pot of cultures, races and creeds that prefigured during the entire colonial period the current cosmopolitanism that largely defines American identity. Contrary to the strict conservationism of Spanish policies in its overseas domains, the social "involuntary experiment" would eventually represent the first universal advance towards modernity.

[102] Anton Sepp, *Relación de Viaje a Las Misiones Jesuíticas*, (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1971), pp. 118-119.
[103] Gateway to the East/Gateway to the West.

Unlike what Columbus originally thought of the new discovered lands, history showed that these were not territories bordering with *Chipango* (Japan) and China westward. The distinctive traits of the natives suggested different populations, which collectively earned them the name "Indians" in the wrong believing that they were somewhat relatives of the inhabitants of India. These village farmers, by virtue of the colonising technique, were subjected as slaves to work under a regime of intensive exploitation in the same way as had already been done in the Canary Islands, with tragical consequences as to their survival and to transmission of their cultural heritage. These peoples, on their part, had been conformed through migrations with an inverse movement to that of the conquest of the continent — from south to north — probably from the north of Venezuela to the Bahamas Islands. Migrations followed the favourable winds, taking advantage of the vicinity of the islands so as to be able to navigate the waters with small boats such as pirogues or canoes that could travel about 30 km daily. Shortly after the arrival of the Spaniards, local languages such as *taíno* or *caribe*, which came from linguistic roots such as *arahuaco* or *tupí-guaraní* (coming from distant regions such as present-day Paraguay) had already disappeared and with them most of their speakers. Some languages such as the *taíno* of the Greater Antilles would leave traces in Spanish, while the *arahuaco* of Jamaica would be perpetuated in *garífona* and other English *pidgin* variants of the Atlantic coast of Honduras and Nicaragua.

One of the characteristics that drew the attention of the newly arrived colonists to the Caribbean were the aspects related to the subsistence and religion of the aborigines. Unlike more developed regions of Mesoamerica or Peru, local villagers practiced only very incipient forms of agriculture, while most of their diet was obtained through fruit collection and fishing. This gave to the newcomers the illusion of having found a kind of "earthly paradise", a timeless golden age that referred to ideals of the late Middle Ages and the European Renaissance. On the other hand, the rich and varied religious systems of these natives were the object of descriptions and idealisations by chroniclers of the time such as Las Casas, Oviedo or Fray Ramón Pané.

The vast region of the Spanish American domains, which started its formation with the colonisation of the West Indies, offers countless examples of a great display of cultural syncretism. The interaction of the Andalusian variant of the Castilian language — which will predominate in America and which had previously taken root in the Canary Islands — with the local languages will produce immediate results in the XVI century, and new mixtures during the XVII century. Loans, adoptions and adaptations of *taíno* expressions or *caribe-arahuacas* languages testify to this semantic integration, which was witnessed by the first chroniclers of the New World. Later on, this fusion would have worked in the same way between the Spanish of the colonists and the languages of Mesoamerica and Peru. Upon their arrival in the new lands, the *conquistadores* found a world to their meanings "fabulous", rich in new animals,

Figure 70. Diego Rivera. Totonac civilization (1950). Mexico, Palacio Nacional.

plants, objects, rituals and customs that they originally knew only with their own native names. It is in the Caribbean Islands where the hybrid corpus of this terminology began to be absorbed into the Spanish language, to eventually arrive to the continent — as colonisation proceeded towards north and south — completely integrated, as if this new "Hispanic-American" language had always existed. Words such as *maís, canoa, sabana, hamaca, huracán, jaguar* or *caimán*, unknown in Europe, were quickly imported into the lexicon of the Spanish language spoken worldwide.

A second stage of syncretism in America came with the continental expansion of the impressive European conquering machinery, initiated by the crown of the Catholic Monarchs and followed a posteriori by the arrival of Portuguese, French, English and Italian in the early XVIII century. This syncretism will already be re-

Figure 71. Tiziano Vecellio. Philip II, King of Spain (1735). Segovia, Alcazar.

lated to the assimilation of the so many and varied local cultures to the European culture that, from the viceroyalties of New Spain to the viceroyalty of Peru, interacted among them. It will no longer be the adoption of mere words into the Spanish language or the discovery and integration of new customs into the daily life of

the colony, but rather the creation of new cultures in the broad sense of the term, a collective where new and varied elements are conjugated: religious,[104] linguistic,[105] customs,[106] artistic,[107] political.[108]

At this stage, a new wave of European immigration from England, Holland, Portugal and France greatly influenced cultural expansion across the continent, including some variants of African roots such as Afro-Andalusian or Afro-Portuguese, already present in the Iberian Peninsula before the American conquest. The African presence, now permanent, with the intense trade and slave trade, significantly marked the "alloy" of those peoples who, coming from different latitudes and added to the territorial realities, were defining a novel *modus operandi*. This took the form of new expressions and ways of communicating, with the invention of the "creole" languages, with influences from all languages in action, with new artistic genres and new interpretations of religions, especially the adaptation of local (and foreign) beliefs to the prevailing Catholicism. In this sense, the American *pidgin*, derived from Spanish, were formed with Spanish expressions added to words imported from Portuguese, English, Dutch, French and especially from the African Bantu. As these languages have been perpetuated until our days, we can deduce that the phonetics of them has been the result of the summation of existing phonemes in each one of them, adapted and modified to give a characteristic and singular result.

Music, on the other hand, was also modelled in the melting pot where local and European cultures merged. The African presence was decisive in the creation of new repertoires in which *negrillas, guineos, puertorricos* or *fandangos* have left testimony of a very rich writing in polyrhythms that, in a round trip movement between Europe and America, ended up influencing the music that was composed in the Iberian Peninsula. Composers such as Juan Gutierrez de Padilla, Antonio de Salazar, Gaspar Fernández in the viceroyalty of New Spain or Juan de Araujo in the viceroyalty of Peru, were major exponents of this type of genre.

Something is indisputable in the history of America, and is its "before" and "after" 1492, the year of arrival of the Spaniards to the Caribbean. Of the interactions of "before", when these lands were the reign of local tribes, we have very few references. Of the "after", the land of interaction, integration and development under the Spanish crown, the cultural syncretism was one of the main protagonists. From 1492 until today it is a process that still seems to have not finished.

It was the composers active in the New World who made real and tangible the syncretism of cultures that had been created in the American colonies. The mix-

[104] Rites, adorations, beliefs.
[105] True new dialectal languages.
[106] Variation in diet, behaviour, tastes, etc.
[107] Production of local music and dance rituals assimilated to the conception of European art.
[108] Interaction of concepts on forms of government.

ture of European sounds, indigenous languages and musical instruments, together with the dances and rhythms of slaves imported from Africa, is what still makes Latin American music so special today.[109]

In addition to the production of liturgic music that followed the canons imported from Europe, and compositions in vernacular languages based on traditional Spanish themes, America also produced music with lyrics in the local languages.

The development of the tradition of villancicos written on American soil is particularly important in this regard. Maintaining some of the characteristics typical of their European "cousins", the colonial *villancico* became the musical genre perhaps most symptomatic of this syncretism. The Latin American villancicos often drew their name from the ethnic group that the song was intended to represent, varying – depending on it – the types of rhythms and lyrics. The *negrillas*,[110] for example, which were also very popular in the Iberian peninsula, were all the *villancicos* which, contained in the text, presented sentences or words in pseudo-African languages and incorporated rhythmic patterns typical of African dances, as well as responsorial antiphonal effects between the soloist and the *tutti*, frequently associated with vocal performances of the African tradition.[111] With the same "setting" of the *negrillas* were also composed the *inditos* (or *villancicos indios*)[112] and the *mestizos*,[113] similar to the above but with words and imitations of the way the natives had to speak in Spanish, a type of writing that at the time, in the viceroyalty of New Spain, was called *tocotín*.[114] Many Latin American composers dedicated themselves, albeit seldom exclusively, to this genre of music between the XVI and XVIII centuries, both in the area of New Spain and in that of the Viceroy of Peru.

Viceroyalty of New Spain

After an initial period of stabilisation, in the decades immediately following the conquest, important music centres around the cathedrals began to develop in both the Viceroyalties. Cities such as Puebla de los Angeles, Oaxaca, and Ciudad de México — as far as New Spain is concerned — host some of the archives where the most important musical discoveries concerning the colonial period have been made in modern times. Around these cathedrals emerge important figures in the musical field, as far as the period examined by this research is concerned.

[109] Typical superposition of ternary times with binaries.

[110] Also called *guineos* or *villancicos de negros*.

[111] Examples of *negrillas* may include *Sentidos los sacristanes* composed by Miguel Medina y Corpas or *Tambalagumbá* by Juan Gutierrez de Padilla.

[112] Puch as, for example, *Xicochi conetzintle* and *Tleycantimo choquiliya*, both composed by Gaspar Fernández.

[113] Like, also by Gaspar Fernández, *Tios mío mo goraçón*.

[114] Probably derived from a dance typical of the natives of New Spain. The *tocotín* from New Spain was a dramatized dance, typical of many events of the novohispanic society, which text could be in Spanish or in *nahuatl* (or a mixture of both).

Figure 72. The capital town of the Viceroyalty of New Spain (detail) in Diego Correa's room divider, "La muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de México" (1692). Mexico, National Museum of History.

Figure 73. Cathedral Primada of Santiago de los Caballeros, Antigua Guatemala. Photo by Giovanni Pilone.

The cathedral of Puebla, built in the late sixteenth century, boasts a succession of six distinguished maestros de capilla - Pedro Bermudez, Gaspar Fernandez, Juan Gutierrez de Padilla, Antonio de Salazar, Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana. When the cathedral was still in the middle of the construction works, the first commission as chapel master was given to Pedro Bermudez, made notorious by his stay in the same position at the Cathedral of Santiago de Guatemala, where he kept the commission for only two years. His direct successor, charged with the direction of the musical chapel of the cathedral between 1606 and 1629, was Gaspar Fernández.

Although there is widespread acceptance that the Gaspar Fernández at the service of the cathedrals of Puebla and Guatemala was the same documented in Évora (Portugal) in the 1590s, recent studies led by Omar Morales Abril have shown that they most likely do not really correspond.[115] On this premise it is therefore

[115] It is the opinion of the musicologist Omar Morales Abril, after a careful re-reading of all the sources of the period in which he was mentioned, that it is impossible to associate the two Gaspar Fernández with the same character (either because of age or because of overlapping dates between the Portuguese and Guatemalan periods). Omar Morales Abril, 'Gaspar Fernandez: su vida y obras como testimonio de la cultura musical novohispana a principios del siglo XVII', in *Enseñanza y ejercicio de la música en México*, ed. Arturo Camacho Becerra (México, D.F: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS), 2013), pp. 71–125.

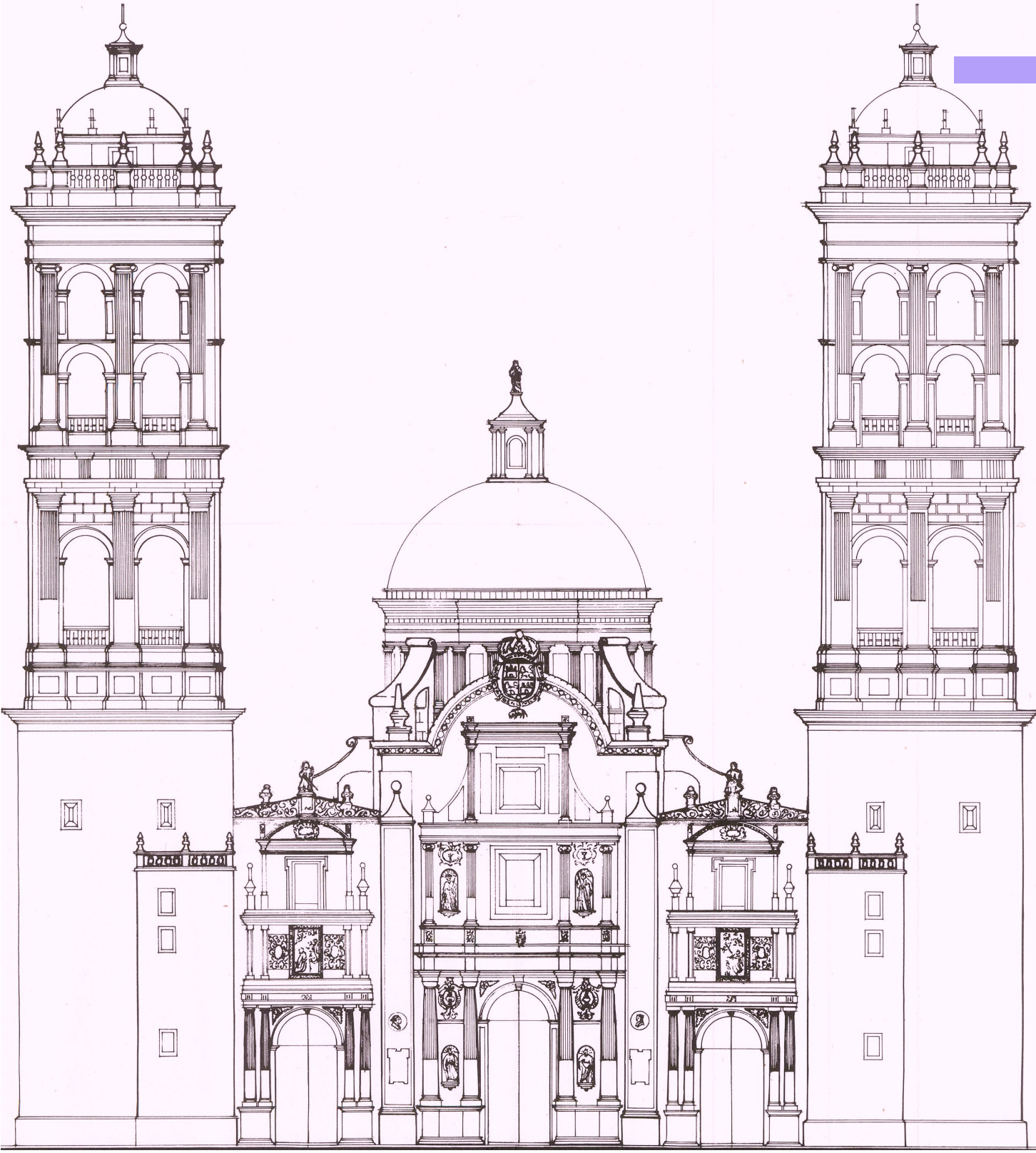

Figure 74. Cathedral of Immaculate Conception in Puebla. Plan of the façade, by Gusvel.

difficult to decide on the formation and life of which of the two Gaspar taken into account is advisable to talk about. As I myself support Morales Abril's hypothesis,

I will only consider the Gaspar Fernández in the service of Guatemala Cathedral, of which some biographical information has been preserved, though scarce.

As can be deduced from the *Libro de fundación y constituciones* of the Colegio Seminario de la Asunción, founded in Guatemala in 1598, Gaspar Fernández had the privilege of being admitted to the first group of collegials of the newly founded institute. This school, founded by King Philip II to accomplish with what was stipulated in the Council of Trent, presents in the tenth chapter — *De qué tierra han de ser los colegiales* — the birth prerequisites for access to it:

> [...] that the said schoolchildren must be natural to this bishopric, from any city, town or place [...]. And if possible, that are descendants of conquerors or ancient settlers. [...] children of mere Spanish parents if possible, [...]. But it is well permitted that, being pointed out in talent and virtue, they are sons descendants of Spanish groupers and mestiza, daughter of Indian and Spanish or Creole; [...].[116]

It is highly probable, therefore, that Gaspar Fernández was a *criollo*[117] or *castizo*[118] born in the province of Guatemala. After a period of service as a cantor and then, from 1603, as a chapel master at the cathedral of Guatemala, he was hired as a *maestro de capilla* at the cathedral of Puebla de los Angeles, where he remained, against his wishes,[119] until his death in 1629. During his first assignment as organist and singer at the Cathedral of Guatemala, he also copied polyphonic works of both past and present composers,[120] creating a corpus of manuscripts that have survived to the present day.

The extreme skill and prolificness of this composer as a copyist had a particularly important effect: it gave him the opportunity to bring together in a single volume all his circumstantial works, instead of keeping them, as was customary, on untied sheets, too easily lost. This possibility makes his work "the oldest manuscript testimony of the repertoire of *villancicos* and *chanzonetas* from all over America", thus enlightening "that dark stage represented by the first years of the baroque centuries".[121]

[116] From the *Libro de fundación y constituciones of the Colegio Seminario de la Asunción*, chapter 10, f. 31v, 1597.

[117] A person of European descent who was born in a Hispanic American country.

[118] A person born in Hispanic America from the interbreeding of mestizos (European father and Amerindian mother, or the other way around) and Spaniards.

[119] In 1611 he asked the newly appointed bishop of Guatemala to be able to return to the service of the cathedral as a chapel master. Because of the poor economic conditions that this cathedral had to offer, his wish could not be granted.

[120] As well as adding his own compositions to complete the material, such as a cycle of eight *Benedicamus Domino*, one in each of the eight ecclesiastical modes; a *Magnificat* of the fifth tone and a hymn of vespers for the feast of the Guardian Angels.

[121] Aurelio Tello, *Cancionero Musical de Gaspar Fernandez*, Tesoro de La Música Polifónica En México (México, D.F: CENIDIM, 2001), p.xix.

Next page, figure 75. Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico City, Altare of the Kings.

The opinions on Fernández's technical skills as a composer, as expressed by the two major musicologists who have dedicated themselves to the study of the life and work, are contrasting. Aurelio Tello praises his refined style, the diversity of musical genres and forms and his solid compositional technique, while Robert Snow considers that he had a limited gift as a composer of liturgical polyphony and that precisely because of this limited compositional technique he preferred the villancicos, which he considered "stylistically simpler".

His direct successor as the chapel master of the cathedral of Puebla was Juan Gutierrez de Padilla (1590-1664), a composer born and trained in Spain. A native of Malaga, he was trained in the Cathedral of his hometown, before becoming chapel master in the Cathedral of Cadiz. In 1620 or 1621 he moved to Puebla,[122] where in 1629 he was appointed master of the chapel and where many of his compositions in the Renaissance style were written and remain in manuscripts. They include more than 700 sacred motets, *villancicos*, masses, lamentations, litanies and psalms.

Antonio de Salazar, successor of Juan Gutierrez de Padilla, is one of the few chapel masters born and trained in the New World. Information about his life and training are, unfortunately, rather scarce. Born in Puebla de los Angeles, he became Chapel Master of the Cathedral of his native city in 1679 and remained there until 1688, when he took his place in the Cathedral of Mexico City. He will be active in *Ciudad de México* until 1715, year of his demise. Despite the paucity of biographical information on his figure, this composer is quite important for the purposes of this study, since among his preserved compositions there are two *villancicos* that expressly require the accompaniment of the voice performed by a harp.[123]

As for the Cathedral of Mexico City, older than that of Puebla, during the time span covered in this research are quite more numerous the chapel masters, so we will only mention some of the most significant. In addition to Juan Xuarez who, as already seen, was the first official chapel master in the New World (1539–1548), there are figures such as Hernando Franco, chapel master between 1575 and 1585; Antonio de Salazar (already discussed in the section dedicated to the cathedral of Puebla de los Angeles) between 1688 and 1715 and Manuel de Sumaya, master from 1715 to 1738.

First chapel master of a certain calibre, Hernando Franco, born near Alcántara in Spain in 1532, arrived in the New World after meeting the brothers Lázaro and Jerónimo del Álamo at the cathedral of Segovia, where they served as chorister boys. It was with the two brothers that he moved first to Guatemala and, later, to

[122] Most probably thanks to Gaspar Fernandez who, around 1622, began to ask for the hiring of a master assistant, proposing Gutierrez de Padilla personally.

[123] *Oid, aprended, tiernas avecillas* (1699) and *Suenen clarines alegres* (1703), both preserved in the Chapter Archives of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico.

Mexico City.

While he spent a relatively short time in the cathedral of Santiago de Guatemala (he was appointed in 1570 and renounced, because of the reduction in his salary, in 1573), it was in Mexico City where he could fully devote himself to his music. In the eight years he held his position as a chapel master in the capital's cathedral, the cathedral experienced a period of great musical splendour, also thanks to the cathedral's flourishing economy which allowed the hiring of singers and instrumentalists to perform his compositions.

The widespread diffusion of his handwritten works, from Guatemala to Chicago and from Puebla to Durango, highlights the fame he must have achieved during his lifetime.[124]

But the most prolific author of musical baroque in the American continent, and possibly the most famous among the composers of New Spain, is Manuel de Sumaya (or Zumaya). Born in Mexico City in 1678, he became part of the musical chapel of the cathedral in his hometown, at that time directed by Antonio de Salazar, as a seise. Sumaya's ease and mastery in the field of music was so great that the aforementioned chapel master Antonio de Salazar asked for his protection, helping him to study the organ and preparing him to assist and, if necessary, replace the master. Already in 1700, Antonio de Salazar asked to be exempted from teaching,[125] and from that moment this activity would fall on the shoulders of the young Manuel de Sumaya.[126]

When, on the death of Antonio de Salazar, the edict[127] was published to provide for the vacancy of maestro de capilla, only two composers presented their credentials: Manuel de Sumaya and Francisco de Atienza. In order to gain access to the much sought-after ad vitam title of chapel master, it was necessary to pass a practical examination, through which the jury could prove the rigorous quality required of all candidates for first-rate positions. It was with his composition of the villancico *Sol-fa de Pedro*, in Spanish style with four voices and basso continuo, on June 7, composed for this occasion, that in 1715 Sumaya obtained the position of *maestro de capilla*.

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[124] Archbishop Pedro Montoya de Contreras also recommended him to the Crown in 1580 as a master of exemplary personality, "[…] capable of successfully compete with any Spanish master. […]".

[125] Probably because of the progressive deterioration of his sight and multiple aches and pains of old age.

[126] So much so that already in 1710 he was appointed Second Chapel Master of the Cathedral.
"[...] asista, como maestro, don Manuel de Sumaya presbítero por su conocida suficiencia, y que lo haga en la escoleta todos los lunes, y jueves del año como está mandado a la enseñanza del contrapunto y haga toda la música necesaria para el culto de esta santa iglesia y que se le despache título con calidad de que no puede pedir salario ni cosa alguna por razón de esto […]". cf. ACCMM, AC, Vol. 26, F.: 337f. The agreement taken by the chapter is of January 10, 1710.

[127] "Having learned of the death of the master Antonio de Salazar, master of this holy church, we ask that edicts be made [...], in the traditional form and manner, in which it is specified that the income per year is five hundred pesos." cf. ACCMM, Correspondencia, box 23, Exp.: 2, F.: 66f.

Figure 76. Detail from "Cerro Rico and the Imperial Municipality of Potosí", by Gaspar Miguel de Berrío (1758). It was one of the largest cities in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Sucre: Museo Universitario Charcas.

Viceroyalty of Peru

As far as the viceroyalty of Peru is concerned, the information concerning the succession of chapel masters in the various cathedrals scattered throughout this region (geographically very extended) is not as precise as that which can be found for the viceroyalty of New Spain, so a subdivision like that of the previous paragraph is almost impossible to obtain. Therefore, only a few of the most important composers of the period considered will be mentioned, without following a defined geographical "path", but a more strictly chronological one.

In 1584 Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo arrived in New Granada (Colombia), ready to take on the role of chapel master of the nearby cathedral of Bogotá. This Spanish composer, born in Andalusia and trained at the Cathedral of Seville under the guidance of Juan Navarro Hispalensis,[128] became the most eminent composer of New

[128] Alejandro Vera Aguilera, 'Música en Hispanoamérica durante el siglo XVII', in *Historia de la musica en Es*

Spain in the XVI century, obtaining, first in Bogotá, then in Quito, Cuzco and La Plata, that the seminarists of the various cities sang under his direction every day in the cathedral, thus expanding the ensemble available to him for the performance of his compositions. Despite his musical grandeur, Fernández Hidalgo is not famous for his savoir-faire. In 1585, immediately after being elected Rector of the seminary of San Luis, a dispute with his students, tired of his demanding teaching style, led him to leave Bogotá in favour of Quito. Here, too, he was appointed master of the chapel and kept him until 1589 when, once again, he was too demanding for his subordinates. Finally, in July 1591, he was appointed as chapel master of the cathedral of Cuzco where, in addition to directing the choir of the cathedral and teaching polyphony, he was able to devote himself to composition. When, in 1597, the cathedral of La Plata offered him the same position as he had already held at the cathedral of Cuzco, but with a better salary, Fernández Hidalgo had to accept it and moved to the cathedral where he was to be the chapel master until his retirement in 1620.

Among the most important composers of the viceroy of Peru, it is impossible not to mention Juan de Araujo. Despite his fame, however, very little is known about this composer. Born in Extremadura, Spain, in 1646, he moved to Lima, Peru, with his father at a very young age. Here he had the opportunity to study at the University of San Marcos since his twenties. Expelled from the City of Kings for reasons of political dissent, he returned only in 1672, as chapel master of the city cathedral. Of the years following his nomination to the cathedral of Lima, his trace is lost; the only certain information is that he finished his job as chapel master in 1676, after which he is found, in 1680, at the cathedral of La Plata (today Sucre, in Bolivia), where most of his known works, both sacred and profane, are preserved. Among these 150 compositions, the villancicos stand out, in which he sought unusual and innovative effects, such as the use of syncope in times 6/8, aimed at providing an unexpected rhythmic drive.[129]

Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, which has already been mentioned, was born in Spain in 1644. In 1656, still in Spain, he entered the service of the house of the Count of Lemos, future viceroy of Peru. It is likely that during the years spent in his service he met and studied with Juan Hidalgo. As we have seen, he will face his journey to the Spanish colonies overseas in the retinue of the Count in 1667,[130] landing in Lima in November of that year. However, his first musical assignment dates back to 1676, the year in which he was appointed chapel master of the cathedral of Lima, succeeding Juan de Araujo, and thanks to his work, the musical chapel of the cathedral saw, around 1679, an extensive extension. He was

paña e Hispano América - La musica en el siglo XVII, vol. 3, 8 vols. (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016), p. 654.

[129] *Los coflades de la estleya* could be an example.

[130] Together with Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz.

Figure 77. Portrait of sor Juana Ines de la Cruz in her library, by Miguel Cabrera (ca1750). Mexico, National Museum of History.

Figure 78. Front façade of the Cathedral of Concepción, Bolivia. Photo by Geoffry Groesbeck.

so well known during his lifetime for his incredible musical talents that the Cathedral Chapter decided to neglect the fact that he had never taken priestly orders.[131]

He is mainly remembered as the composer of the first opera composed and performed in the Americas, the *Purpura de la Rosa*, commissioned by the Count of Monclova (XVII viceroy of Peru) for the celebration, in the viceroyalty, of the eighteenth birthday of King Philip V. The libretto, by Pedro Calderón de la Barca, had already been used in a 1659 performance at the Real Coliseo del Buen Retiro in Madrid with music by Juan Hidalgo and was reused, for the occasion of the commission, by Torrejón y Velasco who, in 1701, presented its version at the Palace of the Viceroy of Peru in Lima.

[131] He was, in any case, a man of fervent religiosity, left to glimpse in his works. It is very likely that he handed down this trait to his children – born from his marriage to María Manuela Bermúdez, first, and then to Juan Fernández de Mendía – since five of his six sons took priestly orders.

Figure 79. Don Melchor Portocarrero y Lasso de la Vega, Count of Monclova and viceroy of Peru from 1688 to 1705. Unidentified painter.

In addition to the aforementioned work, however, Torrejón y Velasco, was a prolific composer in both secular and religious spheres, producing a large number of villancicos, polychoral works for two organs,[132] lamentations for Holy Week and Magnificat, among others.

[132] In 1680 a second organ was installed at the Cathedral of Lima, and it is likely that for this occasion were thought these villancicos with two organs.

All the composers who have been dealt with up to now have been, in life, closely linked to the sphere of the cathedral's musical chapels, without ever venturing too far outside the large towns and without sharing their skills with the *parroquias de indios* or with the religious missions. It differs, therefore, from all Domenico Zipoli.

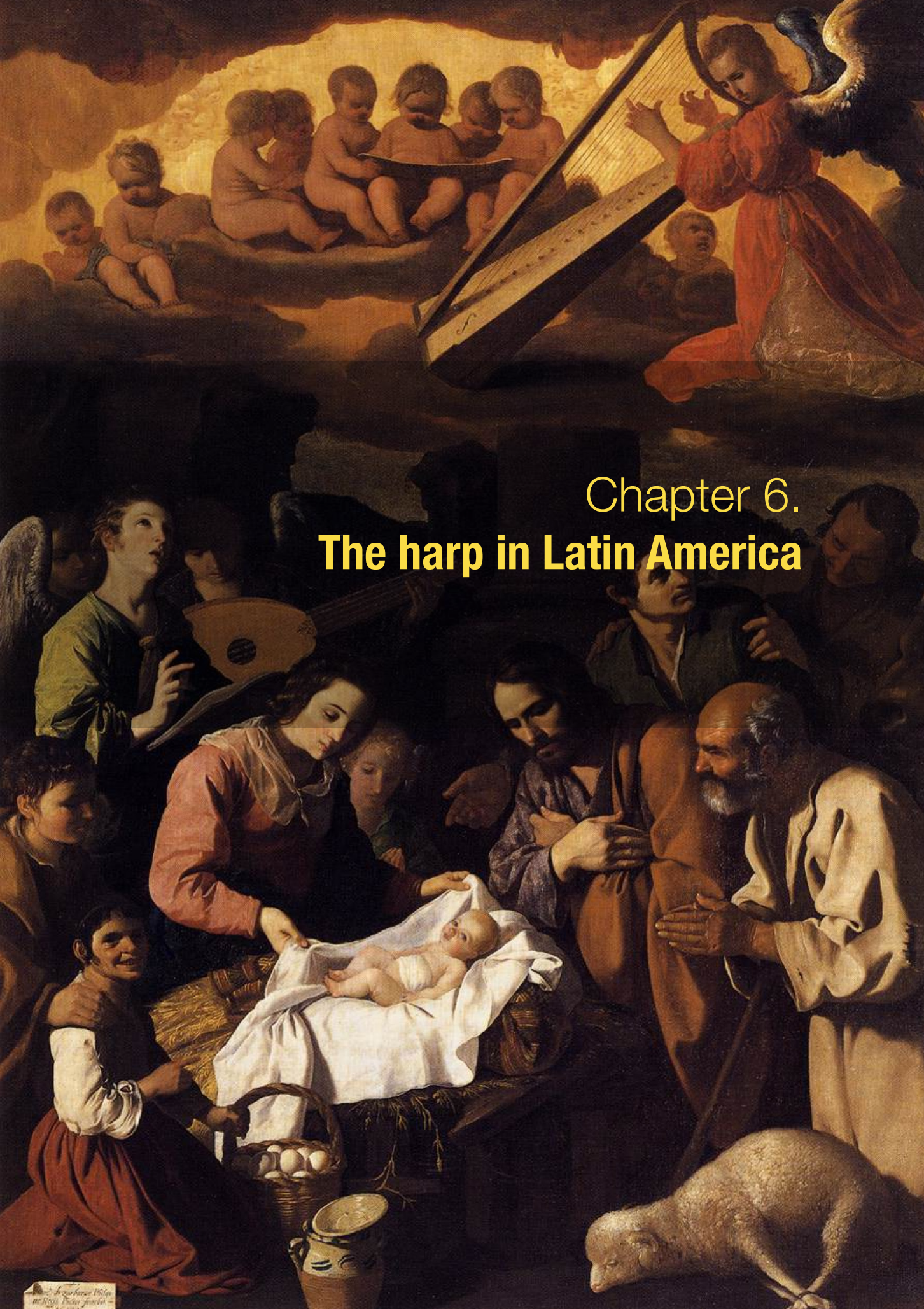
Born in Prato in 1688, he spent his first years of training at the music school of the Cathedral of his native city and then continue his studies first in Florence and then in Rome, a city where he remained well-integrated into the musical environment for a long time.[133]

After being admitted as a Jesuit novice during the Roman period, he moved to Seville with the desire to be sent to the Jesuit reductions of Spanish possessions in South America. It was from there that he left, in 1717, together with a group of missionaries, settling in Cordoba where he remained until his departure, in 1726. During these few years, besides continuing his philosophical and theological studies,[134] he devoted himself simultaneously to the activity of composer, choirmaster and organist in the local Jesuit church, from where his production began to spread from Paraguay to Bolivia, Peru.

In addition to the already mentioned oratories and the collection for organ and harpsichord, Zipoli is the father of copious sacred music and cantatas (such as *Mia Bella Irene* and *Dell'offese a vendicarmi*). He is also credited with some sections of the oratory *San Ignacio de Loyola*, the "opera" of the Jesuit missions, copied many years after his death and rediscovered, in the archives of the Archbishopric of Chiquitos (Bolivia), by Gabriel Garrido, conductor of the Ensemble Elyma.

[133] He was a member of the Society of Musicians of Santa Cecilia, organist of Santa Maria in Trastevere and of the Church of Jesus. The two oratories *Sant' Antonio di Padova* (1712) and *Santa Caterina, vergine e martire* (1714), as well as the famous collection *Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo* (1716) dedicated to Princess Maria Teresa Strozzi, date back to these years.

[134] Due to the lack of a bishop in loco, however, he could not be ordained a priest.



Chapter 6.
The harp in Latin America

Previous page, figure 80. Francisco Zurbarán, “Adoration of the Sheperds” (1638). Grenoble, Musee des Beaux-Arts.

> "[…] One of the Indian boys in the new village who learned with me to play the harp progressed so much that he now masterfully plays in it the most difficult "suites" of world-renowned composers such as Schmelzer and complicated pieces partly written for violin by Biber and Truebner. […]"
>
> Anton Sepp, *Relación de Viaje a Las Misiones Jesuíticas* (Brixen, Editorial de Paul Nicolaus Fuehr, 1696).[135]

As already partially discussed in the previous chapters, the harp is an instrument with very ancient roots. Towards the end of the Middle Ages it was already perfectly integrated into the musical and theatrical culture of many European countries, particularly England and Spain.

An instrument often associated with the figure of kings — King David is always portrayed with a harp on his lap — as it is considered "[…] the most appropriate Symbol of a Monarchy" because "when the right impulse of the hand that supports it, each string plays, in accordance with the temperament that determines it […]"[136], it soon began to be an integral part of the tradition of jesters and minstrels from England and *troubadours* and *trouvères* from France.[137]

In Spain, between the XII and XV centuries, the flourishing of poetry and music was amazing, and began the practice of "importing" minstrels from England to perform in the Iberian courts.[138]

Miguel Querol Gavaldá, in his study of music in the works of Miguel de Cervantes, points out that during the Renaissance there were mainly two contexts in which the harp was used: in the streets, by jesters and acrobats, who used a small, easily transportable instrument that was mainly used to accompany songs; and in the domestic environment, where the instrument was dedicated to a more intimate use and that, because it was fixed in a single place, tended to be larger than that used by minstrels and to have more strings, so as to be useful, in addition to the ac-

[135] Anton Sepp, *Relación de Viaje a Las Misiones Jesuíticas*, (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1971), pp. 118-119.

[136] Diego Fernandez de Huete, *Compendio numeroso de zifras armonicas, con theorica, y practica, para Harpa de una orden, de dos ordenes y de Organo*, 1st ed., vol. 1, 3 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta de Musica, 1702).

[137] A poetic-musical phenomenon originating in France. Between 1070 and 1220, the Troubadours flourished and worked in the southern provinces (Provence, Languedoc, Limousin, Auvergne) in an environment of feudal nobility, and their literary production was expressed in the *langue d'oc*. The *Trouvères*, on the other hand, operating in the regions of northern France between 1145 and 1300, and mostly proceeding from the monastic world or from the small bourgeoisie, expressed themselves in the *langue d'oil* (the language that gave rise to modern French).

[138] Among these include, for example, the *joglaressa* Catarina d'Anglaterra who arrived in Spain to perform in the XIV century.

companiment, to the performance of solo songs.[139] It is probably this second type of instrument for which composers such as Henestrosa and Cabezón conceived their music collections.

The incredible spread of the harp in every "artistic" environment of the time can also be deduced from the flowering of ordinances for the guilds of luthiers in which it was specified that, to be considered as such, they had to be able to build various instruments, including the harp.[140] This kind of ordinance also began to appear in the New World, both in the viceroyalty of New Spain[141] and in that of Peru[142], from the XVI century, a symptom of the fact that the "fashion" of the harp had also been imported there by Spanish settlers. It is also interesting to note how, according to the findings of Omar Morales Abril, the harp became part of the cathedral music chapels of the New World at least a decade earlier than those of the motherland. In his study "El esclavo negro Juan de Vera: cantor, arpista y compositor de la catedral de Puebla (*floruit* 1575-1617)" he underlines the fact that the oldest evidence of a harp and a harpist in Hispanic cathedrals comes from the cathedral of Puebla de los Angeles (Mexico) and that regular use of the harp has been recorded since the 1630s — unlike the cathedrals of the Iberian peninsula, where it appears between 1643 and 1649.[143]

It is evident from the iconography of the time preserved that certain types of harp arrived in the New World, since some of the "modern" derivatives have characteristics similar, if not identical, to those in the representations of the time. This is the case, for example, of the harp represented in the "Adoration of the Shepherds" (1638) by Francisco de Zurbarán, a Spanish painter, who presents two f-holes like those of the violins, a characteristic that can be found in some models of harps from the XIX and XX centuries found in Ecuador. Another example is the similarity between the harp by Joseph Hernandez of Valladolid — but also that of Ivan Lopez of

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[139] Miguel Querol Gavaldá, *La Música En Las Obras de Cervantes* (Barcelona: Ediciones Comtalia, 1948), pp. 142-143.

[140] "The luthier, in order to know his trade well, and attain in some eminence, must be able to make diverse instruments: a *claviorgano*, a lute, a harp." Sevilla ordinance of February 14, 1527.

[141] Juan Francisco del Barrio Lorenzot, in his *Ordenanzas de gremios de la Nueva España*, points out that, in accordance with the ordinance of 1568 approved by the chapter of the City of Mexico, the manufacturers of instruments had to prove that they had the ability to build various types of instruments, both string and keyboard, including the harp. John M. Schechter, *The Indispensable Harp: Historical Development, Modern Roles, Configurations, and Performance Practices in Ecuador and Latin America* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1992), p.31.

[142] "[…] the *bigolero* in order to know well his trade and to be singular of it, has to know how to make instruments of many arts. He must know how to make a *clabiorgano* and a *clabicinbano* and a monocordio and a lute and a *vihuela de arco* and a harp and a big *vihuela* of pieces with his *ataracias* and other vihuelas that are less than all this […]". In: Costanza Alruiz and Laura Fahrenkrog, 'Construcción de instrumentos musicales en el Virreinato del Perú vínculos y proyecciones con Santiago de Chile', *Resonancias: Revista de investigación musical* 12, no. 22 (May 2008), pp. 48-49.

[143] Omar Morales Abril, 'El esclavo negro Juan de Vera. Cantor, arpista y compositor de la Catedral de Puebla (fl. 1575-1617)', in *Música y catedral: nuevos enfoques, viejas temáticas* (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México, 2010), pp. 18-19.

Figure 81. Francisco de Zurbarán, "The temptation of St. Jerome" (1639). Real Monastry of Santa Maria de Guadalupe, Spain.

Toledo — and the harps of the Peruvian Sierra of the XX century, which present, like their Spanish "ancestor", three "parallel" pairs of harmonic holes on the table.

It is highly probable that the first harps arrived in the new world already with the first conquerors and settlers,[144] after which various missionary orders — in particu-

[144]Gabriel Saldivar in his "*Historia de la música en México (épocas precortesiana y colonial)*" (1934) points out that, among the conquerors and the first settlers, there were already some who dedicated themselves to teaching music: "Among the conquistadors, those who dedicated themselves to teaching music were Benito

lar that of the Jesuits — helped to establish the harp as one of the main instruments both in liturgical practices and in secular life. Since the arrival of the first Franciscans in 1523, as we have seen, much emphasis was placed on the evangelization of the indigenous people, especially, and thanks to Pedro de Gante, through music. In the missionary schools of artes y oficios (arts and crafts) it is not unthinkable that, in addition to the teaching of plainsong and polyphony, the indigenous people should also be trained in instrumental performance, in the construction of instruments and in the copying of music books.

There is not enough evidence to determine whether the Spanish double harp ever arrived in the New World. While Cristina Bordas asserts that this instrument was never played outside its native country,[145] Gonzalo Camacho Díaz, in his "El arpa en el México Colonial. Entre lo sacro y lo secular, la transculturación y la mixtura musical", speculates on the possibility of the presence of the double harp in the musical chapels of the viceroyalties, based on the repertoire of the period.[146] The only musical source that corroborates Camacho's theory would be a writing by Father Antonio Sepp, where a "two choirs"[147] harp is mentioned.[148] Another point in favour of this theory, as Costanza Alruiz and Laura Fahrenkrog point out in their article on the construction of musical instruments in the viceroyalty of Peru,[149] would be a biographical fact about the theorist Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz. He visited Peru, as already mentioned, following the Count of Lemos in 1667, and was at the service of his court where he acquired all his musical knowledge. When, on his return to Spain, he published his treatise "Luz y Norte musical", he will refer only and exclusively to double harps, leaving reasonable grounds for believing that he had learned the practice of this instrument in the Viceroy of Peru.

In consideration of all the above-mentioned antecedents, it is possible to suggest that both types of harps coexisted in the American territory, but with the strong

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Bejel or of Vejel, according to his signature, on fife, Maese Pedro, on harp, Ortiz the Nahuatl on vihuela and viola - these in Mexico City - and Alphonso Morón, on vihuela, in Colima". In: Gabriel Saldívar, *Historia de La Música En México (Épocas Precortesiana y Colonial)* (México: Talleres de la Editorial Cultura, 1934), p. 161.

[145] Cristina Bordas *et al*., 'Arpa', in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares, vol. 1 (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores (SGAE), 1999), p. 709.

[146] Gonzalo Camacho Díaz, 'El arpa en el México Colonial. Entre lo sacro y lo secular, la transculturación y la mixtura musical.', *Latin American Studies Association, XXI Internacional Congress*, 1998, p. 2.

[147] Considering the definition of chorus as "each of the two sectors, right and left, in which the chorus is divided to sing in alternation", the harp with "two choruses of strings" would correspond to a specimen with two rows of strings, or two orders. Cfr. https://dle.rae.es/?w=coro, n. 12.

[148] I was receiving them [the Indians] from even the most remote reductions for me to instruct them […]. I taught them to play the organ, the harp (that of two string choirs) […] and not only learned to play it, but at the end also to build it, as well as other instruments. In various reductions there are, today, Indian masters who know how to make from the vibrant cedar wood a harp of David […]" in Piotr Nawrot, *Indígenas y cultura musical de las reducciones jesuíticas*, vol.1 (Bolivia: Editorial Verbo Divino, 2000), p. 12.

[149] Costanza Alruiz and Laura Fahrenkrog, 'Construcción de instrumentos musicales en el Virreinato del Perú vínculos y proyecciones con Santiago de Chile', op. cit., p. 55.

supremacy of the diatonic model over the chromatic one.

Initially, due to a lack of Spanish musicians, the indigenous people became — thanks to their incredible easy approach to music and to the excellent teachings provided in the missions and in the indigenous parishes — part of the music companies linked to the churches, both in New Spain and in the viceroyship of Peru, soon becoming too many, so much so as to make necessary, in the mid-XVI century, the ordinance to limit the use of certain instruments and the number of indigenous musicians and singers in the churches.

However, the harp had its greatest development, as regards the Spanish colonies in America, in rural areas, starting from the missions and indigenous parishes to flourish in multiple forms spread throughout the continent. It is probable, therefore, that precisely because it developed in a rural environment, this instrument has not kept many written sources, relying mainly, both for teaching and for performing, on oral tradition and memory.

According to the Argentinian harpist Marcela Méndez, the process of hybridisation of the harp, and of all the other instruments, as well as the repertoire, began with the expulsion of the Jesuits from their *reducciones*.[150] This event led to the dispersion of the indigenous people living there, and to the consequent mixing, in the return to life with their consanguineous, of the European teachings received during their stay in the reducciones with the still existing native cultures and with the "criolla" one. From there, according to Méndez, began to develop what are now the local "folklores" of the various territories once subject to Spanish rule.

[150] Marcela Méndez, *Historia del arpa en la Argentina* (Entre Ríos, Argentina: Editorial de Entre Ríos, 2004), p. 27.

Conclusions

Previous page, figure 82. Spanish colonial painting of “Archangel with harp”, XVIII century. Anonymous painter of the Escuela Cuzqueña. Lima, private collection.

The penetration of European music into the territories recently discovered in America was a sudden phenomenon in many respects. The Spanish colonists took possession of the new world very quickly, replacing its political and administrative system — thanks to a technologically more sophisticated military force — in just over fifty years from the arrival of Columbus in the West Indies and the new continent. The ideological reluctance of the conquerors to consider the value of the indigenous culture, systematically denigrated and essentially compromised by the destruction of the sources, did not allow that the Indian-American musical traditions — traditions to be eradicated as pagan — somehow permeated the music that the Europeans brought with them since the beginning of the colonisation.

Latin American colonial music, at least that liturgical and courtly, was essentially the transplantation of an experienced organ into a new body. Responsible for this transplant were, from the mid-XVI century, musicians born and trained in Catholic Spain, and apart from the individual stylistic features of individual singers and composers, it is difficult if not impossible to draw a clear stylistic distinction between European Spanish music and its equivalent in the American cathedrals. Too strong was the cultural heritage of the motherland, too sudden the overlap with the original cultures of the New World, too brutal the caste distinction even in the cultural sphere, too rigid the need to use music as an instrument of colonization, because the elements proper of the American tradition could filter into the cultured music of the colonies.

If a general difference can be observed between the two musical worlds, it is perhaps a certain technical simplification of American harmony, whose execution had to be entrusted for a long time to ensembles of musicians and singers with less preparation and less virtuosity.

At the same time, on the outskirts of the new Spanish empire, where the monolith of Hispanic culture crumbled into more hybrid outposts, not only did the original music of the American continent partially penetrate the conceptual score of European music, but also served as a bridge for the assumption of totally heterogeneous models, such as those deriving from African traditions imported with enslaved labor. It was precisely where the orthodox apparatus of the Catholic faith could exercise its control

less strictly, in the religious outposts of the missions, where a space was opened so that the exchange between the expressive forms could — albeit timidly — give rise to an original musical culture. And it was the natural curiosity of the defeated for the "tools" of Spanish domination, that allowed the flowering of new instrumental forms, disinterested in organological orthodoxy.

It is unfortunately certain in world history that the voice that is preserved is that of the winner, and the Spanish America of the "siglo de oro" was no exception to this rule. It is likely that no one considered that it was worth transcribing the musical "inventions" born spontaneously outside the official channels of art, on the borders of the empire, *mestizas* and hybrid works as their composers. However, these works have not stopped playing. We can still listen to them in the cheerful sound of the *paraguayan* harp, in the *huayno* rhythms of the Peruvian *domingacha* harp, in the nostalgic melody of the "Cascabel" played with the *jarocha* harp in Mexico or in the sweet country lyric of the Venezuelan and Colombian *arpa llanera*.

The Amerindians, African Americans and all the intermediate castes that these groups formed with the conquerors through genetic exchange, were on the other hand very receptive to the Spanish musical traditions — which they incorporated into their own lost rites — and to the new instruments that the Europeans brought with if in the New World.

It is curious to note that, probably due to the absence of prominent harpists among the Spanish musicians who arrived in America, a repertoire for harp was not preserved and developed in the New World, whilst the harp itself triumphed in America to be interpreted into the various forms it assumed — and which still exist — in the Latin American musical geography.

The primary objective of this study — that of following the development of harp music from its landing on the American shores to the creation of a Hispano-American "own language" — was substantially frustrated by the absence of original sources that allow to trace the fundamental stages. Nonetheless, the examination of Spanish music straddling the two worlds — from its Castilian origins to the formation of the first "classical" musicians born in the colonies — has allowed us to see how new currents, influenced by radically different cultures, have in fact given place to basis for the development of a music rich in innovative elements such as that of modern Latin America.

The "angelic music" of the New World was, by vocation, ideologic and religious, it was Castilian music under new skies. Out of necessity and opportunity, however, it gave birth to a completely new music that, if it could not leave irrefutable traces of its becoming, appears instead suddenly "mature", like Minerva from the head of Zeus, in the rhythms and instruments of the modern Latin American tradition.

The "middle kingdom" of this story is perhaps partially written in some secondary archive of the parishes and colonial buildings, waiting to be discovered and interpret-

ed. I hope this will be a glimpse, however narrow and risky, towards future research.

There is no doubt that the harp was, among the musical instruments that Europeans brought with them to the new overseas lands, one of those that most struck the attention of the Amerindians. Its characteristic "celestial" sound, totally unprecedented among the sounds of indigenous instrumental equipment, perhaps made it the favourite among the plucked instruments adopted by the popular Amerindian cultures, as still testified by the numerous regional versions that have embodied this instrument in all Americas who came into contact with the Spanish world and its musical culture.

Already Garcilaso de la Vega had found a way of amazement at the speed with which the indigenous Americans were able to reproduce, with improvised techniques, the instruments imported by the conquerors. In the specific case of the harp, perhaps precisely the organological difficulties in its construction favoured the birth of autonomous variations in the dimensions, shapes and sounds, which probably formed the basis for modern Latin American harps.

The notation of a specific repertoire for American harps is not known except from the late nineteenth century: too far from the era that interested us in this study to be able to shed light on the musical origins of modern harp in Latin America. It is therefore unlikely the possibility to reconstruct a continuous path that leads directly from the classical instruments arrived from Spain at the end of the XV century to the vernacular versions that defined the non-canonical use of the angelical instrument in America. It is nevertheless of great interest to note that an instrument which, due to its specific sound, seemed to lend itself in a special form to the execution of celestial and liturgical music, was adopted, modifying it for the purpose, to translate a local repertoire that is not sacred but popular, as we can listen today in the music composed for Latin American harps.

As we said, the *trait-d'union* between the two worlds, that of the recently subjugated cultures that showed an authentic interest in absorbing elements of the new dominant culture and make them their own in a hybrid language, and that of the cultures that finally resulted from this immense experiment of human and cultural hybridisation that is modern Latin America, it was never transcribed. In the absence of sources, it is up to the musicologist, rather than the historian, to "read" the inventions of modern Hispanic-American music and research the sounds that generated them initially.

I believe that this research could be not only musically very fruitful, but able to write at least in part some chapters of a musical history, that of the defeated, of which we know only fragments, but which have given birth to one of the most original and fruitful repertoires of contemporary music.

Glossary

Alta danza
Term used to define fast and lively dances, such as gagliarde or canarios. These are energy dances full of lifts and leaps. Used as opposed to the term *bassa danza* (see definition).

Angle harp
(or angular harp) A musical instrument in which the neck forms an evident angle with the resonator. The earliest iconographic references, found in the geographical area formerly occupied by Mesopotamia, date back to 2000 BC.

Antara
It is an important pre-Columbian musical instrument of the Paracas and Nasca cultures (both formerly based in what is now Peru), belonging to the same family as the siku and the pan flute, dating back 2,500 years or more. In the vestiges of the Nasca culture, you can find chromatic ceramic *antaras*.

Atabal
Small drum or tambourine that is usually played at public parties.

Atabaleros
Atabal player.

Ballad
The *ballade* is a form of medieval and Renaissance French poetry as well as the corresponding musical chanson form. It was one of the three formes fixes (the other two were the rondeau and the virelai) and one of the verse forms in France most commonly set to music between the late XIII and the XV centuries.

Baxa danza
(*bassedanse, bassadanza*) The most popular court dance (originating in XIV-century Italy) of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, especially in the Burgundian court, often in combined time of 6/4 and 3/2 which allowed the use of hemiolia. The word "low" describes the nature of the dance, in which pairs of dancers moved gracefully in a slow slide. Term used in opposition to *alta danza* (see definition).

Cancioneril poems
It is usually called *lírica cancioneril* the one composed during the XIII to XVI

centuries and compiled in anthologies elaborated by some collector of poems called *cancioneros*.

Cantiga

The *cantiga* is the traditional genre of Galician-Portuguese medieval poetry (XII-XIV centuries). The *cantigas* are sung poems, whose lyrics and music were composed by troubadours. The one who played and sang these poems was the jongleur, who sometimes was also a troubadour.

Cantus firmus

In music, *cantus firmus* refers to a pre-existing melody which constitutes the basis of a polyphonic composition.

Castizo

The racial caste *castiza* was created to classify people who had European and American ancestors. *Castizo* was descended from a Spanish father and a mestizo mother or vice versa, resulting in three quarters white Hispanic and one quarter native.

Cavaquinho

The cavaquinho is a small Portuguese stringed instrument of the European guitar family, with four strings of wire or gut, imported into Latin America during the conquest. The Brazilian cavaquinho is slightly larger than the Portuguese one.

Chanson

The word chanson refers to the French polyphonic song of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, spread by troubadours and troubadours.

Chantres

The *chantre*, within the Catholic Church, is the name of an ecclesiastical title given within some collegiate councils. It is an office that designated the master chanter or choir master in the main temples, especially in the cathedrals. In some places, this term also referred to the *sochantre* who governed the choir by governing the chanting. The name chantre comes from the French *chanteur*, which would be translated as singer.

Charango

The *charango* is a stringed instrument, probably originating from the Quechua and Aymara populations of the Andean plateau territories. Descending from the vihuela and the baroque guitar, it was originally built with the shell of an armadillo.

Chirimia

Chirimía is a Spanish term for a type of woodwind instrument similar to an oboe. The chirimía is a member of the shawm family of double-reed instruments, introduced to Central and South America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the Spanish clergy.

Conquistador

Knights, soldiers and explorers of the Spanish Empire and the Portuguese Empire. During the Age of Discovery, conquistadors sailed beyond Europe to the Ameri-

cas, Oceania, Africa, and Asia, conquering territory and opening trade routes.

Cornetto

The cornett, or *cornetto* is an early wind instrument that dates from the Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque periods, popular from 1500 to 1650. It was used in what are now called alta capellas or wind ensembles.

Criollos

The term *criollo* (= creole) comes from the ancient Castilian (mestizo, home-born servant) and originally indicated the individuals born from parents both European or African in the American colonies; later it extended to indicate mestizo, meaning today prevalent.

Cuatro

The cuatro is a typical Latin American musical instrument, particularly used in Venezuela and Puerto Rico. It is a Latin American derivative of the baroque guitar imported by the Spanish in the XV century.

Decires

Medieval poetry compositions not intended for singing and admitting very varied contents. Among others, there is the amateur (= *amatorios*) and moral (= *morales*) one.

Encomienda

A grant by the Spanish Crown to a colonist in America conferring the right to demand tribute and forced labour from the Indian inhabitants of an area.

Esparsa

or *cobra esparsa* is the basic strophe, or stanza, of medieval Trobadoric poetry written in Occitan. It has no fixed extension, oscillating between 3 and 44 verses, but those of 8, 9 and 10 verses predominate. Each *cobla* of a song was usually sung with the same melody.

Fandango

The term distinguishes a dance typical of the Balearic Islands in ternary rhythm (3/4 or 6/8) which is danced in pairs and is accompanied by castanets, hand-clapping (*palmas* in Spanish) and guitar and sometimes sung.

Frottola

The *frottola* is the predominant genre of Italian folk song throughout the 15th century and the early XVI century. Generally a frottola is a composition for three or four voices with the voice with the highest tone containing the melody; often the voices were accompanied by a musical instrument.

Guineo

The *Guineos, Negros* or *Negrillas* (also called *villancico de negros*, "black villancico"), were a genre of *villancico* that sought to portray the African slaves, imitating their music and their way of speaking. It was a *villancico* that gave voice to African characters speaking in an early Creole variety of Spanish or Portuguese, sometimes

mixing some loose words from the Yoruba or Bantu languages, and tending to incorporate the strong percussion rhythmic patterns that were considered typical of African dances.

Maestro de capilla

The expression *maestro de capilla* (= chapel master) refers to the person responsible for the music of an ecclesiastical chapel. The term is a translation of the Latin *magister capellae*; the *cappella* was the centre of musical activity during the Middle Ages. The *magister capellae* later became *maître de chapelle* (in French), *maestro di cappella* (in Italian), *Kapellmeister* (in German).

Mestizos

The term **mestizo** was originally used to indicate the individuals who were born from the crossbreeding between the Spanish and Portuguese Conquistadors or European settlers and the indigenous pre-Columbian Amerindian populations.

Ministriles

Ministril is one of the names given to the musicians or jongleurs who complemented the medieval troubadours. It seems that troubadours, troveros and minnesingers, were proud of their literary activity but they were ashamed of playing instruments, so in a traditional way they resorted to the *ministriles* for this function of instrumental accompaniment of their songs. Later on, the term *ministril* was used to differentiate the musicians from the singers.

Motes

Mote is the verse or set of verses that is used as a poetic challenge, for the creation of a poetic composition such as glosa or villancico. Composed of one or more verses (often two verses), it can appear in different positions in the response stanza.

Organetto

A term which, in the XIV-XVI centuries, designated the portative organ.

Pasatiempo

Pastime.

Pidgin

Simplified language born from the encounter between different languages, especially between a European language and an indigenous language of Africa, South East Asia or America, to solve communication problems in business relations.

Portative organ

The portative organ, also called organetto, is a small organ, although structurally similar to larger instruments. As the name says, it is a transportable instrument that can be played without the need for a stable support, unlike the positive organ.

Positive organ

The positive organ (also called simply positive or chamber organ) is a small pipe organ, equipped with a single manual. Its name derives from the Latin ponere, "collocate", as it is possible to carry it.

Serranilla

Serranilla is a lyrical-narrative composition in minor art verse (verse of eight syllables or less), typically Castilian, which tells of a love affair with a woman from the *sierra* or *serrana*.

Tiento

The *tiento* is a musical form for solo instruments similar to the fantasy, typical of 16th century Spanish music. It is a musical form that tries to exploit the possibilities of the instrument, being able to be considered as a predecessor of the etude, in fact sometimes they are ordered with increasing difficulty, as an exercise of technical learning.

Tinya

The *Tinya*, also known as *Wankar* or *Wankara*, is an Andean percussion instrument similar to a drum, whose use is widespread in the Andean American region: Ecuador, Peru, the Bolivian Altiplano, and northern Argentina and Chile. It is built from very fine rawhide, giving it a vibrant and sharp sound. It has a mystical origin and was used exclusively in spiritual rituals that were celebrated in the Central Andes area.

Villancico

The *villancico* is a musical genre born in Spain and Portugal at the end of the XV century that was in vogue during the Renaissance and early Baroque, as well as in the Iberian Peninsula and in the colonies of the New World.

Virelai

A *virelai* is a form of medieval French verse used often in poetry and music.

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Index of illustrations

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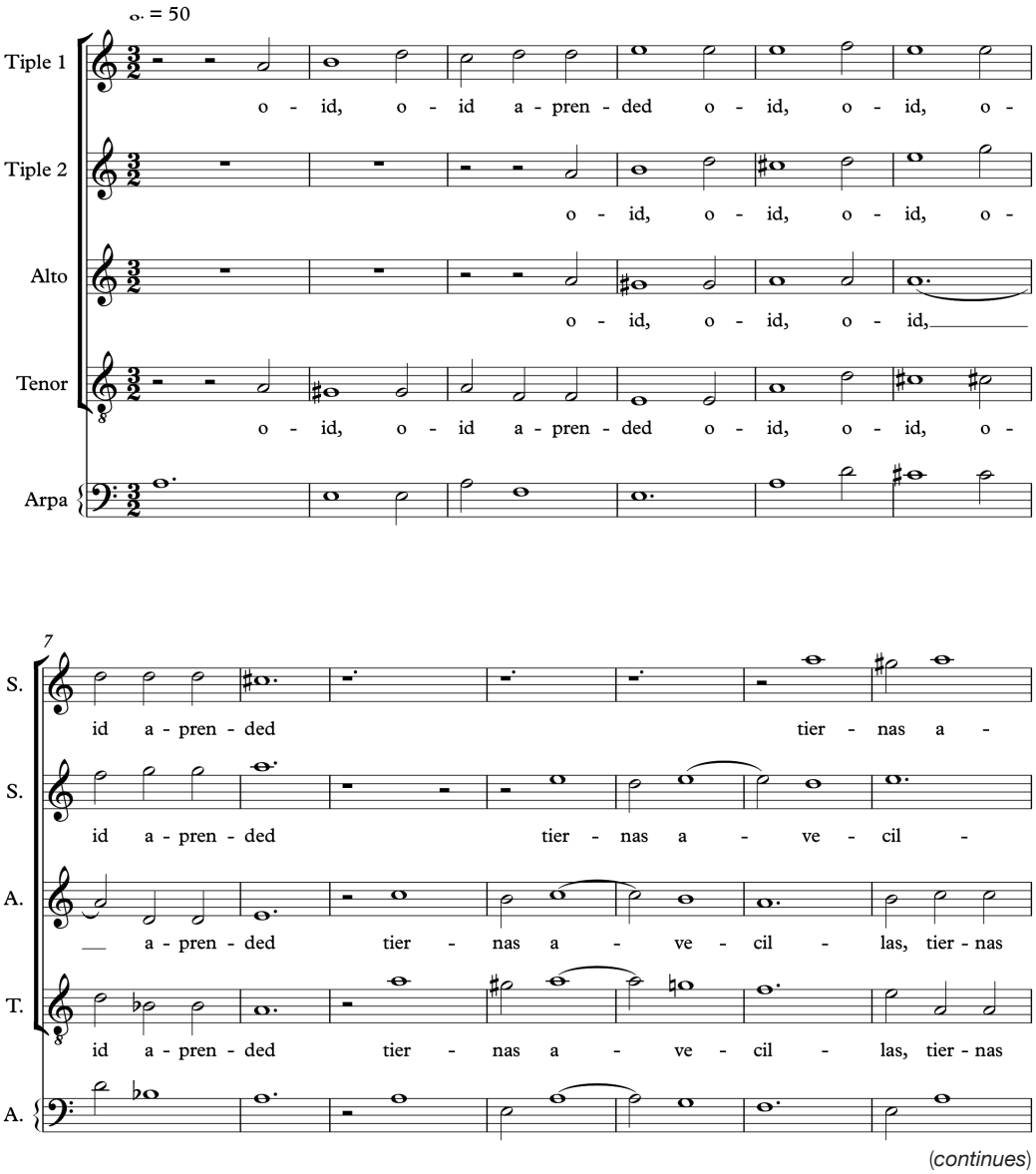
[Numbers in italics refer to a page with illustration]

Appendix

Oid, oid, aprended

Antonio de Salazar



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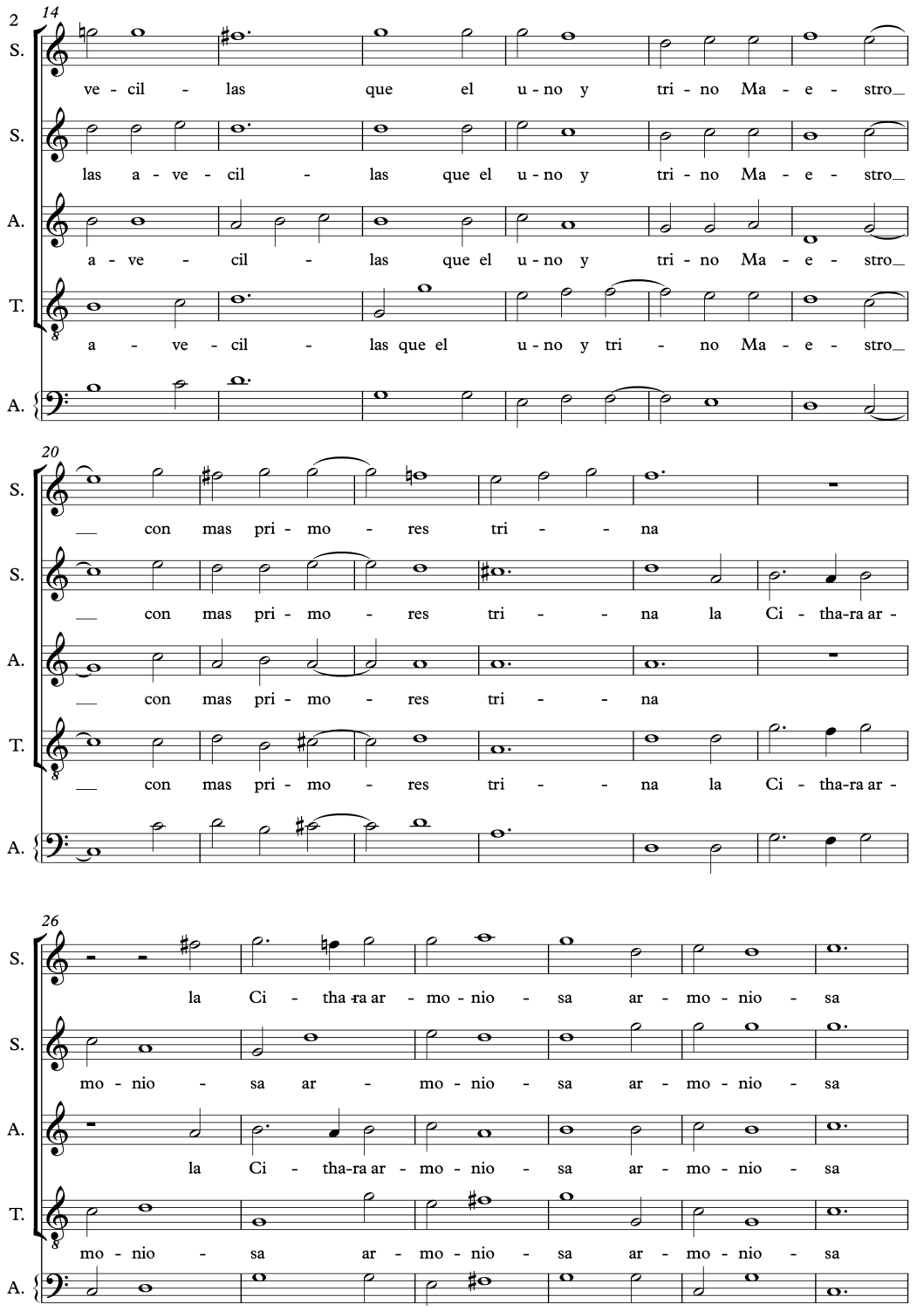
Musical score 1. Antonio de Salazar, "Oid, oid, aprended". Copyright © Carlotta Pupulin.


2
14
S. ve - cil - las que el u - no y tri - no Ma - e - stro_
S. las a - ve - cil - las que el u - no y tri - no Ma - e - stro_
A. a - ve - cil - las que el u - no y tri - no Ma - e - stro_
T. a - ve - cil - las que el u - no y tri - no Ma - e - stro_
A.
20
S. _ con mas pri - mo - res tri - - na
S. _ con mas pri - mo - res tri - - na la Ci - tha-ra ar -
A. _ con mas pri - mo - res tri - - na
T. _ con mas pri - mo - res tri - - na la Ci - tha-ra ar -
A.
26
S. la Ci - tha-ra ar - mo - nio - sa ar - mo - nio - sa
S. mo - nio - sa ar - mo - nio - sa ar - mo - nio - sa
A. la Ci - tha-ra ar - mo - nio - sa ar - mo - nio - sa
T. mo - nio - sa ar - mo - nio - sa ar - mo - nio - sa
A.

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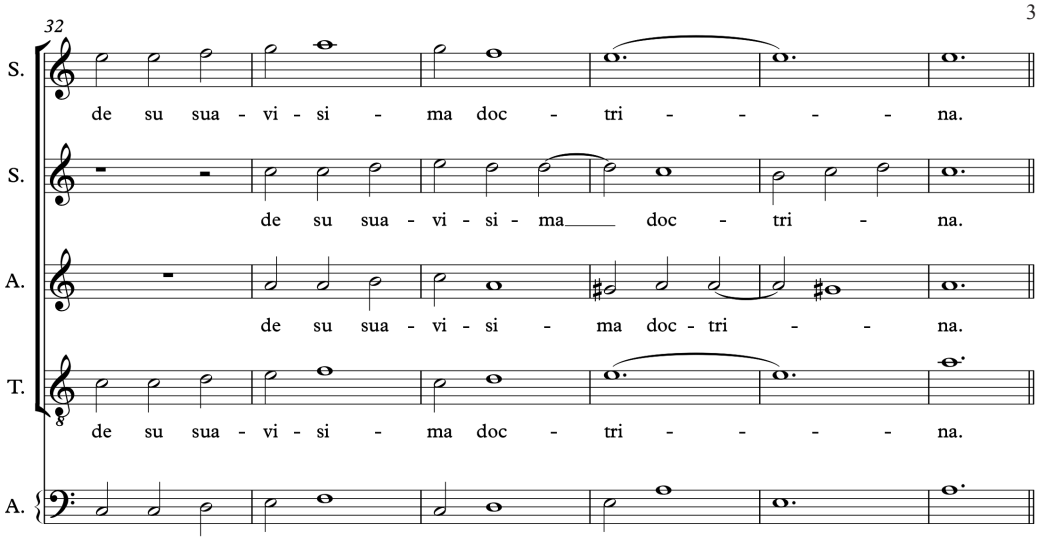
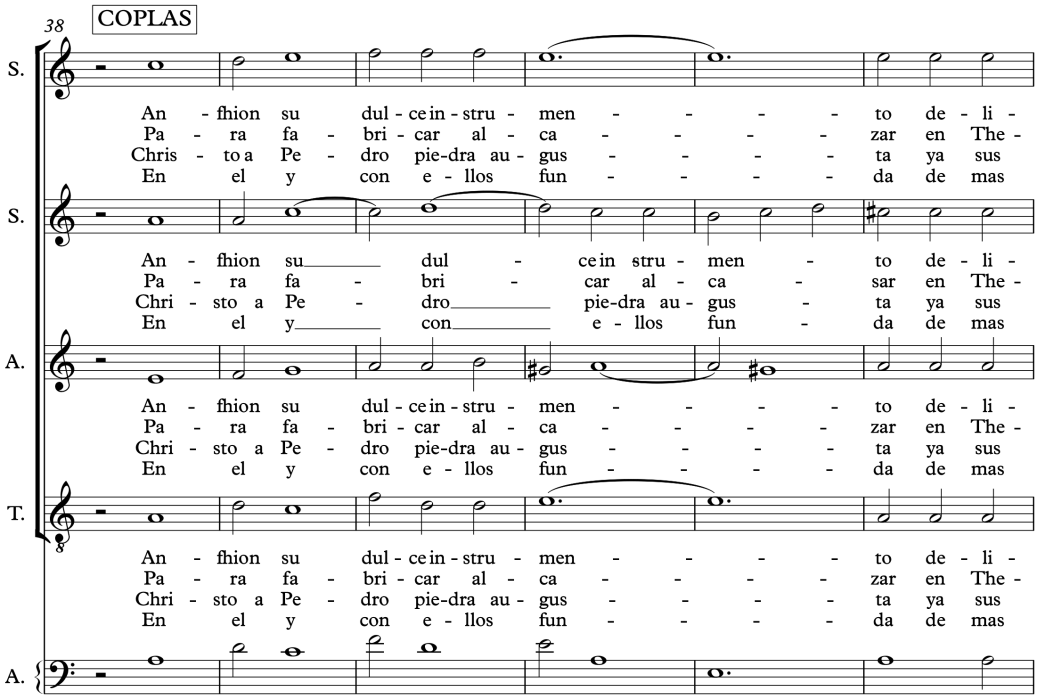
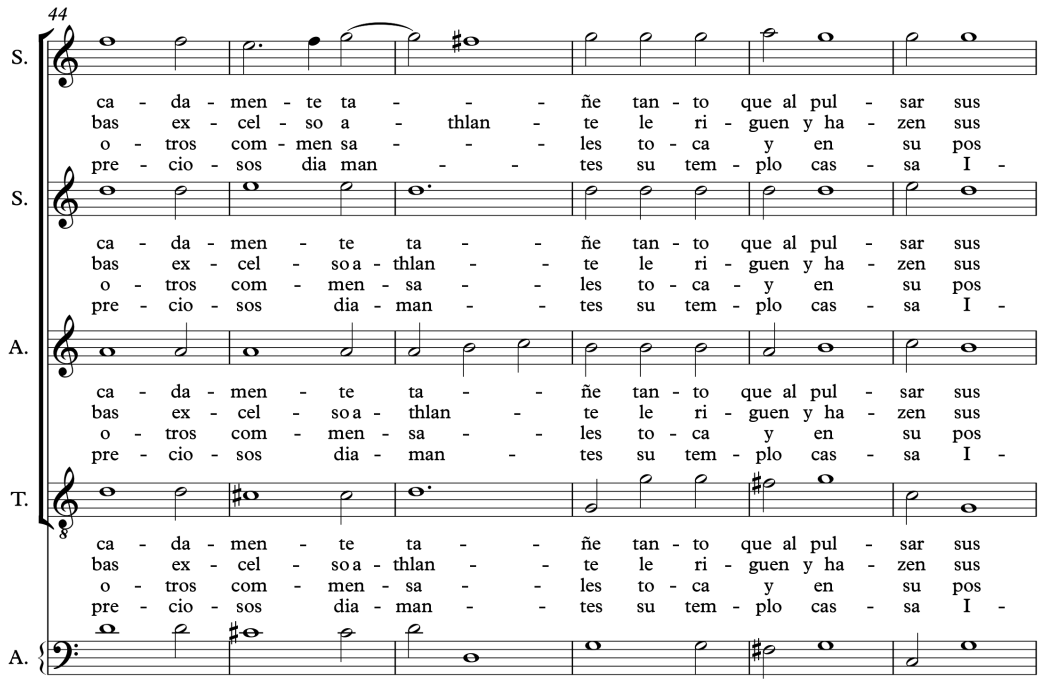
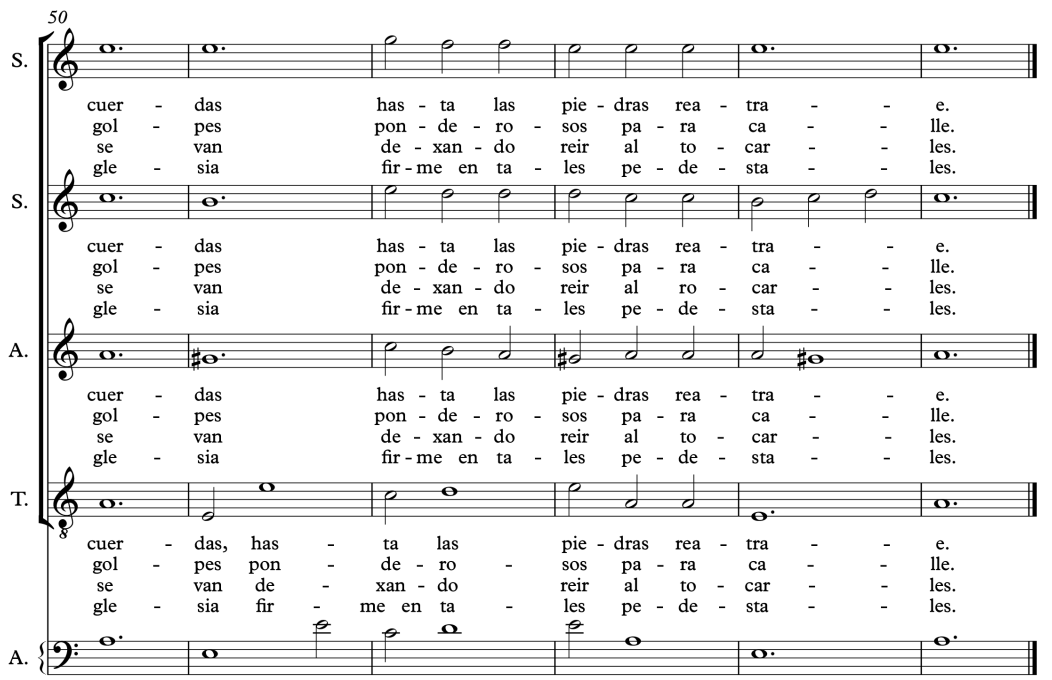

32
S.
de su sua - vi - si - ma doc - tri - - - - na.
S.
de su sua - vi - si - ma doc - tri - na.
A.
de su sua - vi - si - ma doc - tri - - na.
T.
de su sua - vi - si - ma doc - tri - - - - na.
A.


38
COPLAS
S.
An - fhion su dul - ce in - stru - men - - - - to de - li -
Pa - ra fa - bri - car al - ca - - - - zar en The -
Chris - to a Pe - dro pie-dra au - gus - - - - ta ya sus
En el y con e - llos fun - - - - da de mas
S.
An - fhion su dul - ce in stru - men - to de - li -
Pa - ra fa - bri - car al - ca - sar en The -
Chri - sto a Pe - dro pie-dra au - gus - ta ya sus
En el y con e - llos fun - da de mas
A.
An - fhion su dul - ce in - stru - men - - - - to de - li -
Pa - ra fa - bri - car al - ca - - - - zar en The -
Chri - sto a Pe - dro pie-dra au - gus - - - - ta ya sus
En el y con e - llos fun - - - - da de mas
T.
An - fhion su dul - ce in - stru - men - - - - to de - li -
Pa - ra fa - bri - car al - ca - - - - zar en The -
Chri - sto a Pe - dro pie-dra au - gus - - - - ta ya sus
En el y con e - llos fun - - - - da de mas
A.

(*continues*)

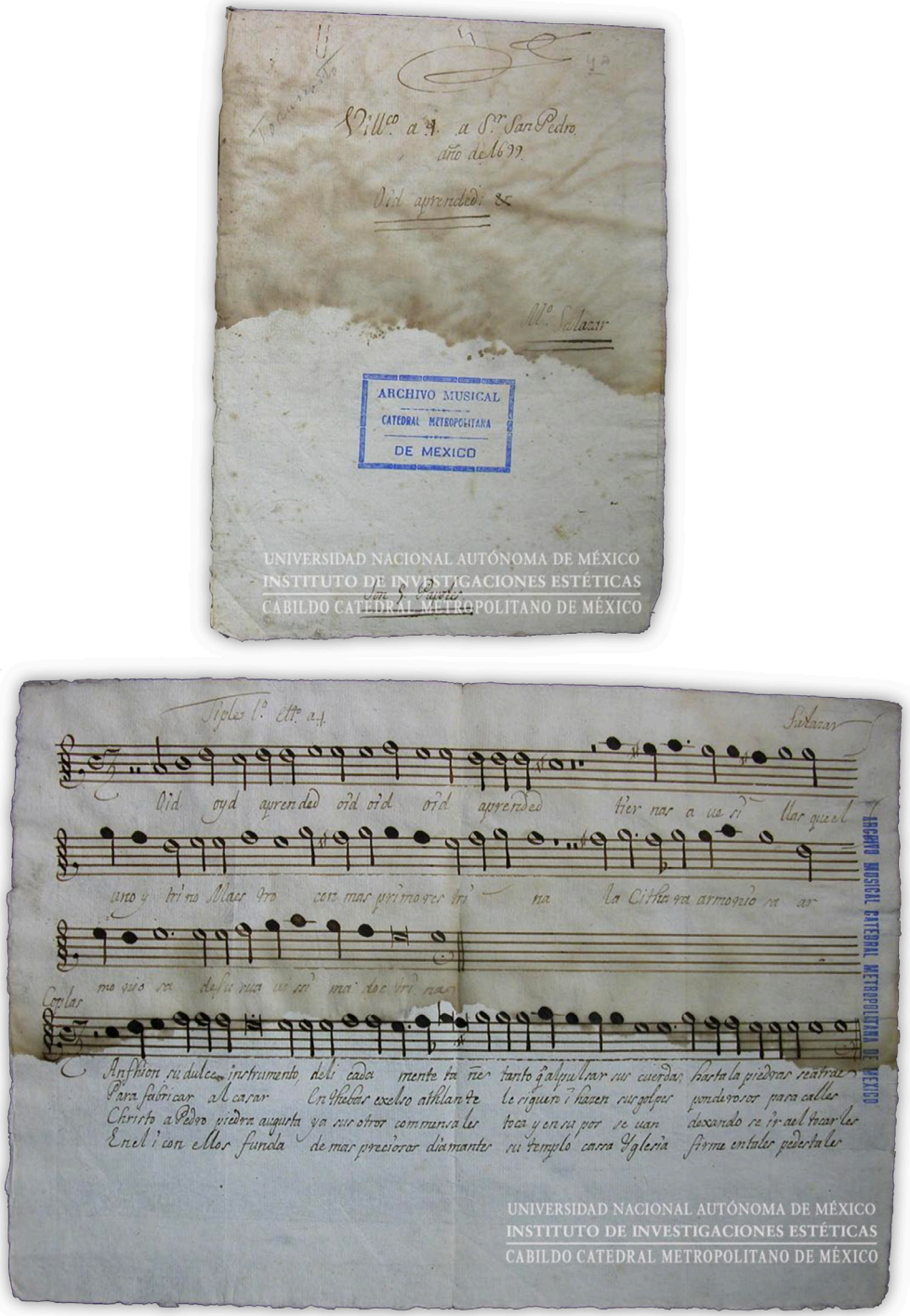
4


44
S.
ca - da - men - te ta - - - ñe tan - to que al pul - sar sus
bas ex - cel - so a - thlan - te le ri - guen y ha - zen sus
o - tros com - men sa - - - les to - ca y en su pos
pre - cio - sos dia man - - - tes su tem - plo cas - sa I -
S.
ca - da - men - te ta - - - ñe tan - to que al pul - sar sus
bas ex - cel - so a - thlan - te le ri - guen y ha - zen sus
o - tros com - men - sa - - les to - ca - y en su pos
pre - cio - sos dia - man - - tes su tem - plo cas - sa I -
A.
ca - da - men - te ta - - ñe tan - to que al pul - sar sus
bas ex - cel - so a - thlan - te le ri - guen y ha - zen sus
o - tros com - men - sa - - les to - ca y en su pos
pre - cio - sos dia - man - tes su tem - plo cas - sa I -
T.
ca - da - men - te ta - - ñe tan - to que al pul - sar sus
bas ex - cel - so a - thlan - - te le ri - guen y ha - zen sus
o - tros com - men - sa - - les to - ca y en su pos
pre - cio - sos dia - man - - tes su tem - plo cas - sa I -
A.

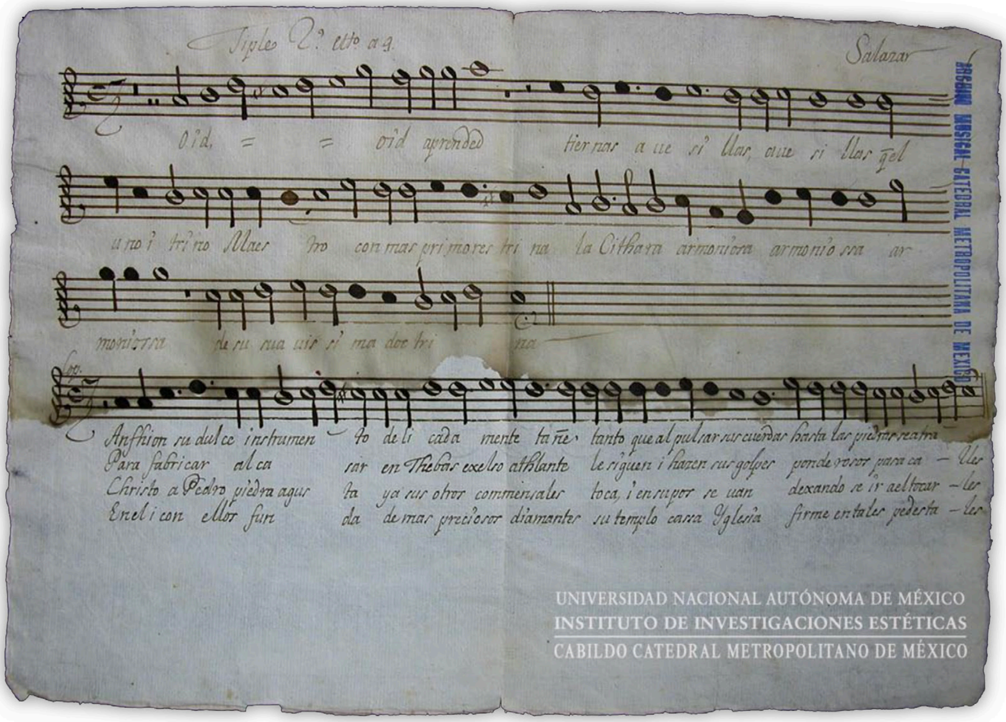

50
S.
cuer - das has - ta las pie - dras rea - tra - - e.
gol - pes pon - de - ro - sos pa - ra ca - - lle.
se van de - xan - do reir al to - car - - les.
gle - sia fir - me en ta - les pe - de - sta - - les.
S.
cuer - das has - ta las pie - dras rea - tra - - e.
gol - pes pon - de - ro - sos pa - ra ca - - lle.
se van de - xan - do reir al ro - car - - les.
gle - sia fir - me en ta - les pe - de - sta - - les.
A.
cuer - das has - ta las pie - dras rea - tra - - e.
gol - pes pon - de - ro - sos pa - ra ca - - lle.
se van de - xan - do reir al to - car - - les.
gle - sia fir - me en ta - les pe - de - sta - - les.
T.
cuer - das, has - ta las pie - dras rea - tra - - e.
gol - pes pon - de - ro - sos pa - ra ca - - lle.
se van de - xan - do reir al to - car - - les.
gle - sia fir - me en ta - les pe - de - sta - - les.
A.

(*continues*)

Oid, oid, aprended



Musical score 2. Antonio de Salazar, "Oid, oid, aprended". Colección Estrada. Archivo de Música del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México. Courtesy of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.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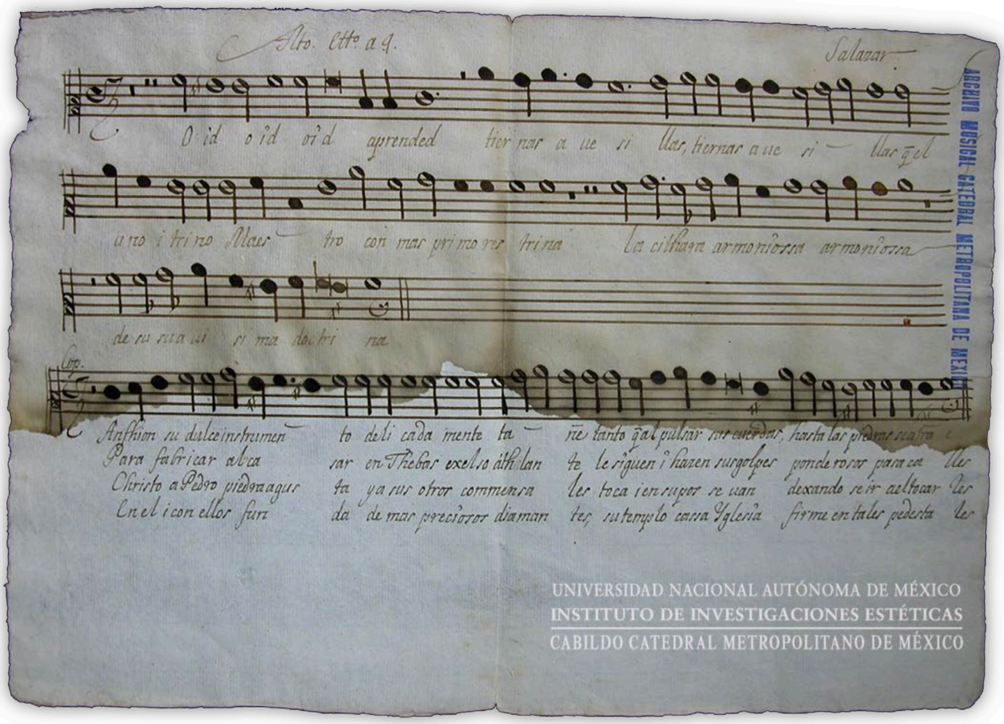
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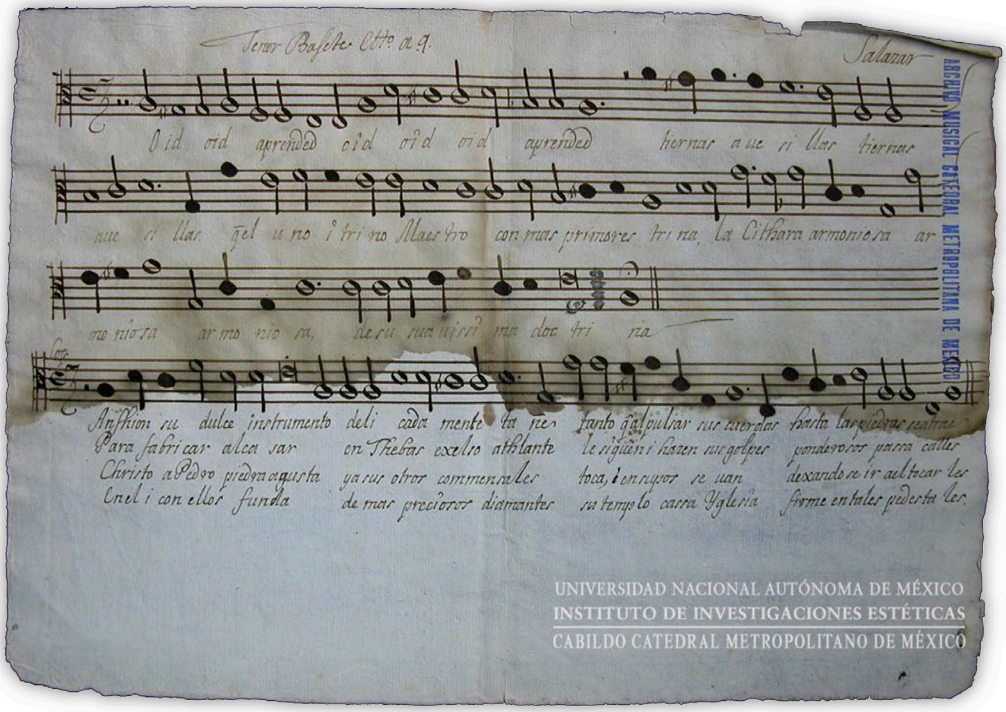
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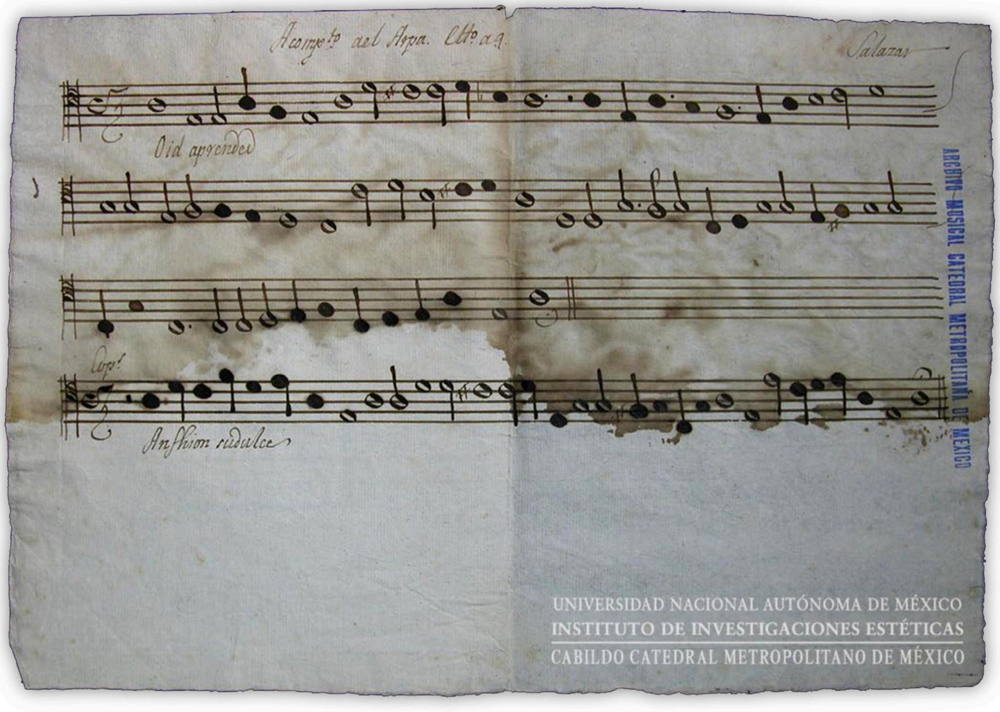
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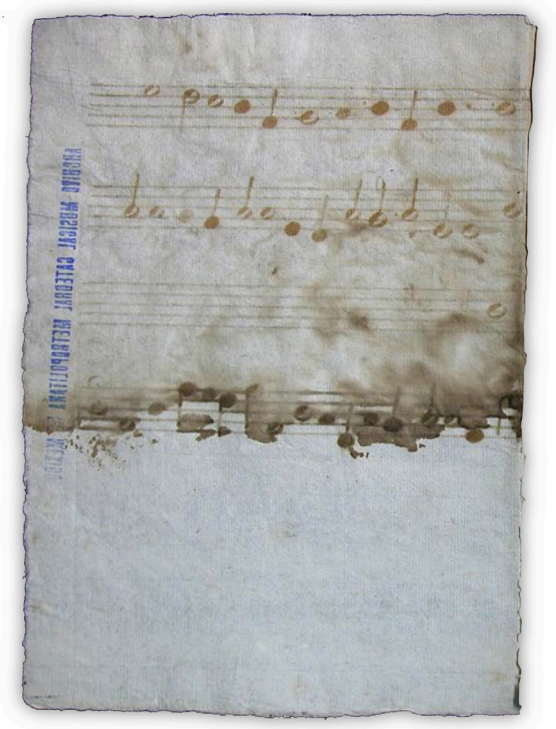

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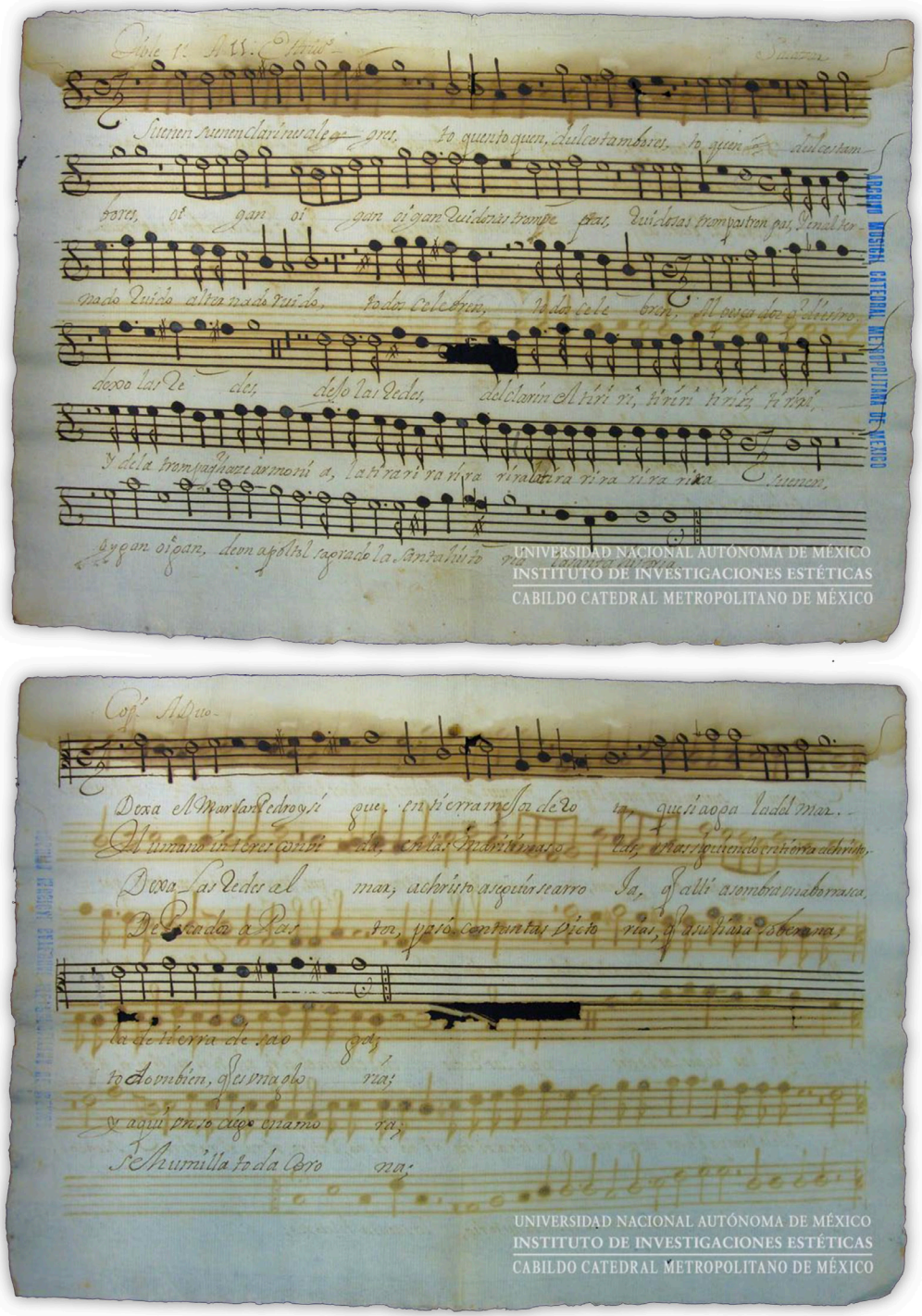
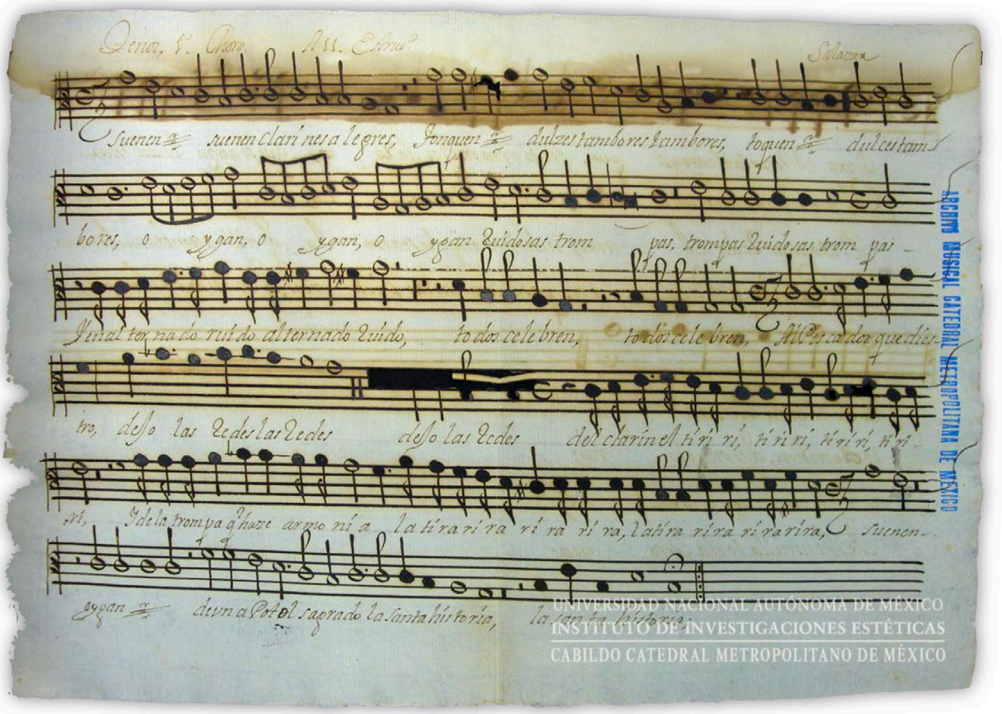
Suenen, suenen, clarines alegres



Musical score 3. Antonio de Salazar, "Suenen, suenen, clarines alegres". Colección Estrada. Archivo de Música del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México. Courtesy of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.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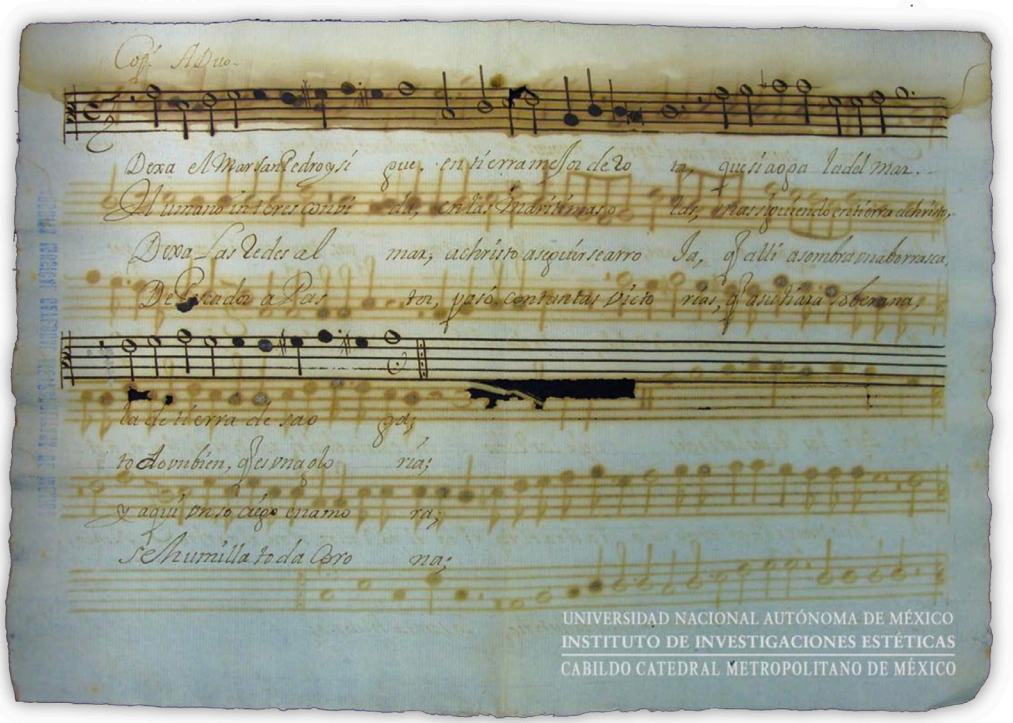
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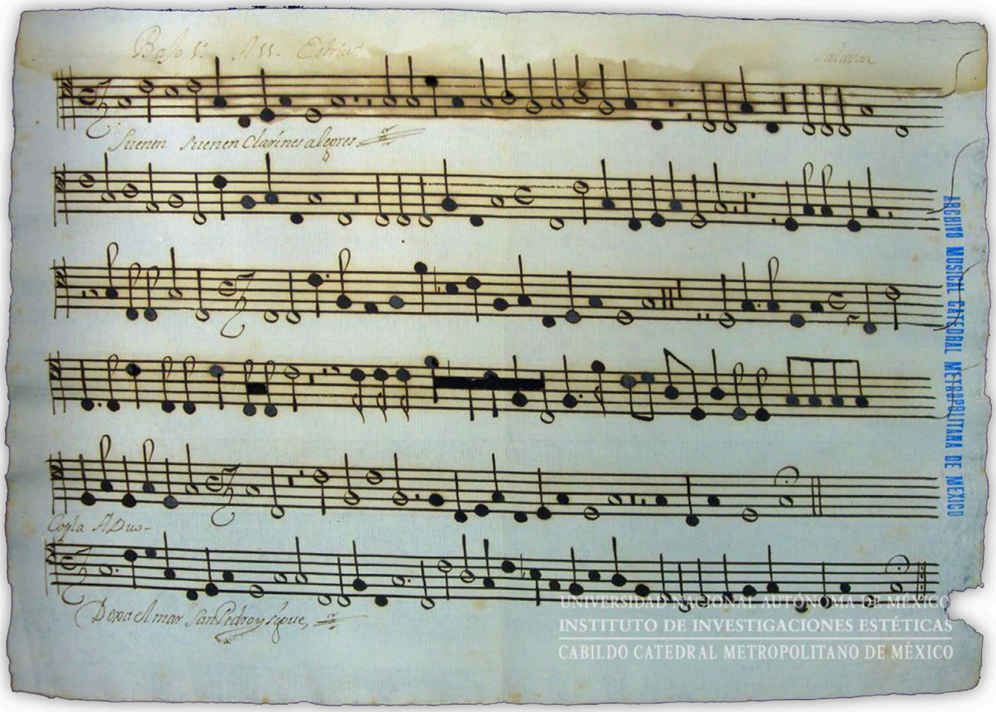
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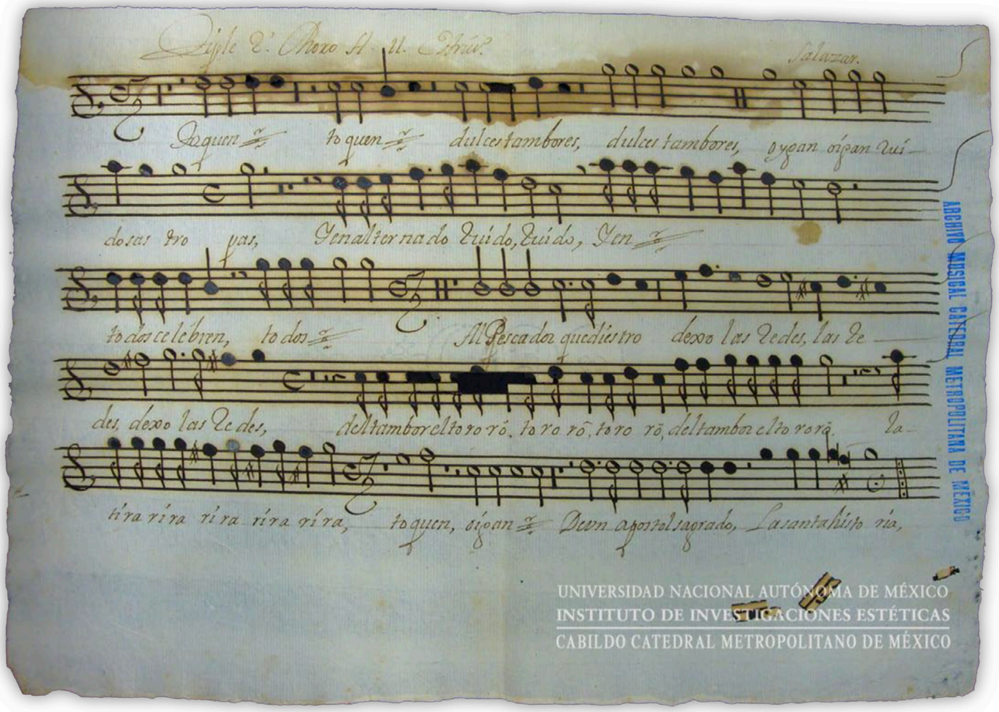
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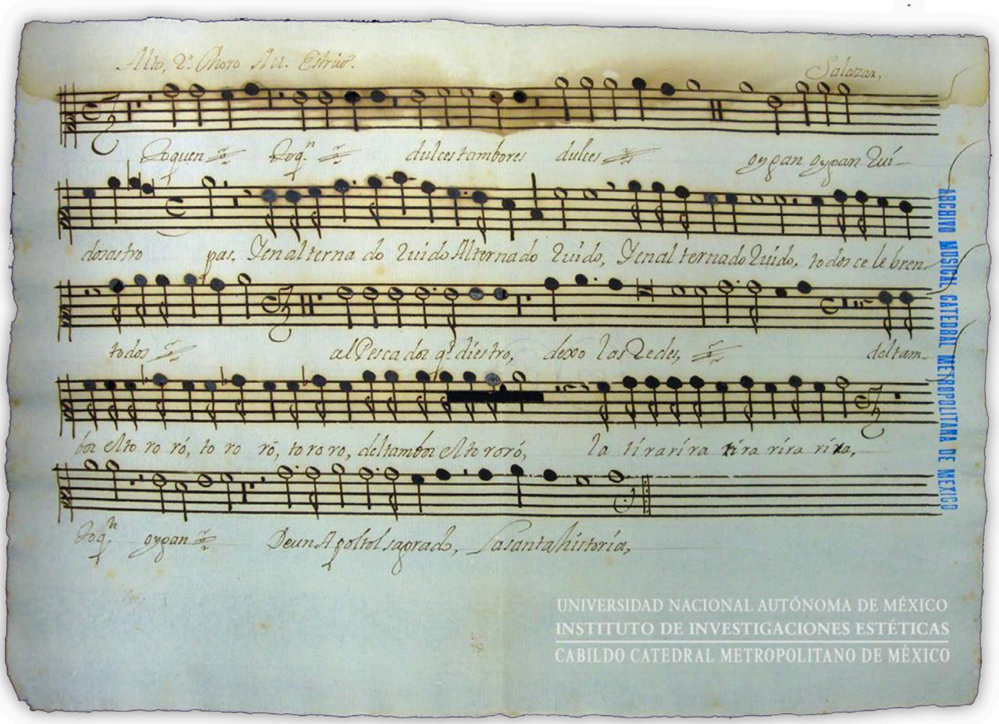
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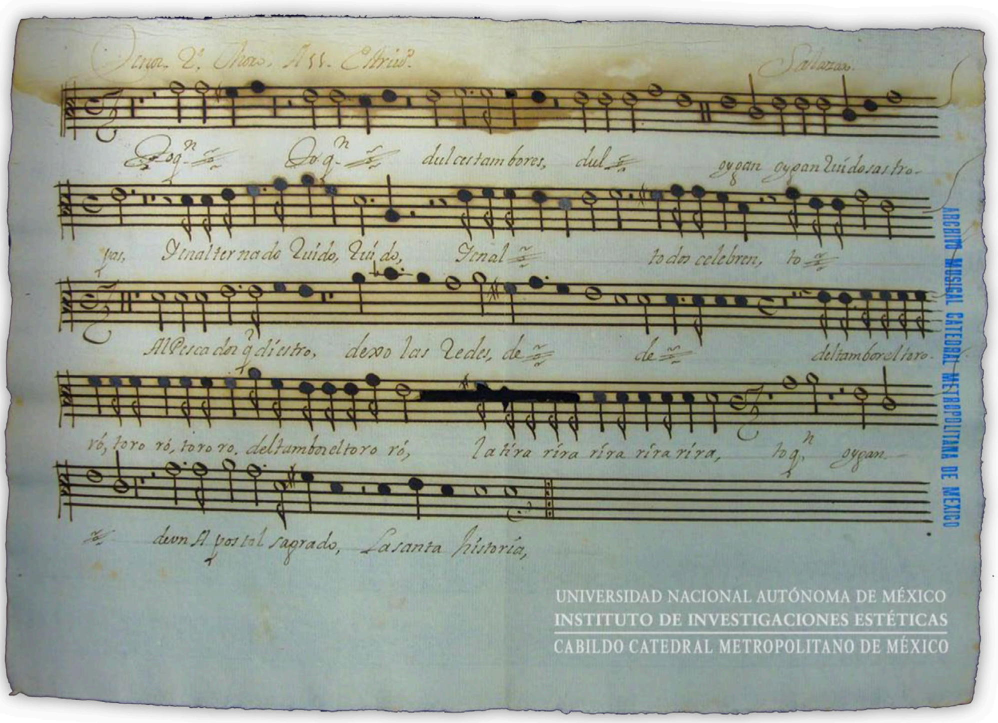
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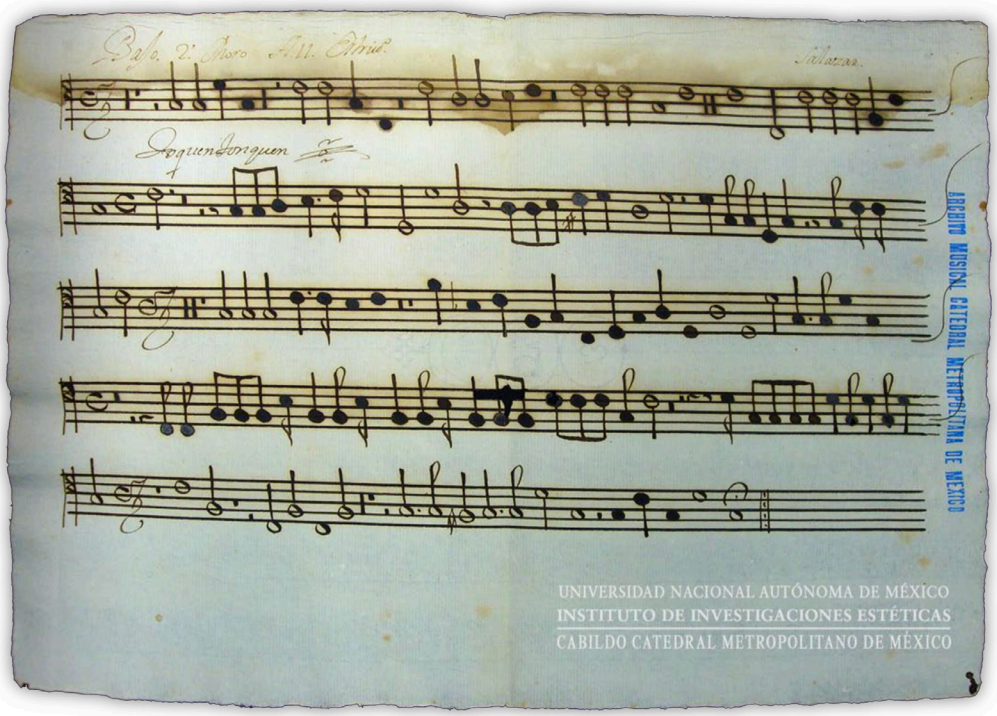
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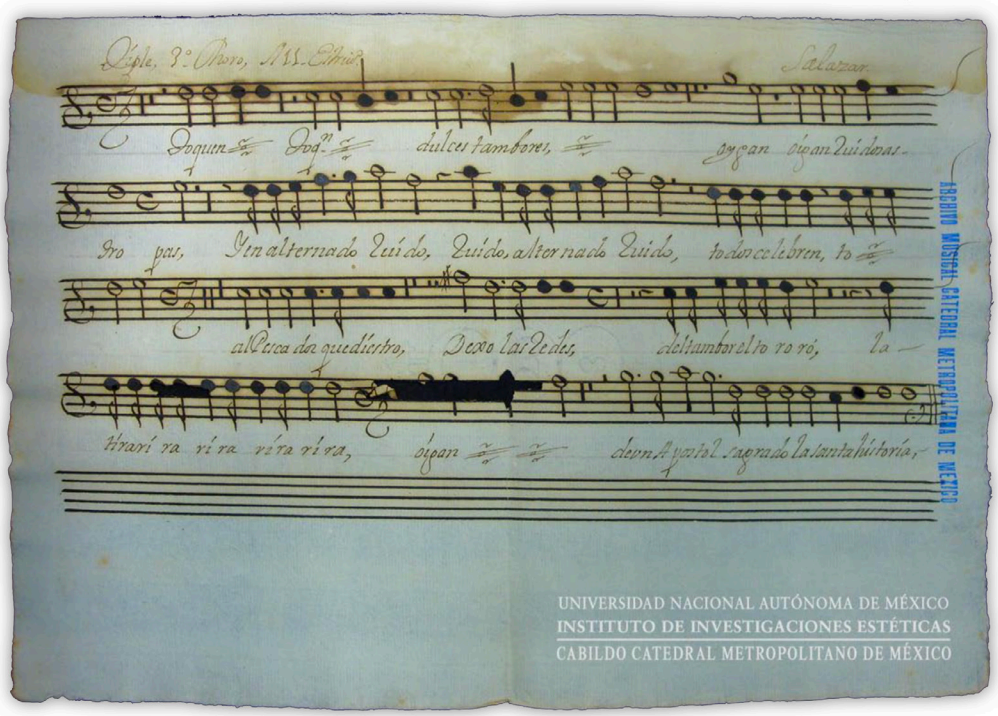
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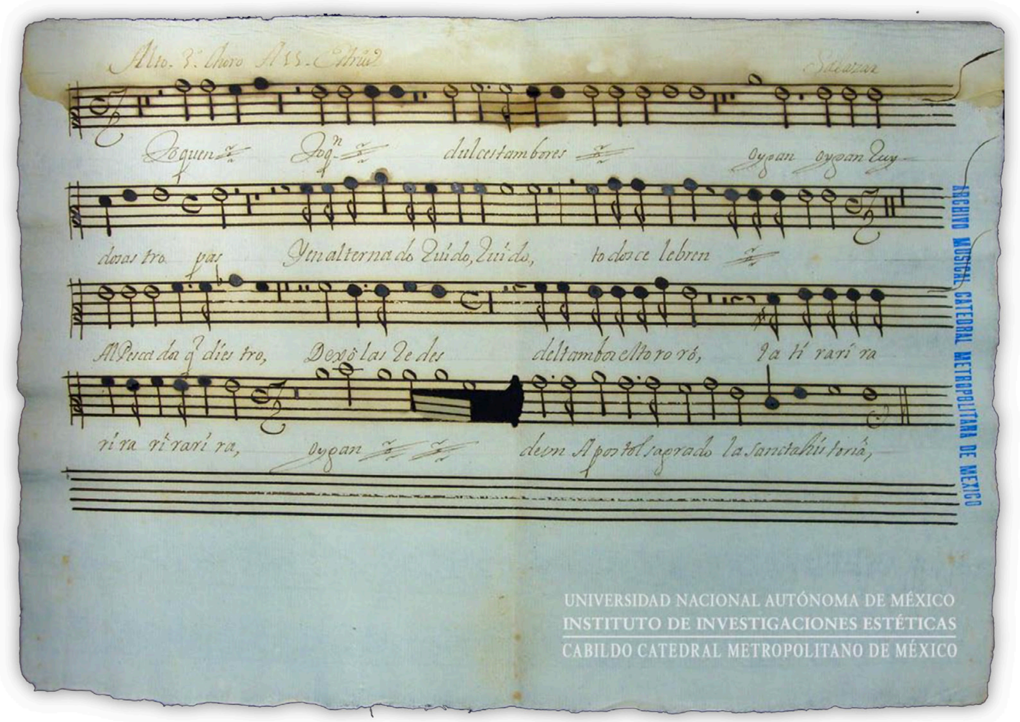
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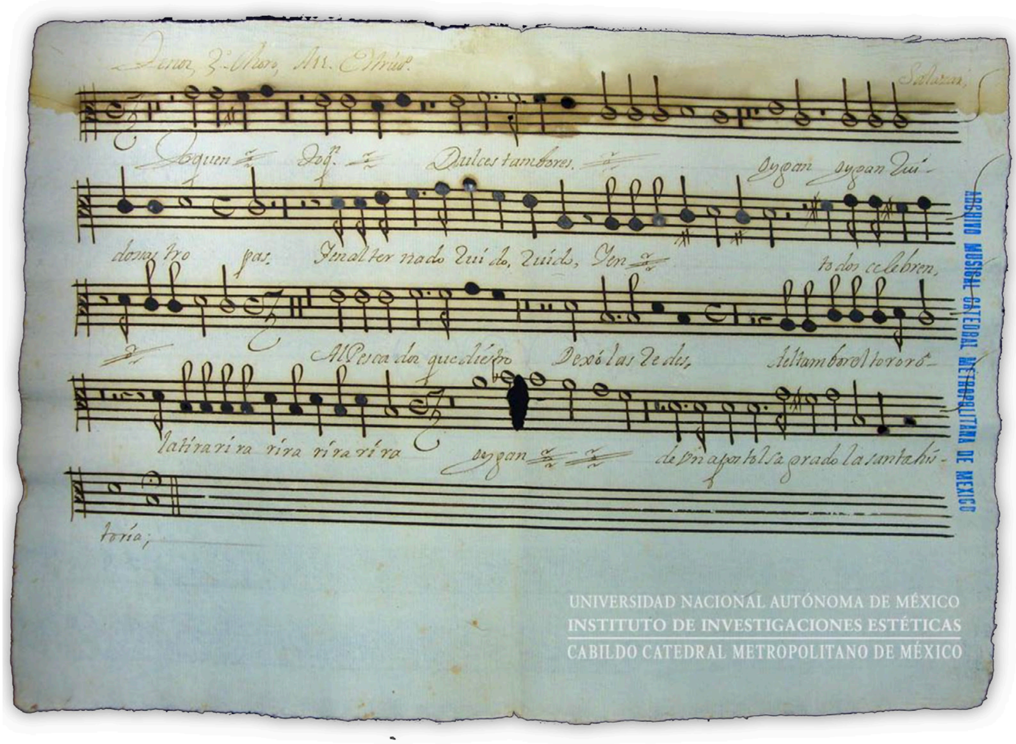
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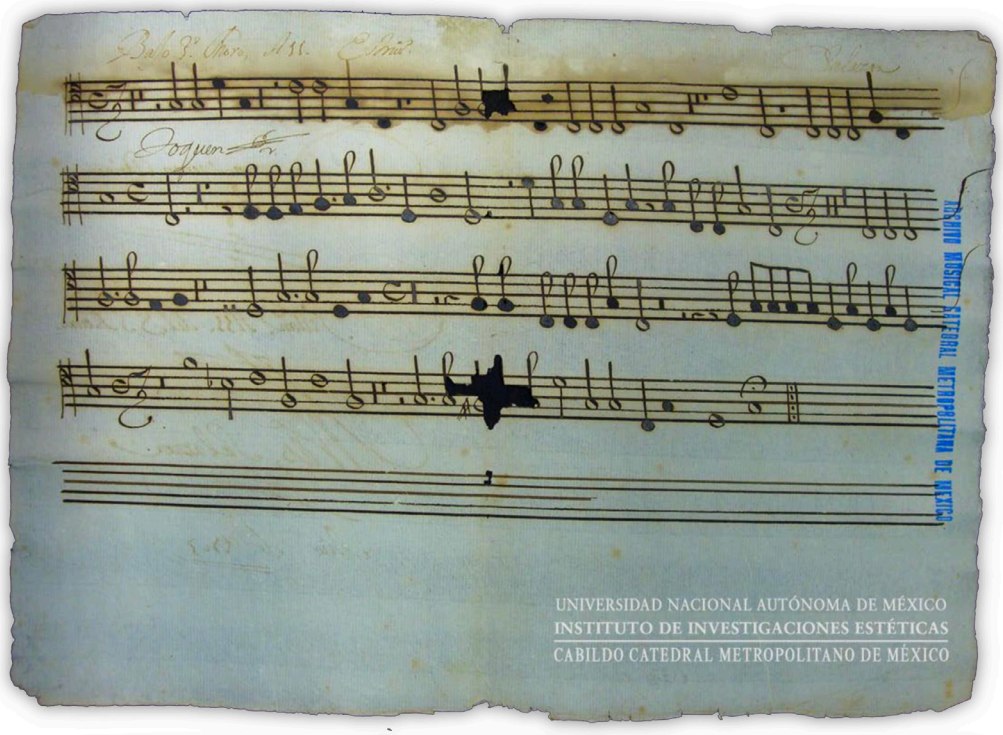
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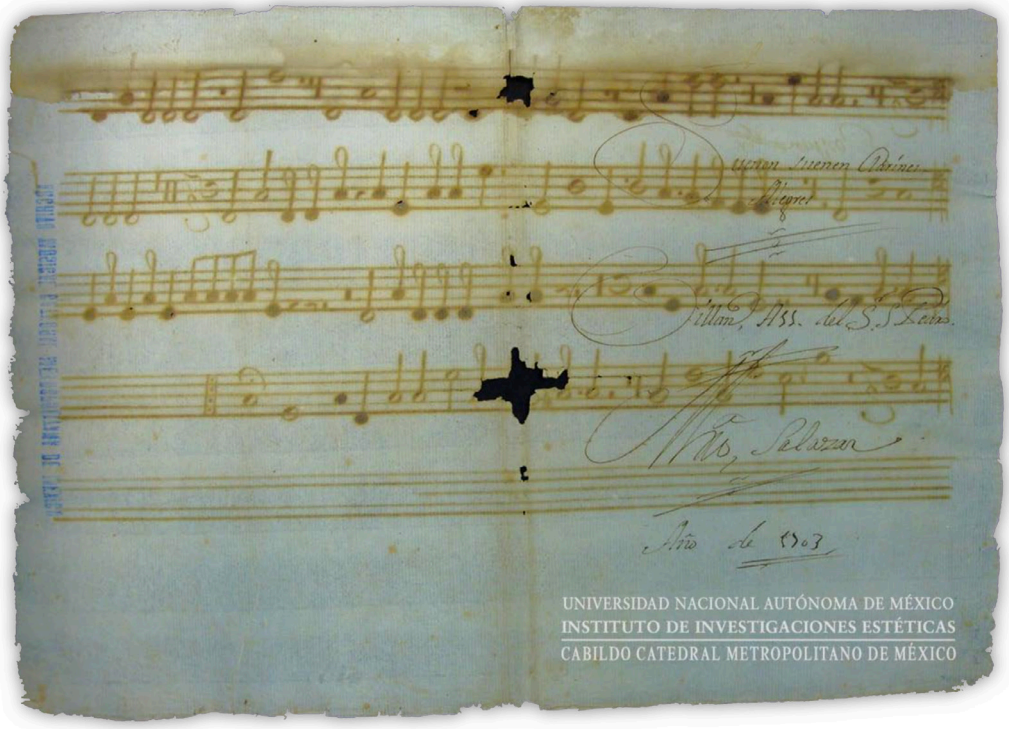
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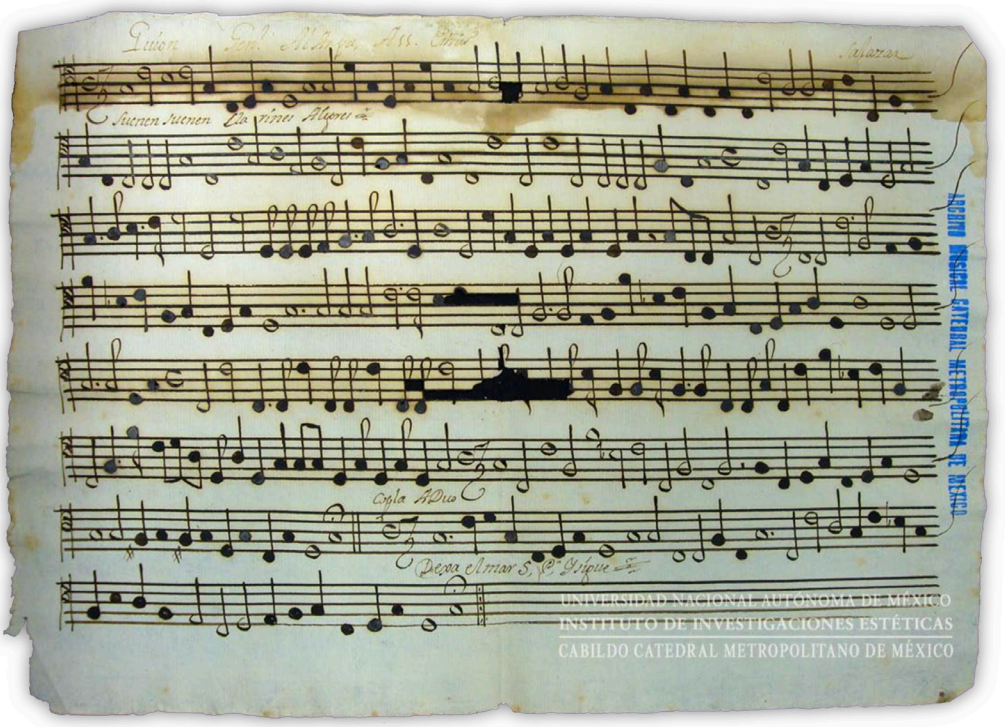

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Printed in The Netherlands

Carlotta Pupulin began the study of harp at the age of four with Simona Marchesi at the Suzuki centre in Varese, Italy. In 2006 she enrolled at the Turin Conservatory where she attended classes with Gabriella Bosio and then moved to the Milan Conservatory, where she graduated under the guidance of Professor Patrizia Radici. She took part in masterclasses with world-famous harpists (Letizia Belmondo, Lincoln Almada, Catherine Michel, Fabrice Pierre). In 2017 Carlotta began to study the baroque harp with Mara Galassi at the Civic School of Music "Claudio Abbado" in Milan.She permanently collaborates with the *Ensemble la Chimera*, with whom she recorded two albums and performs an intense concert activity at European level.