

Cuzco Cathedral: 1546-1750



CUZCO—SEAT OF THE PREMIER Peruvian see (created a diocese in the consistory of January 13, 1536¹)—prides itself on numerous primacies. No other New World population center can claim continuous, uninterrupted habitation from before 1250. Located at an elevation of 11,207 feet (3416 m) Cuzco commanded unequalled territory by the time that the eleventh Inca, Huayna Capac, began his 34-year rule (died 1527). Conquests by Pachacuti (crowned in 1438), his son Topa = Tupac Inca Yupanqui (took military command in 1463, succeeded Pachacuti in 1471), and by Huayna Capac (ruled from 1483) extended the Inca empire so widely that the only fit city with which to compare it was Rome, according to Garcilaso de la Vega Inca² (born at Cuzco April 12, 1539 [his mother Chimpú Ocela was a niece of Huayna Capac, his father was a Spanish captain from Badajoz³]; died at Córdoba, Spain, April 24, 1616).

Hernando Pizarro took Cuzco November 15, 1533. The Spanish foundation of *La mui noble i gran ciudad del Cuzco* March 23, 1534, did not however secure the city. Besieged ten months by Manco Inca, Cuzco was at last freed from the threat of native recapture with the retirement of his forces in February of 1537. The Dominican Fray Vicente Valverde, first bishop of Cuzco, entered his recently established see June 1538, but during a missionary tour to the north was shot by Indian arrows October 31, 1541, on the island of Puná. The temporary cathedral site (Sunturhuasi) chosen during Valverde's episcopate having proved inadequate, the Cuzco cathedral chapter voted on May 17, 1552, to move to a locale that before the Spanish arrival was occupied by the palace of the Inca Viracocha = Wiracocha (Quishuarcancha).

The musical history of Cuzco Cathedral begins with sixteen plainchant books owned on May 18, 1546. Itemized in a lengthy inventory of cathedral property drawn up by the *sacristán* Duarte de Morales, these books are thus listed at folio 30 of the first volume of Cuzco capitular acts (*Libro de auctos capitulares 1549-1556*⁴): (1) seven Missals, three according to Roman use, three according to Sevillian, and one according to Cordovan; (2) four processions, two Toledan, two Sevillian; (3) three manuals; (4) a large sanctoral; (5) a *passionarium*. A quadrennium later (February,

¹Isaías Vargas Bueno, *Monografía de la Santa Basílica Catedral del Cuzco* (Cuzco: Editorial "Garcilaso," 1956), p. 180.

²[*Primera Parte de los Comentarios Reales* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1609), bk. 6, ch. 20; bk. 7, ch. 8]; *Obras completas del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega*, ed. Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María, II (Madrid: Gráficas Orbe, 1960 [Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, CXXXIII]), pp. 219, 255.

³Aurelio Miro Quesada Sosa, *El Inca Garcilaso y otros estudios garcilasistas* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1971), p. 357.

⁴The *Acuerdos Capitulares* of Lima Cathedral do not begin until 1564; the first book of capitular acts at Arequipa covers the years 1636-1640, at Ayacucho the years 1615-1675, at Trujillo the years 1616-1656. At Sucre = La Plata (in Bolivia) the first book covers 1582-1602, at Santiago de Chile the earliest extant book runs from 1683 to 1723. Although the title page of the first book at Cuzco reads *Libro de auctos capitulares 1549-1556*, it includes acts as early as 1546 and continues to 1590. The records of musical activity in Cuzco Cathedral antecede those of any other cultural entity in South America.



1550) the library had been augmented to include not only three additional Sevillian missals and three Sevillian processions, but also *dos libros de canto de organo los quales tiene Fuentes* (two books of polyphony, which [Juan de] Fuentes has in his keeping).⁵

The next year at Corpus Christi this same Fuentes was to distinguish himself by becoming the first to add European parts to an Inca *haylli*. For his pains he was to earn the everlasting thanks of Garcilaso de la Vega Inca.⁶ Eight mestizo boys dressed for the event in native costume; at refrains the whole cathedral choir joined them. So great success did Fuentes's efforts with the cathedral boys earn that the chapter decided on July 18, 1552, to hire a full complement of *seises*⁷—each boy earning an annual salary of 50 pesos. Meanwhile the choral library continued to grow. On February 21, 1553, the inventory presented to the extremely capable and energetic bishop, Juan Solano,⁸ showed for instance both *la primera y segunda parte de las misas de Xpoual de Morales de marca mayor enquadernados en pergamino de canto de organo*⁹ along with a half-dozen other polyphonic books (*Masses*, *Magnificats* and *quattro cancioneros de motetes de canto de organo de molde enquadernados en pergamino*). In the same year the cathedral already owned not one but rather two organs, played from opposite sides of the choir.¹⁰

After Juan Solano (1544–1561) the next bishop to occupy himself with the cathedral music was Sebastián Lartaún (1573–1583), translated from the see of Panama. A year after entering Cuzco diocese he called the chapter together to urge upon the canons the necessity of appointing a first-class master of polyphonic music capable of teaching counterpoint.¹¹ On April 12, 1580, such a master had supposedly been found in the person of Pedro Serrano, *ministril de xeremia i corneta* (shawmer and cornettist).¹² For the handsome sum of 500 pesos a year he agreed to teach counterpoint to both prebends and ordinands an hour and a half each workday; and to take

⁵Cuzco Cathedral, A. C., I, fol. 30^v; Fuentes's Christian name appears at fol. 27.

⁶*Commentarios Reales* [1609], fol. 101^v, col. 2.

⁷A. C., I, fol. 230; already two boys were serving as paid *seises*; to assure continuity the chapter stipulated that the new quartet should receive no wages until six months' service had been completed.

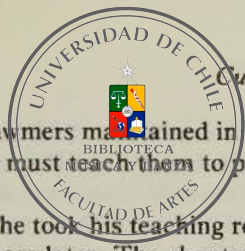
⁸Vargas Bueno, pp. 89–91; Solano founded what is now the Angelicum University at Rome.

⁹A. C., I, fol. 44.

¹⁰The act of February 21 speaks of *guardapolvos de madera* which were to be bought as protection for the two organs. One of the organs was built at Seville in 1549. For data see José Gestoso y Pérez, *Ensayo de un diccionario de los artifices que florecieron en Sevilla desde el siglo XIII al XVIII, inclusive*, III (Seville: Of. tip. de la Andalucía Moderna, 1909), p. 256. Probably its twin was also. The present pair in tribunes above the *coro* date from the beginning of the next century; after the tuning differential recommended by such prominent Renaissance organists as Diego del Castillo (see *Relacion dela que declaro Diego del Castillo se deuia remediar en los quatro organos de S. Lorenzo el Real . . . 1587 años* [Bibl. Nac., Madrid, MS 14025, 194]) and Melchor de Miranda (contemporaneously chief organist at Toledo) the two Cuzco organs still sound a fourth apart—Middle C sounding the A below on one organ, the D above on the other. Each begins with a short octave, and rises to a¹ (45 keys). The keyboards are insets, surrounded by eight painted panels (three on each side of the keyboard, two above). The gospel organ, which still plays, is furnished with four stops to each side, and carries the *medio registro* that Correa de Arauxo characteristically demanded in numerous *tientos*. The interior pipes are of metal, reeds at the back, flue at the front. The epistle is equipped with eight stops on the right, six on the left; and the panels in contrast with those of the gospel organ show secular scenes such as a galleon at sea, a man climbing a tree for fruit, birds, flowers, and even Indians in headdress carrying arrows. Large wooden pipes stand clear of each instrument; each organ gets its wind from a half-dozen bellows. (The organs still surviving at Ayacucho are remarkably similar, though smaller.)

¹¹A. C., I, fol. 162 (July 24, 1574).

¹²*Ibid.*, fol. 205^v.



charge of the "school of shawmers maintained in this cathedral for sons of *yanaconas* [Inca official class]; and he must teach them to play both shawm and cornett as well as how to read."¹³

Unfortunately, however, he took his teaching responsibilities so lightly that he had to be dismissed only two years later. The chapter on August 10, 1582, gave him his congé. "About two years ago the bishop and chapter received him to teach playing and singing to 24 Indian youths, sons of *yanaconas*, so that they might be fitted to serve as instrumentalists in this cathedral; and also he was to teach them counterpoint and how to read and write. Sixteen boys were turned over to him, and he was allowed 400 *pesos ensayados*¹⁴ plus another 100 from the succentor's prebend. He was to have given an hour-and-a-half daily lesson to those in the cathedral who needed to learn counterpoint; and was to have taught the players of shawms, sackbuts, cornetts, cornemuses, and bassoons; but not to have let them play elsewhere than at cathedral functions unless with chapter permission. . . . Now however it appears that of the boys whom he was supposedly teaching only two or three know anything at all (and those two or three precious little), while the rest do not even know what music is. Worse still, he has been letting some of the boys in his care hire out as servants while pocketing their wages. He has skipped so many of the daily lessons that he was supposed to have been giving the ordinands and other students of counterpoint that in all the two years he has not given six months' instruction, and since last Christmas not a single lesson. Although he was strictly enjoined not to let the shawmers play anywhere without permission from the bishop and chapter he has flagrantly disobeyed by letting them play nearly every night in paid-for street serenades."¹⁵ In fine, the chapter considered him "a knave, a shirker, and an incompetent."

¹³"y en su escuela ha de tener los mochos hijos delos yanacunas. . . a los quales ha de enseñar a leer y a tañer los dichos instrumentos de xeremia e corneta."

¹⁴*Ensayados* as compared with *corrientes* were of guaranteed weight and metallic purity. On money-values, see J. T. Medina, *Las monedas coloniales hispano-americanas* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1919), pp. 147-148.

¹⁵A. C., I, fol. 54 (a new foliation starts with *actas* for the years 1553 and 1581): "que abra dos años poco mas o menos que ellos y el S^{or} Obispo [Sebastián Lartaún] Recibieron a pedro serrano por menestrel desta sancta yglesia para que tanese en ella como tal menestrel y enseñase a tañer y cantar a veinte y quatro muchachos hijos delos yanacunas para que sirviesen en esta sancta ygl^a de menestrel / y assi mesmo les abia de enseñar contrapunto y a leer y escreuir y esta yglesia le entrego diez y seis muchachos para el efecto y por el trabajo que en ella abia de tener el S^r Obispo y Cabildo le señalaron de partido quatrocientos ps^o ensayados / y el S^{or} Chantre desta scta yglesia assi mesmo le señalo de su preuenda cien pesos ensayados para que tubiese en esta sancta yglesia en el coro della cargo de enseñar a los que quisiesen aprender a cantar y aprender contrapunto vna hora y media cada dia de practica y assi mesmo se obligo de tañer los ynstrumentos de chirimias y sacabuches y cornetas y cornamusas y bajon en esta sancta yglesia y no en otra parte sino fuese con liçençia del S^r Obispo y Cabildo / y porque a dos años y mas que el dicho pedro serrano se encargo de los suso dicho y esta yglesia le a pagado hasta el dia de San Juan deste presente año todo lo que esta scta ygl^a y el S^{or} chantre le deue y agora tomando quenta a los niños que le entregaron se halla que si no son dos o tres que saben bien poco todos los demas no saben que cosa es canto antes se halla que a algunos muchachos de los que le entregaron los alquilaua y daua a personas a quien siruiesen y assi mismo en lo que toca a la lición que estaua obligado de dar cada dia en el coro a estudiantes y hordenantes no la ha dado desde naidad aca sin entremeterse un dia en dar la dicha lición y todo el demas tpo a cumplimiento de los dos años no la ha dado medio año. Y assi mesmo estando obligado a no dar las chirimias fuera de la ygl^a ni tañerlas sin liçençia del cabildo cassi todas las noches lo haze al reues tañendo por las calles dando musicas a quien le parece / y platicando sobre ello se Resumieron en que el dicho pedro serrano es ni auil para lo que se obligo y ni a cumplido lo que prometio ni lo sabe para enseñar ni a cumplido de su parte lo que deuia y estaua obligado / que mandauan y mandaron que sea despedido y no sirua mas en esta sancta yglesia."



To replace him the chapter promoted Gonzalo de Mora, the cathedral organist, to the chapelmastership. So excellent an account did Mora give of himself that on the last day of 1585¹⁶ the chapter decided to raise his annual salary by 100 pesos. Married and a father, he gave good example to both Spaniard and Indian. His teaching had borne fruit, and the sons of *yanaconas* had progressed on shawms and other instruments. He had also looked carefully after the cathedral organs. When the bellows became leaky in 1583 because the leather was rotten he had prevailed upon the chapter to hire Cristóbal de León while passing through Cuzco to fix them.¹⁷

After Mora the next musician hired to teach the Indian instrumentalists was Luis Enríquez, a *persona auil* whose specialty was the cornett but who with true Renaissance versatility could play a half-dozen others. For 550 pesos de plata en sayada y marcada he agreed on November 29, 1589, to make sure that such veteran cathedral shawmers as the Indians Nicolás Francisco, and Diego¹⁸ *no se les olvide lo que saben* (did not forget what they knew).¹⁹ He was to teach the Cuzco Indian youths how to accompany the cathedral singers during first and second vespers and at Mass on Sundays, principal feast-days, and at such other occasions as the *chante*, Hernando Arias, might designate in the name of the chapter. However, after a decade of exemplary teaching Enríquez joined the general exodus from Cuzco to the far richer cathedral at La Plata (= present-day Sucre, Bolivia). According to the Sucre Cathedral capitular act of November 14, 1601, he was on that day engaged to teach *algunos yndios* there to do what he had taught similar Quechua-speaking Indians to do at Cuzco.²⁰

On July 13, 1591, after having recently returned from Lima, Bishop Gregorio Montalbo²¹—the Dominican prelate who ruled the see from August 23, 1589, to his death at Cuzco December 11, 1592—induced the chapter to hire the first of the three paramount maestros de capilla active in Cuzco before 1622. The relevant act reads as follows:

Desirous of increasing the splendor of the cult and of seeing the cathedral served with proper finesse, His Excellency the Bishop stated that he had persuaded the chapelmaster Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo²² to accept an appointment. An extremely competent artist of the exact

¹⁶*Ibid.*, fol. 75.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 57 (July 2, 1583); the *fuelles* were *rrotos* and *los cueros dellos podridos*. The organ tuner and repairer at Seville Cathedral during the 1570's was also Cristóbal de León. See the Sevillian *Actas Capitulares*, 1573–1574–1575, fol. 127^v. It is by no means impossible that these were the same person.

¹⁸The scribe desisted from trying to write their difficult Quechua surnames; they had been playing for more than a decade (see the act of August 10, 1580).

¹⁹A. C., I, fol. 94^v.

²⁰Sucre Cathedral, *Libro de Cuidado*. *Que comienza desde el Año de mill e quinientos y ochenta y dos Años* [A. C., I (1582–1602)], fol. 234^v. He continued with an annual salary of 600 pesos to 1618, in which year he apparently died.

²¹Fray Gregorio Montalbo, born in Segovia diocese about 1532, took the habit in San Esteban convento at Salamanca April 2, 1550. After serving as prior at Plasencia and elsewhere, he began his New World career as bishop of Nicaragua from 1580 (elected July 29) to 1584 and of Yucatan from 1585 to 1587. He attended the Fourth Lima Council convoked by Toribio Mogrovejo January 27 to March 15, 1591. Upon returning to Cuzco he presided over the second diocesan synod and on September 29, 1591, signed the constitutions agreed on at that synod. See Vargas Bueno, pp. 92–93, corrected by Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú* (Burgos: Imprenta de Aldecoa, 1959), II [1570–1649], 402–404.

²²Born probably in Andalusia in 1553, Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo served from May 1584 to January 1586 as chapelmaster of Bogotá Cathedral. Simultaneously, he taught music in the newly founded (1581) diocesan seminary of San Luis de Tolosa. During his last six or seven months at Bogotá, he sparked what



sort needed in this cathedral, he will rehearse the musicians daily: thus relieving the chanter Hernando Árias of the duty. These daily rehearsals will assure the cathedral of well instructed youths avid for choirboy service. He asked the chapter to vote on the proposal and to decide what salary can be offered. Unanimously the chapter voted to receive as chapelmaster the said Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo, whose function it will be to conduct and manage the choir: deciding everything that appertains to the musical ministry. He shall compose the villancicos, motetes, and whatever other music is customarily required for calendar feasts. After chief Mass on ferial days, he shall rehearse the musicians in the *coro*, teaching gratis all those in cathedral service how to sing plainchant and polyphony and the [science of] counterpoint. His annual salary shall be 500 pesos of guaranteed silver content, 300 payable from cathedral foundation funds, 200 deducted from the instructional portion of Hernando Árias's prebend—said salary to start today and to be payable every four months in equal instalments.²³

On the same day, July 13, 1591, that Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo was hired, and for the same annual salary of 500 guaranteed silver pesos, the chapter chose a new cathedral organist—Hernán Ruiz Pacheco, "who plays exceedingly well and is a proper person for the position."²⁴ The third musical appointment urged on the

has been called "the first student strike in South American history." He did so when he tried forcing the seminarians to sing what they considered an excessive number of cathedral services.

From January 12, 1588, to February 6, 1590, he was maestro de capilla at Quito Cathedral, from July 13, 1591 to early 1597 of Cuzco Cathedral, from May 6, 1597, to June 13, 1620, of La Plata (= Sucre, Bolivia) Cathedral. On the latter date he declared his intention of returning to Cuzco. More probably he died at La Plata. In 1607 he entrusted five manuscript volumes of his works (Masses, Magnificats, Hymns, Holy Week Offices, motets) to a deputy on his way to Europe, with sufficient funds to guarantee their publication. However, only a 204-leaf manuscript choirbook containing vespers music and an *In manus tuas a 4* still survive in Bogotá Cathedral archive to validate his claim to favorable comparison with the chief Peninsular composers of his epoch. For his bibliography see my *The Music of Peru* (Washington: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1960), 182-186, 201-202; "La música colonial en Colombia," *Revista Musical Chilena*, XVI/81-82 (July-December, 1962), 155-157; "Music in Quito," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XLIII (May, 1963), 255-256; "The First New World Composers," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XVIII/1 (Spring 1970), 99-101; *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970), 12-14, 7*-8*, 14*; and José Ignacio Perdomo Escobar, *El Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Bogotá* (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1976), 12-19, 707-711, 770, 772.

²³A. C., II (1590-1630) [*Libro 2º desde 9 de Febrerº del 1590 a . . .*], fol. 6: "Su S.^a propuso y dixo que con el deseo que tenia de que el seruicio del culto diuino fuese en mucho augmento y esta s.^{ta} ygl^a se sirua con la pulçia que es raçon hauia procurado que gutierre fernandez hidalgo maestro de capilla viniese /a/ seruirle por que hera muy hault en su arte y muy menesteroso en esta s.^{ta} ygl^a y haria exerciçio de musica todos los dias quitando la obligaçion que de hazer esto tenia al chanter don her^{do} arias y con el dho exerciçio hauria niños que aprendiesen y se animasen a seruir de seises en esta s.^{ta} ygl^a / que votasen sobre lo susodicho y el salario q se le podria dar / lo qual visto por su s.^a y cauiº y hauiendose conferido y votado sobre lo suso dicho vnanimis y conformes nemine discrepante dixeron q recibian y Recibieron por tal maestro de capilla al dicho gutierre fernandez hidalgo para que rija y gobierne la capilla de los cantores ordenando todo lo que en el dicho ministerio le aya de hazer y componiendo los villançicos motetes y otras cosas necessarias que se offrezcan en las fiestas del año como es vso y costumbre y para que todos los dias que no sean de fiesta haga exerciçio de musica acauada la missa maior en el choro desta dha s.^{ta} ygl^a enseñando a todos los seruiciales della sin interes alguno /a/ cantar canto llano y de organo y contrapunto Y por su trabajo y ocupaçion le señalaban y señalaron de salario en cada vn año quin^{os} psº de plata ensaiaada y marcada los treçientos dellos /a/ quenta de la fabrica por el dicho cargo de maestro de capilla y los doçientos p^s /a/ q^{ta} de la prebenda del dho chº don her^{do} arias por la dha liçion el qual salario le corra desde oi dia de la ff.^a en adelante / y sele pague por sus terçios."

²⁴*Ibid.*: "al presente estaua aqui hernan rrº Pacheco que tañia muy bien y hera Persona conbiniente para el dho ministerio y le hauian ya oido y entendido de la hauilidad que tenia . . . reciueron por tal organista desta dha s.^{ta} ygl^a Para que enella taña el organo todos los dias de domingos y fiestas duplex y semiduplex y otros dias de obligacion . . ."



chapter that day brought Cuzco cathedral the earliest documented castrato in American annals.²⁵ True, the eunuch Alonso García lacked the ability to read music. But the certainty that he was a permanent soprano outweighed this small defect.

Alonso García, who arrived with the bishop and whose intent it is to serve this cathedral, has the kind of very fine soprano voice most needed here. Although he does not yet know how to [sight]sing, his voice will certainly not change, since he is a castrato. While he is learning, he is assigned a yearly 200 pesos worth 9 reales each, payable from *fábrica* funds, 66²/₃ pesos every four months. He shall sing at terce, Mass, first and second vespers each feast day.²⁶

Like the usual nightingale soloist, Alonso García soon tired of rigid instruction and quit the cathedral. However on January 19, 1593, he applied for readmission. Mindful of his unique voice, the chapter reengaged him at 200 ordinary pesos—but with the caveat that he must take a daily lesson or be fined.

In his petition to the bishop, Alonso García said that he wished to resume serving the cathedral as singer. Taking into account his excellent soprano voice and the need for it, the chapter acceded on condition that he learn to sing scientifically, since he knows little. He shall be fined for missing his daily required music lesson.²⁷

That same day, January 19, 1593, the chapter hired a cathedral veteran as *contrabaxo* for an annual 100 pesos, Gaspar de Villagra (= Villagras = Villagran),²⁸ and boosted to a yearly 300 pesos the salary of Victoriano Rubio [de Acevedo], a cathedral singer since 1581 (chapter secretary in 1582 and 1587). Ten days later Juan de Oliva, "a capable and useful" (*diestro y menesteroso*) singer possessed of a "fine bass voice" (*buena vos contrabajo*) joined the cathedral music staff at a salary of 200 "assayed pesos" (*pesos ensayados*), plus a curacy in Santa Ana parish.²⁹ On April 1, 1593, the chapter reengaged Hernán Ruiz Pacheco³⁰—who like Alonso García had quit shortly after being first hired July 13, 1591—promising him the same annual salary of 500 assayed silver pesos for being cathedral organist allotted him a biennium earlier.

All this flurry of coming and going eventually gave the fever to the forty-year-old chapelmaster Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo. On July 12, 1593, news reached the chapter that he now wished to quit. Recognizing his unique talents, the chapter therefore rushed to raise his pay 100 pesos from cathedral foundation sources—thereby detaining him in Cuzco another triennium.

²⁵Concerning Francisco de Otal, the first eunuch imported to La Plata (arrived August 3, 1618), see *The Music of Peru* (Washington: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1960), pp. 184–185, 202 (note 45).

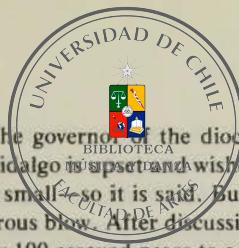
²⁶A. C., II (1590–1630), fol. 6^v: "dixeron que por quanto Alonso García ha unido con su señoría con intento de servir a esta s^{ta} ygl^a y tiene mui buena vos tiple que es menesteroso para el seruicio della y se tiene certidumbre de que no la mudara por ser capado que aunque el suso dho no sabe cantar enel entretanto que aprende le señalauan y señalaron doçientos ps^o corr^{es} de a nuebe Reales de salario de Cantor . . ."

²⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 15: "Alonso García pido ante su s.^a que el queria servir enesta s.^{ta} ygl^a de cantor como de antes . . . dixeron que atento a que el suso dicho tiene buena voz tiple de que ay neçesidad conbiene se Reciba encargandole aprenda bien /a/ cantar por que sabe poco y que no falte de liçion de canto todos los dias sopena que le apuntaran las fallas . . ."

²⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 15^v: "Gaspar de villagra hizo relacion que en tiempo del R^{mo} que fue deste obispado don fr. Greg.^o de montaluo el hauia acudido a cantar a esta s^{ta} ygl^a con mucho cuidado como de presente lo hazia y . . . atento a lo susodicho y a que el dicho gaspar de villagra tiene voz que puede ajudar a la voz de contrabaxo y es diestro le Recibian . . ." The chapter gave him a 50-peso salary advance.

²⁹*Ibid.*, fol. 15.

³⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 18^v. He was initially hired July 13, 1591 (see footnote 24).



It has come to the notice of the governor of the diocese [Gómez Carrillo de Albornoz] that maestro Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo is upset and wishes to depart. Either his parish duties are too exacting or his income too small—so it is said. But if he leaves, he will be severely missed and the cult will suffer a disastrous blow. After discussing the matter, the chapter voted to raise his annual [cathedral] salary by 100 assayed pesos to a total of 400 from *fábrica* funds effective July 1.³¹

The experiment with the castrato Alonso García having twice come to naught, another singer was hired November 10, 1593, at a much higher rate, since he was a priest—Bartolomé de Contreras, *clérigo presbítero que tiene muy buena voz de tiple*.³² Upon assigning him 600 pesos *de plata ensayada y marcada*, the chapter obligated him to assist in surplice every day at terce, Mass, first and second vespers.

On October 14, 1594, the chapter engaged the visiting master organ builder and repairer Baltasar Fernández de los Reyes³³ to clean and tune both Cuzco cathedral organs without opening the chest, to replace a rank of chimes on the large organ with a dulzaina mixture and to repair all bellows and wind ducts; also, to add a dulzaina rank to the small organ and add a third bellows to the existing two.³⁴ For these services he was promised 800 ordinary pesos.

The singer Juan Gálvez, "an oldtime cathedral servant,"³⁵ asked for a pay raise on January 12, 1596. Bartolomé de Contreras, the priest with "a fine soprano voice" engaged November 10, 1593, for an annual 600 assayed silver pesos, had in the meantime been additionally assigned the lucrative San Cristóbal parish. On May 1, 1596, his annual cathedral salary therefore fell to 400 pesos—the differential of 200 being needed to make up the salary of the famous Pedro Ortiz de Guzmán,³⁶ *clérigo presbítero* hired April 28 [1596] at 400 pesos.

As a reward for his perfect attendance record at all daily and nightly sung hours, the chapter on April 14, 1597, doubled the *contrabaxo* Gaspar de Villagra[s]'s annual salary.³⁷ On that same day the chapter guaranteed an *auctor de comedias* named

³¹*Ibid.*, fol. 18^v: "dixeron que a noticia de sus^a venido que el maestro Gutt^e fernandez hidalgo anda con disgusto diciendo se quiere ir ora por ser trabajosa la parrochia que tiene ora por decir tiene poco salario y porque si fue se haria mucha falta y se padeceria en el serui^o del culto diui^o, y hauiendo tratado de lo suso dho y votado lo dixeron que le augmentaban y aumentaron cien ps^{os} ensaidos . . . son por todos quatrocientos p^s ensaidos por año de salario del qual goze desde primero deste mes en adelante a cuenta dela fabrica."

³²*Ibid.*, fol. 20.

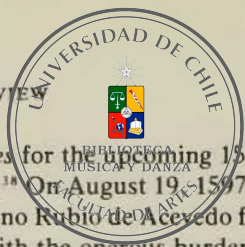
³³This same *organero* signed a contract to fix the organs of San Agustín Church at La Plata = Sucre in 1591. See Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Escrituras Públicas, Cabildo 1591, fol. 2091. On his further career at La Plata, see *The Music of Peru*, pp. 185, 20³.

³⁴A. C., fol. 30^v: "ha venido a esta ciudad y esta en ella baltasar fernandez delos Reies maestro de hazer organos y los dos que esta sancta ygl^a tiene estan muy desafinados llenos de poluo y destruidos de suerte que apenas se puede tañer en ellos . . . el dho maestro baltasar de los Reies se obliga de limpiar todo el dho organo grande afinarle y hecharle vna mistura de dulçainas en lugar de las campanillas que el tiene sin abrirle el secreto, y de Reparar todos los fuelles y caños de viento, y enel organo chico afinarlo y hechar de otras dulçainas y añadirse un fuelle mas dellos dos que tiene . . ."

³⁵*Ibid.*, fol. 39: "y es antiguo criado desta ygl^a."

³⁶While still at Lima he had earned the praise of Toribio Mogrovejo in a letter dated October 23, 1592. See Rubén Vargas Ugarte, "Notas sobre la Música en el Perú," *Cuaderno de Estudio*, III/2 [= 7] (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1949), p. 29. The Cuzco cathedral minutes of April 28, 1596 (A. C., II, fol. 39^v) mention as a condition of his being hired his promise to remain in Cuzco a long time. A year later, on April 14, 1597, the chapter raised his annual pay from 400 to 450 pesos.

³⁷A. C., II, fol. 43^v: "Gaspar de Villagra clerigo diacono y cantor desta s^{ta} ygl^a acuda y sirba en ella a todas las dhas horas diurnas y nocturnas de todo el año sin faltar dia y le aumentaron de salario cien ps^s ens^s."



Morales 300 pesos *de a ocho reales* for the upcoming 1597 Corpus Christi plays to be staged with cathedral subvention.³⁸ On August 19, 1597, the chapter boosted the annual pay of the succentor Victoriano Rubio de Acevedo from a yearly 300 to 700 pesos—simultaneously saddling him with the onerous burden of overseeing completion of the entire cathedral stock of plainsong choirbooks.³⁹

Sometime in 1596 Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo harkened to the blandishments of the richest archbishopric of inland South America and trekked to La Plata (= modern Sucre). His appointment as cathedral chapelmaster there is dated May 6, 1597.⁴⁰ His successor at Cuzco was the native of Granada, Pedro Bermúdez, who in 1592 was a priested minor chaplain in the Royal Chapel at Granada. In that year he competed unsuccessfully for the chapelmastership of Granada Cathedral.⁴¹ Antonio de la Raya, who was consecrated Bishop of Cuzco on November 27, 1594 in Granada Cathedral,⁴² doubtless met Bermúdez at Granada. Even though the new bishop did not personally enter Cuzco until July 1598, Raya's having himself selected Bermúdez for the Cuzco chapelmastership first comes to light ten months earlier in the act of September 10, 1597.

While discussing the divine cult in this cathedral, the chapter members agreed that Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo should be considered to have quit the post of chapelmaster. Despite not having complied with what was written him and what was expected, he left under honorable circumstances and with a good reputation. Since there is now present in Cuzco the capable and sufficient maestro Pedro Bermúdez, in whom are joined the qualities and experience necessary for this ministry, he is received as maestro de capilla with the duty assigned him by the bishop of conducting the music, instructing the cathedral choirboys, and assisting every day of the year at the chief Mass and at vespers. He shall also do everything else that chapelmasters are customarily expected to do in Spanish cathedrals. His salary shall be 400 assayed silver pesos and the bishop's deputy administrator of the diocese shall accommodate him with a parish chaplaincy in this city.

After this discussion, the administrator [fray Francisco de la Cámara y Raya] proposed that the said chapelmaster be paid from August 1 [1597], since he had already spent considerable time in the post. The chapter agreed to giving him 100 pesos *de a ocho reales* for his services to date.⁴³

³⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 43: "que a morales auctor de comedias Por las fiestas del Corpus Christi deste año se le den y Paguen de la fabrica trecientos ps^s de /a/ ocho Reales, y el dho S. Gouer^{or} [fray Francisco de la Cámara y Raya] cien p^s y lo demas a cumplim^{to} de lo que con el conçierto lo pague la ciudad."

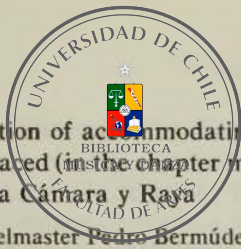
³⁹*Ibid.*, fol. 47: "tiene obligacion de todos los libros de canto y Resado q esta s^{ta} ygl^a tiene."

⁴⁰Sucre Cathedral, *Libro de Cabildo. Que comienza desde el Año de mill e quinientos y ochenta y dos Años* [A. C., I], fol. 101^r.

⁴¹José López Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada: Fundación Rodríguez Acosta, 1963), I, 298.

⁴²Pedro Pascual Farfán, *Las glorias del Seminario del Cuzco, o apuntes para la historia del Seminario Conciliar de San Antonio Abad desde su fundación en 1598 hasta la celebración de su III centenario en 1898* (Cuzco: Tip. Católica, 1899), p. 6.

⁴³[Cuzco] A. C., II, fol. 47: "Iten tratando, del seru.^o de culto diuino desta s^{ta} ygl^a dixeron que atento a que el maestro de capilla guttierre fernandez hidalgo no ha cumplido con lo que se le escriuió y estaua obligado, dexandolo en su honrra buena fama y opinion le dauan y dieron por despedido, y atento a q esta en esta ciudad el mr^o P^o Bermudez abil y suffi.^e y en quien concurren las partes y calidades necess^{as} para el dho ministerio le Recibian y Recibieron por maestro de capilla desta s^{ta} ygl^a, con cargo (segun la declaracion de su s.^a) de que haya exercicio de musica y enseñe a los seises desta s^{ta} ygl^a Y asista en ella todos los dias del año a la missa mayor y a visperas y en todo lo demas haga lo que como tal maestro de capilla tiene obligacion segun vso y costumbre de las ygl^{as} catedrales de españa . . . y quedo a cargo del S^t gouer^{or} acomodarle en vna de las parrochias desta ciudad. . . . Despues de lo qual declaro su s.^a que el dho maestro de capilla gose del dicho salario y lo gane desde Primero de agosto deste año en adelante atento a que muchos dias antes siruio en el dho ministerio y m.^{do} se le librasen cien p^s de a ocho Reales para en q^{ta} de lo que ha seruido y va siruiendo."



Seven weeks later the question of accommodating Bermúdez in a suitably lucrative local parish chaplaincy surfaced (in the chapter meeting of October 29). The bishop's deputy, fray Francisco de la Cámara y Raya

while discussing how the chapelmaster Pedro Bermúdez might best be taken care of, said that the bishop had ordered his being installed in one of the Cuzco parishes and that while waiting to do so, Bartolomé de Contreras should be transferred (on his own desire) to San Blas parish and Hernando [Ruiz] Pacheco to San Cristóbal. Meantime the chapter should take the 200 pesos available after reducing Pacheco's income from San Cristóbal, to increase Bermúdez's salary from the 400 assayed pesos already promised him to 600.⁴⁴

Bishop Raya's vigilance for musical standards became even more marked, once he arrived in his diocese. His eight years (died June 28, 1606) saw, for one matter, marked growth of the cathedral music library. Philippe Rogier's *Missae sex* published at Madrid in the very year during which he entered his diocese still survives at Cuzco (bound up with Philippe de Monte's *Missa ad Modulum Benedicta es sex vocum*) to show what kind of Flemish polyphony was bought for cathedral use during his régime. In the meantime the plainchant holdings were eked out with at least a dozen new atlas-sized parchment books certified as to the correctness of their copy by such cathedral singers as Gaspar de Villagras, Victoriano Rubio, Pedro Ortiz de Guzmán, and Juan Pérez Bocanegra.⁴⁵

Eight of these contain propers of Masses (certified in various years from 1599-1604); three are vespers (certified in 1602-1605); one contains Holy Week Offices (1602); and one is a *hymnarium*. Luis Gil, a locally-hired scribe, seems to have been the copyist for the whole set.⁴⁶ The certificate on the colophon leaf reads somewhat as follows: "I have seen and corrected this book [which begins with such-and-such an introit, antiphon, or other chant, and concludes with such-and-such another chant] at the order of His Excellency the Bishop. I certify it to be well and faithfully copied, both insofar as notes and texts are concerned." Then as a rule comes the boast that all *falsos acentos* have been expunged (a boast that the makers of the Medicean Gradual were to repeat only a decade or so later). The method

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 48: "Primeramente el 5^o Gouernador (tratando del comodo del maestro de capilla P.^o Bermudez) dixo que su p.^o daua orden como acomodar al dho maestro en vna delas parrochias, y que en el entretanto que esto se efectuaua q seria presto le parecia que bar.^{me} de contreras se passase ala parrochia de S. blas (como lo deseaua) y Her^{do} Pacheco ala de S. Christoual y sele Rebaxasen docientos p^s enss.^o de su salario, y al dho maestro de capilla se le augmentasen docientos p^s enss.^o sobre los quatrocientos ps^o que tenia."

Hernando Ruiz Pacheco, who began as Cuzco Cathedral organist July 13, 1591, at 500 assayed silver pesos, returned on April 1, 1593, at the same salary. The priested *tiplé* Bartolomé de Contreras began at 600 assayed silver pesos November 10, 1593, but was reduced to 400 beginning May 1, 1596, because he was getting 200 from his parish. How these two reacted to being treated as puppets to accommodate the newcomer Bermúdez may be surmised from the latter's short stay.

⁴⁵According to Fray Diego de Mendoza, *Chronica de la Provincia de S. Antonio de los Charcas del Orden de Nro. Seraphico P. S. Francisco* (Madrid: [Pedro de Villafranca, 1665]), p. 551, Juan Pérez [de] Bocanegra spent more than forty years (from about 1602 to 1645) teaching doctrine to Indians in and around Cuzco. During most of this time he was Cuzco diocesan examiner in both Quechua and Aymara. He died at Andahuaylillas, where he had transferred from Belén parish in Cuzco in about 1632. His *Ritual Formylario* (Lima: Gerónimo de Contreras, 1631) interests the musical historian because pp. 708-709 show the first piece of polyphony printed in the Western Hemisphere (text in Quechua). On Pérez Bocanegra, see also footnotes 56 and 59 below.

⁴⁶Choirbook 29 (my catalogue), which begins with Mass-proper for the First Sunday in Advent (*Dominica prima aduentus. Ad missam. Introitus*), is the only one of the set actually to bear his name; but the others show the same scribal peculiarities.



employed was of course the moving of *melismas* from unaccented Latin syllables to accented; or even deleting notes. Only by way of exception does Villagras sign one book of Mass-proper in November 1604 with the caveat that *en este dicho libro no estan quitados los falsos acentos por no auerselo pedido al p^e Luis Gil escritor el chantre Hernando Arias en nombre del 111^{mo} S^t de esta S^{ta} Iglesia* ("in this book the false accents are not taken out because Father Luis Gil, the scribe, was not asked to do so by the precentor, Hernando Arias, speaking for His Excellency the Bishop").⁴⁷ As a rule, he (or whoever else is making the certificate) concludes by listing the number of leaves and even of illuminated (Mudéjar-style) initials. Pedro Ortiz de Guzmán, the most meticulous of all, tells which capitals are illuminated and at what leaves—a welcome precaution against vandalism.⁴⁸

Having brought the cathedral library to a high pitch, and having augmented staff and salaries, Bishop Raya performed an equally noble service in behalf of Cuzco music when he founded and endowed the Seminario de San Antonio Abad (on the site of Amaru-ccata, one block back of the cathedral) that in its new location still today preserves the largest Peruvian archive of sacred music⁴⁹ outside the archdiocesan library in Lima.⁵⁰ He still further proved his right to be Ramos de Pareja's fellow-townsmen⁵¹ by being the first to set aside an endowment in a New World seminary specifically for the teaching of vocal and instrumental music.⁵²

However, not even his exertions could stop the continuing exodus of Cuzco's best musicians to richer cathedrals—Pedro Bermúdez via Guatemala Cathedral (before 1602) to Puebla in 1603, Luis Enríquez and Hernán Ruiz Pacheco to La Plata in 1601 and Juan de Minuera in 1617. On December 17, 1601, Bishop Raya invited the chapter to meet in his episcopal palace. He began by saying:

It is now patent to all that Hernando Ruiz Pacheco, former diocesan organist, has left for La Plata (= Charcas), with resulting grave harm to Cuzco Cathedral solemnities. The *bachiller* [Miguel de] Bobadilla^[53] residing at Lima possesses the necessary parts and playing ability for

⁴⁷In Cuzco, as in other colonial cathedrals, the *chantre* nearly always linked the bishop with the musicians; their complaints always had to be transmitted through him and he in turn relayed the chapter's or the bishop's wishes. Vargas Bueno makes Árias the first *chantre*. p. 10 (bottom), but without documentary evidence.

⁴⁸Cf. his certificate dated July 26, 1602, at the end of Choirbook 30 (*le visto el libro primero del sanctoral de uisperas. esta bueno de letra y acentos y en toda la perfeccion que a de tener. tiene seis letras grandes que son una S - C - L - L - M - O - en veinte y seis de Julio de 1602 años y lo firme de mi noble*).

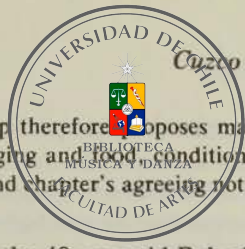
⁴⁹Vargas Ugarte published a preliminary inventory. "Un archivo de música colonial en la ciudad del Cuzco," *Mur del Sur. Revista Peruana de Cultura*, V/26 (March-April, 1953), 1-10. Samuel Claro Valdés notably amplified Vargas Ugarte in his excellent "Música Dramática en el Cuzco durante el Siglo XVIII y Catálogo de Manuscritos de Música del Seminario de San Antonio Abad (Cuzco, Perú)," *Yearbook Inter-American Institute for Musical Research*, V (1969), 31-47. See also, my *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970), pp. 31-49.

⁵⁰Rodolfo Holzmann and César Arróspide de la Flor catalogued the music holdings of the Lima Archivo Arzobispal in *Cuaderno de Estudio*, III/7 (cf. above, footnote 36), 36-49. For fuller listing, see *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources*, pp. 115-130.

⁵¹Raya was natural de Baeza; see Farfán, p. 5; Vargas Bueno, p. 93.

⁵²Farfán, p. 6; Vargas Bueno, p. 94. Raya endowed chairs of theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, Latin, and music (*canto llano y canto de órgano*).

⁵³Miguel de Bobadilla, baptized at Lima October 30, 1561, died there August 9, 1628. Received as a Lima cathedral choirboy in 1572, he rose to become acting Lima cathedral maestro de capilla by 1596. For further biographical data, see Andrés Sas, *La música en la Catedral de Lima durante el Virreinato*, Segunda Parte, Tomo I (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1972), pp. 44-46.



the post of organist. The bishop therefore proposes making him an offer of an annual 1000 pesos *de a ocho reales* plus lodging and food, conditional on his agreeing to stay an uninterrupted ten years and the dean and chapter's agreeing not to dismiss him without just cause during that decade.⁵⁴

Finding it impossible to lure the 40-year old Bobadilla with so lavish but constricting an offer, the chapter next turned to a lay organist, Juan García de Orellana. Hired April 10, 1602, at an annual 700 pesos *de a ocho*, he was promised another 100 payable from the day he began teaching Indians serving the cathedral to play bowed viols.⁵⁵ On that same day the bass singer *bachiller* Juan Pérez Bocanegra began earning an annual 200 assayed pesos⁵⁶ and the cathedral tenor Juan Xara became acting succentor. The bass who had begun singing in the cathedral choir no later than 1592, Gaspar de Villagras, followed Xara as acting succentor on August 30, 1603, and was promoted to titular succentor November 17, 1605. On that date the chapter secretary recorded his salary for being succentor as 200 assayed pesos and for being singer as another 200. Nine months later, on August 25, 1606, Villagras complained that his succentor's pay was in arrears and asked to be appointed teacher of the choirboys in order to guarantee the 200 assayed pesos promised for being succentor.

During the *sede vacante* of 52 months between Antonio de la Raya's death June 28, 1606, and the entrance into the Cuzco See of Bishop Fernando González de Mendoza November 8, 1610, the Cuzco chapter set a precedent by being the first in the viceroyalty to confirm a formal set of rules governing musical life in the cathedral. Adopted on August 3, 1610, the Cuzco "choir constitutions" antedate by more than two years the Lima Cathedral *Constituciones y ordenanzas para el maestro de capilla y cantores* (November 12, 1612).⁵⁷ Both sets of rules overwhelmingly emphasize the importance which the chapters attached to fine polyphonic renditions. At Cuzco, the cathedral *cantores* were henceforth required to sing polyphony at first and second vespers, terce, High Mass, and *maitines* throughout the whole of Christmastide and Eastertide, every Sunday of the year, at all first-class feasts whatever the day of the week, on Corpus Christi and during its octave. Every Saturday the *Salve Regina* was to be sung polyphonically. Holy Week processions, rogations and litanies of St. Mark, burials and anniversaries of the prelates and prebendaries were to be similarly sung. The prestige of polyphonic performance being so much greater than that of plainchant, the cathedral singers were finally enjoined in their rule-book never to perform

⁵⁴Cuzco Cathedral, A. C., II, fol. 77: "Su S^a Yll^{ma} Propuso que ya era y es notorio que el padre Hernando Rs Pacheco organista se fue deste obispado al delos charcas. y asi auia mucha falta en la solemnidad de los officios diuinos y que El Bller Bouadilla que esta en la ciudad delos Reyes tiene las partes i calidades y requisitas para el ministerio de organista, u otros, que benga aca se le podra acomodar. y asi le podra su S^a combiene embiarle a llamar para que vse el dicho officio de organista, i para ello su s^a le dara vn mill pesos corrientes de ocho reales el peso en cada vn año casa i comida. con declaracion que el dho Bllr Bouadilla por el dho salario a de asistir en esta s^{ta} yglessia en el dho ministerio y occup^{on} de organista tiempo de diez años sin ausentarse . . ."

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, fol. 83: "a Joan garçia de orellana lego organista sele señalaron de salario setecientos pesos de a ocho . . . y los çien p^s por que enseña a tañer bihuelas de arco a los ind^{os} ministriles y los goze desde el día que començo a enseñarles—"

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, fol. 83: "al Bllr Juan perez bocanegra cantor bajo le señalan por cantor doçientos pesos en-saiados." On May 18, 1607 (fol. 122^v) the chapter appointed him tithe collector (*juez de diezmos*) and sent him out to various localities where only Quechua was spoken. In the same year he was simultaneously *cura* of Belén parish in Cuzco. See footnote 45 above.

⁵⁷Lima Cathedral, *Acuerdos Capitulares*, IV (1603-1637), fols. 85^v-87.



elsewhere in Cuzco, even if it were for a festival in a parish church or convent, without particular *licencia* from the bishop and chapter.⁵⁸

All these rules weighed so heavily upon the *capilla* that on September 4 (1610) Juan Pérez Bocanegra complained: "He said that he was indeed ready to comply with all the exactions made of his predecessors. But if he were now to undertake new work he petitioned for more salary."⁵⁹ Only three weeks earlier the chapter had changed his salary from 200 pesos *ensayados* (assayed) to 200 *corrientes* (ordinary) and of Gaspar de Villagras, chapelmaster, from 300 *ensayados* to 400 *corrientes*.⁶⁰

The chief adult singers in 1611 were Luis de Aranda, *contralto* (began August 3, 1607, at 200 pesos), Francisco de Carvajal, and Joseph de Espinossa. Alonso Maldonado, *presbitero*, had been called from Huamanga (now Ayacucho) to serve as cathedral organist at 400 pesos *de a ocho* beginning on July 20, 1607. But in the list compiled on August 16, 1610, his name is replaced by that of Tomás de Hererra.⁶¹

The latter's *Hijos de Eva tributarios*—a winsome A minor chanzoneta for three trebles—seems to be not only the earliest extant vernacular polyphony by a colonial Peruvian composer, but also the first bit of Peruvian viceregal music published outside Peru. The circumstances of its preservation and printing make a fascinating tale. Fray Gregorio de Zuola, a Cuzco diarist who filled a 500-page commonplace book between 1666 and 1709, gave it pride of place among his compiled jottings. In 1916 the wealthy collector Jorge M. Corbacho⁶² of Lima ceded Zuola's manuscript to his host of the moment in Buenos Aires, Ricardo Rojas.⁶³ Entitled *Tesoro de diversas*

⁵⁸Cuzco Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*. II, fol. 151^v: "Porquanto de no estar señalados Hasta agora los dias y oras en que los cantores . . . an de estar obligados a asistir con sobre pellizes en el choro a cantar canto llano contrapunto y de organo se sigue ni acudir los dhos cantores con puntualidad y orden de que Resulta ser esta dha S^{ta} Igl^a mal servida y hauer notables faltes en el culto diuino para Remedio de lo qual declararon que los cantores . . . an de ser obligados a servir la asistiendo en el choro y cantando canto de Organo todos los dias de la Pasqua Domingos y dias de fiestas dobles y la de Corpus Xpi y toda su octaua a primeras y segundas visperas terci^a y missa y Maitines . . . y demas dias en que se dixeran cantando chanzonetas canciones y otras letras examinadas por su S.^a . . ."

So far as singing polyphony elsewhere was concerned, the act continues: "no an de cantar canto de organo en otros entierros obsequias ni fiestas en ninguna Igl^a ni conbento de esta çiudad."

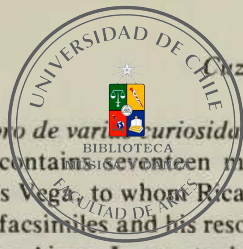
⁵⁹*Ibid.*: "en qtro de Sep.^e Del dho año [1610] . . . el bachiller Joan p^o Bocanegra, el q^l dixo que esta presto de Cumplir con su oblig^{on} como su s.^a le obliga a nueuo trauajo, le Haga m^d de Parte nueuo premio con el qual acudira alo demas q se le obliga por este auto."

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 157 (August 16, 1610): "por quanto estaria muy enpeñada la fabrica y cargada de excessiuos salarios de mussicos. en particular de españoles. mandaron se le quite todo el ensayado dellos en esta manera. . . ." Next come the reductions.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, fol. 157^v: "Por quanto el sal^o que se le da a Thomas de herrera, organista, de los frutos y Rentas de su messa es tenue para su congrua sustenc^{on} le añadia y añadio otros ciento y cinq^{ta} pessos mas en cada vn año sobre los trescientos que se daban de modo que desde p^o deste año en adelante se le an de dar quatro cientos y cinquenta ps corr^a en cada un año de sal^o y el susso dho se a de obligar por escriptura Pu^{ca} a servir quatro años desde el dho dia de S^o Sp^o de este año y a de acudir a tocar el organo todos los dias conforme ti^e obligacion y a la costumbre que los demas organistas an tenido . . ."

⁶²Corbacho, sometime member of the Peruvian Congress and grandson of the revolutionary leader José María Corbacho y Abril, was the most avid Peruvian private collector of his generation. See William R. Shepherd, *South American Historical Documents* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919), pp. 13-15. In 1916 he displayed 2000 of his "rarest and most interesting documents [at] the International Historical Congress at Buenos Aires."

⁶³Ricardo Rojas (1882-1957), Argentine literary giant, left the Zuola commonplace book to the Buenos Aires museum bearing his name (address: Paraguay 2894). For further information concerning the Zuola manuscript, see *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources*, pp. 256-257.



materias on the spine and *Libro de varias curiosidades* on the front parchment cover, Zuola's commonplace book contains seventeen musical examples interspersed between pages 136-389.⁶⁴ Carlos Vega, to whom Ricardo Rojas entrusted transcription of these examples, published facsimiles and his resolutions in *La música de un códice colonial del siglo XVII* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1931). Vega was unaware, however, of Herrera's Cuzco identity. Roger Wagner, who recorded the Herrera example in *Salve Regina* (Angel S36008 [1966]), used not Vega's transcription but Stevenson's (*The Music of Peru* [1960], page 227).

Pope Paul V's dismemberment from Cuzco diocese of the Guamanga = Huamanga (= Ayachuco) and Arequipa sees July 20, 1609, decreased Cuzco revenues. Nonetheless, Bishop Fernando González de Mendoza—ruler of Cuzco from his entry in late 1610 to his death January 22, 1617—did succeed in attracting the last truly eminent maestro de capilla to serve at Cuzco before 1738: Cristóbal de Belsayaga, hired June 18, 1616. How disgusted had grown the bishop with the chapelmaster there when he entered the see, the veteran Gaspar de Villagras (began as *contrabaxo* in 1593), comes to light in the capitular act of July 19, 1615, halving Villagras's salary for being chapelmaster that year.⁶⁵

Prior to Cuzco Belsayaga = Bersayaga = Velsayaga had been chapelmaster of Cartagena Cathedral (in present-day Colombia).⁶⁶ His name implies Basque lineage. That the bishop himself recruited Belsayaga can be presumed from his annual salary of 500 pesos, 200 of which were to come from *renta episcopal* the other 300 from *fábrica* revenues. The terms of the appointment June 18, 1616, also specified free lodging in the diocesan seminary (Colegio de San Antonio Abad), board on condition that he eat with the students, and candle every night. In other respects the language of the act headed *Nombram^{to} de M^{ro} de Capilla* follows routine—his competency is well known, he has settled the terms of his appointment with the bishop, he will attend *coro* every polyphonic day, direct the music, and preside whenever plainchant is sung with a counterpoint.⁶⁷ He shall compose all needed vernacular music for Christmas, Epiphany, Whitsunday, Corpus Christi, St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29), and Assumption (August 15).

Five months after Belsayaga's appointment at an annual 500 pesos, the chapter offered the same amount to a *contraalto* of surpassing voice, Juan de Minuera,⁶⁸ whom

⁶⁴Concerning these examples, see *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968, 1976), pp. 306-312.

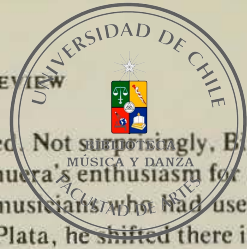
⁶⁵A. C., II, fol. 178.

⁶⁶His odd-verse *Magnificat Sexti Toni, a 8*, the manuscript parts of which are in Bogotá Cathedral music archive, yields the documentary evidence. On the *Superius Primi Chori*, *Altus Secundi Chori*, and *Bassus Secundi Chori* appears the legend: "Christophorus de Belsayaga Cartage.º"; *Superius Secundi Chori* bears the inscription "Christophorus de Belsayaga faciebat Cartag.º."

⁶⁷A.C., II, fol. 184: "Nombram^{to} de M^{ro} de Capilla . .

esta S^{ta} Iglesia tiene necesidad de vn maestro de capilla para el buen regimen del coro y p^a enseñar los seises para que el Culto diuino sea seruido con la deuida decencia y que de pres^{te} esta en esta ciudad Christoual de Velsayaga con el qual por ser mro de canto suficiente para el efecto a tratado su s.^a de que sirua . . ." After salary details (200 pesos from episcopal exchequer and 300 from *fábrica*) the act itemizes Belsayaga's conducting duties: "que a de asistir en el Coro todos los días que a de auer canto de horgano y llevar el compas rigiendo la capilla y siempre q huuiere contrapunto con el cantollano . . ." Next comes a list of his composing duties that begins thus: "Iten. Proveher de villancicos y chançonetas para las pasquas de Naudidad Reyes Spiritu santo, Corpus, día delos apóstoles, San Pedro y San Pablo y la asumpcion de Nuestra S^a." The act concludes with the fiat that his salary begin on the morrow, June 19 [1616].

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 184^v. His duty days (fol. 185) were to include "todos los días de fiestas dobles mayores y



the now ailing bishop had recruited. Not surprisingly, Bishop González de Mendoza's death January 22, 1617, fired Minuera's enthusiasm for a change of venue. Following the footsteps of the many other musicians who had used Cuzco cathedral as a stepping stone to the much richer La Plata, he shifted there in late 1617. The next year his initial salary of 800 pesos rose to 1100—plus another 250 for teaching the *colegiales* at the archdiocesan seminary how to sing plainchant.⁶⁹

Belsayaga could not so quickly leave Cuzco. Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo continued chapelmaster of La Plata until at least June 13, 1620. Miguel de Bobadilla (whom Cuzco had tried to lure in 1601) remained chapelmaster of Lima Cathedral from August 5, 1616, to 1622. Possibly Belsayaga left Cuzco for Lima as early as 1621. Whatever the exact date, in 1622 he took the reins from then 61-year-old Bobadilla and thereafter resided continuously at Lima until definitive resignation from the Lima Cathedral chapelmastership eleven years later, April 11, 1633.⁷⁰ While there, his attempts to hoist performance standards caused a lazy musicians' revolt. Had he met similar resistance at Cuzco? The capitular acts yield no clue but his zeal for excellence can be inferred. Near the close of his Cuzco stay, or perhaps after he had already moved to Lima, the excellent Cuzco organist Tomás de Herrera was rewarded with a salary raise from an annual 100 to 250 pesos *de a ocho reales*.⁷¹

The Bogotá Cathedral archive now contains what appear to be Belsayaga's sole surviving compositions:

Beatus vir qui timet, a 4. Psalm 111.

Dixit Dominus Domino meo, a 8.

SATB, SATB, Tone I. Polyphony starts with "Sede a dextris meis." A superb double-choir setting of Psalm 110. Verses usually divide antiphonally at the mediation. After the psalm, each voice continues with the *Magnificat Sexti Toni, a 8*, suggesting continuous performance in the same Vespers. Low D in Bassus II means either that Belsayaga wrote for deeper basses than colonial cathedrals could usually afford, or that this psalm was transposed up.

Magnificat Sexti Toni, a 8. Odd verses. SATB, SATB. As in Victoria's double-choir music, the organ duplicates Chorus Secundus. Odd verses. Already mentioned above (footnote 66): three voice parts bear the legend "Christophorus de Belsayaga Cartage.⁶⁷"; Superius Secundi Chori carries the even more revealing annotation, "Christophorus de Belsayaga faciebat Cartag.⁶⁸" These legends attest to his having composed the Magnificat at Cartagena before 1616. Roger Wagner used this noble Sixth Tone work (6 minutes, 40 seconds) to open his 1975 Eldorado recorded album, *Festival of Early Latin American Music* (issued by UCLA Latin American Center, LC75-620071).

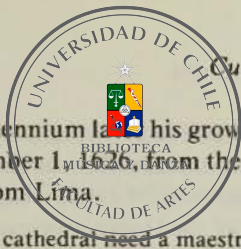
Upon Belsayaga's leaving Cuzco, naught remained but to reengage the second-class Gaspar de Villagras as chapelmaster. Either greed or need inspired his asking for two salaries—chapelmaster's and succentor's. This scheme could not work. The chapter on August 29, 1623, took away the succentorship. Simultaneously he was ordered to give custody of the chant choirbooks with appropriate keys to Pedro

comunes." His youth may be inferred from his being still a *clérigo de menores órdenes* on arriving at Cuzco.

⁶⁹Sucre Cathedral, A. C., II (1616-1619), fols. 244 and 256. By 1618 he was a *preshitero*; therefore Minuera's birth year was approximately 1593.

⁷⁰Sas, *op. cit.*, Primera Parte, p. 113.

⁷¹A. C., II, fol. 207v: "señalo de salario . . . a Thomas de Herrera organista ciento y cinq^{ta} de a ocho mas de los ciento q tiene de la fabrica por manera q . . . tiene desde oy [November 2, 1620] doscientos y cinq.^{ta} p^{ta}."



Francisco de Paredes.⁷² A triennium later his growing deafness served as the chapter's excuse to dismiss him December 1, 1622, from the chapelmastership and to hire a rising 25-year-old recruited from Lima.

Because the choirsingers of this cathedral need a maestro capable of conducting and governing them, now that Maestro Gaspar de Villagras is deaf, the chapter has already sent an invitation to the priest at Lima, Alonso Fernández de Velasco.⁷³ During a trial visit to Cuzco, the latter has showed his abilities both as singer and composer. He shall be hired to compose the chanzonetas, villancicos, and whatever else is required for the enhancement of the cult. Gaspar de Villagras shall deliver him the [polyphonic] choirbooks.⁷⁴

A 36-year gap in Cuzco cathedral capitular acts prevents our pursuing the Ariadne musical thread from 1630 to 1666. This hiatus is the more lamentable because on August 16, 1654—94 years after the laying of the cornerstone February 11, 1560—Bishop Pedro de Ortega y Sotomayor blessed the completed Spanish Renaissance-style cathedral⁷⁵ that still survives substantially intact.⁷⁶ Who directed

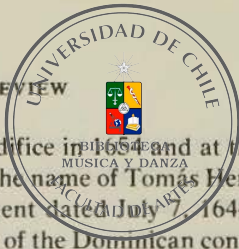
⁷²*Ibid.*, fol. 217: "que el P^e Gaspar de Villagra le entregue los libros de canto y las llaues de la libreria." Paredes's annual salary for being *sochantre* was the same day fixed at 250 pesos plus another 200 for being *cantor tenor*. However, the annual total take of instrumentalists (*cornetas* and *chirimias*) simultaneously fell to a mere 200 "ordinary" (*corrientes de a ocho*) pesos—only Juan Tinco *corneta* escaping the general slash.

⁷³Although metronyms apparently differ, this Alonso Hernández de Velasco was perhaps the tenor singer Alonso Hernández hired by Lima Cathedral July 16, 1624, at an annual 400 pesos. Seven weeks later (September 3) the Lima chapter rated him as "very able and learned in polyphonic music, as he has already demonstrated" and appointed him master of the choirboys. The following January 14 [1625] the Lima chapter granted him paid leave to go get ordained deacon and priest by the saintly bishop of Guamanga = Huamanga (= present-day Ayacucho), Francisco Verdugo (1561–1637). In all likelihood, he was 24 when ordained, and therefore born in 1601. Sas, *op. cit.*, Segunda Parte, Tomo I, 157–158, loses his trail after the Lima chapter raised his salary to 500 pesos on February 1, 1626. All the more reason to conflate the Lima and Cuzco Alonso Hernández's.

⁷⁴A. C., II, fol. 221^v: "dixeron que por tener Necessidad la Capilla de los cantores del coro de esta dha S^{ta} Iglessia de maestro que la rija, y gouierna. por estar sordo el M^{ro} Gaspar de Villagra . . . se escriuió al p^e Al^o Fern^z de Velasco a la ciudad de Los Reyes por tener noticia de que es havi y suficiente. y diestro, en el canto y composicion . . . [que] haga, y componga chançonetas, villancicos y lo demas, que combenga. para seru^o y exaltacion del culto diuino . . ."

⁷⁵All prior research on the history of Cuzco cathedral construction must give way to the data in Jesús M. Covarrubias Pozo's definitive monograph "Apuntes para la historia de los monumentos coloniales del Cuzco," *Revista Universitaria Organo de la Universidad Nacional del Cuzco*, Año XLVI, No. 113 (2^{da} semestre de 1957), pp. 105–155. For descriptions and views of the cathedral see José Gabriel Cosío, *El Cuzco: histórico y monumental* (Lima: Editorial Incaciteca [1924], pp. 41–46; Rafael Larco Herrera, *Cuzco histórico* (Lima: Casa Editora "La Crónica" y "Variedades," 1934), pp. 30, 168–176 (illustrations include the paired colonial organs in tribunes on lateral facing sides of the *coro* [p. 173] and the bell installed in 1658 in the right tower, "María Angola," called the largest in South America [p. 176]); Vargas Bueno, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–59. J. Uriel García, "La arquitectura colonial del Cuzco," *Revista Universitaria*, Año XXV, No. 70 (1936), p. 113, rightly called Cuzco Cathedral the premier Peruvian colonial monument. But for lack of data, he erred in labelling colonial music heard within its walls as chiefly derived from Inca music ("El Cuzco de la Colonia," *Revista Universitaria*, Año VIII, Nos. 44–45 [1924] p. 41). Even so much an Inca music enthusiast as Leandro Alviña, "La Música Incaica: Lo que es, y su evolución desde la época de los Incas hasta nuestros días," *Revista Universitaria*, segunda época, Año XIII (1929) p. 319, freely admitted the overwhelming impact in colonial times of *La música litúrgica con sus trenos, lamentaciones, versículos y salmodias, con sus cánticos y villancicos*.

⁷⁶The damage (mostly to the two towers) caused by the earthquake of May 21, 1950, was repaired at Spanish government expense, with Andrés Boyer Ruiz "who restored the historic buildings of Sucre, Bolivia, in charge of the work." See George Kubler, *Cuzco: Reconstruction of the town and restoration of its monuments* (Paris [Tours: Arrault et C^{ie}, 1952], Unesco, 1952), p. 14.



the music at the blessing of the edifice in 1654 and at the consecration of the bells in 1658?⁷⁷ Covarrubias Pozo found the name of Tomás Herrera, cathedral organist since before 1611, in a notarial document dated July 7, 1644. On that date Herrera contracted with the lay administrator of the Dominican convent of Santa Catalina,⁷⁸ Juan de Pancorbo, to give the convent schoolgirl Ana María Carrillo almost daily lessons for the space of two years on how to play keyboard instruments, manage the stops of an organ, and sing her part in polyphony.⁷⁹ Covarrubias Pozo also assembled from notarial sources the names of seven organ builders active at Cuzco between 1633 and 1671: Gabriel Calderón (1633), Martín Cevallos (1634), Don Felipe Vilca Poma, a curaca from Huamanga resident in Cuzco (1649), Pedro Guamán, an Indian from Velille village in Arequipa province (1662 and 1663), Juan Antonio Anunsibay de Chávez (1663 and 1694 [in the latter year he presented an organ worth 3312 pesos, in lieu of a money dowry, to his daughter's convent]); and Pedro Romero (1671).⁸⁰

Even though the names of all these yeoman organ builders (including Indians) do not substitute for the names of cathedral composers, their documented presence permits our considering mid-seventeenth-century Cuzco as no less a music center than a painting center.⁸¹ In 1682 the resumed series of cathedral capitular acts at last gives the name of the chapelmaster then conducting the cathedral music and simultaneously teaching in the Colegio Seminario de San Antonio Abad—*licenciado* José Pabón, a priest.⁸² The organist appointed February 25, 1682 was still another Tomás de Herrera—third of the Herrera organist clan with the same name. The capitular act of that date specifies his father as having been cathedral organist "many years," followed by his brother (also named Tomás de Herrera). The recent death of the brother, who was a *licenciado* and a priest, created the vacancy now being filled by the third Tomás de Herrera.⁸³

Basilio Pancorbo, appointed Cuzco Cathedral maestro de capilla November 8,

⁷⁷Dates of these ceremonies in Covarrubias Pozo's monograph, pp. 132 and 135.

⁷⁸Covarrubias Pozo, p. 340: "Enseñanza del canto y tocar el órgano. 1644 [VII-7.-133/590/ff. 419]. Tomás Herrera, residente en la ciudad del Cuzco, con el Licenciado Juan de Pancorbo, Administrador del Monasterio de Santa Catalina, por tiempo de dos años, para enseñar a una niña llamada Ana María Carrillo, que está educándose en el dicho Monasterio, a tocar teclas y cantar cantos de órgano con todos los registros que tiene el Organo y el arte de la música; obligándose enseñar todos los días, con excepción de los días de guardar, fiestas y domingos; pagándose por su trabajo, 120 pesos cada año.—Cuzco, 7 de julio de 1644."

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 401 (church at Coporaque); 401 (church at Accos); 264 (chapel of the Indian hospital at Cuzco); 214 (Mercedarian church at Cuzco) and 278 (bell for Augustinian church at Cuzco); 396 (church at Paucartambo) and 345 (Santa Catalina at Cuzco); 279 (Augustinian church at Cuzco). The specifications for most of these organs included drum and bird whistle stops.

⁸¹On the colonial Cuzco school of painters, see Alejandro Miro Quesada Garland, "Peru: Painting and sculpture." *Encyclopedia of World Art* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), XI, 254; Pál Kelemen, *Peruvian Colonial Painting: A Special Exhibition* (Meridan, Connecticut: Meridan Gravure), 1971 [catalogue of 45 Cuzco school paintings].

⁸²*Actas Capitulares 1667 a 1742*, fol. 82 (February 25, 1682). Who were Pabón's predecessors?

On March 6, 1673, the chapter promoted José de Hermosa Cisneros, "colegial del Collegio de S. Antonio desta ciudad," to the post of *contraalto* (A. C., 1667 a 1742, fol. 35^v). He had been a cathedral choirboy since the age of five, according to the act. Inferentially the cathedral maestros de capilla 1630-1666—like Pabón—had all served concurrently as music teachers in the diocesan seminary of San Antonio Abad.

⁸³*Ibid.*: "Por auer muerto el L.^{do} Thomas de Herrera Presbytero Organista dela dha Santa Iglesia de un acuerdo y conformidad nombraron en su lugar a Thomas de Herrera su hermano en atencion a su suficiencia y a que es hijo de Thomas de Herrera que en el dho ministerio siruio muchos años la dha S.^{ta} Iglesia, y hermano del dho difunto."



1724,⁸⁴ bore a family name no less traditional in Cuzco than Herrera.⁸⁵ His two compositions in the cathedral sheet music archive now housed at the Cuzco Seminario de San Antonio Abad (call-numbers 27 and 176) reveal him to have kept fully abreast of his time, so far as style goes:

Recordare Domine, quid acciderit nobis (Lamentations 5.1). Oracion de Jeremias p^a Viernes S.^{to} A Duo, y con un Violon. Tiple, Alto, Violon, Acop^{to} del duo. D Major.

[*Ya que tu nacimiento diuino*. Alternate text for *Ya que tu pureza*. Two coplas follow the estribillo: (1) Si Aurora diuina luces (2) Si te an jurado por Reyna.]

Ya que tu pureza Diuina aurora. Duo. Tiples 1 & 2, Violins 1 & 2, Basso (heavily figured). G Major. Elaborate. Handelian runs in Tiple 1 and to lesser extent in Tiple 2. The successive phrases of the perpetual motion Violin 1 (16th-notes) serve as ritornelli between vocal duets.

The last of the three paramount composers in Cuzco cathedral history—the Augustinian friar Esteban Ponce de León—can be identified as cathedral maestro de capilla in 1750 not from capitular acts (which are missing for the years 1743-1769⁸⁶) but from the inscription on the covers of two compositions dated 1750. "Por el P. L.^r Juvilado Fr. Estevan Ponze de Leon del Orden de N.P.S. Agustin, M.^{ro} de esta S.^{ta} Yglesia Cathedral. Año de 1750" is the inscription on his music for the play of St. Eustace, patron of hunters (September 20), given in the Cuzco seminary of San Antonio Abad that year. The inscription on the prefatory loa (praising the person in whose honor the play was given) reads identically, except that "Agustin" becomes "Ag.^o"

As early as July 20, 1713 Esteban Ponce de León held the post of Reader of the Second Arts course at the Cuzco house of the Augustinian order.⁸⁷ He continued in the same house at least eight years. From 1717 to 1721 he was Reader in Moral Theology. Since to teach Moral Theology he had to be at least 25, Samuel Claro Valdés—whose study of Ponce de León's music is fundamental—posited 1692 for his birth year.⁸⁸ Lima was his birthplace, if indeed he was the brother of the Augustinian provincials Juan José Ponce de León⁸⁹ and Pablo Ponce de León elected at Lima for

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 315: "Y en el interim q se provee en propiedad se nombra al M^{ro} Dⁿ Basilio Pancorbo con toda la renta y emolumentos." In the margin: "Fue M^{ro} de capilla dho M^{ro} Pancorbo hasta primero de Marzo de setecientos y Veinte y siete años [March 1, 1727] y hasta dho día fue interino." The capitular acts copied at folio 338 skip from February 12, 1727, to August 8, 1727, without again mentioning him.

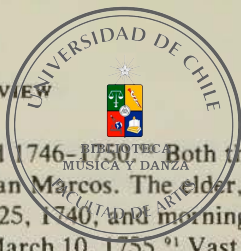
⁸⁵See Covarrubias Pozo, *op. cit.*, for references to the sixteenth-century Juan Pancorbo Sillorigo, purchaser of a house in Cuzco that belonged to Francisca Pizarro, daughter of the conqueror (pp. 108, 116, 259), and to Sebastián Pancorbo, an eighteenth-century priest (p. 289).

⁸⁶Vargas Bueno, p. 115, notes 1 and 2.

⁸⁷The Convento de San Agustín in Lima (at Ica 251) of which P. Victor Díaz de Tuesta was prior in 1966, kindly supplied the supporting documentation: *Libro 5º del Becerro Años 1711 a 1788*. This 355-folio parchment-bound volume contains "Decretos y Actas de los Capítulos 1711 a 1788." Under the heading "Capítulo . . . Año de 1713. Provisio Domus del Cuzco," fourteen friars residing in the Augustinian house at Cuzco are assigned teaching duties. Thirteenth in the list comes Fray Esteban Ponce de León ("In Lect. Pro Secundo [cursu], P. L. fr. Stephanum Ponce de Leon" [fol. 7^r]). By July 20, 1717, he had moved up from Reader in the Second Arts course to Reader in Moral Theology ("In Lectorum Theologie Moralis. P. L. Fr. Estephanum Ponze de Leon" [fol. 33^r]). He still held this latter assignment on July 20, 1721 (fol. 52), but his seniority in the Cuzco house had now advanced to eighth.

⁸⁸"Música Dramática en el Cuzco durante el Siglo XVIII y Catálogo de Manuscritos de Música del Seminario de San Antonio Abad (Cuzco, Peru)," p. 23.

⁸⁹Luis Antonio Eguiguren, *Diccionario Histórico Cronológico de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de San Marcos* (Lima; Torres Aguirre, 1940), I, 854 (no. 36): "El Padre Fray Juan José Ponce de León, del Orden de San Agustín, Catedrático de Visperas y de Prima de Sagrados Dogmas Jubilado, Calificador y Consultor del Santo Oficio, Prior Provincial de esta Provincia de Lima, su Patria."



the quadrenniums 1738-1742 and 1746-1750. Both the provincials were doctors of theology of the Universidad de San Marcos. The elder, Juan José, who became evening professor of dogma January 25, 1740, and morning professor of dogma January 10, 1744, retired from the chair March 10, 1755.⁹¹ Vast family wealth enabled him in 1744 to present the province with 70 Blacks worth 35,500 pesos (450 pesos each, bought in Chile).⁹²

So far as documentation on the composer to be collected *in situ* at Cuzco goes, the entire archive of San Agustín friary at Cuzco (founded June 11, 1559, suppressed in 1826) has been lost.⁹³ Even the buildings once occupied by the Augustinians in Cuzco are destroyed, with scarcely a vestige left. Yet in its heyday the Augustinian friary there ranked second in the province to only Lima. In all likelihood Esteban Ponce de León acquired the title of *Lector* at the Augustinian Universidad de San Ildefonso in Lima. To gain it, he had to have studied arts and theology eight years. To acquire the title of *Lector Jubilado*, he had to have spent eight years teaching in a house of the order.⁹⁴ On this scheme, he studied at San Ildefonso in Lima from 1705 to 1713, and fulfilled the eight-year teaching obligation needed to become *Lector Jubilado* 1713 to 1721 at Cuzco.

The style of his compositions transcribed and published in Claro Valdés's "Música Dramática en el Cuzco" bespeaks not the aging Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, Lima cathedral chapelmaster 1676 to 1728, but the youthful Roque Ceruti, native of Milan who arrived at Lima in 1708 and continued as palace composer for viceregal theatrical entertainments until at least 1717. The very title of Fray Esteban Ponce de León's congratulatory music of 1749—"Opera Serenata"—recalls Ceruti, who was the first to compose a "serenata" in Peru. The following schedule lists Ponce de León's loose-sheet works in the music archive of the Seminario de San Antonio Abad (call-numbers added by Samuel Claro Valdés).

Apart from loose-sheet repertory, Fray Esteban Ponce de León probably composed also the three extremely attractive mensural hymns copied in Choirbook 35 (an unnumbered folio Vespéral of 73 leaves) at the cathedral. The first hymn, *Magister orbis maxime*, honoring the reputed founder of the Augustinian order, is in dorian triple-meter and contains five melismas. The other pair, *Patrem canimus* (6/8, F Major) and *Pauperum Patri* (common meter, F Major) are dedicated to Santo Tomás de Villanueva (1486-1555), an Augustinian named archbishop of Valencia by Charles V. Fray Juan Ponce de León, Augustinian provincial of Peru 1738-1742, declared Tomás de Villanueva the patron of all Augustinian houses in Peru.⁹⁵ Hence, the timeliness of the Cuzco composer's *Patrem canimus* and *Pauperum Patri*.

According to Ulysse Chevalier's *Repertorium Hymnologicum* (Louvain: Polleunis & Ceuterick, 1897), II, 64, 298, and 306 (nos. 10919, 14637, and 14767), the texts of all three Augustinian hymns being here discussed made their début in print as late as 1674, sixteen years after Santo

⁹⁰Avencio Villarejo, *Los Agustinos en el Perú (1548-1965)* (Lima: Ed. "Ausonia, S.A.," 1955), pp. 271-272.

⁹¹Eguiguren, I, 919. By special distinction he was allowed to retire after 15, rather than 20 years service.

⁹²Villarejo, p. 272.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 203: "unos ocho años en los estudios y exámenes de Artes y Teología para alcanzar el grado de Lector"; "enseñanza otros ocho años para jubilarse y mientras tanto someterse a un examen cada cuatro meses. Una vez jubilado, y contando con la licencia del Rvmo. P. General, podía optar el grado de Bachiller." Fray Esteban stopped with the title of *Lector Jubilado*, not choosing to continue for the *bachillerato*, *licenciatura*, and *doctorado*.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 271.



Tomás de Villanueva's canonization. The titles were reprinted in an Augustinian breviary of 1709. *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas*, pages 16*-17*, offers transcriptions into modern notation of the Cuzco Cathedral Choirbook 35 settings that must assuredly be Fray Esteban Ponce de León's compositions.

- 4 *Dixit Dominus. Sede a dextris meis A 3 coros.* Ti Ti A, Ti Ti Te, Ti A Te B, Ac, Two other *Dixit Dominus* (dated 1741 and 1742) may be by him.
- 26 *Lamentacion 3.^a del Jueves Santo.* Aleph. Ego vir videns. Año de 1746. Alto solo, Acp^{to}. Like the next, for Holy Thursday.
- 25 *Lamentacion 3.^a del Jueves S.^{to} á Duo.* Año de 1749. Aleph. Ego vir videns pauperitatem meam. Tiples 1 ("Nicolasio") & 2, Acp^{to}. G minor. Extremely florid. Passage work in high tessitura. Another *Lamentacion 3.^a del Jueves Santo.* for solo tiple (Aleph. Ego vir videns), dated 1746, must surely be Ponce de León's also—even though unscribed.

[97 *Laudate Dominum*, 1738, G minor, 3 coros, incomplete.⁹⁶]

336 *Musica dela Comedia Antioco, y Seleuco* que se representô enel R.^l Colegio de N.P.S. Antonio Abbad para el 111.^{mo} S.^r D.^r D. Pedro Morsillo, Rubio y Auñon. Obispo del Cuzco. Año de 1743. Although Ponce de León's name fails to appear on any part, the other dramatic music at Cuzco dated 1750 is all his and his musical fingerprints give him away. Tiple 1 begins with two coplas from *Rendirse á la obligacion*, the first lines of which read: "A las bodas felizes y alegres del sol de Pariz y la flor de Breña con vistosos compases se mueven" (F Major, 3). Next, a change to B^b and related keys (one flat, 4/4) for lines from *Antioco y Seleuco*. 2.^a Jornada: "Venid pastores de Henares, á mirar de franselisa dos soles." Three coplas a 4 follow, the first starting: "Corason osado mio" (G minor, 3/4). After a duo still in G minor, 3/4 ("Al empeño de amor mas lucido"), "A las bodas felizes"—sung to new music, 3/4, returns. The 3.^a Jornada includes "En sus apacibles nudos" (C Major, a 4, 4/4), but not much more. Tiples 1 & 2. Violins 1 & 2. Alternate music in C Major, 4/4, and in E minor, 2/4, provided for "Venid pastores" and "Corason osado mio" (2.^a Jornada). Whichever versions are used—the November 30, 1743, or the 1747—the latter mixing in music for *Rendirse á la obligacion*, they both call for repeats "dos veces" or "tres veces": proof that the same musical strain served for several strophes.

312 *Musica dela Comedia de S. Eustachio*, q se representô en el R.^l Colegio, y Seminario de N.P.S. Antonio Abbad, para el 111.^{mo} S.^r D.^r Juan de Castañeda, Obispo del Cuzco. Por el P. L.^r Juvilado Fr. Estevan Ponze de Leon del Orden de N.P.S. Agustin, M.^{ro} de Capilla de esta S.^{ta} Yglesia Cathedral. Año de 1750. Ti Ti A Te, Ti A Te, Violin 1.^o arrimado & Violin 2.^o arrimado, Acomp^{to}. Incidental music for the 3.^a Jornada ("Aprended flores de mi-Hagan marciales estruendos-Las gracias se le den"). G minor (one flat) 3. F Major 3. F Major 4/4.

335 *Musica dela Loa* q se representô en el R.^l Colegio, y Seminario de N.P.S. Antonio Abbad para el 111.^{mo} S.^r D.^r Juan de Castañeda Obispo de esta Ciudad del Cuzco. Por el P. L.^r Juvilado Fr. Estevan Ponze de Leon del Orden de N.P.S. Ag.ⁿ M.^{ro} de Capilla de esta S.^{ta} Yglesia Cathedral Año de 1750. A 3. Choros. y con Violines. Ti A Te, Ti A Te, Ti A Te B, Violins 1 & 2, Acompto Continuo. Six coplas in barlined 3/4 with different music for odd and even coplas, followed by common meter transitions and an Estriv.^o (3/4). Key: C Major throughout. To adapt the music for more general use, new nonspecific texts have been inserted below the original fulsome texts. Copla 1: "Borda de perlas" (old text) = "No solamente estrellas" (new). Copla 2: "Tiende tapices" = "Tierra fecunda." Estribillo: "Vive del fenix la edad" = "Vive deydad soberana."

⁹⁶"Música Dramática en el Cuzco," p. 44. Ponce de León's earliest dated work in the archive, this vespers psalm [116] awards him at least twelve years as Cuzco chapelmaster.



- 321 *Opera Serenata* â quatro voses, y dos Violones con variedad de Musica de Arias, y Recitados, que se le canto al 11. mo SUSO. Fernando Joseph Perez de Oblitas, celebrando su ascenso a la Mitra del Paraguay. Año de mill, setesientos, quarenta, y nueve [1749]. Ponce de León's name not on parts. Ti Ti A Te. Acomp.¹⁰ Keys: D Major, G Major, B minor. Characters include Cuzco, the bishop's second mother, and Arequipa, his first mother. This "opera" includes recitatives, arias (first begins "Venid venid Deydades"), minuets (one is headed: Minuet a Violin Solo), choruses a 4.

Various sets of anonymous vespers psalms: *Dixit Dominus-Beatus vir-Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*; for 3 and 4 coros, dated 1730-1750. Presumptively Esteban Ponce de León wrote some of these sets, despite missing composer identifications on the parts.

Claro Valdés's musical excerpts in "Música Drámatica en el Cuzco" pages 12, 20, 22, and 26, include excerpts from the items catalogued 336, 321, and 312 (1743, 1749, 1750). The author of the play *Antíoco y Seleuco* presented at the seminary of San Antonio Abad November 30, 1743,⁹⁷ in honor of the newly installed Bishop Pedro Morcillo Rubio de Auñón (Villa Robledo, 1683-Cuzco, April 1, 1747), was Agustín Moreto (1613-1669). First published in his *Parte primera de las comedias* (Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1654), the three-act *Antíoco y Seleuco* is included in Luis Fernández-Guerra y Orbe's edition.⁹⁸ The songs in Moreto's second and third jornadas set by Fray Esteban Ponce de León come at page 46 of the 1856 edition ("Venid pastores de Henares," "Corason osado mio" ["Conociendo el riesgo mio," "Entre callar yo mi pena"]), at page 49 ("Al empeño de amor mas lucido"), and at 55 ("En sus apacibles nudos").

The play of *Antíoco y Seleuco* underwent exhaustive analysis in Frank P. Casa's *The Dramatic Craftsmanship of Moreto* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pages 53-83. Sent to bring back a girl bride for his father Seleuco, the youthful Antíoco falls violently in love with her. The story descends from classical times, but the use of music by the physician Erasistrato to fathom Antíoco's "illness" was a dramatic device suggested by Camões's play *El Rei Seleuco* (first published in the *Primeira parte* of Camões's *Rimas Agora . . . acrecentada hũa Comedia nunca atêgora impressa* [Lisbon: Paulo Craesbeeck, 1645]).

It has been suggested that the presence of the musicians in this episode is a simple borrowing from Camões or a desire on Moreto's part to satisfy the spectators' love of music. Both are external reasons that do not take into consideration the dramatic possibilities of such a device. . . . Moreto employs music in this instance to underscore the troubled spirit of the young man. The song ["Corason osado mio"] is no mere musical interlude but an attempt to relieve the suffering of the Prince, while the words themselves are well integrated in the action and serve as an echo of Antíoco's emotions.⁹⁹

Ponce de León's skillful setting of the invocatory song "Venid pastores de Henares" pits two boy sopranos against two melting violins. In only 21 bars of common-meter B flat Major music (one-flat signature), he modulates to C minor, C Major, G minor, and E flat Major. Though the play itself antedates 1654, Ponce de León's music for this song and what follows belongs unequivocally with 1743.

After "Venid pastores" comes next an emotion-wrought E minor setting for soprano, violins, and continuo of "Corason osado mio" (the second and third

⁹⁷Farfán (see above, footnote 42), p. 25, recounted the circumstances of the Saturday (*Antíoco y Seleuco*) and Sunday (*No hay reino como el de Dios*) performances, probably copying Esquivel y Navía.

⁹⁸Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, XXXIX (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1856), pp. 39-55.

⁹⁹Frank P. Casa, *The Dramatic Craftsmanship of Moreto*, p. 76.



strophes "Conociendo" and "Entre callar" require the same music). Not content however with this solo setting Ponce de León later on made changes when revising his incidental music for a second performance of the play. Claro Valdés writes:

The second setting [of "Corason osado mio"] is a G minor choral setting in ternary, rather than binary meter. The considerable alterations include rests between words such as "pena" sung by the chorus ("Entre callar yo mi pena"), to emphasize the Prince's love-sorrows. In one copy of the Violin II part, we read this note: "In place of the Corason osado mio above, continue as follows." Such an annotation documents the enduring popularity of the music with the Cuzco public.

Ponce de León's next musical interlude breathes a solemnity worthy of Lully. In ternary meter, G minor, and containing numerous dotted rhythms, [this duo is sung at the climactic moment when Antíoco recognizes who his father's affianced bride is.]

The 14 bars of choral music *a 4* accompanied by violins and continuo that Ponce de León provides for the third and final jornada are twice repeated, in Escena XI. In order to reach a happy dénouement, the generous king has resigned his intended bride to his son. In her stead, Seleuco announces his intent to marry the niece formerly destined for Antíoco.

Thanks to the industry of Diego de Esquivel y Navía, dean of Cuzco cathedral from 1767 to his death April 14, 1779,¹⁰⁰ the exact circumstances under which Moreto's *Antíoco y Seleuco* was performed Saturday night November 30, 1743, can be specified. Only two months earlier, the honoree, Pedro Morcillo Rubio de Auñón—nephew of the Peruvian viceroy-archbishop Diego Morcillo Rubio y Auñón (1642-1730)—had taken possession of Cuzco see. According to the published version of Esquivel y Navía's *Anales del Cuzco 1600 á 1750*, page 322, rain began falling November 30 shortly after conclusion of the second jornada. Just as the third was to begin, the Marqués de Valleumbroso who was corregidor left with the rest of the secular cabildo. However, rain was only an excuse. None of the secular officials had been offered iced refreshments during the interlude between second and third jornadas, "which caused them to complain."

The next night at the play entitled *No hay reino como el de Dios*,¹⁰¹ worse yet happened. As if seminary rector's not having provided the secular cabildo with iced refreshments were not sufficient insult, even the interluding farces and dances proved boring. The bishop therefore took these discourtesies as excuses for replacing the seminary rector Juan Carpio with Fernando Joseph Pérez de Oblitas, canon-treasurer of the cathedral. True, the whole seminary faculty protested Wednesday morning, December 4. But in vain. That very day the bishop officially confirmed Pérez de Oblitas.

Excellent was the bishop's choice. On April 6, 1747, hard on Morcillo Rubio de Auñón's decease (April 1), Pérez de Oblitas was elected *provisor* (interim governor of Cuzco diocese).¹⁰² On September 4, 1747, he was preconized bishop of Asunción, Paraguay. His bulls arrived at Cuzco October 28, 1748.¹⁰³ However, he delayed his

¹⁰⁰Vargas Bueno, p. 116. Concerning Esquivel y Navía's authorship of the *Anales del Cuzco* (Lima: Imprenta de "El Estado," 1901) that cover the years 1600 to 1750 (as well as the *Apuntes Históricas* covering 1043 to 1595), see Carlos A. Romero, appendix to "Notas cronológicas de la gran ciudad del Cuzco," *Revista Histórica: Órgano del Instituto Histórico del Perú*, V/2 (1916), 224.

¹⁰¹Written cooperatively by Moreto, Juan de Matos Fragoso (1608-1688), and Gerónimo de Cáncer y Velasco (1598-1655).

¹⁰²Vargas Bueno, p. 114.

¹⁰³[Esquivel y Navía], *Anales del Cuzco*, p. 433. Cited by Claro Valdés, *op. cit.*, p. 19.



departure.¹⁰⁴ To signal his elevation to bishop, Ponce de León composed an "Opera Serenata for four voices [two sopranos, alto, tenor], two violins, containing a variety of arias and recitatives, which was sung to celebrate Doctor Fernando Joseph Pérez de Oblitas's ascent to the miter of Paraguay, 1749." The libretto of this "Opera Serenata" (by an anonymous local poet) pits the excellences of Pérez de Oblitas's natal Arequipa against the grandeurs of Cuzco, the city in which he has risen to renown. To judge the dispute between Arequipa and Cuzco a tenor herald begins the work with a D Major arioso in which he summons classical deities (represented by four-part chorus). After they agree to serve as judges, a second soprano proclaims the virtues of Arequipa in a recitative modulating to G, in which key she (or he, if a boy soprano) sings a completely Italianate da capo aria imploring the gods' just decision in favor of Arequipa.¹⁰⁵ To continue with Claro Valdés's apt description of the work:

Now comes a brief choral outburst, still in G, but in ternary meter—the acclamations punctuated by instrumental ritornelli—"Long live my Arequipa!" Next a first soprano speaking for the partisans of Cuzco lauds their region's greater fertility. A recitative, "I am his second mother," gives way to a minuet in which the vocalist's "Worthily the clarion announces the news" is accompanied by solo violin and continuo. An aria, "Since the blasoned merit is mine," containing imitations between voice and bass, is succeeded by the rather martial chorus, "Long live the Prelate," that ends Part I.

Not to be vanquished so easily, the proponents of Arequipa return with the admonition, "Let not Cuzco today appropriate every virtue." Their boasting is sheltered in still more elaborate harmony and imitative writing than Part I contained. To reconcile the quarrel, an alto's aria now refers the entire dispute to celestial powers. The aria "If such wrangling," vocally illustrated with warbles and sighs, and the recitative, "If in noble competition," lead to a minuet bespeaking the newly elected bishop's merits as the entire cause of the contest between the two cities—each eagerly in pursuit "of so great a victory." A brisk march-like D Major chorus hailing him "Live, then, triumphant," ought to provide a sufficient ending. But the librettist's partiality for Cuzco becomes clear when a 12-measure solemn ternary-meter epilogue ends the whole spectacle with the line, "And thus Cuzco adds to all her glories yet another glory."

Ponce de León's music was too well composed to be forgotten after only the one occasion, Pérez de Oblitas's promotion to Paraguay.¹⁰⁶ Alternate texts in the surviving parts attest further use of the same music to congratulate an ecclesiastic named Pacheco.¹⁰⁷

In 1750 Ponce de León composed music for a loa and comedia honoring still another bishop, Juan de Castañeda Velásquez y Salazar (1690-1762). The third Peruvian-born bishop of Cuzco,¹⁰⁸ he was a native of Huaura, alumnus of San Martín

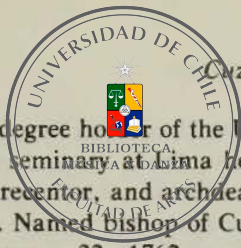
¹⁰⁴In 1756 he was translated to the diocese of Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia) where he died in 1760. See Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1957 [reprint of Regensburg publication, 1886]), p. 146, 159.

¹⁰⁵See Claro Valdés's transcription of this da capo aria, *op. cit.*, p. 20. The loss of violin 1 and 2 parts prevented him from giving more than the tiple segundo above figured continuo.

¹⁰⁶Pérez de Oblitas still hovered at Cuzco as late as April 28, 1752, in which year the Paraguay see was being governed by his delegate, Antonio González de Guzmán, the dean of Asunción Cathedral. See Cayetano Bruno, *Historia de la iglesia en la Argentina*. V [1740-1778] (Buenos Aires: Editorial Don Bosco, 1969), p. 174. He was then "ausente en la ciudad del Cuzco, [a] mil leguas de aquí impedido por sus achaques a venir a su obispado."

¹⁰⁷José Cayetano Pacheco de Cárdenas, born at Arequipa December 28, 1689, became doctoral canon at La Paz in 1721. Bulls for his elevation to the see of Buenos Aires were signed at Buen Retiro December 6, 1746 (Bruno, *op. cit.*, V, 122-123). However, this Pacheco died too soon and was not a provincial.

¹⁰⁸Luis Quesada, designated in 1594, was born at Cuzco; Pedro Ortega Sotomayor who ruled 1652-1658



colegio at Lima and doctor's degree holder of the Universidad de San Marcos. After teaching at the archdiocesan seminary at Lima he had occupied three dignities in Cuzco cathedral (treasurer, precentor, and archdeacon) before being elevated to the bishopric of Panama in 1743. Named bishop of Cuzco in 1749, he occupied the see from 1750 to his death February 22, 1762, aged 72.¹⁰⁹ A great bibliophile, he patronized the polymath Ignacio de Castro (1733-1792), native of Tacna who was a bright ornament of late colonial Peruvian letters.

Ponce de León's music for the loa and play mounted in honor of Castañeda's entry into the Cuzco see in 1750 has the advantage of surviving in a complete set of parts. Claro Valdés analyzed the loa music thus:

In C Major, the loa begins with quatrains in which the poet likens the bishop's advent to a new dawn over the beautiful Cuzco terrain. Coro I sings quatrains 1, 3, 5; coro II sings 2, 4, 6. A brief connecting passage in common meter links these quatrains with the final strophe hailing the sexagenarian phoenix now returning to rule Cuzco diocese. This final section is the most extensive and involved of the loa, so far as Ponce de León's vaunting of antiphonal and imitative devices goes.

The music for third jornada = act of the play of St. Eustace that follows the loa calls again for paired antiphonal choirs (two sopranos, alto, tenor; soprano, alto, tenor), two concerting violins, and continuo. The text of the G minor initial excerpt in ternary meter ("Aprended flores de mi") repeats the familiar lesson taught by the flowers of the field, that man's body perishes on the morrow. The notation itself becomes "eye-music"—whites that symbolize life followed by blacks symbolizing death. The two final excerpts ("Hayan marciales estruendos" and "Las gracias se le den a Dios de las batallas") strike a suitably martial note in dotted-rhythm common meter. Eustace having been recalled to command troops in the Emperor Trajan's army gains a mighty victory. However, at the end of the play he prefers death in a smoking brazen bull to apostasy from his faith.

Did Ponce de León compose any now lost dramatic music? According to the *Anales del Cuzco* (page 426), "*Orfeo y Euridice*, a fable called an opera," was given in the Plaza del Regocijo October 18, 1747, to conclude the festivities marking Fernando VI's accession to the throne. Both secular and ecclesiastical cabildos attended the six-hour event lasting from 3 to 9 in the evening. However, "most of the time was spent in consuming sweets and ices," reported the disgruntled annalist.

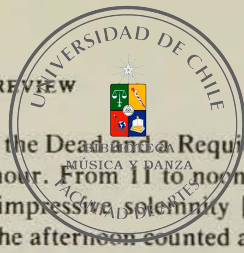
The preceding September 24 a masquerade included a "squadron of more than twenty Incas richly clad in fine garments, followed by a float containing King Fernando VI and Queen María Barbara's portraits surrounded by musicians playing harps, guitars, violins, and mandolins [*bandolas*]. Upon reaching the secular cabildo headquarters, the musicians spent quite a while performing various instrumentally accompanied songs [*tonos*]."¹¹⁰

According to the *Anales del Cuzco* (pages 417-418), the most praiseworthy cathedral ceremonies conducted by Ponce de León took place on Monday and Tuesday, July 17 and 18, 1747, in tribute to the memory of Philip V. On Monday afternoon "funeral vespers were sung polyphonically with great solemnity." On

was a native of Lima. See Vargas Bueno, pp. 93, 100. Gabriel Arregui who ruled 1716-1724 was born at Buenos Aires (*ibid.*, p. 110).

¹⁰⁹Biographical details in Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico del Perú*, 2d ed. (Lima: Imprenta "Enrique Palacios," 1932), IV, 80-81. See also Eguiguren, *Diccionario Histórico Cronológico*, I, 543.

¹¹⁰*Anales del Cuzco*, p. 423.



Tuesday were sung the Office of the Dead and a Requiem Mass. After the Mass "were sung five responses lasting an hour. From 11 to noon the vigil of the dead was sung polyphonically with the same impressive solemnity [as Vespers on Monday]. The whole ceremony ending at 3 in the afternoon counted as one of the most splendid ever known at Cuzco, and Cuzco excelled all other cities [of the viceroyalty] in this ceremony."

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