

# Quito Cathedral: Four Centuries

## *Franciscan Antecedents*

The first teachers of European music at Quito were the Flemish Franciscans who arrived in 1534 and established their convento in 1535, Josse [= Jodocus = Jodoco] de Rycke of Malines and Pierre Gosseal of Louvain.<sup>1</sup> "In addition to teaching the Indians how to read and write, Fray Jodoco taught them to play various keyboard and string instruments, also sackbuts and shawms, flutes, trumpets, and cornetts, and the science of mensural music and plainchant," reported *El espejo de verdades* of 1575.<sup>2</sup> After 22 years at Quito, Fray Jodoco wrote an oft-quoted letter to Ghent, dated January 12, 1556, commending the Indian talent that he had encountered: "they easily learn to read and write and to play any instrument."<sup>3</sup>

The level of music instruction in the Colegio de San Andrés founded in 1555 by the Franciscans specifically for Indian youths (Spaniards enrolled also, but in smaller numbers) can be judged from a repertory in the 1570's that included such difficult music as Francisco Guerrero's four- and five-voice motets.<sup>4</sup> Taught by the versatile Andrés Laso (appointed Quito Cathedral chapelmaster and succentor May 23, 1562) and another peninsular musician named Becerra, the four Indian helpers who bore the brunt of music instruction in the colegio during the 1560's and '70's were two natives of Quito with the adopted Spanish names of Diego Gutiérrez and Cristóbal de Santa María (music copying, voice, keyboard, flutes), a native of Tanta named Pedro Díaz (plainsong and polyphony, shawms), and a native of Lotacunga named Juan Mitima (sackbuts).<sup>5</sup> In turn, these native-born teachers enlisted younger aides such as

<sup>1</sup>Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, *Biographie Nationale* (Brussels: H. Thiry, 1876), V, cols. 691-693; J. F. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Brussels: P. Foppens, 1739), II, 770. The earliest documents in Ecuador having to do with Rycke have been printed in José Rumazo González's transcription of the *Libro Primero de Cabildos de Quito* (Quito: Archivo Municipal, 1934), pp. 260-262.

<sup>2</sup>José Gabriel Navarro, *Los franciscanos en la conquista y colonización de América* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1955), p. 110. Marcellino da Civezza discovered the 1575 manuscript at the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, and printed the pertinent passages in his *Saggio di bibliografia geografica storica etnografica sanfrancescana* (Prato: Ranieri Guasti, 1879), p. 253: "Enseño a los Indios a leer i escribir . . . i tañer todos los instrumentos de musica, tecla i cuerdas, sacabuches i cheremias, flautas i trompetas i cornetas, i el canto de organo i llano." However, the rest of *El espejo de verdades*, which Marcellino says was written in Española, seems never to have been published.

<sup>3</sup>Navarro, p. 111. Marcellino da Civezza, p. 253, quotes the letter *in extenso*. Francisco María Compte, *Varones ilustres de la Orden Seráfica en el Ecuador* [second edition] (Quito: Imprenta del Clero, 1885), I, 26, takes it from Marcellino da Civezza.

<sup>4</sup>José María Vargas, *Historia de la cultura ecuatoriana* (Quito: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, 1965), p. 25, citing an inventory of 1581 that included "cinco cartapacios de música con motetes del maestro se illano Francisco Guerrero." As source document, Vargas cited Archivo General de Indias, 76-6-1. VG, 42 Serie. Vol. 1.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 19-20. Concerning Andrés Laso = Lazo, see footnote 13 below. For further discussion of music in the colegio, see Federico González Suárez, *Historia general de la República del Ecuador* (Quito: Imprenta del Clero, 1892), III, 335-339.

the musical prodigy, Cristóbal of Caranqui, whose virtuosity as both singer and player was lauded in a report to Madrid.

As if all these names were not enough, another prodigy trained in the colegio was the Indian called Juan Bermejo. According to a witness who in 1560 reached Quito fresh from Spain—Baltasar de Ovando (*ca.* 1545-1615; changed his name when becoming a Dominican to Reginaldo Lizárraga; died bishop of Paraguay):<sup>6</sup>

In addition to teaching the Indians doctrine, the friars at the Colegio de San Andrés taught them to read, write, sing, and play flutes. Many voices of the Indians, mestizos, and also Spaniards enrolled in that colegio were splendid. Especially admirable were the sopranos. I knew in that colegio one Indian youth called Juan Bermejo (because of his ruddy hue from birth) who could have been a soprano in the pope's chapel. So skilled was he in polyphony and in flute playing, and so fine a keyboardist was he, that upon his reaching maturity the cathedral drafted him as organist and chapelmaster. On reliable authority, I learned that he dared emend some polyphony by the world-renowned Sevillian chapelmaster Guerrero. Still more to the Indian prodigy's credit, Guerrero was said to have received and accepted these changes as improvements. I would not be retailing the anecdote were not this Indian unique in these realms, and because of the rarity of such a happening.

Even after 1581 (in which year Augustinians took control), the Colegio de San Andrés continued to support Indian music maestros who with their charges still "sing and play polyphonic works with admirable polish at all the principal Franciscan *convento* festivals, so advanced is their musical technique," reported Córdova Salinas in 1651.<sup>7</sup> The construction of a 600-pipe organ by a Franciscan friar for the Franciscan Convento de San Pablo at Quito was the most important event in all Peru for 1638, if the enthusiastic Montesinos can be trusted. According to his *Libro Segundo de los Annales del Piru* "no other in the viceroyalty equals this sumptuous organ with its many different stops, the vermiculated wooden flue ranks of which are especially admirable."<sup>8</sup> Such an organ and a corresponding corps of trained Indian and mestizo musicians made it possible for Córdova Salinas to boast in 1651 that the splendor of the cult in the Franciscan house at Quito matched that found anywhere in Europe,

<sup>6</sup>Reginaldo de Lizárraga, *Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucumán, Río de la Plata y Chile*, ed. Mario Hernández Sánchez-Barba (Madrid: Sucs. J. Sánchez de Ocaña y Cía., 1968 [*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, CCXVI]), p. 52: "además de enseñarles la doctrina, les enseñaban también a leer, escribir, cantar y tañerse flautas; en este tiempo las voces de los muchachos indios, mestizos, y aun españoles eran bonisimas; particularmente eran triples admirables. Conocí en este colegio un muchaco indio llamado Juan, y por ser bermejo de su nacimiento le llamaban Juan Bermejo, que podía ser tiple en la capilla del Sumo Pontífice; este muchacho salió tan diestro en el canto de órgano, flauta y tecla, que, ya hombre, le sacaron para la Iglesia Mayor, donde sirve de maestro de capilla y organista; de éste he oído decir (dése fe a los autores) que llegando a sus manos las obras de canto de órgano de Guerrero, maestro de capilla de Sevilla, famoso en nuestros tiempos, le enmendó algunas consonancias, las cuales, venidas a manos de Guerrero, conoció su falta. Esto no lo decimos sino por cosa rara y porque no ha habido otro indio semejante en estos reinos."

<sup>7</sup>Diego de Córdova Salinas, *Corónica de la Religiosissima Provincia de los Doze Apostoles del Peruv*, Lima, 1651, ed. Lino G. Canedo (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957), p. 103b: "Este Colegio . . . tiene escuelas, músicos, maestros indios, que se sustentan con rentas, que tiene el Colegio. Acuden a cantar y tocar al Convento sus festividades, lo cual hacen con toda destreza, por ser muy hábiles y entendidos en toda musica de canto de organo."

<sup>8</sup>Fernando Montesinos, *Anales del Perú* (Madrid: Imp. de Gabriel L. y del Horno, 1906), II, 253: "todas las flautas son de madera avetunada por la polilla; no ai otro en este Reyno." González Suárez, *Historia general IV* (1893), 198, acknowledges the luster of the *culto público* and the excellence of *el canto del oficio dinino* in all the leading Franciscan houses of Ecuador *ca.* 1630.



and for Fernando de Cózar, the native of Quito who was Franciscan provincial in 1647-1650, to look on his house as the fountainhead of all singing as well as painting in the province.<sup>9</sup>

### Cathedral Beginnings

Cózar could take just pride in the achievements of his Quito "combento" during the preceding hundred years, because from it had gone forth not only parish musicians trained in plainchant, but also cathedral musicians nurtured in the finest European polyphonic traditions. Even more distinguished than the pure-blooded Indian Juan Bermejo lauded by Lizárraga was undoubtedly Diego Lobato<sup>10</sup> (ca. 1538-ca. 1610), a mestizo. Son of the conquistador Juan Lobato, who died fighting against Gonzalo Pizarro at the battle of Iñaquito (January 18, 1546), he claimed royal Inca lineage on his mother's side, just as did Garcilaso de la Vega Inca. His mother, a *nñusta* from Cuzco, had been one of Atahualpa's consorts before the Spanish Conquest. After baptism known as Isabel Yarupalla, it was she who in 1536 saved the Spanish settlers at Quito from extinction by warning Juan Lobato of a conspiracy brewing under Don Alonso, curaca at Otavalo.<sup>11</sup> Lobato's rapid rise to the chapel-mastership after his training at the Colegio de San Andrés parallels the rise to fame of another mestizo *maestro de capilla* in sixteenth-century South America. In 1575 the *maestro* at Bogotá was Gonzalo García Zorro, son of a Spanish captain and an Indian maiden from Tunja.<sup>12</sup> But at Quito Diego Lobato acquired the title of *maestro de capilla* even earlier, April 3, 1574—only four decades after Sebastián de Benalcázar founded Quito.

Lobato had functioned as *maestro* for at least the six years previous. At the New Year of 1568—while enjoying only the modest title of *sacristán* conferred by the chapter on May 23, 1562<sup>13</sup>—he was already being denominated the acting chapel-master in the capitular acts.<sup>14</sup> From 1562 to 1568 his *sacristán's* annual salary of 110

<sup>9</sup>Navarro, p. 113: "este Combento fue la primera fuente en lo temporal y espiritual de estos reynos." For Cózar's dates see Córdova Salinas, p. 1043.

<sup>10</sup>Biographical data in Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú (1511-1568)* (Lima: Imp. Santa María, 1953), I, 130, n. 33. See also José María Vargas, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Ecuador durante el Patronato Español* (Quito: Editorial "Santo Domingo," 1962), pp. 117-118.

<sup>11</sup>Archivo General de Indias, legajo 83, n.º 29 [1592], fol. 3. José Gabriel Navarro, "La descendencia de Atahualpa," *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia*, XX/56 (Quito: Imprenta Romera, 1940), 221-222, dated her saving of the Spanish colony not in 1536 but after Pedro de Puelles became governor of Quito February 18, 1541: "Esta india salvó a la naciente colonia española de Quito de su general levantamiento que proyectaban los indios, avisando el descubrimiento de la conspiración oportunamente a Pedro de Puelles, gobernador entonces de Quito, quien, invadiendo por sorpresa la casa del curaca de Otavalo, redujo a prisión a los conjurados y desbarató el peligro."

Concerning Atahualpa's four legitimate sons and one daughter, see Cristóbal de Gangotena y Jijón, "La descendencia de Atahualpa," *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia*, XXXVIII/91 and /92 (Quito: "La Prensa Católica," 1958), 107-124 and 259-271. Among the indigenous *quiteños* any link with Atahualpa, no matter how remote, conferred great prestige.

<sup>12</sup>Raimundo Rivas, *Los fundadores de Bogotá* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1923), p. 153.

<sup>13</sup>Quito Cathedral, *Libro del Cabildo desta Santa Iglesia . . . de 1562 a 1583*, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>. On the same day the chapter appointed Andrés Laso *maestro de capilla*, succentor, and priest *a los indios* who frequented the cathedral. Since Laso was expected to teach the Indians *doctrina* on Sunday afternoons, he spoke Quechua (Quito dialect). Alonso García succeeded him as chapelmaster in 1563.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 86. On the same day Juan de Ocampo became a cathedral singer at 50 pesos annually.

pesos obliged him "to sing polyphonic music at the choirbook stand whenever appropriate."<sup>13</sup> Juan de Ocampo joined him as polyphonic singer in 1568, at fifty gold pesos annually. As if singing were not enough, Lobato began serving as organist also in 1563.

That year a prominent factor in Quito—Pedro de Ruanes<sup>16</sup>—installed a pair of organs in the still unfinished cathedral. The donor who paid 234 pesos towards their cost was Lorenzo de Cepeda,<sup>17</sup> Quito brother of the most famous sixteenth-century Spanish saint, Teresa of Ávila. Cepeda, who eventually returned to Spain to die, also presented the cathedral in 1564 with the large bell in use until it broke on November 14, 1676.<sup>18</sup> On April 24, 1564, after Lobato inaugurated Cepeda's donated organs, the chapter raised his pay by another 40 pesos annually "because he has been playing the organs since August 15 [Assumption], 1563."<sup>19</sup> So that Lobato could return to singing, Luis de Armas was named soon afterwards as principal organist. But Armas departed from Quito abruptly, leaving the chapter with no other recourse but to engage Lobato for an additional 50 *pesos de oro* (bringing his total annual salary to 200) as both organist and sacristán.<sup>20</sup>

Sometime between March 22 and June 19, 1566, Lobato received priestly orders at the hands of the newly arrived Dominican bishop, Pedro de la Peña.<sup>21</sup> Such haste in ordaining a mere mestizo offended the prouder Spanish clergy at Quito, who carried their complaint to Philip II himself.<sup>22</sup> In 1571 Bishop Peña established two new parishes in Quito, with San Blas (located on what is now the Plaza España) for Indians.<sup>23</sup> At once he chose Lobato, whose fluency in the Quechua dialect spoken at Quito was a prime asset, for the double duty of parish priest at San Blas and organist in the cathedral.<sup>24</sup> For being *cura* Lobato was to receive 200 pesos annually, for cathe-

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 6: ". . . y cantar al facitor el canto de organo quando fuere menester."

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 46<sup>r</sup>. (September 12, 1564). Ruanes was a *mercader* in 1559, *vecino* in 1561, alcalde in 1563. See *Oficios o cartas al Cabildo de Quito . . . 1552-1568*, transcribed by Jorge A. Garcés G. (Quito: Archivo Municipal, 1934), pp. 232, 470, 527, 533. On October 6, 1559, Lorenzo de Cepeda paid Ruanes *mercader* for four bells to be installed at San Francisco *convento*. In 1574 Capitán Ruanes, an "hombre de edad y suficiencia," was a candidate for election to the Quito *cabildo*.

<sup>15</sup>Of Saint Teresa's five brothers who immigrated to what is now Ecuador, one was killed and two were wounded at the battle of Iñaquito. For details of her family in the New World, see Alberto María Torres, "Otro pariente de Santa Teresa de Jesús en la República del Ecuador," *Boletín de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Históricos Americanos* IV/10 (Quito: Universidad Central, 1920), 153-157. For further details on her brother who gave the organ in 1563 and bell in 1564, see Carlos Manuel Larrea R., "Rasgos biográficos de Don Lorenzo de Cepeda, Hermano de Santa Teresa de Jesús que vivió largos años en Quito," *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia*, LVII/123 (1974), 13.

<sup>16</sup>Quito Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares. Año de 1675 á 1681*, fol. 8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>17</sup>Quito Cathedral, *Libro . . . 1562 a 1583*, fol. 35<sup>r</sup>. See also Jorge A. Garcés G., *Colección de Documentos sobre el Obispado de Quito* (Quito: Archivo Municipal [Volúmen XXII], 1946), I, 223, 572, 580. Concurrently the *contralto* Alonso García was receiving 400 pesos annually as chapelmaster (I, 572, 580). Lorenzo de Cepeda, after donating 234 pesos towards the organs, expected burial sites in the cathedral for both himself and his wife, Juana de Fuentes of Trujillo; she died three years later (1567) but he died in Spain (1580). Evidently the organs were wholly paid for by conceding burial sites; Marina Gómez (May 23, 1562) secured a like concession for donating 60 pesos to the organ fund.

<sup>18</sup>Garcés G., *Colección*, p. 303 (May 1, 1567).

<sup>19</sup>Vargas Ugarte, p. 130, n. 33; Bishop Peña took possession March 22, 1566; the cathedral act of June 19, 1566, calls Lobato a priest. See Garcés G., pp. 275 and 284.

<sup>20</sup>González Suárez, III, 106.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*: III, 68.

<sup>22</sup>For such combined duties Laso's precedent could have been invoked (see note 13). In due time Lobato



dral music-making 250. To justify such salary he was also requested on April 3, 1574, to compose *motetes y chanzonetas*.<sup>25</sup> His adult singers were in 1574 two Indians and Hernando de Trejo, who was however dismissed on December 7.<sup>26</sup> A 42-folio report on "La Cibdad de Sant Francisco del Quito" compiled at Juan de Ovando's instance in 1573, lauds Lobato's handling of his many functions. "Despite his mixed background, he is virtuous, continent, and an expert musician who administers to the Indians while serving simultaneously as organist in the cathedral," reads the report to Madrid.<sup>27</sup>

The same *relacion* proceeds thus: "So far as instrumental music and singing in the cathedral are concerned, the previous bishop [García Díaz Árias, 1545-1562] did much less, even though he brought the music to a pitch exceeding that in every other Peruvian cathedral—so highly did he esteem the art."<sup>28</sup> Similar testimony to the first bishop's musical enthusiasms can be read in the *Descripción histórico-geográfica del Perú* by the already cited Baltasar de Ovando = Reginaldo [de] Lizárraga: "Extremely fond of the choir, he never missed High Mass, vespers . . . or the Saturday Lady Mass; a great churchman, his cathedral resounded with much music and with much excellent polyphony."<sup>29</sup> Díaz Árias's patronage redounds the more to his credit because funds were short in a cathedral still far from finished at his death. While a new bishop was awaited, Pedro Rodríguez de Aguanayo acted as diocesan administrator. By enlisting the aid of the entire community, he succeeded "in little more than three years in completing the most sumptuous temple in all Peru."<sup>30</sup>

Bishop Peña's zeal to have the music match the structure of the cathedral and his attentions to Lobato so upset Ordóñez Villaquirán that on May 22, 1577, this junior<sup>31</sup> canon proposed hiring a "poor blind organist" who would play for only 60 pesos annually ("y se contentará con los sesenta pesos que manda la erección").<sup>32</sup> At the same time Villaquirán promised an appeal to the pope himself if more money continued to

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did resign the San Blas curacy. Licenciado Cristóbal Tamayo was his not very satisfactory successor in 1583 (see the cathedral act of August 27).

<sup>25</sup>*Libro . . . 1562 a 1583*, fol. 110. Simultaneously the chapter devalued salaries by making them payable in silver rather than in gold.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 114<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>27</sup>Elicer Enriquez B., *Quito a través de los siglos* (Quito: Imprenta Municipal, 1938), pp. 49-50: "sin embargo que es mestizo, es virtuoso y recogido y hábil en la música; es organista en la santa iglesia." In *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, Perú* (Madrid: Ministerio de Fomento, 1881-1897) Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (1831-1898) credited the 42-folio original manuscript dated 1573 from which this quotation is taken to the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. See José Urbano Martínez Carreras's reedition in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, CLXXXIII (1965), 109, and CLXXXIV (1965), 223, item 138. Another allusion to Lobato in the latter volume (CLXXXIV, 192) cites his earning 130 pesos annually as cathedral chapelmaster in 1583.

<sup>28</sup>*Quito a través de los siglos*, p. 50: "En lo tocante a la música y cantores de la iglesia, échase bien menos el obispo antecesor, el cual la tuvo siempre tal, que no se hallaba mejor en aquellos reinos, porque se preciaba de tenelle."

<sup>29</sup>González Suárez, II, 433: "amicisimo del coro; todos los días no faltaba de misa mayor y visperas . . . los sábados jamás faltaba de la misa de Nuestra Señora: gran eclesiástico, su iglesia muy bien servida, con mucha música y muy buena de canto de órgano."

<sup>30</sup>*Oficios o cartas al Cabildo de Quito*, p. 609: "en poco más de tres años se hizo el más suntuoso templo que hay en el Pirú." For a less sanguine view than the archdeacon's, see González Suárez, III, 107. See also *Quito a través de los siglos*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>31</sup>Garcés G., *Colección*, p. 395: "como nuevo y menor de estos señores," he spoke and signed last.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 417-418. Since Ordóñez Villaquirán had both the dean and cathedral treasurer on his side, he needed less courage when opposing Peña. A dissembling scoundrel, Villaquirán threw off the mask dur-

be spent on the cathedral music than the amount set down in the table of salaries. Two months later, the chapter proposed to pay only one singing chaplain instead of the six singers designated in the *capítulo de la erección*.<sup>33</sup> With Bishop Peña himself present, two canons voted at the same session to fix the organist's salary at 110 pesos (50 pesos higher than the amount stipulated in the founding deed) while simultaneously raising the chapelmaster's pay to 150 pesos annually.<sup>34</sup> At the same session these two canons agreed to pay Francisco Muñoz, a scribe in Quito, 80 pesos for a bound music book of Kyries, Glorias, and Credos, copied on vellum.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, at the session of July 24, 1579, not attended by Bishop Peña, the chapter voted against allowing the cathedral musicians to assist at any funeral unless the whole cathedral chapter attended.<sup>36</sup> Thus the musicians were deprived of many opportunities to assist at small funerals and restricted to a few large funerals.<sup>37</sup> Worse still, the 100-peso offering for large funerals did not leave much for the musicians after dignitaries and other high-ranking chapter members had been paid.

At a session attended by the dean and six canons on September 11, 1579, Lobato was enjoined to appear with "todos los cantores y organista" every Sunday, at all double and semidouble feasts and at first and second vespers of the same, on every day marked for a sermon, at all complines and Salves in Lent, every day of Holy Week, for Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday matins "y otros maitines como día de San Pedro," and on any day when there was to be a procession.<sup>38</sup> As if this were insufficient, the chapter four days later informed Lobato that he must start teaching six choirboys.<sup>39</sup> Two seises habited in red and blue gowns, surplice, and cap, were to be paid twelve pesos annually for singing polyphony at the choirbook stand and four *mozos de coro*, similarly habited, the same amount for singing plainchant and assisting at the altar. Lobato's petition, handed to the chapter for reduction of duty days below the number required by the Act of September 11, was answered on September 15 with notice that "it is his duty to do all this, and in addition to teach the seises and mozos de coro how to sing." When the chapter later relented and hired as Lobato's teaching assistant Padre Gabriel de Migolla (for 50 pesos annually), Migolla accepted the twin duties of teaching not only the boys but everyone on the staff desirous of learning music.<sup>40</sup>

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ing a tour of the diocese in late 1585. After flight to Cuzco and Charcas audiencia, he was captured and hanged at Lima (González Suárez, III, 433-434).

<sup>33</sup>Garcés G., p. 437 (July 24, 1577).

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 439 (*Libro del Cabildo . . . 1562 a 1583*, fol. 158<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>35</sup>Garcés G., p. 441.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 471.

<sup>37</sup>October 13, 1562, the chapter decided to assist only at funerals when surpliced choirboys joined the adult choristers in singing "un noturno y el responso y misa . . . a canto de organo" (*ibid.*, p. 194).

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 475. Article 15 of the *Constituciones Synodales para los Beneficiados desta santa yglesia de San Francisco de Quito* copied in the *Libro del Cabildo . . . 1562 a 1583* at fol. 149 forbids the organist's playing the Gloria, Credo, preface, and Lord's Prayer, in lieu of the choir's singing these wordy parts. Organ Masses, so common in Europe, were not permitted. This interdict together with Article 9 calling for the singing of antiphons and responsories *al facistor* was enough to burden even a full-time maestro. See Garcés G., *Colección*, pp. 325-326.

<sup>39</sup>*Libro del Cabildo . . . 1562 a 1583*, fol. 177<sup>r</sup>. Caput 75 of the constitutions enacted at the Second Lima Council required that *qui dignitatem cantoris in cathedrali obtinet, servitores et ministros ipsius ecclesiae cantare doceat*. See R. Vargas Ugarte, *Concilios Limenses (1551-1772)* (Lima: Tip. Peruana, 1951), I, 134.

<sup>40</sup>*Libro de los muy Ill<sup>tes</sup> Señores Dean y Cabildo . . . 1583-1594*, fol. 101<sup>r</sup>.



On July 29, 1580, Francisco de Zúñiga, secretary of the Royal Audiencia at Quito, gave the chapter 100 pesos on condition that "the *Salve Regina* be sung in the cathedral by the musicians with organ every Saturday throughout the whole year."<sup>41</sup> *Constitución 20* of the first Lima Council (1551-1552) ordained "que en las Iglesias Catedrales todos los Sábados se diga la *Salve* con la mayor solemnidad que ser pudiere."<sup>42</sup> Such polyphonic singing of the *Salve* at Quito complied with this constitution. More than that, however, it started at Quito a custom observed in all major Spanish sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cathedrals from Morales's Málaga to Padilla's Puebla.<sup>43</sup>

In 1582, Lobato himself made a general present to the cathedral. Heir to a central piece of property on the plaza next to the cathedral,<sup>44</sup> he offered free ground rent if the cathedral authorities wished to profit from an income-producing building on it.<sup>45</sup> Gracious though his gesture of September 27 was conceded to be, the chapter turned against him less than a month later, this time more violently than ever. Bishop Peña had now named Lobato majordomo of the cathedral, to which action the chapter responded on Columbus Day with a protest against "Diego Lobato, *mestizo* priest, who claims to be majordomo of this cathedral, and is nothing like it because he has not been so named by any canonic authority and instead presumes to the title because he is the bishop's servant."<sup>46</sup> Though his name had now for two decades recurred frequently in the cathedral acts, this *acta* of October 12, 1582, is the first to label him a *mestizo*—hardly a flattering epithet in sixteenth-century Quito. Not only was the chapter angry with his presuming to be majordomo, but more irritated still because Bishop Peña had designated him as a representative to the Lima Third Provincial Council convoked by Archbishop Toribio de Mogrovejo.<sup>47</sup> The dean, the archdeacon, and the treasurer, one after another, solemnly protested against such derogation from their own proper authority and such favor of a mere *clérigo presbítero mestizo*—no matter how royal his mother from Cuzco or how close her connection with Atahualpa.

News of Bishop Peña's death at the Lima Council reached Quito on May 13, 1583.<sup>48</sup> Without the protection of a Dominican bishop whose patronage of Indians<sup>49</sup> parallels

<sup>41</sup>*Libro . . . 1562 a 1583*, fol. 183.

<sup>42</sup>Vargas Ugarte, *Concilios Limenses*, I, 46. The Third Lima Council (1582-1583) made the Saturday singing of the *Salve* mandatory not only in cathedrals but in parish churches as well. See *caput 27* (*ibid.*, I, 355).

<sup>43</sup>See indexed entries under *Salve Regina* in Robert Stevenson's *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus and Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*.

<sup>44</sup>Juan Lobato, a conquistador who became a Quito *vecino* on December 6, 1534, was rewarded with land in July of 1535 that enabled him to engage in large-scale agriculture in 1537. He was a Quito *regidor* in 1538. See José Rumazo González, *Libro Primero de Cabildos de Quito*, pp. 56, 111, 292, 307, 370, 396.

<sup>45</sup>*Libro . . . 1562 a 1583*, fol. 203. Garcés G., *Colección*, pp. 522-523.

<sup>46</sup>Garcés G., pp. 543, 544, 546.

<sup>47</sup>At the chapter meeting of October 5, 9, 10, 11, 12 of 1582 and March 27, 1583, the canons brought up the problem of representation at the council. Bishop Peña reached Lima in October, 1582, and died on March 7, 1583 (González Suárez III, 105). Two months later (May 13) the news reached Quito. On July 1, 1583, Lobato resigned the post of majordomo.

<sup>48</sup>González Suárez, III, 128.

<sup>49</sup>See the 55 constitutions in favor of Indians passed by the 1570 Quito Synod (*Concilios Limenses* [1952], II, 172-173). Urged on by Bishop Peña this synod enacted model legislation in their behalf. Peña always insisted that every cura of Indians should know Quechua, *la lengua general del Inga*. After his death the Quito chapter still enforced this rule. See the cathedral acts of August 21, 1583, and September 6, 1584.

that of Las Casas, Lobato suffered personally; but music in Quito cathedral suffered even more. On May 10, 1585, Gabriel de Migolla—who had been teaching the choir-boys since January 15, 1585—was dismissed “for lack of funds.”<sup>50</sup> At the same time the chapter bestowed the title of organist on Francisco de Mesa, the “poor blind man” endorsed by the notorious Ordóñez Villaquirán<sup>51</sup> not because he was a competent keyboardist but because he would play for very little money.

Canon Francisco Talavera, an eager pluralist, succeeded in convincing the other chapter members at a meeting on January 27, 1587, that Mesa knew so little and played so nauseatingly and even he—a gross amateur—would do better.<sup>52</sup> The archdeacon soon stopped Canon Talavera from committing this breach of church law.<sup>53</sup>

A turn for the better was not taken until five years after Bishop Peña's death. On January 12, 1588, Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo (1553–ca. 1620), the truly great composer who had spent two years at Bogotá (1584–1586), won formal appointment to a combined post in the new conciliar seminary and in the cathedral.<sup>54</sup> To make up a stipend commensurate with his renown and ability, the chapter agreed on giving him two salaries—that budgeted for the cathedral maestro de capilla plus the sum set aside for teaching the seminarians music. For all this money he was to give two lessons every day in singing and in counterpoint,<sup>55</sup> one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. His pupils were to be every cleric in Quito wishing to learn

<sup>50</sup>*Libro de los muy Ill<sup>ms</sup> Señores Dean y Cabildo . . . 1583–1594*, fol. 115. On December 9, 1586, Migolla was installed in a cathedral chaplaincy (*ibid.*, fol. 180). After naming him Vicar of Guayaquil, the chapter removed him on July 31, 1592, for improper conduct (*ibid.*, fol. 278).

<sup>51</sup>See note 32. Villaquirán protested justly against Lobato's continuing to double as organist and choir-master: “como es costumbre en todas las Iglesias Catedrales que el Maestro de Capilla asista en su fascistol e reciba tono del organista.” Villaquirán, who became master of ceremonies at Quito Cathedral on June 12, 1585, was well acquainted with musical usage in the principal Spanish cathedrals. Never in Renaissance Spanish or New World cathedrals did custom require the choir to sing *a cappella*. The choir-master conducted from a station beside the immense choirbook stand, taking the pitch from the organist. More than one organ was needed for transposition into comfortable vocal ranges.

<sup>52</sup>*Libro . . . 1583–1594*, fol. 184. According to Lope de Atienza's 1583 report to the Crown (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, CLXXXIV, 199) Talavera was in that year only 35. A native of Santo Domingo, he longed to return home: “he understands polyphony and keyboard” (“entiende la música de canto de órgano y tecla”). Added the report. Appointed a Quito canon on July 10, 1569, he began to attend chapter meetings in 1573. Always an irregular attendee, he sometimes signed Talavera and other times Talaverano. The act of January 17, 1587, impugns Francisco de Mesa “por ser ombre ciego y saber poca” and adds that “por otras cosas que a ello les mueuen y por que [fol. 184] el señor canonigo Francisco Talaverano quiere ocuparse en tañer el dicho organo” Mesa is dismissed.

<sup>53</sup>Pluralism—the dangers of which mounted *en tiempo de sede vacante*—earned a stinging reproach from the Third Lima Council (*Concilios Limenses*, I, 355 [28]).

<sup>54</sup>*Libro . . . 1583–1594*, fol. 208: “atento a lo que se a ordenado en lo tocante al seminario y se a aplicado la tercia parte delo que valiere el dicho seminario a los que leyeren la lection dela gramatica en la compañía del nombre de J<sup>hus</sup> y conforme alo prouenido por el dicho auto dixerón que aplicauan y aplicaron al m<sup>o</sup> gutierre fernandez hidalgo, maestro de capilla desta sta yglesia la otra tercia parte delo que valiere el dicho seminario.” Within a year one of the canons was protesting not only against Fernández Hidalgo's double salary, but also against paying the newly arrived Jesuits to teach Latin grammar (fol. 232): “es ynconbeniente darse a los del nombre de Jesus”. See José Jouanen, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Antigua Provincia de Quito 1570–1774* (Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1941), I, 58. The Jesuits occupied Santa Barbara Church from their arrival in July 1586 till 1589 (González Suárez, III, 181–182).

<sup>55</sup>*Libro . . . 1583–1594*, fol. 208: “y las lecciones del canto y contrapunto las a de dar cada día dos lecciones vna por la mañana y otra por la tarde a todos los clerigos que quisieren aprender y a doze muchachos que an de seruir en esta sancta ygl<sup>ia</sup> de Cantores monazillos y ayudar a missa.”



music and a dozen youths hired to serve as altar boys and cathedral seises. Four days later the chapter stipulated that his pay must be taken entirely from sums earmarked for the seminary.<sup>56</sup> Meanwhile, Francisco de Mesa (the "poor blind organist") won the right to continue—Canon Talavera's protests being brushed aside. A year later the chapter discussed Fernández Hidalgo's salary once more.<sup>57</sup> The archdeacon, the *maestrescuela*, and the *thesorero* proposed allowing him another 100 pesos beyond his seminary salaries, such sum to derive from the cathedral endowment for support of a maestro de capilla. Canon López Albarrán protested vigorously, averring that no cathedral in Peru still allowed such multiplying of salaries.<sup>58</sup> The dispute continued through several further chapter meetings, to cease only at the close of 1589 with Fernández Hidalgo's quitting Quito. At La Plata, an archiepiscopal see that competed with Lima and Toledo in wealth, he finally found between 1597 and 1620 a cathedral and a seminary rich enough to support his musical ambitions.<sup>59</sup>

On February 6, 1590, Quito Cathedral reengaged Diego Lobato "because he is competent for the task and has been serving since last Christmas."<sup>60</sup> His salary was to be 100 pesos, far below what the cathedral had paid him in Bishop Peña's time: a paltry four boys were to serve as his paid treble choristers. As if to compensate for these inconveniences, *oidor* Dr. Moreno de Mera of the Quito Audiencia joined with the superiors of the three orders (Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians) to recommend Diego Lobato de Sosa in 1591 for a cathedral canonry. The 53-folio *expediente* at the Archivo General de Indias (legajo 83, n<sup>o</sup> 29, 1592 [olim 77-1-29])—belonging to a bundle titled *Audiencia de Quito Cartas y expedientes de personas eclesiasticas del distrito de dicha audiencia; vistos en el Consejo años de 1587 à 1597*—amply testifies to Lobato's character and abilities. The expediente confirms that he had been priested in 1566 after having been cathedral sacristan since 1548 (fol. 2<sup>v</sup>). A man of learning, he filled his house with books (fol. 45<sup>v</sup>: "tiene en su casa muchos libros"). Only his poverty and the 300-league distance had prevented his attending the Universidad de San Marcos at Lima for a theological degree (fol. 14<sup>v</sup>). His erudition, excellent preaching ability, proficiency in Quechua, Spanish, and Latin, and his zeal, set a shining example. After his father's death January 18, 1546, he had been an anchor to his now deceased mother "Doña Ysabel Yarupalla . . . a most distinguished lady, a sincere Christian, and always a friend to the Spaniards" (fol. 17: "muy señora en su natural y muy buena Xpiana y que siempre a thenido mucho amor a los españoles").

### Baroque Epoch

*Edictos* for a new chapelmaster "to be presented by the president and collated by the bishop, in accordance with the rules of the royal patronage" were called for

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 210: "a de ganar el dicho salario del seminario y no otro."

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 231<sup>v</sup> (January 10, 1589).

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 232. Albarrán appealed to a decision of the Third Lima Council (see note 53).

<sup>59</sup>Stevenson, *The Music of Peru. Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1960), pp. 182-184.

<sup>60</sup>*Libro . . . 1583-1594*, fol. 242<sup>v</sup>: "se trato de nombrar y nombraron Por m<sup>o</sup> de capilla desta sancta ygl<sup>ia</sup> al p<sup>e</sup> diego lobato de sosa clgo presbytero por ser abil y suficiente para el dicho officio. por se hauer ydo gutierre fernandez que lo seruia."

December 5, 1610.<sup>61</sup> Pedro Pacheco, a clergyman, had served as principal organist with an annual salary of 250 patacones since at least November 14, 1607.<sup>62</sup>

At the *onras y obsequios* for Philip III on September 30, 1621, the choir sang "mucha música a canto de órgano."<sup>63</sup> Francisco Coronel, now chapelmaster, composed the music for the first responsory in the *vísperas de defunctos*. On November 5, 1623, Antonio de Castro, a clergyman who had been serving as organist of the *sacristía menor*, was promoted to principal organist;<sup>64</sup> Nicolas del Egama succeeded him in the *sacristía menor*.

On July 9, 1627, Juan Méndez Miño, a prebendary, offered to endow the music instruction of local boys.<sup>65</sup> His 50 patacones annually henceforth obliged the chapelmaster to give morning and afternoon music lessons to all the local youth desiring them. The only paid trebles in the Quito choir at the moment were the boys Juan de Salas and José de Silva, each of whom earned 20 pesos.<sup>66</sup> Three years later Bishop Pedro de Oviedo chose Juan de Salas as winner among a trio contending for the post of cathedral organist.<sup>67</sup> Lucas Ortuño, who finished second in the competition, gained the post of *organista supernumerario* at 100 pesos annually May 11, 1635 (succeeding the deceased Álvaro Árias).<sup>68</sup> Juan de Salas's salary on the same date rose to 100 pesos plus 60 patacones.

The chapter lamented the short supply of ready money for music, however. The example of Lima suggested a remedy on August 14, 1635, when the Quito canons decided to start paying the chapelmaster, singers, and instrumentalists from *fábrica* funds instead of any longer from the *mesa capitular*.<sup>69</sup> As an immediate result, the chapter could on August 19, 1636, hire Francisco de Montoya as *maestro de canturia* (vocal music) to assist Francisco Coronel.<sup>70</sup> Even with 200 pesos, Montoya would still

<sup>61</sup>*Libro del Cabildo desta santa yglesia . . . 1611-1628* [1607-1627], fol. 12. A hiatus in the capitular acts (1594-1607) coincides with the episcopate of Luis López de Solís, fourth bishop (1594-1602); he gave the cathedral a better organ (González Suárez, III, 302). Pedro Ordóñez de Ceballos whose *Viaje del mundo* took him as far afield as China visited Quito more than once during López de Solís's term. The *cantores y música* of the Quito Cathedral in 1594 struck him as a "procession from heaven." The ceremonies at Quito a quadrennium earlier for the deceased *fray Antonio de San Miguel, obispo de Chile* were the "más sumptuosos que jamás he visto." See M. Serrano y Sanz, *Autobiografías y Memorias* (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliére, 1905 [Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, V]), 332, 415, 453. Salvador de Rivera, the native of Lima who was bishop of Quito from 1607 to 1612, patronized plays as well as music. The earliest *comedias* presented at Quito were given at his palace (González Suárez, IV, 61).

<sup>62</sup>*Libro . . . 1611-1628* [1607-1627], fol. 1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 151<sup>v</sup>. See also González Suárez, IV, 95.

<sup>64</sup>*Libro . . . 1611-1628* [1607-1627], fol. 273<sup>v</sup>: "Sobre el dar el organo . . . por fin y muerte de Francisco de Mesa que lo tenia. Y se acordo que se de al dicho Antonio de Castro con el mismo salario que le lleuaba el dicho Francisco de Mesa. Y se haga la nominacion para el sr. Patron." The president of the Audiencia was Vice-Patron. Concerning the blind Francisco de Mesa active since 1577, see notes 32 and 52.

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 403<sup>v</sup>: "Hallose en este cabildo el rracionero Joan Mendez Miño a proponer como propusso. que sera muy conueniente que en esta sta yglesia se enseñe a cantar a los monajillos y otros niños y moços. Ordinariamente que sean naturales desta ciudad: y que este cuidado aya de tener y tenga el maestro de capilla . . . y para que tenga efecto, ofresce de su hazienda el dicho rracionero cinquenta patacones, de a ocho Reales."

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 404. Coronel was still chapelmaster.

<sup>67</sup>*Libro del Cabildo Eclesiastico 8 . . .* [1628-1644], fol. 74<sup>v</sup> (April 16, 1630). For the ceremony of Oviedo's taking possession in Quito Cathedral January 17, 1630, see González Suárez, IV, 183.

<sup>68</sup>*Libro 8 . . .* [1628-1644], fol. 158.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 165.

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 219.



be earning less than Juan de Ortega, a cornettist from Spain, who was receiving 200 plus another 100 from Bishop Oviedo's privy purse.<sup>71</sup> A tenor from Spain was also receiving more than local tenors.<sup>72</sup>

On June 16, 1638, Montoya earned a rise to 300 pesos annually and the rights of a coadjutor.<sup>73</sup> Three months later he was defaulting in his instruction of the local youth, whereupon the chapter called for a reexamination of the Méndez Miño deed "which requires the chapelmaster or his deputy to teach."<sup>74</sup> Diego de Arrieta, the imported Spanish tenor, continued to do so well that his salary was doubled on January 21, 1639.<sup>75</sup> Lucas Ortuño, restive at being only *organista supernumerario*, was sharply reminded four days later that Salas enjoyed all rights belonging to principal organist.<sup>76</sup>

The Ortuños were not to come into their own as monopolists of Quito music until later in the century. In April of 1648 Francisco Ortuño de Larrea, *clérigo de menores órdenes*, succeeded Juan de Salas,<sup>77</sup> who after Bishop Oviedo's death had relinquished the principal organistship of the cathedral to become an Augustinian.<sup>78</sup> On August 11, 1651, Juan Ortuño de Larrea became chapelmaster, in succession to Juan de la Mota Barbossa.<sup>79</sup> On March 31, 1648, after Coronel's decease, Mota Barbossa had been inducted as maestro de capilla with 400 pesos annually,<sup>80</sup> only to die, himself, three years later. This left the post open for an Ortuño de Larrea. During the next seventy years this family held Quito cathedral music in fief, with one member succeeding another.<sup>81</sup> Juan Ortuño de Larrea was ejected from the chapelmastership in 1682 when it was proved that after thirty years in office he had grown "totally deaf and inept."<sup>82</sup> However, another Ortuño de Larrea (an organista menor whose petition

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 219<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>72</sup>"Joan de Arrieta tenor español llamase Diego de Arrieta sele señalan por cantor cinquenta pesos de a ocho Reales." Tension between creoles and Peninsulars was high in *conventos* as well as in cathedrals. See González Suárez, IV, 138: "los españoles oprimian a los americanos: los americanos aborrecían a los españoles." The peninsulars themselves lived in disunity, Basques contending against Extremadurans at Potosí, for instance (*ibid.*, 129).

<sup>73</sup>*Libro 8* . . . [1628-1644], fol. 271<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 297.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 304: "atento a su destreza y que acuda con cuidado, sin hazer fallas."

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*: "sobre que solo vn organista tiene la yglesia conforme la ereccion y que el otro es supernumerario."

<sup>77</sup>*Libro del Benerable dean y Cauildo* . . . [1646-1673], fol. 48<sup>v</sup>. There were no other competitors for the organistship, although announcement of the vacancy had been posted up for a long time. Early the next year, Bishop Ugarte and Saravia interdicted organ playing in Quito cathedral and in all local churches (from January 29 to April 4). See González Suárez, IV, 235.

<sup>78</sup>For sketches of Augustinian life in seventeenth-century Quito, see González Suárez, IV, 154, 170, 351.

<sup>79</sup>*Libro 9* . . . [1646-1673], fol. 144. Ortuño de Larrea started with only half the salary Mota Barbossa had been paid.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 47<sup>v</sup>: ". . . por quanto fran<sup>co</sup> Coronel maestro de capilla desta santa yglesia murio conuiene nombrar otro m<sup>o</sup> en su lugar." Mota Barbossa, a "persona perito en canto y mussica," took the post at an annual salary of 400 "pesos de a ocho reales" and "vna resma de papel." The ream of paper (500 sheets) shows how much new music the chapter expected him to provide annually.

<sup>81</sup>A like trend towards family ownership of cathedral musical posts coincides with declining artistic standards at Bogotá, Trujillo, and Lima. See Stevenson, *The Music of Peru*, pp. 96-97.

<sup>82</sup>*Actus Capitulares. Año de 1675 á 1681* [1701], fol. 74 (September 4, 1682): "Dixerón que por quanto el Liz<sup>do</sup> D<sup>n</sup> Juan Ortuño mro de capilla de esta santa yglesia esta totalmente sordo y por esto ynepto para seriur el oficio de tal M<sup>ro</sup> y que es notable el defecto que se alla en el coro y musica con que se ofician los diuinos oficios y que se alle en esta ciudad fray Manuel Blasco Monje Geronimo que entiendo con grande

for a salary increase on January 17, 1681, was denied<sup>83</sup>) managed to wheedle the chapelmastership in 1697,<sup>84</sup> and to continue in that role until his death in 1721 or 1722.<sup>85</sup>

Time and again the seventeenth-century capitular acts reveal that a member of this clan was appointed for lack of any other candidates. The family monopoly would have benefited Quito if all had been zealous Bachs; but once appointed such a chapelmaster as Juan Ortuño de Larrea slackened his efforts. A *clérigo presbítero cantor y apuntador del coro* of acknowledged probity when first appointed on August 11, 1651, he steadily deteriorated thereafter. Finally, on July 19, 1680, the chapter obtained sworn testimony that bloated salaries continued to be paid to singers who came irregularly, lacked voices, and knew little or nothing about music.<sup>86</sup> Lorenzo Abad, the succentor, was then asked to undertake the reform of the choir. But he could make little headway against an entrenched tribe. The chapter did vote *unánimes y conformes* not to allow José Ortuño Sáenz de Larrea *cosa alguna* when he petitioned on January 17, 1681 for a raise; and at the same session the chapter forbade any increase for the singer José de la Vega. On July 1, 1681, the chapter decreed that not only the chapelmaster but also the succentor and the organist must swear that three new singers proposed for the cathedral (Lucas Camino, Blas Mendes, Lorenzo Rodríguez) really had acceptable voices and were actually needed.<sup>87</sup>

By this time several canons felt that only a Herculean outsider would have sufficient strength to clean the Quito musical stables. The next year he was found in the person of Manuel Blasco, a Jeronymite<sup>88</sup> already well known at Bogotá, a composer of distinction who was exceptional also as conductor and organist.<sup>89</sup> To pay him the same 400-peso salary that the deaf, inept, and family-favoring Juan Ortuño de Larrea had received meant lopping the veteran's salary in half (200 pesos remained as his retiree's pay) and scrounging the other 200 from dismissed singers' salaries.

Engaged with this understanding September 4, 1682, Blasco presented his list of singers and players to be dismissed seven weeks later (October 17).<sup>90</sup> Martín de Quirós, *bajón tenorete*, must be dismissed and Sebastián de Quirós,<sup>91</sup> who desired to be appointed a shawm-player, refused admittance. A blind harpist must be reduced

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destreza el arte de musica y es aproposito para ser M<sup>ro</sup> de Capilla y enseñar Musica a los Cantores que concurren y ganan salario en el dho coro se nombra para que sirua el dho oficio de mro de Capilla."

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 55.

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 261<sup>v</sup>. An act of January 5, 1699, states that José Ortuño had been promoted to the chapelmastership two years previously.

<sup>85</sup>*Libro . . . Año de 1726 á 1733*, fol. 88. According to the act of January 16, 1731, the post of chapelmaster had been vacant for more than nine years since the death of José Ortuño Sáenz de Larrea, the previous maestro.

<sup>86</sup>*Actas . . . 1675 á [1701]*, fol. 48.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 61.

<sup>88</sup>Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros dispatched Jeronymites to the New World as early as 1516. See Pedro Henriquez Ureña, *La cultura y letras coloniales en Santo Domingo* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1936), p. 53. Charles V retired to their monastery at Yuste, and Philip II gave them El Escorial.

<sup>89</sup>Blasco's *Officium defunctorum* (1681), *Laudate Dominum, a 12* (1683), and *Versos al organo en duo para Chirimias* (1684) survive at Bogotá in dated copies. In addition, the Bogotá archive houses an undated *Magnificat, a 12* (organ part), *Sedet a dextris meis, a 12* and two undated villancicos with Spanish texts.

<sup>90</sup>*Actas . . . 1675 á [1701]*, fol. 76.

<sup>91</sup>As soon as Blasco left, this player crept into the cathedral. Martín de Quirós took over the *chirimía* post in succession to Sebastián on January 5, 1699 (*ibid.*, fol. 262).



from 80 to 40 patacones and room made for a new harpist. Tomás Álbarez must take reduction in pay if Manuel Álbarez continued on the cathedral payroll. A *contra alto* must be reduced from 80 to 50 patacones. As if these changes were not sufficiently drastic, Blasco was instructed again on February 20, 1687, to draw up a list of singers not doing their best, notifying them of their imminent dismissal.<sup>92</sup> Bernardino Muñoz, *presbítero*, gained admittance as *cantor* at 130 pesos annually on this date and two months later the chapter agreed to pay 80 pesos *de a ocho reales* for repairing the two cathedral organs;<sup>93</sup> but catastrophe again befell cathedral music at the end of April when the chapter was asked suddenly for 1000 pesos towards the million-peso ransom demanded by the French pirates sacking Guayaquil.<sup>94</sup>

Blasco, the most eminent composer in Quito colonial annals after Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo, served from late 1682 until 1695. On September 9 of the latter year, the canons suggested that the time had at last come to make Blasco more than an acting chapelmaster.<sup>95</sup> Since everyone agreed that he was a musician the like of whom Quito had never seen, several canons proposed asking Bishop Sancho de Andrade y Figueroa<sup>96</sup> to begin styling Blasco titular chapelmaster. This moment paradoxically spelled Blasco's ruin. To be titular chapelmaster he needed both letters patent from the Jeronymite superior in Spain and written permission for his translation to America from the Council of the Indies. He could procure neither; whereupon he lost even the right to continue as acting chapelmaster. The brightest epoch in Quito seventeenth-century music ended with his abrupt suspension on December 16, 1695.<sup>97</sup>

The capitular acts strongly hint that Blasco's troubles towards the close of his Quito career were fomented by the Ortuño de Larrea clan, who again began dominating Quito music the moment José Ortuño Sáenz de Larrea succeeded Blasco in 1696.<sup>98</sup> At once José tried to advance his relative, Bernabé Ortuño de Larrea, to principal organist, a move frustrated on July 3, 1699, when Jacinto de Santa María was promoted from second to first organ and Bernabé declared ineligible.<sup>99</sup> On this same day, the chapter hired Gabriel Guacarache *indio* as sackbut player. Two years later the choirboys mentioned in the capitular acts were Indians also.<sup>100</sup>

The prostration of Quito music, after three quarters of a century of inbreeding, was so complete at José Ortuño Sáenz de Larrea's death that for nine years thereafter the chapelmastership went begging. Finally on January 16, 1731,<sup>101</sup> the chapter "decided

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 144.

<sup>93</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 149 (April 19, 1687). Francisco Narbáez fixed the organs.

<sup>94</sup>González Suárez, IV, 339.

<sup>95</sup>*Actas* . . . 1675 á [1701], fol. 241<sup>v</sup>. Don Diego Gallegos de Aguilar *Presbytero*, the titular chapelmaster, had just died. He had enjoyed the title while Blasco did all the work.

<sup>96</sup>Concerning this bishop, who was a native of Lima and who died at Quito in 1702, see González Suárez, IV, 349.

<sup>97</sup>*Actas* . . . 1675 á [1701], fol. 242.

<sup>98</sup>The post of chapelmaster was announced as vacant on March 16, 1696 (*ibid.*, fol. 243<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 266.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 280<sup>v</sup>. On Indians in Peruvian cathedrals, see *The Music of Peru* (indexed reference to Indian instrumentalists, Indian singers).

<sup>101</sup>*Libro* . . . 1726 á 1733, fol. 88: "Dixeron y determinaron dichos señores, que respecto destar vaca la Maestria de Capilla del Choro de esta Iglesia a mas tiempo de nueve años por muerte de Joseph Ortuño Sáenz de Larrea y no auer esperanza, ni aun remota de que aya oppositores suficientes, e idoneos en la Musica y Composicion de el Canto de Organo, y que los que oy existen, son aquellos que regularmente se

that since the chapelmastership has now been vacant more than nine years following José Ortuño Sáenz de Larrea's death, and since no longer does there remain the slightest hope that any accomplished or even competent composers will present themselves for the post, nought remains for us but to content ourselves with the mediocrities already here and to allow these local musicians to compete for the title.' Francisco Haranjo was thereupon named;<sup>102</sup> and on his death in 1742 Carlos Gordillo,<sup>103</sup> a priest who had been successor previously, succeeded him. Gordillo, who had sung in the cathedral since childhood, had to share 100 pesos of the 400 set aside for a chapelmaster with a sick priest, Pedro de Acosta, another veteran polyphonic singer in the Quito cathedral. With the assent of the *presidente de la Real Audiencia de Quito*, Gordillo ascended to titular chapelmaster on October 21, 1743.

Ten years later a report to Madrid revealed the true reason why all arts and industries had so disastrously declined in the province—poverty.<sup>104</sup> Guayaquil, after repeated sackings, remained nothing but a village of rush houses infected with insects;<sup>105</sup> Cuenca—not erected a bishopric until 1786 (although with an organ installed in 1730)—was reduced to beggary. Even when a royal cedula signed at Buen Retiro September 5, 1759, ordered exequies for Fernando VI, Quito cathedral on June 2, 1760, lacked musicians to perform anything worth mentioning in the report to Madrid.<sup>106</sup> Faced with the necessity of organizing some semblance of festivities to celebrate Charles III's ascent to the throne, the Quito secular cabildo six weeks later paid various anonymous town instrumentalists (*arpas, violines y otros instrumentos sonoros*) to play *conciertos de música* in the plaza mayor the nights of July 15, 16, and 17. On July 22, 23, and 24 the square in front of the cathedral served as open-air theatre for *varias óperas* sung by "richly dressed nymphs" (*Ninfas galamente vestidas*). Or at least so affirms the writer of the report, Juan Crisóstomo de León, who however names none of the "various operas," performers, or composers active in 1760—the year that printing began at Quito. (In 1760, the German Jesuit brother-coadjutor Adam Schwartz became Quito's first printer.)

Another contemporary writer whose witness can be invoked to musical conditions in Quito during the years 1750-1760 and 1763-1766 but who, like Juan Crisóstomo de León, forbore naming performers and composers, was the Jesuit missionary, Bernar-

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han conserbado sin adelamiento alguno Mandaron que para proceder a prouerse en propiedad se despache edictos en la forma acostumbrada con termino de ocho dias."

<sup>102</sup>*Libro Capitular . . . 1733-[1753]*, fol. 43. The act of February 9, 1742, speaks of the death of Lis<sup>do</sup> Francisco Haranjo, chapelmaster.

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 47. Named interim maestro on February 9, he gained the full title (with the "Vice-Patron's assent") October 21, 1743.

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 176. The viceroys at Bogotá lamented the decadence of Quito; see J. A. García y García, *Relaciones de los Vireyes del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (New York: Hallet & Breen, 1869), p. 93.

<sup>105</sup>Guayaquil disputes preeminence today with Quito, but received her first bishop in 1848. Throughout the nineteenth century the cathedral was of wood, and was burnt several times. The predecessor *iglesia mayor* at Guayaquil obtained a small organ from Spain in 1777, in which year Pedro de la Peña was chapelmaster. Concepción Chapel on the site of the old *Iglesia mayor* had a harmonium, made by an Augustinian brother. See Modesto Chávez Franco, *Crónicas del Guayaquil antiguo* (Guayaquil: Imprenta Municipal, 1930), p. 26.

<sup>106</sup>Juan Crisóstomo de León, "Fiestas celebradas en Quito cuando la Católica Majestad de Carlos 3<sup>o</sup> pasó del Trono de Nápoles al de España, celebradas el año de 1760," *Museo Histórico* [Quito], V/17 (September 30, 1953), p. 127. For his allusions to music for the festivities six and seven weeks later, see pp. 129 and 130. In 1760 the cathedral structure was a rubble due to a succession of earthquakes from 1755 to 1757.



do Recio (1714-1791). His "De la música, y otros medios, para aumento del culto divino en ese país"—chapter 27 of the second treatise (paragraphs 331-341) in his *Compendiosa Relación de la Cristiandad de Quito*—was penned in 1774, near the close of a nine-year confinement at Gerona, Catalonia. According to him, the Jesuit cartographer Samuel Fritz (1651-1725), born at Trautenau in Bohemia, was the first to popularize the violin among the Quito-province indigenes. During the generation after Fritz's death, violins had become so favorite an Indian instrument as to resound at every patron saint's Mass. However, not violins but rather harps continued the indispensable accompanying instrument played at every Mass, baptism, and Salve in the humblest Indian villages.

The latest [Jesuit] missionary influx from Germany included a very complete band, many of whom could play flute, violin or [French] horn, and all of whom were well instructed in music theory. In our church at Quito, the president and oidores of the Audiencia were delighted with the music at chief feasts. These [Germans] brought along with them a repertory of songs and rare instrumental pieces eagerly learned by Quito musicians, including Indians.<sup>107</sup>

Continuing his remarks on music at Quito in the 1750's and 1760's, Recio commended Quito bell-casters. "Thanks to select metals and the skill of the bell-casters, Quito with a total of 60,000 inhabitants rivals any similarly sized European capital in the number of harmonious bells rung at all hours. Organ-making is a flourishing occupation. Even small churches scattered throughout the province own good organs. Exquisite portatives are manufactured in great numbers and their playing admirably complements the sound of strings in Quito churches." So much for Recio's remarks, which are weighted favorably toward instruments—not choirs, performers—not composers, the Quito church administered by the Society of Jesus—not the cathedral.

For what proof of musical life instrument-making provides, a maker of keyboard instruments named Joaquín de Ovando was active at Quito in the 1790's. Or, at any rate, Richard Rephann's *A Catalogue of the Pedro Travesari Collection of Musical Instruments* (Washington, D.C.: Organization of American States; New Haven: Yale University, 1978) lists as item 4136 "an Ecuadorean virginal, tampered with but inscribed *Joaquín de Ovanda* [sic] 1796 *Maio 16*."<sup>108</sup> Three years later, Quito welcomed a new president of the Royal Audiencia at last bent on restoring the cathedral's artistic glories, Luis Francisco Héctor Barón de Carondelet. During the next fifteen years the cathedral structure was largely rebuilt.<sup>109</sup> A new *Plan de Música* won chapter assent on July 6, 1799. After reviewing the records, of the two plainchanting friars on October 16—José Pita (getting 200 pesos) and José Querelaso—the chapter

<sup>107</sup>Bernardo Recio, *Compendiosa Relación de la Cristiandad de Quito*, ed. Carlos García Goldaraz (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo, 1947), p. 427: "En la última misión que de Alemania pasó a aquellas partes, vino una capilla muy completa. Unos con flautas muy sonoras, otros con violines y trompas, y todos muy industriados en los puntos de solfa. Hacían en nuestra iglesia el oficio en algunas fiestas más solemnes, y era de ver la complacencia y fruición, con que eran oídos del señor presidente, como también de los oidores. Estos trujeron varias canciones y raros modos músicos, que iban aprendiendo los músicos de Quito, entre los cuales, hay indios bellos remedadores."

<sup>108</sup>Rephann classes item 4137 in the Pedro Travesari collection (acquired in May 1951 by the Ecuadorean government for the Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana) as an anonymous seventeenth-century clavichord (scale C/E-a<sup>2</sup>) made at Quito.

<sup>109</sup>José G. Navarro, "El Arquitecto Español Don Antonio García y la Catedral de Quito," *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia* (Quito: "La Prensa Católica," 1958), XXXVIII/91, 180-208.

decided to dismiss the second for ineptness. For lack of funds, the cathedral no longer hired a chapelmaster.

The downward trend in polyphonic music from 1708 to 1799 can be illustrated from the inventories of *libros de facistol* containing *canto de órgano*. There were 35 in the 1708 inventory, but only 20 in that of 1754. After the disastrous series of earthquakes between 1755 and 1757 nothing remained of the former precious archive of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century polyphony. Twenty-nine huge plainchant books copied on vellum did survive; others carried away were eventually restored to Quito, such as an exquisite 132-folio (Franciscan saints' offices) completed in 1673 by Francisco de Peña Herrera, *Doctrinero de San Pablo de la Laguna*.<sup>110</sup> But such collections mentioned in 1754 as the four choirbooks containing motets were gone forever after 1757.

### *The Nineteenth Century*

In 1832, while the State of Ecuador in Colombia still existed formally,<sup>111</sup> the chapter hired Crisanto Castro as chapelmaster; his motley musicians included three flautists, five violinists, a string bass, two organists, four plainchanters, and a few boys. To stop the absenteeism that the "intolerably inefficient and impudent" Pedro Moncayo had previously allowed, the chapter decided on December 21, 1832, to make Manuel Pauta fifth violinist at 30 pesos annually on condition that while doubling as policeman of attendance he assessed at least 30 pesos in fines from absentee and tardy singers.<sup>112</sup> Within six months in his office of *apuntador de fallas* Pauta had so infuriated the plainchanter Francisco Portugal and the string bass Juan Correa that they caught him alone in San Agustín convento.<sup>113</sup> After beating him severely, they left him lying in his own blood. On July 19, 1833, the chapter discharged both assaulters. At the same session, the canons warned the plainchanters exchanging insults and taunts inside the sacred enclosure to stop or face dismissal. Both the plainchanter Francisco Portugal and the string bass Juan Correa made their peace with the chapter in time to be reappointed in 1835.<sup>114</sup>

By January 19, 1836, poor Pauta had gone too far with his fines. Fired with zeal to collect at least the 30 pesos necessary if he himself were to be paid, he had mulcted the chapelmaster for absences during an official trip to Riobamba (accompanying Dr. José Guerrero, the canon-treasurer).<sup>115</sup> The chapelmaster protested that Pauta never failed to fine his enemies even when absent because of sickness, while giving his friends unbounded leave. To correct this abuse, the chapter thereupon deputed

<sup>110</sup>Fol. 132<sup>v</sup> shows this legend: "Dar fin a este libro a 8 de diciembre del año de 1673 el P. Prae<sup>or</sup> Fr. Francisco de Peña Herrera cura, Doctrinero de san Pablo dela Laguna. se debe a N. M. R. P. Fr. Dionysio Guerrero. L<sup>o</sup> jubilado. P. perpetuo y Ministro Prou. desta S<sup>ta</sup> Prouincia pues por su vigilancia, cuidado y zelo se comenzo. y acabo este volumen delos santos de nra orden, quisiendo obra serafica. claro està. auia de ser por su patrocinio Y amparo. siendo tercera vez dignissimo Guardian del Conv. de san Pablo de Quito el R. P. fr Diego de Escalante y Mendoza. L<sup>o</sup> jubilado. y Diff<sup>or</sup> habitual desta sancta Prou<sup>a</sup>." The exquisite illuminations in this volume—SS. Elizabeth of Hungary, Anthony of Padua, and Clara, for example—stand comparison with the finest in any Spanish-American choirbooks. In 1907, Pedro Pablo Travesari (1874–1956) retrieved this volume in Rome, whither it had emigrated. A composer as well as a collector, Travesari was the first in Ecuador to endorse systematic investigation in his article, "La musicología," *Mensaje de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Quito), n.<sup>os</sup> 8 & 9 (October, 1938), 50–56.

<sup>111</sup>The last leaf in Quito Cathedral acts with the seal of Colombia, State of Ecuador, is fol. 60 (May 29, 1835) in the *Libro de Actas 1831–1838*.

<sup>112</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>113</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 64 (August 14, 1835).

<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 15.

<sup>115</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 75.



Juan Pablo Pizarro (first plainchanter) to draw up a secret list of absentees; this was to be presented independently. By such an expedient, the chapter hoped to learn if Pauta lied about absences. Two months later (March 22)<sup>116</sup> the chapter instructed the *notario* serving as chapter secretary to post himself at one of the *coro* doors; there he was to watch all entrances and exits. A few days later the discredited Pauta relinquished his post of *apuntador*; his successor was Marcos Herrera.<sup>117</sup> Half the fines assessed by Herrera were to go for cathedral repairs and Canon José Barba was to verify Herrera's list of delinquents before it reached the dean.

This was an egalitarian year in which everyone was entitled "Citizen." "Citizen" Juan Bastidas, "Citizen" Bernardo Correa, and "Citizen" Agustín Baldeón<sup>118</sup> served as violinists 1, 2, and 3; but to placate the former third violinist, Santa Cruz (who had been promised promotion),<sup>119</sup> the chapter decided November 11, 1836, to style both Correa (a better, though younger, violinist) and Santa Cruz seconds.

As soon as fines stopped in 1837, absenteeism from *coro* again became rife. Wearied with the idleness of plainchanters, the chapter abolished one position of *cantollanista* for the benefit of general cathedral funds February 9, 1838.<sup>120</sup> The holder of the suppressed position thereupon became fourth violinist (really fifth, since there were two "seconds").

On March 3, 1843, three more musicians' posts were suppressed; on October 17 of the same year, "Citizen" Bernardo Correa succeeded Juan Bastidas in the first violinist's chair.<sup>121</sup> Francisco Portugal, now third plainchanter, petitioned for a change of status on December 1, fearful lest his post of third would be soon abolished.<sup>122</sup> Simultaneously, Ignacio Miño<sup>123</sup> asked to succeed his defunct father as first organist; however, the chapter preferred to disregard the son's donated services throughout many years and called for an open competition. Worse blows awaited the musical establishment. Crisanto Castro, after twelve years as chapelmaster, read the bad news to his subalterns on May 17, 1844;<sup>124</sup> nine of the adult singers' and players' posts listed in 1832 were to be abolished; henceforth there were to remain only five such posts. Francisco Portugal's petition to the bishop having proved of no avail, the dispossessed musicians clung to one small consolation; they knew that even dignitaries and canons were now the creatures of the *Supremo Poder Ejecutivo*. All the traditional restraints on the *Real Patronazgo* having been removed, cathedral appointees henceforth found themselves at the mercy of every shifting political current. The power of the purse passed to the cathedral majordomo, Juan Gualberto de Aulestia, a secular official. "Citizen" Juan Correa, *contrabajista del coro*, com-

<sup>116</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 79.

<sup>117</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 91.

<sup>118</sup>Baldeón was the first Ecuadorean to write "symphonies." He founded a music school, the direction of which after his death passed to Miguel Pérez, another cathedral violinist. See O. Mayer-Serra, *Música y Músicos de Latinoamérica* (México: Editorial Atlante, 1947), I, 337. Miguel Pérez asked for the second violinist's chair in the cathedral orchestra on October 27, 1843 (*Actas Capitulares 1840-1844*, fol. 50°).

<sup>119</sup>*Libro de Actas 1831-1838*, fol. 97°. The habit of promising a player the reversion of a post swelled the cathedral orchestra at both Lima and Bogotá in the early 1800's. See *The Music of Peru*, p. 91.

<sup>120</sup>*Libro . . . 1831-1838*, fol. 142.

<sup>121</sup>*Actas Capitulares 1840-1844*, fol. 50°.

<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 52°.

<sup>123</sup>On February 9, 1841, José Miño had been sick a whole year, during which time Ignacio had substituted for him (*ibid.*, fol. 14°).

<sup>124</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 64.

plained to the chapter on March 31, 1848, that Aulestia no longer paid any of the musicians in currency, but in kind worth not half the debased *efectivo* due to them.<sup>125</sup> Their requests for redress having met with insults, the chapter deputed the *chantre* to go personally to the majordomo each time musicians' salaries were due, to collect their wages in currency, and to distribute the money himself.

From 1871 until García Moreno's assassination five years later, the German Jesuit Joseph Kolberg taught at the Quito Escuela Politécnica. In *Nach Ecuador* he describes music at Quito.

Every festival in and out of churches is enlivened with instrumental music and song—though of a kind hardly calculated to soothe European ears. On my first Christmas Eve, a crowd of bell jinglers, triangle beaters, and whistle blowers began imitating bird trills to stimulate the devotions of the bystanders. Nevertheless, the *quiteños* have a natural bent for music that García Moreno fostered.<sup>126</sup> While I was there an army band within hearing distance practiced so continuously from dawn till dusk that the players scarcely took time to eat. They became proficient with even some complicated numbers and could have made a good impression in Europe—provided they left behind the big drum to which they are so addicted. Able pianists,<sup>127</sup> clarinetists, and violinists were being trained. Their singing suffers from lack of method,<sup>128</sup> and the boys croak more than sing.

The indigenes especially tend towards melancholy formulas that soon grow monotonous, through excessive repetition of three or four notes of the minor scale accompanied by guitars and harps that never carry an independent line. Their favorite instruments are flageolets, trumpets, and drums; and the more solemn the religious procession the greater racket do they make. With all this noise, they attract big crowds for their fiestas and drinking bouts. In contrast with this noise, the Indians often go about late at night playing a small cane syrxin<sup>129</sup> with a delicious soft sound. During their long nocturnal walks they seem to be conjuring with its sound the ruins of the golden palace built by Huayna Capac to adorn ancient Quito.

Religious music indoors, except possibly in the cathedral, scarce deserves the name. The altars are always sumptuously adorned for a *Missa Cantata* and the churches beautifully lighted. But the music is another matter. A singer with a voice strident enough to shatter the very windows begins the Introit, no more adhering to the written melody than if it were not before him in large print. Next comes the Kyrie, executed by two or three rasping voices accompanied by violins and flutes. So it goes till the end. For Solemn Mass, the accompaniment consists of violins, flutes, harmonium, and a bassoon. Marches, waltzes, and at best *Lieder ohne Worte* form the organists' staple. None of this noise disturbs the worshippers, however. Even when paid singers gargle the most affecting Italian opera arias to sacred words and when military bands pass by the open door playing quickstep marches, no one is scandalized; instead, they welcome all this distraction as a means of enlivening the ceremony.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>125</sup>*Libro que contiene las actas 1845-1861*, fol. 39.

<sup>126</sup>Under García Moreno was founded in 1870 the Ecuadorean National Conservatory.

<sup>127</sup>Franz J. Hassaurek, *Four Years among Spanish-Americans* (New York: Hurd and Hoghton, 1867), p. 168, counted "about one hundred and twenty pianos in Quito, very indifferently tuned; but there are only very few ladies who play well."

<sup>128</sup>Hassaurek complains that the *quiteños* sang "chiefly through the nose." Even at funerals, "for two or three mortal hours the ears are torn by the music of a very bad organ, and the worse cbant and cracked voices of hoarse and ugly friars and their assistants" (*ibid.*, p. 171). He has much kinder words for painters at Quito, "some of whom are men of talent, and even genius" (p. 196).

<sup>129</sup>*Rondador*. Hassaurek agrees that the syrxin was the favorite instrument of the Indian. "It accompanies the herdsman as well as the muleteer; and simple, few, and melancholy, are the tunes it yields" (*ibid.*, p. 273).

<sup>130</sup>Condensed from *Nach Ecuador* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1897), pp. 406-410. See *Quito a través de los siglos*, pp. 178-180, for Spanish translation.



The Ecuadorean historian Segundo Luis Moreno (1882-1972) lauded only one twentieth-century cathedral *maestro de capilla*—José Mulet from Spain, who during three years in Quito, 1911-1914, temporarily restored dignity to the cult.<sup>131</sup> In *The New Grove* (1980), V, 829, Gerard Béhague signals the cathedral organist and conservatory director born in 1918, who was a Franciscan, Manuel J. Mola Mateau.

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<sup>131</sup>O. Mayer-Serra. I. 337-338.

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