

Guatemala Cathedral to 1803



Hinterland Musical Priorities

Until Guatemala began exporting her musical treasures in the late 1960's, no Latin American nation boasted earlier music manuscripts. *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970), pages 55-62, lists the contents of eight polyphonic choir-books discovered at the Huehuetenango villages of San Juan Ixcoi, Santa Eulalia, and San Mateo Ixtatán in 1963 by the Maryknoll fathers Edward F. Moore and Daniel P. Jensen—who gathered them for safekeeping at their mission station San Miguel Acatán. As samples of the European riches in these manuscripts copied by Mayan Indian scribes between 1560 and 1635, the San Juan Ixcoi 65-folio manuscript (31 x 24 cm) now at the Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana—where it was meticulously catalogued in Paul W. Borg's "The European Repertoire of the Manuscript Guatemalan Music MS No. 8" (March, 1978)—contains these ascribed (*) and ascribable works (all *a 4*):

Basurto	*untexted	40 ^v -41
Compère, Loyset	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena</i> (pars 1) <i>O bone Jesu</i>	24 ^v -25 26 ^v -27, 58 ^v -59
Escobar, Pedro	<i>Clamabat autem mulier</i>	18 ^v -19, 56 ^v -57
Fernández, Diego	*untexted	50 ^v -51
Fernández, Mateo	*untexted	54 ^v -55
Flecha, Mateo, el viejo	<i>Teresica hermana</i>	22 ^v -23
Illarius, Johannes	<i>O admirabile commercium</i>	16 ^v -18
Morales, Cristóbal de	*untexted	47 ^v -48
Mouton, Jean	<i>Quaeramus cum pastoribus</i> (pars 1) <i>Ubi pascuas</i> (pars 2)	43 ^v -44 44 ^v -45
Pastrana	*untexted	47 ^v -48
Peñalosa, Francisco	<i>Ave vere sanguis</i> *untexted	45 ^v -46 52 ^v -53
Pérez	*untexted *untexted	47 ^v -48 48 ^v -49
Ribera, Antonio	<i>Patris sapientia</i> (pars 1)	41 ^v -42
Rivafrecha, Martín de	<i>Quam pulchra es</i> (pars 1)	39 ^v -40



Sermisy, Claudin de	<i>Fait ou fait (opera omnia.</i>	50 ^v -51
	<i>Je ne fais rien.</i> (M., no. 77)	27 ^v -28, 49 ^v -50
	<i>Le content est riche</i> (IV, no. 96)	48 ^v -49
	<i>Si le vouloir</i> (IV, no. 145)	31 ^v -32
Vásquez, Juan	<i>Con qué la lavaré</i>	51 ^v -52
	<i>Por amores lo maldixo</i>	38 ^v -39
Verdelot, Philippe	<i>Affliti spirti mei</i>	37 ^v -38
	<i>Fuggi fuggi cor mio</i>	35 ^v -36
	<i>I vostri acuti dardi</i>	41 ^v -42
Urrede, Juan	<i>Pange lingua</i>	45 ^v -46
	(Barcelona 454, 148 ^v -149, version)	

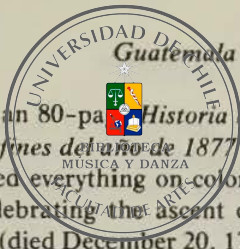
If these exciting works—many of which were composed during the forepart of the sixteenth century—survive in but one of the Huehuetenango village codices bought by Lilly Library in 1967 and 1969, similarly intriguing masterpieces survive in the other manuscripts of the set catalogued in *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources* as Santa Eulalia M. M.d. 1 through 7 (= Lilly 1 through 7), San Mateo Ixtatán (= Lilly 9), and in a choirbook formerly at Jacaltenango. These survivals attest the spread to the remotest hamlets of Guatemala of Cristóbal de Morales's *Caça Mass* (Santa Eulalia M. M.d. 7, fols. 10^v-20), of Morales's *Magnificat Octavi toni* (Santa Eulalia M. M.d. 3, fols. 14^v-20), of masses by Rodrigo de Ceballos, and still other works of a more alien type, such as Claudin de Sermisy's chansons.

Guatemala's First Music History (1877)

In both "European Music in 16th-Century Guatemala," *Musical Quarterly*, L/3 (July, 1964), 341-352, and *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources*, pages 50-64, the spread of all this brave European repertory served to document the chronological primacy of the Guatemalan hinterland in New World musical annals. However, with so rich a musical life flourishing on the spokes of the wheel, no less intense must have been musical culture at the center of the Guatemalan wheel—the capital of the Guatemalan colonial jurisdiction. And indeed, the importance of music in the cultural history of the Guatemalan capital (which changed locations four times before independence) was recognized as early as a century ago, when Guatemala became the first American republic to boast a book-length history of music in the capital.

All cognoscenti yield Venezuela pride of place among South American nations with the first national music history—Ramón de la Plaza's *Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela* (Caracas: Imprenta al vapor de "La Opinión Nacional," 1883).¹ But up to now few or none have recognized that Guatemala outranks even Venezuela, so far as histories go. Already five years before Plaza's *Ensayos*, José Sáenz Poggio published

¹For reviews of the facsimile edition with *prólogos* by Luis García, Alfredo Boulton, and José Antonio Calcaño (Caracas: Imprenta Nacional, 1977 [Colección Clásicos Venezolanos 6, Ediciones de la Presidencia de la República]), see *Heterofonía*, XI/2 (March-April, 1978), 34-36, and *Notes of the Music Library Association*, XXXIV/4 (June, 1978), 876-877.



the first Guatemalan music history, an 80-page *Historia de la música guatemalteca desde la monarquía española, hasta fines del año de 1877* (Guatemala: Imprenta de la Aurora, 1878).² True, he borrowed everything on colonial music from either the chronicler of the 1746 festivities celebrating the ascent of Guatemala to an archbishopric, Antonio de Paz y Salgado (died December 20, 1757); the author of the first history of Guatemala cathedral, Domingo Juarros (1752–1820);³ or Francisco de Paula García Peláez (1785–1867), ninth archbishop of Guatemala. But even without himself doing any archival work he did identify the two paramount cathedral maestros de capilla of the eighteenth century, Manuel de Quiroz and his prolific nephew Rafael Castellanos.⁴ From García Peláez he extracted the name of the cathedral organist inducted December 1, 1548, Antonio Pérez, and of his successor Gaspar Martínez who on March 20, 1571, claimed having served eleven years.⁵ What Sáenz Poggio missed in Juarros was the name of the maestro de capilla Nicolás Márquez Tamariz, who throughout the octave of November 6–14, 1680, conducted three choirs in polychoral festive music solemnizing the completion of the cathedral built at Antigua Guatemala between 1669 and 1680.⁶

Quite apart from being the first history of music in any Latin American nation, Sáenz Poggio's achievement was epochal in other respects. His stressing the primacy of the cathedral in Guatemalan music history required courage—especially in view of President Justo Rufino Barrios's drastic anticatholicism. Frank enough to admit that his own respectful attitude toward past cathedral musical glories may have been tinged with family pride, he rightly boasted that Guatemala cathedral music for at least the previous century had been dominated by the Sáenz clan.⁷ But family

²Reprinted in *Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala*, XXII/1–2 (March–June, 1947), 6–54, and as a 59-page separata in 1948. Sáenz Poggio's history was unsympathetically reviewed by Roland Dennis Hussey in *Handbook of Latin American Studies: 1947* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 201 (item 2692).

³The two-volume editio princeps of Juarros's *Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala* (Guatemala: Ignacio Beteta, 1808–1818; translated by J. Bailly as *A Statistical and Commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala* [London: John Hearne, 1823]) lacks the six chapters of what Juarros intended to become volume 3. These six chapters, first published in the *Gaceta Oficial*, VI (1852), nos. 22–37, treat chiefly of Guatemala cathedral history. José Millá (1822–1882) was chief editor of the *Gaceta* from 1846 to 1871. Author of the first two volumes of a five-volume *Historia de la América Central desde el descubrimiento del país por los españoles (1502) hasta su independencia de la España (1821)* (Guatemala: Estab. tip. de "El Progreso," 1879–1905), he unfairly labeled Juarros's *Compendio* as having been mostly copied from the *Recordación florida* (unpublished manuscript at Madrid until 1882–1883) by Francisco Fuentes y Guzmán (1643–1699). He also unjustly accused Juarros of overloading his *Compendio* with *noticias religiosas*. Millá's prejudiced criticisms (see the second edition of his history [Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1937], I, 21) are reproduced on the Library of Congress index cards for Juarros's *Compendio*.

⁴In the 1947 reprint of Sáenz Poggio's monograph itemized above in footnote 2, consult pp. 15–16 for allusions to Manuel de Quiroz ("perhaps the son of Captain Antonio Hernandez de Quiros"), Rafael Castellanos ("his nephew and pupil who succeeded him as cathedral chapelmaster"), Miguel Pontaza ("interim maestro after Castellanos's death in July, 1791"), and Pedro Nolasco Estrada ("appointed proprietary cathedral chapelmaster, replacing interim Pontaza, October 6, 1797").

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 14. Cited from García Peláez, *Memorias para la historia del antiguo Reyno de Guatemala . . . Tomo Segundo* (Guatemala: Estab. Tip. de L. Luna, 1852), p. 294 [capítulo 90].

⁶*Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala. Tomos I y II, tercera edición* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1937 [Biblioteca "Payo de Rivera"]), p. 243.

⁷Founder of the dynasty was Vicente Sáenz (1756–1841), who spent four decades in such various cathedral posts as first violin, maestro de capilla, and finally organist. He excelled in composing Christmas villancicos but also wrote a *Salve* in F that continued being sung in 1877. His son, Benedicto Sáenz the elder—elected titular organist in 1803—held the bench 28 years until death in 1831. The elder's son,



possessiveness was nothing new in Latin American annals. Cathedral music in Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela had become family feudatories at various times during the colonial epoch. What Sáenz Poggio—despite family pride—did fail sufficiently to emphasize were the following facets: (1) the bountiful richness of the musical repertory in the colonial cathedral; (2) the generosity with which the cathedral loaned its treasures for performance and copying elsewhere; (3) the excellence of the locally born eighteenth-century maestros in Guatemala—contrasted with the foreign-born imports simultaneously rampant in Peruvian and Mexican cathedral music (Roque Ceruti at Lima 1728–1760, Ignacio Jerusalem at Mexico City 1750–1769); (4) the lavish local color in the vernacular music by locally born Guatemalan maestros; (5) their interest in keeping abreast of all the latest European vogues, especially eighteenth-century Italian opera and cantata.

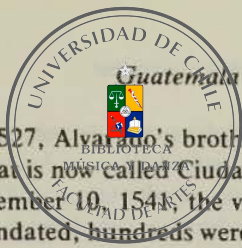
Guatemala Cathedral Music: Chronological Survey (to 1803)

On July 25, 1524, the conquistador Pedro de Alvarado founded Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala—locating it at what had been the Cakchiquel capital since

Benedicto Sáenz the younger (1815–1857), gained a licentiate in medicine (his father-in-law was the noted physician Buenaventura Lambur), but devoted his chief energies to music. The high point of his career was a visit to Paris where in 1855 at his own expense he had printed one of the two Masses that he composed. His large sacred works included also a set of Lamentations “written in Verdi’s best style,” and two festival motets: the first *Domine, salvam fac Republicam* sung in the cathedral in October of 1852 to celebrate the concordat with the pope, the second *Regina sine labe concepta* on July 21, 1855, to commemorate the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Among his works still annually being performed in the cathedral (up to 1877) were his two *Misereres*—the longer on Wednesday night of Holy Week, the shorter on Holy Week Monday for the veiling of the image of Jesús de la Merced. Up to 1877 his *Officium defunctorum* was still being sung every year the evening of November 1 in the Hospital of St. John of God.

In January of 1856, shortly after returning from Europe, Benedicto Sáenz the younger conducted Donizetti’s *Belisario* and Bellini’s *Norma* at the Teatro Variedades. His brother Anselmo Sáenz conducted the Guatemalan first performances of Rossini’s *L’Italiana in Algeri* (December 28, 1853), *Cenerentola* (January 4, 1855), and *La gazza ladra* (February 8, 1855) at the Teatro Oriente. According to Sáenz Poggio, both brothers used local talent for their opera premieres. However, after Benedicto the younger’s death from cholera August 5, 1857 (*Anales*, XXII/1–2, 35), his sons Pablo and Felipe Sáenz Lambur joined with their brother-in-law who was a lawyer, Prudencio España, to present operas starring Italian singers brought from afar. The chief contributions of both Pablo and Felipe to Guatemalan history were however in the military, rather than operatic domain. Pablo (died in 1863) conducted a military band at Amatitlán and composed funeral marches played by the bands of Batallones 1º and 2º. Felipe studied with the military band leader José Martínez. (A native of Florida who after having conducted the band of the Regiment of León at Havana and the presidential band of El Salvador was in 1842 brought to Guatemala by General Rafael Carrera [1814–1865], José Martínez was in 1845 forced to flee the country because of disloyalty to his erstwhile protector, who was now president.) In 1846 Felipe [Sáenz Lambur] organized the band of Batallón 1º but only he and two or three others in the band escaped death when General Nufio was routed by an insurgent in 1848. A reconstituted band under his baton marched to the war against Nicaragua in 1855. After ouster of the United States filibuster William Walker, most of the handsmen fell victims to cholera, yellow fever, and other diseases. By luck, Felipe again escaped.

Apart from Pablo and Felipe, a third brother Pedro Sáenz Lambur made his mark musically with various pieces for band. Pedro, who died in 1876 and who was the father of Sáenz Poggio (writer of the 1877 history), won his spurs as commander of the Castillo de San José and as mathematics instructor in the University. The fourth brother chronicled in this 1877 history was Francisco Isaac Sáenz Lambur, who in 1857 succeeded Benedicto Sáenz the younger as cathedral maestro de capilla. Apart from composing a well-received Mass and a *Miserere*, Francisco Isaac made his name as a pianist. His son, Vicente Sáenz Zecena, who belonged to the fifth generation of the Sáenz musical clan, studied music intensively but after graduating from the Colegio de San Buenaventura and the University showed his preference for the bar. Further to prove how intertwined was the Sáenz clan, Victor Rosales who became cathedral organist in



1463, Iximché.⁸ On November 22, 1527, Alvarado's brother Juan, acting as his lieutenant, transferred the capital to what is now called Ciudad Vieja, a site in the valley of Almolonga. On the night of September 10, 1541, the valley of Almolonga (which lies at the base of a volcano) was inundated, hundreds were drowned, and the capital had to be again relocated, this time in the valley of Panchoy at the site now called Antigua Guatemala. There it remained 232 years, despite the constant menace of earthquakes. Finally, however, on July 29, 1773, a quake so violent occurred that the secular cabildo on August 12, 1773, petitioned the Crown for authorization to move the capital yet a third time. Armed with a royal cedula dated July 21, 1775, the secular cabildo on December 29, 1775, left the valley of Panchoy for the valley of the Virgin to begin functioning January 2, 1776, at the site that is presently the capital of Guatemala.⁹

The first bishoprics created in the Americas—those of Santo Domingo August 13, 1513, Puerto Rico that same year, Santiago de Cuba April 28, 1522—preceded the mainland sees of Mexico October 2, 1530, Nicaragua February 26, 1531, and Comayagua (Honduras) June 6, 1531. Guatemala dated from December 18, 1534, when Paul III made it a suffragan of Seville. To the same year belong the creation of the sees of Panama (February 11) and Cartagena (April 24). The bulls erecting all these bishoprics read similarly, so far as chantre and organist go.¹⁰ At Guatemala the first chantres mentioned in the *Liber Capituli sancti Jacobi* . . . *Desde 1573 años. NOTA: se hallan en este libro otros cabildos y disposiciones anteriores desde su primer Obispo el Sr. Marroquín [Libro primero de Cabildo en el orden de los que actualmente existen en este Archivo, hoy 24 de Sept.^a de 1790.]* were Martín Vejarano (June 14, 1542) and Pedro de Liébana (February 17, 1560). The first organist mentioned by name was Andrés Pérez hired December 1, 1548, for an annual 60 pesos.¹¹ On April 29, 1544, Francisco Marroquín (1499–1563), first bishop of Guatemala, stipulated that all cathedral clergy must come sing their hours (*residan en todas sus horas*), because *coro* was not being well served. On February 11, 1550, the chapter threatened Andrés Pérez with fines for missing hours or coming without surplice.¹² By February 5, 1561, his annual salary had risen to 70 pesos.¹³ On that same date Guatemala Cathedral was paying 50 pesos annually to a singer named Juan de Carabantes who was also a dealer in polyphonic books. (On September 9, 1558,

1857 married a daughter of Benedicto Sáenz the younger. In 1865 Victor Rosales was president of the short-lived Sociedad Filarmónica de Aficionados.

⁸Robert Wauchope, "Las Edades de Utatlán e Iximché," *Antropología e Historia de Guatemala*, 1/1 (January, 1949), 21.

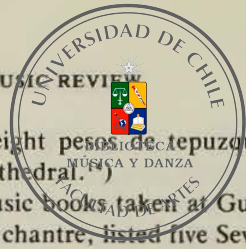
⁹For details on the moves itemized in this paragraph see Adrián Recinos, "La Ciudad de Guatemala 1524–1773," *Antropología e Historia de Guatemala*, 1/1, 57–62, and J. Joaquín Pardo, *Efemérides para escribir la historia de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Santiago de los Caballeros del Reino de Guatemala* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1944), pp. 246–260.

¹⁰*Liber Capituli* . . . *Desde 1573 años*, fols. 111–112, lists the provisions of Paul III's 1534 bull of erection. (Although chiefly devoted to chapter minutes from 1573 to 1599, the first book includes sporadic notices of earlier years.) So far as chantre and organist go, these statutes read: "Cantorem ad quam nullus possit, presentari nisi in musica saltem in cantu plano Doctus et peritus existat, presentetur; cujus in fastorio cantare, Docere, et que ad cantum pertinent, et spectant, ordinare, corrigere, et emendare, in choro et vbicumque per se et non per alium officium erit"; "Organista. Officium qui organa in Diebus festiuis et alijs temporibus ad votum prelati, uel Capituli, pulsare teneatur."

¹¹*Ibid.*, fols. 19^v, 49, 155; 39^v. García Peláez pioneered in extracting musical data from the first book of capitular acts. See footnote 5 above.

¹²*Ibid.*, fol. 186^v.

¹³*Ibid.*, fol. 60. On that same day the cathedral accounts certify that during 1560 "some books and manuals" were bought for 300 pesos, and that a *músico* named Sarauia de Oropesa received 200 pesos.



Carabantes had collected eight pesos de tepuzque for various *libros de canto de órgano* sold Mexico City Cathedral.¹⁵)

The first inventory of music books taken at Guatemala Cathedral May 9, 1542,¹⁵ while Martín Vejarano was chantre, listed five Sevillian missals on paper and one on vellum, four processonals, two manuals, two antiphoners, a Roman psalterium, a passionarium, [Andrea Antico's] *Liber quindecim missarum* (Rome, 1516),¹⁶ and four small books of polyphony (titles not given). Two more Sevillian missals were added April 2, 1549, and on November 26, 1561, a suite of eleven large-size vellum plainchant books costing 1500 pesos.¹⁷ As elsewhere in Spanish New World cathedrals until late in the century, Sevillian use dictated not only the liturgy but also the repertory and even the instruments brought to Guatemala. The *caxa de flautas grandes* purchased for cathedral use on April 2, 1549,¹⁸ calls to mind similar sets of *flautas* bought at Seville during Francisco Guerrero's régime.¹⁹

Organs were however the obvious mainstay of Guatemala cathedral music from the outset. As early as May 9, 1542, *unos órganos* were inventoried.²⁰ Keeping them in tune and in good repair posed the usual constant challenges. Fortunately the cathedral chapter found a successor to Andrés Pérez who was qualified not only as tuner and repairer but also as organ builder, Gaspar Martínez. After two years without regular salary, he was on April 20, 1563, hired at an annual salary of 200 pesos *de oro de minas*²¹ and formally inducted March 23, 1564.²² On January 31 of that year, prompted by the new bishop translated from Santiago de Cuba, Bernardino Villalpando, the chapter decreed that throughout the coming Lent, the *Salve Regina* must be sung polyphonically, with all members of the chapter present and all wearing surplices.²³ On March 20, 1571, Gaspar Martínez's eleven years of faithful cathedral service as organ repairer, tuner, and player, were rewarded with a salary raise. The chapter minutes of that date mention his being a married man with children and testify to his being an "honorable and worthy person."²⁴

Up to 1570 the capitular acts mention no maestro de capilla. At last on January 5, 1570, the newly appointed oidor Matheo de Arévalo Sedeño arrived,²⁵ bringing with

¹⁵Mexico City, *Libro Primero de las Actas, y Determinaciones Capitulares* [1536-1559], fol. 170^v.

¹⁶*Liber Capituli . . . Desde 1573*, fol. 18 (second foliation).

¹⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 18^v: "un libro grande de Canto de organo de las quinze missas."

¹⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 44: "se conpro para esta Sancta iglesia vna libreria de canto para el seruicio de choro la qual traya el dean don Francisco de Alegrias que sea en gloria son onze cuerpos de pergamino santoral psalterio dominical oficerio prosero todos los quales fueron tasados por herdo de vellica escriptor de libros//1500 pesos."

¹⁹*Ibid.*, fol. 30.

²⁰Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), pp. 152, 154, 158.

²¹*Liber Capituli . . . Desde 1573*, fol. 18 (second foliation).

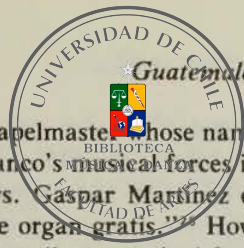
²²*Ibid.*, fol. 75^v.

²³*Ibid.*, fol. 86.

²⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 65^v: "Yten la salve se ha de dezir toda cuaresma con canto de organo y ha de asistir a ella todos los SS^{tes} prebendados y beneficiados y capellanes con sus sobrepellices sobre pena abaxo declarada."

²⁵*Ibid.*, fol. 108^v. The discussion on his merits began thus: "Y presentado la dha peticion y por los dhos señores dean y cabildo vista. dixeron que atento que les consta que el dicho gaspar martinez a seruido en esta santa yglesia el dicho tiempo [de onze años] y que es casado y tiene mujer e hijos. y que tiene concertados los organos y templados y si otro entrase seria necesario enbiar por persona que los aderesase y concertase en lo qual, no se podra dexar de gastar dineros."

²⁶Pardo, *Ejemérides*, p. 19. Agustín Estrada Monroy, *Datos para la historia de la iglesia en Guatemala, Tomo I* (Guatemala: Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala, 1973 [Biblioteca "Goathemala," Volumen XXVI], p. 163, records Hernando Franco's witnessing of a cathedral document dated March 3, 1571. On the same date his cousin Alonso de Truxillo was cura of the cathedral.



him Hernando Franco, the first chapelmaster whose name enters the acts and whose music survives at Guatemala.²⁶ Franco's musical forces in 1573 included at least six adult singers²⁷ and eight choirboys. Gaspar Martínez earned 200 pesos that year "because he is constructing a large organ gratis."²⁸ However, in an undated act of 1573 the chapter complained that swollen costs had forced a general abatement of musicians' salaries.²⁹ By implication, Franco's yearly salary as maestro de capilla—300 pesos in 1573—had previously exceeded that amount, his cousin Truxillo's had exceeded 100 pesos for singing, Gamboa's had exceeded 100 for being succentor and 50 for singing, and so on through the remaining list of singers. No wonder then that Franco and his cousin Truxillo succumbed to the enticements of Mexico City Cathedral, where Franco became maestro de capilla May 20, 1575, at an annual salary of 600 pesos *de tepuzque*. Bishop Villalpando was succeeded at Guatemala March 9, 1594, by the severe Jeronymite Gómez Fernández de Córdova (bishop of Nicaragua 1562–1574, of Guatemala 1574 to his death July 13, 1598). No immediate attempt seems to have been made to find a replacement for Franco as Guatemala Cathedral maestro de capilla. Bishop Gómez Fernández de Córdova did favor Juan Gamboa, *cantor contrabaxo* and succentor, who was elevated to canon in September of 1579, but whom the chapter on October 10, 1579, deputed to continue joining the cathedral polyphonic ensemble "when needed."³⁰ Who directed such an ensemble in 1579? The names of cathedral chapelmasters during the last quarter of the century have not thus far been localized in Guatemala capitular acts. However, some deductions can be made, working backward from 1607. On January 16, 1607: "The position of maestro [de capilla] having been left vacant by the departure [for Puebla de los Ángeles] of Gaspar Fernandes, priest and former chapelmaster of this cathedral, it is now necessary to appoint a successor who will serve as maestro de capilla, so that in this cathedral divine office will be celebrated as heretofore and there will be [instrumental] music. Since Father Luys Rodríguez is a capable person, he is appointed chapelmaster at 400 pesos annual salary."³¹

Gaspar Fernandes was named organist, not chapelmaster, of Guatemala Cathedral July 16, 1599, at 200 pesos annual salary. On that date not he but rather Pedro Bermudes = Bermúdez was presumptively Guatemala chapelmaster—continuing as such to early 1603. At all events Bermúdez is present in Choirbook I at Guatemala

²⁶In January of 1967, the cathedral archive still boasted his Sixth Tone *Credidi propter quod locutus sum* [Psalm 115] a 4. This is the first item in a small miscellany of psalms, motets, and Magnificats. After verse 5 (*Ego servus*) in Franco's psalm comes the Gloria. The same anthology continues with another *Credidi* (Tone V) and a *Beatus vir* a 4 (Tone V), both unscribed.

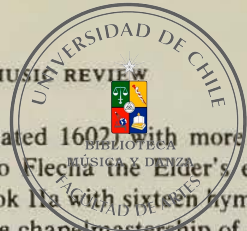
²⁷*Liber Capituli . . . Desde 1573*, fol. 2 (first foliation): "El padre [Alonso de] Truxillo [Franco's cousin] cura. de Cantor y Seruy^o de Coro, cient pesos. El mismo de Salario de Cura. Ciento y veinte pesos. = ccxx ps^o . . . El Padre Granados de Cantor [100 pesos] El Padre [Juan] Gamboa de off^o de sochantre [100 pesos] y cantor [50]. El Padre [Dionysio] Garces de seruicio de coro vestuario [50]. El Padre [Hieronimo del] Alamo de Coro y vestuario [50]. El Padre Maldonado choro y vestuario [50]." On April 27, 1574, Padre Diego Galauis was hired as singer at an annual 100 pesos de minas (*ibid.*, fol. 3).

²⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 2^v: "Martinez el organista 200 por Razon que hizo El organo grande de gracia."

²⁹*Ibid.*, fol. 3: "todos los quales dichos salarios por que solian ser muy ecesibos y se han moderado en lo que arriba se declara."

³⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 4^v: "asimesmo le nonbrauan y nonbraron pur tal sochantre mayor desta catedral con obligacion de cantar canto de organo quando se ofrezc . . ."

³¹*Ibid.*, fol. 62: "dixeron que Por aus^a y en lugar del padre gaspar fernandez presbitero maestro de capilla que fue desta s^{ta} yglesia, a quedado baco el d^{ho} magisterio. y Para que los dichos oficios se celebran como hasta aqui. y en esta s^{ta} yglesia aya musica. y canto de organo, es necesario nonbrar maestro de capilla que sirua el d^{ho} magisterio = y Por que /fol. 62^v/ el padre Luys Rodriguez Presbitero es tal persona . . ."



Cathedral (original copy dated 1602) with more items than anyone else (*Missa de Bomba* parodied on Mateo Flecha the Elder's *ensalada*, three antiphons, two invitatories), and in Choirbook Na with sixteen hymns. A native of Granada who when he competed in 1592 for the chapelmastership of Granada Cathedral was a Granada Royal Chapel minor chaplain and already priested,³² Pedro Bermudes = Bermúdez was on September 10, 1597, received as titular maestro de capilla at Cuzco Cathedral in Peru with an annual salary of 400 pesos *ensayados*.³³ According to the Cuzco Cathedral chapter minutes of that date, he had been acting chapelmaster there since August 1, 1597, and his salary was therefore backdated. Like his predecessor at Cuzco, Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo, Bermudes = Bermúdez soon departed. On October 29, 1597 an attempt was made to hold him with an added 200 pesos payable from Cuzco parish revenues.³⁴ How shortly thereafter he departed for Guatemala remains conjectural. In any event, he cannot have remained even in Guatemala more than the five years from 1598 to 1603. On February 4, 1603, the Puebla (Mexico) Cathedral voted to invite him, and on February 28, 1603, called him.³⁵

Gaspar Fernandes was the subject of an extensive biobibliographical study by Robert Stevenson, published in *Portugaliae Musica*, Série A, XXIX (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1976), xix-xxv and lx-lxxiv. That same volume, issued with the title *Vilancicos Portugueses*, included two of his fetching six-voice vilhancicos, *Pois con tanta graça* and *Botay fora* (pp. 35-42, 43-48), both with Portuguese texts. To quote from Fernandes's biography in that volume:

In 1590 Évora Cathedral hired twelve musicians, two as shawmers, two as sackbuts, one as bassist and shawmer, the rest as singers. The most famous-to-be of the lot, Filipe de Magalhães, earned 3\$000, the same amount paid every other musician on the cathedral payroll except two junior singers at 2\$000 each and the senior bassist and shawmer at 4\$000. Gaspar Fernandes earned two salaries, 3\$000 as singer, and another 2\$000 for undesignated services.³⁶ Cosme Delgado, titular chapelmaster of Évora Cathedral since April 3, 1563, died September 17, 1596. Manuel Mendes, head of the Évora Cathedral choir-school (*mestre de claustra*) from about 1582 to his death at Évora September 24, 1605, not only taught Magalhães and Duarte Lobo, but also probably all of Magalhães's fellow singers in the 1590 census.³⁷

On July 16, 1599, Guatemala Cathedral hired Gaspar Fernandes, by now a priest, as both

³²José López Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada: Fundación Rodríguez Acosta, 1963), I, 298.

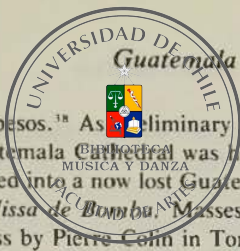
³³Cuzco Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, II, fol. 47: "atento a q esta en esta ciudad el m^{ro} P^o Bermudez abil y suffi.^e y en quien concurren las partes y calidades necess^{as} para el dicho ministerio le Recibian y Recibieron por maestro de capilla desta s^{ta} ygl^a con cargo (segun la declaraciõ de su s.^a) de que haga exercicio de musica y enseñe a los seises desta s^{ta} ygl^a y asista en ellos 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 catedrales de españa."

³⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 48.

³⁵Florencio M. Álvarez, *Índice Gral Tomo 1º 1539-1834* (MS in Puebla Cathedral), fol. 20^v: "Llamease a Pedro Bermudez para Maestro de Capilla." Álvarez cited fol. 264 of the now lost Volume V of Puebla Cathedral capitular acts as his source.

³⁶Antônio Francisco Barata, *Évora Antiga Notícias colhidas com afanosa diligencia* (Évora: José Ferreira Baptista, 1909), p. 47. Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, *A Música em Portugal nos séculos XVIII e XIX (Bosquejo de história crítica)* (Lisbon: Inácio Pereira Rosa, 1938), p. 38, equated *sacabuxas* with trombones and *baixão* with bassoon.

³⁷José Augusto Alegria, *História da escola de música da Sé de Évora* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1973), p. 38: quoting Tomé Álvares's letter to Baltazar Moretus of March 5, 1610 ("Manuel Mendes mestre de Duarte Lobo, e de toda a boa música deste Reino").



organist and organ tuner for 200 gold pesos.³⁸ As a preliminary condition he was required to "finish tuning the organ." By 1602 Guatemala Cathedral was hiring him as both maestro de capilla and organist. In that year he copied into a now lost Guatemala Cathedral choirbook six Masses, each a 4: Pedro Bermúdez's *Missa de Bumba*, Masses by Rodrigo de Ceballos³⁹ in Tones III and VIII, an unidentified Mass by Pierre Cohn in Tone VI, Cristóbal de Morales's *Missa sobre las voces* (hexachord), and Palestrina's *Missa Sine nomine* from the *Liber Secundus* of 1567 dedicated to Philip II. In the 1760's these same six Masses were recopied in what is now Choirbook I at Guatemala Cathedral.⁴⁰

Fernandes's next and final appointment took him to Puebla Cathedral. One of Gaspar Fernandes's chief qualifications for the post of maestro de capilla at Puebla Cathedral was his added ability to serve as organist. On September 15, 1606, he was received as Puebla maestro, with an annual salary of 500 gold pesos.⁴¹ Conformable with a testimonial brought with him, he left Guatemala July 12. His salary was therefore made retroactive to that departure date. One week later the cathedral chapter added another 100 pesos to his annual salary for taking care of the choirboys and training them.⁴² On September 23 the chapter went still further and named him organist.⁴³

His term there, lasting from September 15, 1606, to his death 23 years later shortly before September 18, 1629,⁴⁴ belongs to Puebla Cathedral music history. But what does deserve emphasis before leaving Fernandes are the intimate ties binding Guatemala and Puebla throughout the entire seventeenth century. The calling of both Bermúdez and Fernandes from Guatemala to Puebla was no freak coincidence. Luis Luján Muñoz's "Nuevas aportaciones acerca de la introducción de la imprenta en Guatemala," *Antropología e Historia de Guatemala*, XII/1 (January, 1960), 47-62, amply documented a historical fact not previously recognized: namely, that throughout the entire colonial period (1570-1820), Guatemala's cultural and commercial links with Puebla were continuous and intense. Indeed, Puebla and Guatemala were for long periods more closely aligned culturally than Mexico City and

³⁸Guatemala Cathedral, *Libro de el Ill^{mo} Cabildo de Santiago de Guatemala delos aquerdos . . . que se acen desde el Año de 1599: en adelante*, fol. 16v: "por quanto el padre gaspar fernandes presbitero es diestro en la musica y terna cuydado de tañer el organo en esta cathedral atento a lo qual le nonbraban y nonbraron por organista con el salario de ducientos pesos de oro de minas con condicion que acabe de afinar los organos e los tenga todos afinados."

³⁹Bermúdez's Granada connections probably account for the masses by Rodrigo de Ceballos, chapelmaster of the Capilla Real at Granada from 1561 to his death in 1591.

⁴⁰Manuel José de Quiroz, the Guatemala chapelmaster who recopied them in the 1760's, added another six Masses, bringing the total in Choirbook I to twelve.

⁴¹Puebla Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, VI (1606-1612), fol. 23: "Reciuio Al padre gaspar frs presbitero que a benido de guatemala por maese de capilla que a sido llamado para este efecto . . ."

⁴²*Ibid.*, fol. 24 (September 22, 1606): "en este dia por el dho Dean y caulido se le señal^{on} de sal^o al padre gaspar fernandes presbitero maeso da capilla desta cathedral quinientos p^{os} de oro comun y que goze deste sal^o desde doze de Julio deste año de seys ci^{os} y seis que salio de guatemala para este ministerio como parecio por vn testimonio que presento autentico—y q esto se le pague cada año de la fabrica. Asymismo se le señal^{on} cien p^{os} de sal^o al dho maes^o de capilla gaspar frs por el cuydado de yndustriar a los moços de choro desta ygl^a y que goze deste sal^o desde oy vt^e y dos de set^e deste dho año en fabrica."

⁴³*Ibid.*, fol. 24v: "en el dho dia por el dho dean y caulido sede vacante dela dha catedral se nombro al padre gaspar fernandez maeso de capilla por sustituto del Racion^o Joan de ocanpo para que taña los organos della en los dias en esta señalado conforme al concierto y asiento q el dho Racio^o hizo al tpo q se Reciuio en la dha Racion y que goze de sal^o en cada a^o de treci^{os} p^{os} de oro comun pagados de la preuenda del dho Racion^o Ju^o de ocanpo conforme al dho asiento."

⁴⁴Puebla Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, IX (1627-1633), fol. 117r: "Que para el martes q viene, q se conatarun veinte y cinco deste mes se cite a cabildo Para nombrar maestro de capilla desta sancta Yg^a por hauer muerto El P^e Gaspar frz q lo fue."



Guatemala. Even Guatemala's first printer, José de Pineda Ibarra, was contracted not at Mexico City but at Puebla—where he resided until brought to Guatemala (arrived July 16, 1660).

By various accidents of transmission, Fernandes's entire extant oeuvre survives at Guatemala and Oaxaca Cathedrals. At Guatemala, his works are found in Choirbook IIab—a *libro de fascistol* of 259 leaves measuring 43 by 28 cm containing two foliations. His eight *Benedicamus Domino*, each a 4, in Choirbook IIb follow the usual numerical order: Tone I, folios 32^v-33; II, 46^v-47; III, 72^v-73; IV, 91^v-92; V, 112^v-113; VI, 138^v-139; VII, 158^v-159; VIII, 178^v-179. The latter includes a puzzle canon of the sort dear to Peninsulars from Alonso Lobo to Juan del Vado (*Canon a fine ad principium usque semel adque iterum semibreuia suisque pausas numera*).

At Oaxaca Cathedral, Fernandes's pieces are all in a yellow parchment-bound, 284-folio autograph miscellany (measuring 22 by 28 cm), most of which is taken up with his vernacular pieces. The earliest is dated 1609, three years after he reached Puebla, the latest 1620, two years before his successor at Puebla, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla arrived. Also, the miscellany contains a few Latin works and untitled organ pieces. Even were it no more than a record of the villancicos and chanzonetas sung at Puebla Cathedral during Fernandes's régime, the volume would be extremely valuable. But when it is further recognized as the earliest extensive collection of New World vernacular music thus far encountered anywhere, the volume leaps to the forefront of American musical treasures.⁴⁵

Unfortunately none of Fernandes's successors throughout the rest of the seventeenth century to 1698 seems to survive in the presently extant Guatemala Cathedral archives. Luys Rodríguez, hired January 16, 1607, soon tired of the chapelmaster-ship. The six adult singers on the cathedral payroll when he began consisted of three priests (Diego Velázquez, who in addition to polyphonic singing for 100 [tos]tones annual salary [1 toston = 4 reales] was succentor, Esteban de Águilar earning 100 tones for singing, Luys de Cueto earning an annual 20 pesos de minas [4 tones = 1 peso de minas]); one deacon (Mat[h]leo de Cúniga, earning 100 tones for singing and playing the bajón); one ordinand (Tomás Díaz del Castillo, earning 20 pesos de minas); and one student (Ambrosio de Peralta, 20 pesos de minas).⁴⁶ Within six months after taking office Luys Rodríguez was succeeded at the same chapelmaster's salary of an annual 400 tones = tostones by the erstwhile succenter and polyphonic singer, Padre Diego Velázquez (appointed July 6, 1607).⁴⁷ On April 18, 1608, the chapter discussed what should be done to provide the choirboys with a singing teacher: "although the [bull of] erection did not specify a person to teach the choirboys, it has always been customary to pay a small yearly sum to the person who teaches them."⁴⁸ At this, the cathedral treasurer reminded the chapter that former singing instructors had habitually taught not only choirboys but also clergy. To close the protracted discussion, the chapter hired the deacon Mateo de Cúniga at an annual 100 tones to give

⁴⁵For a page-by-page listing of the contents of the Oaxaca 284-folio manuscript, see either *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources*, pp. 194-204 or *Vilancicos portugueses (Portugaliae Musica, Série A, XXIX)*, lxxvii-lxxiv.

⁴⁶Guatemala Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, II (1599: en adelante [1599-1650]), fol. 63.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 64^v.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 65: "atento a la necesidad que ay de quien enseñe a cantar a los moços de choro y que aunque no este especificado en la erecion a sido siempre costumbre pagar a una Persona que los enseñe dandole un tanto cada año. . ."



both choirboys and interested adult clergy two singing lessons daily, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon.⁴⁹

That same day, April 18, 1608, Luis Martínez—putative son of the Gaspar Martínez formally appointed Guatemala Cathedral organist March 23, 1564—petitioned to succeed Ambrosio Lescaro as cathedral organist. The chapter responded by asking him to take the bench at 400 tones = 100 pesos de minas, rather than the 500 earned by Lescaro. Caught on the horns of a dilemma, the chapter had to admit that “neither in this city nor bishopric is there a competent keyboardist.” Therefore the canons could do naught else but accede with an appointment: not for life however, but “at the pleasure of the bishop [Juan Ramírez, Dominican, ruled the see from October 1601 to his death May 28, 1609⁵⁰] and this chapter.”⁵¹

How widely Luis Martínez’s fame spread during the next fourteen years can be documented by a *concierto* of July 13, 1623, found at the Archivo General de Centroamérica under call-number A 1 20, Legajo 4554, Expediente 38632. At folio 27 Luis Martínez, organist, agrees to give 16-year-old Simón de Herrera, a native of Chiapas, four month’s instruction for 80 tostones *de a 4 reales*—40 in advance, 40 at the end. In advance, Martínez guarantees that the youth will emerge knowing how to play Mass and Vespers at all chief feasts “to the satisfaction of competent judges” or else to keep teaching him free until he learns.

Diego Velázquez continued as maestro de capilla until at least 1609, on December 24 of which year the chapter voted him an extra 20 pesos for *aguinaldo* Masses.⁵² Luis Martínez continued as organist until at least May 10, 1630, on which date Padre Sebastián Rico Pasamonte was appointed maestro de capilla.⁵³ Already by the mid-1620’s, the Guatemala chapter obviously hankered after a musical establishment to ape Mexico City Cathedral. After the Guatemala secretary wrote the Mexico City chapter secretary for the needed data, folios 149 through 151 of the second book of Guatemala capitular acts even contain a complete catalogue dated December 1, 1623, of the Mexico City musical forces (each name being accompanied by function and salary). This catalogue specifies chapelmaster, master of the boys, succentor, 2 organists, 10 adult singing chaplains, 4 boy sopranos, 18 *músicos*, 8 *ministriles*.⁵⁴ Obviously nothing approaching so grandiose an establishment could be hoped for at

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, fol. 65^v: “Mateo de çuniga clerigo diacono . . . con cargo de que cada día a de dar dos licones de canto vna por la mañana y otra por la tarde /fol. 66/ a todos los moços de choro y muchachos que siruen en la dha sta yglesia y a los Clerigos que quisieren aprender el canto.”

⁵⁰Pardo, *Efemérides*, p. 38, cites March 24, 1609, as his date of decease (quoting Remesal, p. 1874).

⁵¹A.C., II [1599–1650], fol. 66: “atento a que en esta ciudad ni obispado no ay quien sepa de tocar tecla y que se comunique con el s^r obispo. Y que este nombramiento sea por el tiempo que fuere la voluntad del s^r obispo y deste Cauildo.”

⁵²*Ibid.*, fol. 77.

⁵³*Ibid.*, fol. 160^v: “se monbro por M^o de Capilla al p^e Sebastian Rico pasamonte para la sochantria al p^e Pedro Ortiz para organista a Luis martinez.” The six *capellanes de coro* are individually named at folio 161.

⁵⁴This list of Mexico City Cathedral musicians copied at folios 149 through 151 of the Guatemala Cathedral *Libro de el III^o Cabildo de Santiago de Guatemala delos aquerdos . . . que se acen desde el Año de 1599: en adelante*, defectively copied, enters Agustín Estrada Monroy’s *Datos para la historia de la iglesia en Guatemala*, I [1973], pp. 263–264. He misreads not only the names (Rodrigo Mata instead of correctly Rodríguez Mata, López de Lejarda for López de Legarda) but also makes the mistake of crediting all these musicians to the Guatemala Cathedral establishment, rather than the Mexico City Cathedral. Well intentioned but lamentably inaccurate, he so often betrays himself adrift at sea, that everything he writes concerning music must be confirmed from original documents.



Guatemala until the Holy See and the Crown revised the erection bull to include salaries for at least maestro de capilla and succentor. Whereas *fábrica* funds at Mexico City paid chapelmaster, succentor, and organists, not Crown subsidy but locally collected tithes paid the pittance received by all musicians at Guatemala. The resulting wound pained the Guatemala chapter ever the more severely when the Royal Audiencia at Guatemala tried interfering in cathedral musical appointments during the late 1620's. To stop it, the chapter on January 5, 1630, publicly rebuked the Audiencia for such attempted meddling in the appointments of "cathedral major-domo, succentor, chapelmaster, organist, and doorkeeper."⁵⁵

Bartolomé González Soltero (1585–1650), the second Guatemala bishop born and educated at Mexico City, stressed ceremonial. Arriving in December of 1644, he at once insisted that the cathedral chapter secretary lengthily describe every major cathedral ceremonial. The first descriptions (January 6 and February 2, 1645) mention organist and singers' roles.⁵⁶ On May 29, 1645, a new bell of 32 quintales cast by Alonso de Buenaventura (and blessed May 24, 1622, by the first Mexico City-born bishop of Guatemala, Juan Zapata y Sandoval) was hoisted into a tower expressly built to contain it.⁵⁷ That no ceremony failed to include music by a wide variety of instruments can be documented from the chapter minutes of only one month—September of 1645: "all the while that divine office was being conducted, the cathedral resounded with [the music of] various instruments" (September 17); "both morning and evening was heard the music of various instruments" (same day); "[on the fourth day of the novena] a litany was sung polyphonically, to the accompaniment of various instruments" (September 19); "that day [September 24] two villancicos were sung in the *coro*, accompanied in different parts of the cathedral by three [dispersed] bands of instrumentalists."⁵⁸

On August 20, 1647, the chapter fired the priest Juan Santos de Sosa, player of *bajoncillo*. "For a long time he has been truant from *coro*, thus causing notable lack; but our warnings have not been heeded," complained the chapter.⁵⁹ Having earned a yearly 50 pesos as *bajón* and *bajoncillo* player, he was succeeded by Juan Román, a young chorister hired for 30 pesos *de a ocho reales*. The other 20 pesos of the 50 went to Urbán de San Paulo, "an Indian from the Santo Domingo district [in the city]."⁶⁰

What kinds of instruments, apart from *bajones* and their treble counterparts, *bajoncillos* = *bajonsillos*, invaded seventeenth-century Guatemalan ecclesiastical

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, fol. 158: "Dijeron Por quanto los officios de mayordomo desta cathedral sochantre maestro de capilla organista y Pertiguero no estan aun Eregidos en ella ni se pueden erigir sin horden de su magestad. Y porque esta R¹ audiencia que en esta Ciu^d Reside pretende que los dhos officios se probean conforme al R¹ patronasgo de su mag^d yo entienden les an de compelear a ello por tanto en la mejor via y forma que aya lugar . . . protestauan y protestaron vna dos y tres bezes. Y todas las que son necesarias."

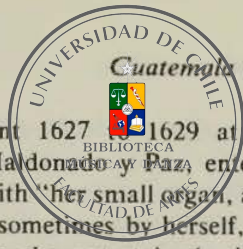
⁵⁶*Ibid.*, fol. 323^v.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 327.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, fols. 343 ("Y todo el tiempo que dieron lugar los diuinos officios vbo mussica en la Yglesia de Varios instrumentos"), 344 ("Y todo el tiempo que dieron Lugar los officios Diuinos assy Por la mañana como a la tarde vbo en la Sancta Yglessia Musica de Varios Instrumentos"), 344^v ("Se canto vna Letania en canto de organo [repeat of phrase concerning instruments]), 346^v ("en el chorose cantaron dos villansicos y en diferentes partes de la yglesia vbo el dicho dia tres ternos de Musica de Varios instrumentos").

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, fol. 387: "Joan Sanctos de Sossa, pbro. exercia el officio de tocar bajonsillo en la capilla de choro . . . de mucho tiempo a esta parte ha hecho continuas faltas en el choro de que ha seguido nota culpable . . ."

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 387^v: "nombraron para el mesmo exercicio de Tocar los bajones a Vrban de San Paulo indio del barrio de Sancto Domingo a el qual se señalaron veinte Pessos de a ocho R¹."



precincts? Thomas Gage who spent 1627-1629 at Antigua reports that a Conceptionist nun, Sor Juana de Maldonado y Paz, entertained the aged Bishop Zapata y Sandoval (ca. 1548-1630) with "her small organ, and many sorts of musical instruments, whereupon she played sometimes by herself, sometimes with her best friends of the nuns; and especially she entertained with music her Bishop."⁶¹ However, despite Gage's flair for minutiae he does not actually specify the "many sorts of musical instruments." In 1673 those played in the cathedral during the weeklong (January 23-30) festivities for the canonization of the Mercedarian redeemer of captives, Peter Pascual (1227-1300) included *harpas*, *vigüelas*, *violones*, y *rabeles* (harps, guitars, bass viols, and rebecks).⁶² That same year (May 19, 1673), the organ builder Lorenzo Gutiérrez contracted to repair and complete the two organs in the cathedral (Archivo General de Centroamérica, A 1 20, Legajo 528, Expediente 9031, fols. 95-96). Seven years later, a newly built (1669-1680) cathedral structure was dedicated amid open-air festivities involving *cajas*, *atabales*, *clarines*, *trompetas*, *marimbas* y *todos los instrumentos de que usan los indios* ("side drums, big drums, clarions, trumpets, marimbas, and all those instruments used by the Indians").⁶³

The cathedral maestro de capilla in 1680 was the priest Nicolás Márquez Tamariz. During dedication week (beginning Sunday November 6, ending the next Sunday) he conducted two of the three participating choirs that joined in singing polychoral vespers. Luis de Cubillo, succentor, conducted the third choir.⁶⁴ According to rules in force since May 16, 1665, Guatemala Cathedral vespers on any day involving polyphony began at 3, with warning bell at 2:30.⁶⁵

⁶¹[The English-American his Travail by Sea and Land: Or a New Survey of the West-Indias (London: R. Cotes for Humphrey Blunden, 1648)] = *Thomas Gage's Travels in the New World*, ed. by J. Eric S. Thompson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 191.

⁶²García Peláez, *op. cit.*, II, 295, citing Roque Núñez [de León], *Diario Celebre, solemne novenario, pompa festiva, aclamacion gloriosa, con que la muy avgvsta, y religiosissima Provincia de la Presentacion de Goatemala, del Orden Real de Nuestra Señora de la Merced . . . Celebró, con regosijados jubilos, y filiales afectos El Culto Immemorial Del siempre Inclito . . . S. Pedro Pasqual de Valencia* (Guatemala: Joseph de Pineda Ybarra, 1673), chapter 3. In chapter 9 of his bulky quarto (copy at Boston Public Library) Núñez says the villancico there printed was sung with harp accompaniment.

Concerning the extremely rich and important Mercedarian Provincia de la Presentación (which from 1561 to 1621 included Mexico and all Central America except Panama) see Héctor Humberto Samoya Guevara, "Historia del establecimiento de la orden mercedaria en el reino de Guatemala, desde el año de 1537 hasta 1632," *Antropología e Historia de Guatemala*, IX/2 (June, 1957), 30-43.

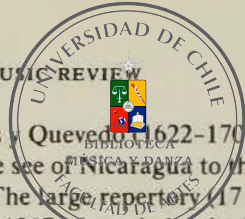
⁶³Domingo Juarros, *Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala*, 3rd ed. (see footnote 6), II, 245. These instruments accompanied a procession through the plaza the night of November 10, 1680. Juarros copied the details of his account from Diego Félix de Carranza y Córdova, *cura de Jutiapa* (II, 247).

For details concerning construction of the "second" cathedral in Antigua, see Ernesto Lemoine Villicaña, ed., "Historia sucinta de la construcción de la catedral de Guatemala escrita en 1677 por don Gerónimo de Betanzos y Quiñones," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* (Mexico), segunda serie, II/3 (1961), 405-430; Luis Luján Muñoz, "Noticia breve sobre la segunda Catedral de Guatemala," *Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala*, XXXIV (1961), 61-82; and Jorge Luján Muñoz, "Sebastiano Serlio y las Catedrales de Santiago de Guatemala y Ciudad Real de Chiapas," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), 44 (1975), 103-121.

Skipping forward 65 years from the dedication of the "second" cathedral in 1680 to 1745: among instruments joining the cathedral celebrations in mid-November 1745 (erection of Guatemalan archbishopric) was the marimba—according to Antonio de Paz y Salgado, *Las luces del cielo de la Iglesia Difundidas en el Emisferio de Guathemala* (Mexico City: María de Ribera, 1747), p. 28 (first foliation).

⁶⁴Juarros, II, 243: "por la tarde se cantaban las vísperas con grande armonía, como que en todas las funciones de iglesia de este octavario hubo tres coros de música, dirigidos dos por el P. Nicolás Márquez Tamariz, Maestro de Capilla, y el otro por el P. Luis de Cubillo, Sochantre."

⁶⁵*Libro III del III^o Dean i Cabildo de Guat.^a Año de 1650*, fol. 99.



Fray Andrés de las Navas y Quevedo (1622-1701), the native of Baza in Andalusia who was translated from the see of Nicaragua to that of Guatemala in 1683, belonged to the Mercedarian order. The large repertory (17 villancicos, 3 Latin works)⁶⁶ extant in Guatemala Cathedral in 1967 of music by the Barefoot Mercedarian friar long at Seville, Fray Felipe de la Madre de Dios may reflect Bishop Navas y Quevedo's interests. Shortly after his arrival, the Guatemala maestro de capilla was Marcos de Quevedo, who was represented in the Guatemala Cathedral archive (in 1967) by an end-of-century villancico, *Que siendo al Señor muy seruido* subtitled *Barquerillo Nuevo a 7 de Navidad año de 1699*. Divided between two choirs, the singers (tiple, alto, tenor; tenor, tenor, baxo) decide that "Since Our Lord may be very pleased at any moment to take us away from all cares—especially in the present season of frolic and familiarities, nothing better accords us in this century (Our Lord giving us His most holy grace) than to sing pretty carols."⁶⁷

Only the year previously, however, Quevedo had felt far from frolicsome. On May 2, 1698, along with the succentor and two others, he had confronted the cathedral chapter with "a petition alleging that some [cathedral] singers had formed their own separate choir and are singing around in various places against superior mandate."⁶⁸ No less injuriously, the two singers at the helm of the other choir—Sebastián de Castellanos and Pedro de Paz—were collecting their tips from the cathedral *provisor*, rather than from their rightful superior, the maestro de capilla. (So far as colonial annals go, this kind of abuse was not unique. As early as 1651 the Mexico City Cathedral chapelmaster Fabián [Pérez] Ximeno battled the problem of a competing choir [*Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*, pp. 73-74].)

Because of failure to comply with all his own stipulated duties, Quevedo probably had himself to blame for the competition. On February 4, 1701, the chapter again reprehended him for failing to teach any of the seminarians.⁶⁹ "It is a notorious fact that in all the long years that he has drawn a yearly salary for instructing them, his duties as maestro de capilla have prevented his teaching them with the needed regularity and punctuality."⁷⁰

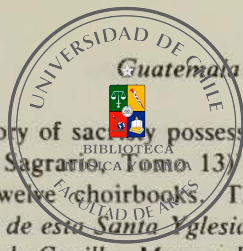
⁶⁶*Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources*, pp. 70, 89.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p. 94. "Que siendo al Señor muy seruido Puede en vn instante sacarnos de cuydados y mas quando en los Tiempos presentes todas son chanzas y famarallas y no ay tal cosa como cantar lindos Villancos en el siglo presente dandonos el Señor su Santissima Gra."

⁶⁸*Libro III del III^e Dean i Cabildo*, fol. 198: "los Blleres Marcos de Quevedo M^{to} de Capilla, Antonio Velasco Carlos de la Barreda, y Joseph de Castro sochantre presentaron una peticion diciendo que algunos cantores de la Capilla auian formado Capilla aparte yendo a cantar a otras partes contrauiendo a lo mandado por el Gouierno Superior . . . por la qual dhos Señores Benerable Dean y Cabildo dixeron se les notificasse no formassen Capilla aparte so pena que darian quenta a dho Gouierno Superior paraque fuesseen castigados."

⁶⁹The third bishop of Guatemala, Fray Gómez Fernández de Córdova, founded the diocesan Seminario Conciliar August 24, 1597. The student body consisted of nine regulars in training for the priesthood plus fifteen extra adolescent paying pupils. See Estrada Monroy, *Datos*, I, 183-194, for the founding decree.

⁷⁰*Libro III del III^e Dean i Cabildo*, fol. 212v: "Marcos de Quevedo auiendo sido requerido por dhos Señores en diuersas ocasiones, y con diuersos autos no ha executado el ençeñar a ningun collegial como es patente, y notorio en todo el tiempo, y en tantos años como ha exersido dho officio, y gozado de dha renta annual, que no menos porque con la ocupacion de Mro de Capilla no puede asistirlas con la puntualidad que requiere la enseñansa, y educacion de los Collegiales . . ." The chapter had deputed succentor Joseph de Castro to teach them in 1701, but at the February 4 (1701) meeting relieved Castro in favor of the *bachiller* Antonio Velásquez, recommended by the Seminario Conciliar rector, Francisco Dávila Valenzuela. According to the rector, Velásquez who was *presbítero* and *capellán de coro* had already for some time been giving both the *Collegiales*, y *pupilos* regular music lessons: "he shows notable zeal for their advancement in an understanding of the art" ("asistia con notable vigilancia a enseñarles esmerandose en la espicacion del arte").



In 1704—according to an inventory of sacral possessions dated September 15, 1704 (Archivo de la Parroquia de Sagrado Corazón, tomo 13)⁷¹—the polyphonic archive under Quevedo's care included twelve choirbooks. The inventory in question (*Ynventario de los libros de el Coro de esta Santa Yglesia Catedral. Los de Organo que estan a cargo de el P. Maestro de Capilla, Marcos de Quevedo, y los de Canto llano que estan a cargo de el P. Sochantre, Joseph de Castro*) is none too specific. Nonetheless it does individualize a book of Morales's Masses, a book containing Guerrero's Masses and "other works," and ten books containing Masses, Magnificats, psalms, passions, lamentations, motets, and other vespers music by "various authors." In addition, the inventory mentions (folio 43) a folder containing the *Missa de Beata es coelorum Regina de Xptoual Morales*.

Quevedo's successor as maestro de capilla was the priest Simón de Castellanos, who entered no later than 1730 (probably much earlier)⁷² and who renounced the post shortly before February 21, 1736.⁷³ The *Te Deum* à 4 Con Violines y Trompas sung under his direction Sunday, July 2, 1730, for the new bishop's installation⁷⁴ is a thoroughly up-to-date F Major dotted-rhythm outburst—such as the Mexican-born prelate Juan Gómez de Parada y Mendoza (ca. 1676 [Compostela, Nayarit]–1751 [Guadalajara, Jalisco]), who before being consecrated a bishop taught at Salamanca University 1706–1709,⁷⁵ might well have heard Antonio de Yanguas conduct under similar circumstances in Salamanca Cathedral.⁷⁶ Simón de Castellanos's urge to stay abreast of current trends can be documented not only from this *Te Deum* but also from performance dates of works still extant in the cathedral archive in 1967 by the two paramount Madrid court composers, José de Torres [Martínez Bravo] (1665–1738) and Antonio Literes [Carrion] (1673–1747).⁷⁷ Torres's *Alternen armonias. Vill^{co} Con Violines y Clarin A 8 y a 4* was sung in 1730. A cover note on Torres's *Dulces Paxarillos* says: "Se dispuso con letra humana, q comienza, Ola Paxarillos, Compuesta por Dⁿ Simón de Castellanos (q. s.^{ta} Gloria aya)" ["fitted with secular text beginning 'Hail, birdlings' by the late Simón de Castellanos"]. The following two Literes Sacrament tributes in the Guatemala cathedral archive testify to their performance during Simón de Castellanos's régime by reason of

⁷¹Alfred E. Lemmon, "Dos Fuentes de Investigación para la Música Colonial Guatemalteca," *Heterofonia*, 65 [XII/2] (March–April, 1979), 31. All the specifics concerning the 1704 inventory were his discovery while a grantee of the Matilda Geddings Gray Foundation in 1977. He also discovered the organ builder Lorenzo Gutiérrez's May 19, 1673, contract with the cathedral.

⁷²Pardo, *Ejemerides*, p. 169, recorded his decorating of the float carrying the five boys who welcomed the newly arriving bishop, Juan Gómez de Parada y Mendoza with a loa July 4, 1730. For further reference to bachiller Simón de Castellanos's part in the welcome ceremonies see José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Guatemala (1660–1821)* (Santiago de Chile: En Casa del Autor, 1910), p. 76.

⁷³*Libro 4^o Del III^e Dean y Cab^{do} de Guat^a Año de 1726*, fol. 93: "Su Sria Yllma [Juan Gómez de Parada y Mendoza] propuso que al presente se hallan vacas tres Capellanias de el choro della Sta Ygla, la una por muerte de el sochantre Don Juan de Altamirano, y los dos p^a renuncia que hizieron Dⁿ Simon de Castellanos, M^{ro} de Capilla de esta Ygla, y el B^e Dⁿ Fran^{co} de Pineda. Y assi mesmo hallarse vaca la sochantria."

⁷⁴Estrada Monroy, *Datos*, I, 432, published the first page of the Tenor part and assigned it No. 37 in the Sección Musical of the Archivo Eclesiástico de Guatemala.

⁷⁵Enrique Esperabé Arteaga, *Historia pragmática é interna de la Universidad de Salamanca, tomo segundo* (Salamanca: Francisco Núñez Izquierdo, 1917), p. 646. On page 644 Esperabé Arteaga cites the Carta Real of November 18, 1673, fixing the term of a *cátedra cursatoria* at three non-renewable years.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 672. After an unspecified term as Salamanca cathedral maestro de capilla, Yanguas (died October 26, 1753) succeeded Tomás de Mizieres the Younger as university music professor November 2, 1718, holding the chair until retirement in about 1740.

⁷⁷*Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources*, pp. 88, 102.



the dates on their covers: *Quando unque señor. Cant.^a Al SSanto,^{mo} Con Viol^l, 1733* for accompanied tenor solo (parts include oboe) and *Ruidosas Trompas. Vill^{co} Al SS^{mo} A 4 Con V^o Oboe y Tromp^{as}, 1736*.

Although the cathedral act of February 21, 1736, specifies no reason for Simón de Castellanos's resignation, musicians' salaries were six months in arrears on July 2, 1734.⁷⁸ On May 28, 1736, while on an episcopal visitation of the diocese, Bishop Gómez de Parada y Mendoza wrote the chapter announcing his promotion to the see of Guadalajara.⁷⁹ His successor, Fray Pedro Pardo de Figueroa (1683–1751; in 1699 entered the monastery of the *mínimos* de San Francisco de Paula), took possession of the Guatemalan see September 22, 1737. A native of Lima, he made his brilliant mark in Spain between 1712 and 1736, in which latter year he returned to the New World to be consecrated bishop of Guatemala by the archbishop of Mexico September 8. Eight years later the Guatemala diocese was raised to an archbishopric. On March 7, 1738, he approved the appointment of Manuel José de Quiroz, a native-born Guatemalan⁸⁰ and a "vecino desta ciudad" ("resident of this city") [Antigua Guatemala], to be cathedral maestro de capilla and "maestro de Canto de nuestro Colegio Seminario."⁸¹ His brother, also a composer, was Fray Francisco de Quirós = Quiroz of the Dominican order. Choirbook III, folios 22^v–23, at Guatemala Cathedral testifies to his brother's skill with a plangent *Sancta Maria succurre miseris*, bearing this legend: "Motete a 4 voces por Fr. Francisco de Quiros en Guatemala Religioso Dominicano,⁸² Hermano de Manuel de Quiros."

Manuel José de Quiroz continued as Guatemala cathedral chapelmaster until his death in 1765,⁸³ whereupon he was succeeded as cathedral maestro de capilla by his nephew and pupil Rafael Antonio Castellanos.⁸⁴ The transcendent glory bolstering

⁷⁸*Libro 4^o Del III^e Dean y Cab^{do}*, fol. 60: "El S^e Arcediano propuso ser ya tiempo de que se paguen sus salarios a los Capellanes de Coro, y demas Ministriles los seis meses corridos desde dos de Henero."

⁷⁹Estrada Monroy, *Datos*, I, 436. Estrada Monroy rightly praises Bishop Gómez de Parada y Mendoza for his musical zeal. However, he errs in supposing that Leonardo Vinci (1690–1730) was ever *vicemaestro de la Capilla Real de la Iglesia de Guatemala* [should be Naples] (I, 435). He aggravated this *lapsus calami* by presuming that Vinci's works were sung in Guatemala Cathedral during Gómez de Parada y Mendoza's episcopate.

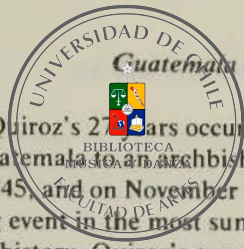
⁸⁰*Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala*, XXII/1–2 (March–June, 1947), p. 15. According to García Peláez, *Memorias* (1852), II, 296, Captain Antonio Ernandes de Quirós was probably his father. According to Medina, *La imprenta en Guatemala*, pp. xxxix, 77, and 385, Manuel José de Quirós before becoming cathedral maestro de capilla administered a press owned by the Guatemala Franciscan *convento* that in 1730 issued Domingo Boburs's *Pensamientos christianos* and in 1729 or 1730 a five-leaf missionary pamphlet.

⁸¹Archivo General de Centroamérica, Sección A 1 23, Legajo 4613 [1742–1745], fol. 85. According to this *petición*, Simón de Castellanos died in about 1738.

⁸²The first famous native-born Quirós in Guatemalan Dominican annals was Fray Juan de Quirós, son of Pedro de Paz y Quiñónez and Ana Velásquez. He took the habit in the Guatemala Dominican *convento* February 6, 1642, and died the same day that he was elected provincial, June 13, 1674. See Francisco Ximénez, *Historia de la provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala de la Orden de Predicadores. Libro Quinto* (Guatemala: Tip. Nacional, 1973 [Biblioteca "Goathemala," XXIX]), 129–130. Medina, *La imprenta en Guatemala*, lists five imprints or reprints of his devotional works between 1665 and 1818.

⁸³Manuel José de Quiroz's *testamento* dated March 18, 1755, occupies folios 22–25 in Legajo 995 (A 1 20), at the Archivo General de Centroamérica.

⁸⁴*Libro VI . . . comienza el año de 1789*, fol. 29: "Entrega y donacion, q^e hizo a esta S^{ta} Igl^a el finado Mtro de Capilla Rafael Antonio Castellanos." In this *entrega* he dates his appointment as cantor in 1745, and as maestro de capilla in 1765 on his uncle's death. See below, footnote 100. Rafael Antonio Castellanos's will dated February 12, 1784, with codicil dated July 19, 1791, survives at the Archivo General de Centroamérica (codicil is in A 1 20, Legajo 931, fols. 55–58).



Guatemala cathedral music during Quiroz's 27 years occurred February 28, 1744. As a result of Benedict XIV's raising Guatemala to an archbishopric, apostolic letters arrived in Guatemala September 13, 1745, and on November 14, Pardo de Figueroa was endued with the pallium as crowning event in the most sumptuous week of cathedral ceremonial yet known in Guatemala history. Quiroz's own illustrious part—recorded by Paz y Salgado⁸⁵—gives him the distinction of being the first native-born Guatemalan composer praised in a contemporary publication.

So far as any other biographical details concerning "Manuel Joseph de Quiròs"—as he signed himself March 18, 1755, at the close of his will drawn before the royal notary José Matías de Guerrero (see footnote 83)—are concerned, the following additional data come to light in his *testamento*.

He begins by declaring himself a native-born resident of [Antigua] Guatemala who is a legitimate son of the now deceased couple, both of whom were also [Antigua] residents, Miguel de Quiroz and Inés de Cuéllar ("natural y vezino de esta Ciudad de Santiago de Guatemala, hijo legitimo de Miguel de Quiròs y de Ynès de Cuellar mis Padres ya difuntos vecinos de esta dha Ciudad"). Although still in possession of all his faculties, he does now suffer from bad health ("hallandome con algunos quebrantos en la Salud, pero en mi entero Juicio, memoria y entendimiento"). He wishes to be buried in the cathedral Chapel of Souls, or of the Incarnation, as his reward for having spent an entire lifetime in cathedral service ("es mi Voluntad sea mi Cuerpo sepultado en la Capilla de las Animas de esta Santa Metropolitana Yglecia o en la dela encarnas.^{on} della, sobre q sup^{to} al Thesorero y los Sacristanes mayor y menor se siruan permitir mi entierro en vna de las dhas dos Capillas, por Amor de Dios en atension a hauer yo seruido dha Santa Yglecia toda mi vida"). Shrouded in the habit of St. Francis as worn in the missionary college, he wishes interment wearing chapelmaster's cassock and surplice—after the manner of Mexico City, Oaxaca, and Puebla cathedral chapelmaster burials ("mi Cuerpo ha de ser amortajado con el habito de nro P^r San Francicco del collegio de misioneros y ensima me ha de poner sotana y sobrepelis, como tal Mfo de Capilla segun assi es estilo ena Ciu.^a de Mexico Oaxaca y Puebla").

He attests having received two cartons of music when appointed chapelmaster. Also, he was then entrusted with two large *bajones*, plus a small called *tenorete*. The cathedral musician Juan Manuel Pellejeros now has one of the large bajones on loan. The second—used for a long time by the late bajón-player Francisco Vázquez—is so worn out as to be unplayable. The *tenorete* is being used by Félix the Mexican, who is also a cathedral singer ("Phelis Mexicano tambien Cantor"). So far as his own enrichment of music holdings goes: he will leave the cathedral a cabinet with eight drawers containing loose sheet music obtained by him; also, three large choirbooks. In the latter he attests having copied, at now deceased Archbishop Pedro Pardo de Figueroa's prompting, a polyphonic anthology. He sold one cathedral-owned violin for 35 pesos to buy the finest quality copying paper from Mexico City sources ("con destino de Comprar papel de Marca mayor . . . que se trajo dela Ciudad de Mexico").

He avers having faithfully discharged his duties as executor of Tomás de Estrada's estate. He bequeaths San Agustín friary and the Virgin of Carmen church [both at Antigua] twelve pesos each. The oboe belonging to the cathedral that he loaned to Ambrosio de Castro must be returned on demand ("Iten Declaro por pertenesiente a dha s^{ta} Yglecia Cathedral q se me entrega vn obùe el qual tiene en su Poder Ambrosio de Castro musico de dho coro quien es obliga^o dentregarlo cada y quando q sele pida"). Quiroz's reasons for not having loaned any of the

⁸⁵See footnote 63; also *Anales*, XXII/1-2, 15. Describing the ceremonies for the reception of the cathedral insignia, Paz y Salgado claimed that "in the solemn *Te Deum* sung by the harmonious cathedral choir directed by the famous maestro Quiroz, his signal skill and delicious modulations seemed to capture all the tunefulness and styles of Italy" ("un solemne *Te Deum*, que entonó la armoniosa capilla del coro, gobernada por su famoso maestro Kiroz, en cuya diestra pericia, y suaves modulaciones parece se ha pasado todo el aire, y estilos de Italia").



violins bought by Archbishop Pardo y Figueroa are twofold: each violinist already owns his own instrument; loaned violins get broken and lost ("pero nunca los quise entregar a los músicos—lo vno porq cada vno dellos tiene Violín proprio y lo otro porq los quebraran y se perdieran—").

He itemizes certain small remembrance gifts to his niece Micaela de Castellanos, now resident in the local Immaculate Conception convent ("Convento dela Concep^{on} Purisima") and to a *beata* named Juana de Torres in the same convent. To his nephew Rafael de Castellanos he leaves a picture that at the moment is in the possession of Rafael's mother [Quiroz's sister] ("Yten Declaro, que en poder dela dha mi hermana Micaela tengo vn Ymagen de nro Señor dela piedad con su marco negro de Pintura, la que es mi Voluntad se le de a mi sobrino rafael de Castellanos"). Also he bequeaths to his beloved nephew some religious tracts, eight music books, and a lute with its accompanying book of tablature ("ocho [libros] de musica y vn Ynstrumento de Laut con su libro de cifra").

Immediately after death, he instructs his executors to collect the portion still owed him of his annual chapelmaster's stipend—230 pesos, and of the yearly salary of 100 pesos payable each August 28 for being singing instructor in the archdiocesan seminary ("Maestro de Canto del Collegio Seminario"). He leaves a sealed inventory of his possessions to be opened by his executors, Joaquin de Arévalo and José de Alvarado, both residents [of Antigua]. They shall sell everything for the benefit of his sister Micaela de Quiroz, and his nephew Rafael de Castellanos. However, she may retain any pictures. His bedclothing shall go to the local hospital for the poor. He acknowledges having no lineal descendants or claimants whatever on his estate ("Y en atension a no tener herederos forzosos").

Paz y Salgado also testifies to Quiroz's mastery of Italian style. A short sampling of the opera excerpts and contrafacta presently in the Guatemala cathedral music archive will illustrate holdings by Italians acquired during Quiroz's régime.⁸⁶

Ciampi, Francesco

Al agua marineros. Aria Sola, con Violines. En Ytaliano comienza: *Spera vicino il Lido* = y Trobada al S.^{or} S.^a Pedro Apostol

Conforto, Nicola

Oy es el dia de la gloria. Aria based on *Amico il fato* from *Siroe*

Corselli = Courcelle, Francesco

1. *Por mas que el Jilguerillo* 2. *Sube el fuego* 3. *Admite Señora* 4. *Qual Roca combatidas.* Aria^s 1.^a, 2.^a, 3.^a y 4.^a Dela Opera intitulada *La Cautela en la Amistad y Robo de las Sabinas* (1753)

Facco, Giacomo

Venid a ver sagalejos. Aria sola with continuo. Based on a secular aria (*El trinar*) preceded by recitative (*Es nuestra patrona Belona*)

Galuppi, Baldassare

De Dios la Madre Pura. Aria Con Violines, Oboes, y Tromp^a trobada a nra Señora. Original text: *Del labro che t'accende.*

Duro como una pena. Aria Con Violines Trobada a S.^r S.^a Pedro Apostol. Original text began: *Tu di saper procura doue il mio ben*

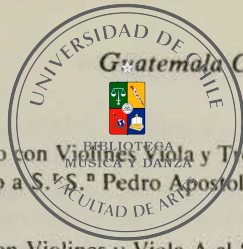
[Hasse, Johann Adolf⁸⁷]

No tanto la vella nube. Aria â la Ascension del Señor con Violines y Viola. "Se cantò en la estasion y en la hora [17]66" on cover.

Tus Luces bella Aurora. Duo Ytaliano con Violines, Violeta; Letra A La Concep.ⁿ

⁸⁶For additional entries and more detailed information, see *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources*, pp. 79-104, *passim*.

⁸⁷Variouslly "Sig.^r Gio. Adolfo" and "S.^r Sasone" on cover sheets.



Leo, Leonardo

Combite Peregrino. Duo al Santissimo con Violines y Viola y Tromp.^a Pospuestas. Alternate text: *O Pedro Peregrino*. Motete Duo a S.^{ra} S.^{ra} Pedro Apostol. Original Latin text began: *Dum surgit*

De Dios el efecto. Aria â Voz Sola, con Violines y Viola A el Santisimo Sacramento.

Ô Jesus, y que finezas. Alternate text *Dum regnare, ô Jesus chare*. Labeled: Motete de Tenor Solo con Violines, Viola, Oboes, y Trompas de Caja Para Santo Apostol, Confessor, ô Martyr. A recitative (*Gemit suspirat*) precedes the alternate text.

O tu que piedra os hace. Aria sola, con Violines, y Viola. Al S.^{ra} S.^{ra} Pedro Apostol. "S. Pedro [17]49" noted faintly at top of cover. Solo voice part abounds in difficult fiorituri.

Ya te proclaman los cielos. Solo, con Instrumentos. E♭ Major is the key of the Acomp.^{to} but strings (violins 1 & 2, viola) are in C (one-sharp signature, but F is constantly naturalized). Revised in [17]89, for "S.^{ta} Rosa" according to copyist's note on cover.

Logroscino, Nicola

Mi bien amor que es esto. Duo al Niño Dios Con Violines. Tiples 1 & 2, Violins 1 & 2, Viola. Ac. B♭ Major (one-flat signature). One of the few Guatemala items abounding in 32nd-notes.

Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista

Dichosa feliz. Aria con Violines p.^a Ascension. Soprano, 2 violins, basso continuo. C minor, 2/4

Si mi pecho te adora. Aria con Violines. 2 copies of solo voice part; in the more recent, text has been changed to start *Entre todas las Flores*

Porpora, Niccolò

Al Ravdal. Cantada al Santissimo. Madrid: En la Imprenta de Musica. 4. Papeles

Vinci, Leonardo

A sombros prevenid [Recitado] followed by *Divino portento* [da capo aria] Aria â Voz Sola Al Santissimo Sacramento Con Violines, Trompas, y Oboes. Sung 1762. A clumsily fitted alternate text for the same F Major music begins *Misterio singular nuevo sacramento*

Bendito el Señor. Aria â voz sola, con Violines para Santo, ô Santa. Bajo Solo, Violins 1 & 2, Ac; 12/8, C minor

Simultaneously with these just listed Italians, many of them active in Spain, Quiroz acquired at least 17 vernacular works by his Italian born contemporary, Ignacio Jerusalem, who was maestro de capilla at Mexico City Cathedral for two decades (died there in 1769). The Spaniards whose vernacular works he obtained for Guatemala Cathedral archive ranged from Sebastián Durón,⁸⁸ Juan Francés de Yribarren, Juan Hidalgo, Luis Bernardo Jalón, Diego de las Muelas, José de Nebra,⁸⁹

⁸⁸See *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*, p. 44, note 58, for alphabetical listing of Sebastián Durón's works at Guatemala. Works by the rest of the composers in the alphabetized list are itemized in *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources*.

⁸⁹Nebra's baker's dozen works at Guatemala eloquently testify to his New World reputation (archive call numbers, courtesy of Alfred E. Lemmon):

734 1. *Al tierno esposo amante* 2. *Delpielago violento*. Dos arias. Cantada sola al Santissimo con Violines. 1751. Revived 1786. Recitative (*Entre candidos vellos*) precedes first aria (Andante, E minor, 2/4). Neither first nor second aria (Allegro, G Major, 4/4) specifies the customary da capo.

752 *Bello Pastor*. Cantada Al Santiss.^{mo} Para Contralto, con Violines y Oboe. Plan: Recitative-Aria-Recitative-Aria.

746 *Ecce enim veritatem dilexisti*. Verso sacado del Miserere a Duo. Two tiples. Ac.

732 *Graue en mi pecho*. Aria con Violines al Sagrado Nombre de Maria. Note on cover: "Tiene Letra humana."



Fray Juan Romero,⁹⁰ Diego Joseph de Salazar, Jayme de la Te y Sagau⁹¹ and José de Torres Martínez Bravo,⁹² to Matías Juan de Veana. The exceptionally rich Guatemala holdings (14 items, some in duplicates) by Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco (1644–1728), paramount Lima Cathedral chapelmaster, doubtless testify to the patriotic zeal of the Peruvian-born archbishop who governed the Guatemala see from 1737 to his death in 1751, Pedro Pardo de Figueroa. The Mexican-born composer best represented is the incomparable Mexico City and Oaxaca maestro de capilla, Manuel de Zumaya (always spelled Sumaya in his dozen Guatemala vernacular items).

Nor did Quiroz's zeal for multiplying the cathedral archive stop with loose sheet

- 737 *Las Granaderas*. Baylete con Violines, y Trompas. Navidad, 1750. 3 triples, tenor, accompaniment. Trompas [= horns] at pitch in C-4 clef. Suite follows this sequence: [Canario] ♪, Seguidillas, Marcha and ¹⁶Allo A la Batalla, Tonalilla. G Major is the prevailing key.
- 735 *Llegad Llegad Creyentes*. Cantada con VV^s, Al SS^{mo}. Plan: Recitative-da capo Aria: Alma beve del Costado (Bb, ♯ marked "cantabile")-Recitative-final da capo Aria (A minor, 2/4, allegro). *Pues el destino*. Aria con Violines. "Es Humano, y tiene Letra a la Ascension de N^{ro} Señor / Volad Suspiros," note on cover.
- 738 *Pues el Sol divino, nacido se mira*. Baylete a 4 con Violines y Trompas. Ti Ti A Te, Ac. Shorter than *Las Granderas*, ends with Seguidillas in 3/4. Sung 1750; revived 1785.
- 733 *Que contrario Señor*. Cantada al Santissimo Con Violines. Soloist (soprano clef) sings: Rec-da capo Aria-Rec-da capo Aria. Revived 1784, 1795.
- 736 *Suenen resuenen*. Villancico a Quatro Con Violines y Clarin A la Concepcion de N^{ra} Señora, Año de 1762. Repeated in 1771.
- 739 *Vamosle buscando*. Juguete de Navidad. Pastoral a 3 Voses Con Violines y Oboe. Ti Ti Te, Vns 1 & 2, Oboe, Ac. After 6/8 canario comes a batalla in which the onomatopoeic tenor sings "tin" [rests], "tin" [rests], "tinritin"; a few words of text, then "tin tin [rests], tarantan." Coplas follow, with more of the same "tintin."
- 756 *Venid Almas creyentes*. Cantada Al Santiss^{mo} con VV^s, Para Contralto 1737. Parts include Oboe. After Recit.^{vo} comes da capo Aria: *Esta messa tan divina* (169 measures, F Major, 3/8), then another Recit.^{vo}, followed by final da capo: *Afectos amorosos* (72 measures, D Major, common meter).

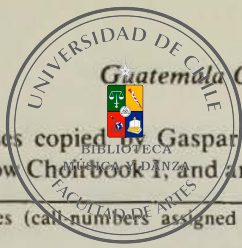
Ya rasga la Esfera. Aria a n^{ra} Señora. Con Violines, y Clarines pospuestos y no Obligados. Note on latter parts reads: "Clarines p^r Raphael" (= Castellanos). An interesting jotting on the cover of the accompaniment says: "fue a Ciudad real"; this means that the music was sometime loaned to the cathedral at the Chiapas city founded ca. 1530, now known as San Cristóbal de Las Casas.

⁹⁰Fray Juan Romero's villancicos at the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek are dated 1678 and 1680. Fray Francisco de Quirós = Quiroz added the copla to Fray Juan Romero's *Al arma, al arma*, Villancico a 4: a Santa Cecilia (Ti Ti A Te, Ac) performed in 1739 and revived in 1747 (dates on cover). Fray Juan Romero's two other works at Guatemala: *El Pan que en la mesa*. Quatro Al SS^{mo}, with "1738 Corpus" on the cover of the Acompañamiento, and another four-voice Sacrament villancico entitled *Que misterioso se ostenta*.

⁹¹Te y Sagau, a Catalanian, settled at Lisbon and directed a music press in the Portuguese capital from which were issued in 1721 his *Cantata a solo al Nacimiento* (36 cantatas for soprano and continuo; copies of both volumes at the Biblioteca Pública in Évora). The Coimbra University Biblioteca Geral copy of Te y Sagau's *Cantata humana. A solo. No mas amor en mi pecho. 4 papeles* (Lisbon: En la Imprenta de Musica en la calle de los libreros) is catalogued under Misc. vol. 25, no. 539. Te y Sagau cooperated with Francisco José Coutinho (a composer in the Guatemala archive), André da Costa, and Estêvão Ribeiro Francés in composing villancicos for a 1722 Lisbon festivity. Costa, Coutinho, and Te y Sagau are all three in Códice Pombalina 82, Lisbon National Library.

Of Te y Sagau's five works at Guatemala, the earliest performed was *Sus finezas amor eternisa*, with "tarde de Corpus de 1747" and "y en S^{ta} teresa la tarde" on the cover of the accompaniment. Twenty-one years later—now fitted with new text, *Vuestros timbres Señor*—it became a "villancico a 3 Vozes con Violin.^s a la Ascension del Señor. Pospuestos los Violines en Guathemala por Raphael Antonio Castellanos, año de 1768." Castellanos reworked two other Te y Sagau villancicos (1769 and 1788).

⁹²One of the most widely dispersed composers in New World archives, Torres Martínez Bravo is represented at Guatemala by the following sheet music, some of which reached the cathedral as early as



music. At his instance, the six masses copied by Gaspar Fernandes in 1602 were recopied at the beginning of what is now Choirbook 1, and another six "obtained from

Quevedo and Simón de Castellanos's régimes (can numbers assigned by Estrada Monroy, courtesy Lemmon):

671 *Afectos Amantes*. A 8. Cant^a Al Sant^{mo} Con Viol.^s y Oboe. Ti Ti A Te. Ti A Te B. Acomp^{to} Continuo. Handsomely copied parts in duplicate. G minor and related keys. Plan: Estr^o-Rec^{do}-Aria (da capo)-Rec^{do}.

618 *Afectos reverentes*. Villa.^{co} a 8. Con Viol.^s y Oboe.

625 *A la Reina del socorro*. V.^{co} A N S^a del Socorro. A 7. Con Clarin y Violin.^s Date on cover: September 15, 1702. "Pap.^s 12."

A la Roza. Solo A Santa Roza de Lima. Hand copy includes "Con priuilegio en Madrid," suggesting a printed original.

679 *Alternen armonias*. Vill^{co} Con Violines y Clarin A 8 y a 4. 1730.

620 *Ay que favor*. Cantada a Nuestra Señora. Madrid: Imprenta de Mvsica. "6 papeles."

638 *Cercadme Flores*. Cantada A1 SS. 6. Papeles. Madrid. Imprenta de Mvsica.

627, *Con Afecto*, y *Harmonia*. 4. Papeles. Madrid: Imprenta de Mvsica. On the cover of a duplicate copy:

628 "le puso Musica nueva Nolasco Estrada."

650 *Dulces Paxarillos*. Cover note says: "Se dispuso con letra humana, q comienza, Ola Paxarillos, Compuesto por D.ⁿ Simon de Castellanos (q. s.^{ta} Gloria aya)." It cannot be claimed that the new imitative voice trailing mostly in unison at a bar's distance (3/4) adds notably. But the original G minor conception breathes so lofty and serene a charm that Simón de Castellanos's attraction to it can well be understood.

629, *Favor*, *Gracia*, y *Pureza*. Cantada Al Santissimo. 6. Papeles. Madrid: Imprenta de Mvsica. On upper lefthand corner of cover: "Quiros" (his copy). Also, hand copy of which only Voz Sola and Acomp^{to} were found in 1967.

626 *Hermosa Blanca Nube*. Cantada Al Santissimo. Madrid: En la Imprenta de Mvsica. Among Torres's five printed Sacrament cantatas in the Guatemala archive, this one shows signs of greatest use. Plan: Recitado-Aria-2 Coplas-Recitado-Aria-Coplas alegres (2. vezes)-Grave-Recitado-Aria Grave. In some parts aria is spelled "area."

623, *Lagrimas tristes*, *corred*. Quatro con Violines A la Ascencion de N^{ro} Señor. Ti Ti A Te, Violins 1 & 2,

648 *Bajon*, Acomp^{to} (heavily figured). C minor (two-flat signature), 3/4. "1757. 67" on cover. This soulful piece is marked "Despacio" at the outset.

631 *Mas de lo que quisiera*. Tonada Humana. 2 Papeles. Madrid: Imprenta de Mvsica. Núm. 5. Used to death, only one sheet of the accompaniment plus the cover of this secular piece survives.

635 *Ola. Pajarillos*. Cantada Humana. 4. Papeles. Madrid: Imprenta de Mvsica. Another secular item, used to extinction.

694 *Pueblen la esfera*. Responsion General Con Violines A 8.

678 *Relox q señala*. Cant^a al SS^{mo}. Solo, V^s, Oboe. Alternate text: *Antorcha vella*.

Rosa fragante. Villancico A 3. A Santa Rosa. En Madrid 1726.

Si al Dulze trinado. Cant^a Al Santisimo. Aria y un copla. "75" at upper left of cover tells how late in the eighteenth century this cantata continued to be sung. Torres's numerous works in the Guatemala archive include also the following "al Santissimo": Duo (sung 1734), 3 Quatros (the quatro sung in 1767 "con violines"), 3 Villancicos a 4 (the villancico beginning "Que planta" with violins and oboe), and another Cant^a Con Viol^s. Among further festive pieces in the Guatemala archive three villancicos for December 8 deserve mention: the first a 4, the others a 8 (one a 8 starts "Del gran templo").

634 *Si has de ausentarte, despierta*. Duo con Violines Al Transito de N^{ra} Señora. Structure: Introdⁿ (despacio)-Recitado-3 Coplas-Recitado a Duo-Estriuillo a Duo. Keys: G minor-C Major, A Minor.

Vn portal. Recitado, followed by Fuga (*Pues q aguarda mi planta*), Aria (*Pequeño amor*), and three coplas (*Toma este corderillo*). But cover says: "Cantada de Navidad Cielos Don Joseph en Madrid. 6. papeles." In the Fuga (F Major, common meter), the bass disports itself in a perpetuum mobile. No conscientious imitation. For Torres, and also for Zumaya, imitative entries in a prescribed order do not define the Fuga. Quiroz's name lightly inked on cover means either that he acquired or that he performed this cantada.

633 *Vn Relox que las horas dà de vna Eternidad*. Villancico a 4. Printed. Cover missing.

Four other Torres items, performed in 1757, 1783, 1783, 1788, plus an undated Ascension villancico.



Europe through his diligence" were added. The legends on the first folio of Choirbook I read thus (with hiatuses): "Libro de Missas, copiado de el que escribió el P. Gaspar Fernandes el año de 1602 y aora se le añadieron otras seis Missas q̄ pudo conseguir de la Europa, la solicitud [y] diligencia de Manuel Joseph de Quiros, Mro de Capilla quien lo . . . con el debido rendimiento que . . . muy Ilustre, y Venerable S. . . y Cabildo de esta Santa Ig . . . Metropolitana de Guatemala este año de 176. . . A.M.D. Laudate eum in sono tube, laudate eum in [psalterio et cithara,] Laudate eum in tympano, et choro, laudate eū in chor[dis et organo.] Laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibz. Laudate eū in cymbalis iubilationis. Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum. Psalm 150."

The index of Choirbook I reads: "Índice de las 12. Missas q̄ tiene este Libro. Missa sobre las voces.⁹³ Missa de Pedro Luis Prenestina.⁹⁴ Missa de Pedro Colino. Missa de Ceballos, de 3.^o Tono. Otro del mismo autor, de 8.^o Tono. Missa de Bomba, de Pedro Bermudez. Las 6. Missas q̄ se añadieron son las siguientes. Missa de D. Joseph de Torres.⁹⁵ Missas, O quam Gloriosum, del M.^o Thomas Ludovico de Victoria. Otra del mismo, sobre el Ave maris stella. Missa del M.^o Serra,⁹⁶ de 5.^o Tono. Missa de Alegre,⁹⁷ de 4.^o Tono. Missa de Iuan Mathias de Rivera."⁹⁸

To go no further with Quiroz's procurement of music by other composers, what of his own compositions? The list of twelve vernacular works and only one Latin work appended below shows his interest in local color, ethnic texts.

- 713 *A el Pan de los Cielos*. Villancico al Santísimo a 4. El Tenor le formò, el Mro. Manuel Jph. de Quiros. Se le formò Retornello al Estrivillo y Coplas el año de 1779. At top can be faintly read another note: "+ Fue a S.^a Bicente." Castellanos added the string ritornelli.

Amotinados los Negros. Villancico arranged by Rafael Castellanos in 1761 and performed again 1786 and 1799.

- 714 *Ay Niña vella*. Billansico a duo. Puesto en Musica por Manⁱ Jph de Quiros Para el Pueblo de S. Pedro de las Huertas. An astonishing level of musical proficiency in even small Guatemalan hamlets can be inferred from the figured accompaniment.

Digo, a Siola Negla. Negro de Navidad. 1736. Voz sola, Tiples 2 & 3.

Jesuclisa Mangalena. Negro de Navidad, año de 1745, â 5. Vozes. In order to crowd all four voices and continuo of this fast-moving $\text{C}\frac{3}{2}$ Negro (estribillo, plus four coplas) on only three pages of a barlined score (1745), Quiroz compressed the copy to such a degree that it

⁹³Cristóbal de Morales's *Missa sobre las Vozes* in CB I, fols. 17^v-31 concords with his Hexachord Mass published in *Monumentos de la Música Española* [MME], XXIV, 36-57, minus the canonic Agnus Dei.

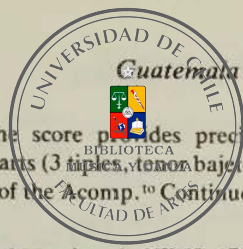
⁹⁴*Missa Sine nomine, a 4*. in CB I, fols. 31^v-43. Republished in Patestrina's *Werke*, XI, 41-56, this Mass was first published in his *Liber Secvndvs* of 1567, dedicated to Philip II.

⁹⁵*Missa â 4*. CB I, fols. 71^v-85. This Dorian *Missa ad omnem tonum* ends with an *Agnus a 8*, each voice singing a different psalm tone (Bassus 2 sings both Tone VIII and the peregrinus). Reminiscent of Pedro Vaz Rego's *Missa ad omnem tonum* copied in a 40-folio choirbook at Évora, Portugal dated 1731.

⁹⁶If Giacomo Allegri (1582-1652) is the composer of the Tone IV *Missa a 4* abounding in melodic sequences at folios 119^v-133 in Choirbook I, he is the sole Italian among composers of the added six Masses.

⁹⁷Luis Serra, whom Miguel Querol Gavaldá in his MGG article correctly called one of the most esteemed Spanish Baroque composers, died at Saragossa in 1760 after approximately forty years as maestro de capilla of El Pilar temple ("Serra was einer der meistgeschätzten Komp. im barocken Spanien," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, XII [1965], 572). For the inclusive dates, 1721 through 1759, see Manuel Jiménez Catalán, *Ensayo de una tipografía zaragozana del siglo XVIII* (Saragossa: Tipografía "La Académica," 1929), pp. 125 (item 278), 293 (item 861), and 297 (item 881).

⁹⁸The Oaxaca Cathedral chapelmaster from no later than 1642 to his death in about 1655 was Juan de Ribera. He was succeeded by his Zapotec protégé, Juan Mat[h]ias.



is scarcely legible. Nonetheless, the score provides precious testimony of a colonial chapelmaster's working tools. The parts (3 *tiples*, *tenor bajete*, *continuo*) survive also, with these dates of performance on cover of the *Acomp.^{to} Continuo*: 1745, 1746 ("en S fran^{co}"), 1763.

- 712 *Jesus, Jesus, y lo q subes*. Duo a la Ascension de N^{ro} S^r. 1743, 1747. Marchlike estribillo exploiting dotted rhythms, followed by ternary meter coplas â duo. A minor.

Luz â luz, y gracia â gracia. Coplas â 4, a Santa Cecilia. Ti Ti A Te, Ac. Stirring Handelian march, exploiting dotted eighths and sixteenths. G Major, but without one-sharp signature.

- 754 *Oygan vna Xacarilla de vna Niña soberana*. Xacara â voz sola Con Violines A la Concep.^{on} de Nra Señora. Superb fast-moving virtuoso piece for soprano, 2 violins, and *Acomp.^{to} Continuo*. The high tessitura almost commands performance a minor third lower than in the notated G minor, dorian. Throughcomposed, no coplas. The "theme" exploited by the answering violins during 20 bars of fast 3 (=3/8) before the first solo voice entry serves thereafter as unifying motivic material for the remainder of the *jácara*. Some notable sequential writing at "Sana es porque en el Parayso."

Pues q de Pascuas estamos. Vexamen al Demon p^a el Nacim^{to} de N^{ro} S^{or}. Note on cover "Vino â Voz sola de Lima, y lo voluio â Cinco Manuel Joseph de Quiros, en Guatt^{la} Año de 45."

- 709 *Sanctus Deus*. 4 Vozes, Con Violines, y Trompas. Año de 60: y son 10. Papeles. Ti Ti A Te, Bajon, *Acomp.^{to}*. In this heavily used, 21-bar piece the *trompas* = horns (notated in the tenor clef at pitch) perform brilliant interluding flourishes.

- 709 *Vagelillo q^e al viento*. Duo con Violines A la Ascencion de N^{ro} Señor. Tiple, Alto, *AComp.^{to}*. Note on cover says: "fue â España, el año de 1761, q lo llevó Silverio Cabrejo." Evidently Cabrejo brought the music back, because a still later date on the present cover reads 1775.

Venga turo Flanciquillo. Negro de Navidad, â 5. Vozes. 1746

An extremely sizable repertory by Quiroz escapes the above list. Alfred E. Lemmon, "El Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Guatemala," *Heterofonía*, 67 [XII/4] (September-December, 1979), page 11, note 4, added ten vernacular (*Bajelillo* = *Vajelillo*) and seven Latin titles to the above list. He also specified Agustín Estrada Monroy's call-numbers added above (and elsewhere throughout this essay).

Possibly by Quiroz, and premiered as his at the Carmel Bach Festival July 22, 1960 (Carmel Mission Basilica, Nelda Nelson, soprano, Kenneth Ahrens, organ) is an utterly delightful accompanied treble solo, *Luzid fragrante Rosa Con blandas consonancias*. The Program Booklet, *Thirty-third Annual Carmel Bach Festival, July 17-26, 1970*, page 30, included these comments:

Quiroz's *Luzid fragrante Rosa* is a charming strophic air honoring the first native-born New World saint, Rose of Lima (1586-1617). Signed with an Indian pseudonym, the graceful air in minuet tempo reveals only one facet of a creative talent that ran riot in local color music.

The cover sheet composer is "Duyn Sjntujjguy." But these annotations beneath the title imply a pseudonym: "Minue Solo, â S.^{ta} Rosa de Lima. Puesto en Musica por Duyn Sjntujjguy. Esde Minuuj dy Quujujruys. Lo cantò el P. Patiño,⁹⁹ año de 1741."

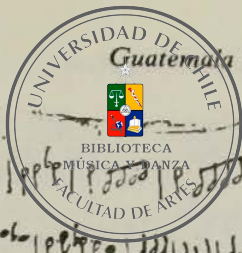
⁹⁹Miguel Patiño was a "Capellán de Choro" who died shortly before May 21, 1756—on which date Simón Carrillo y Toledo who had formerly been a Guatemala Cathedral choirboy was appointed to the chaplaincy left vacant by Patiño's decease. See Tomo 5.º 13. de Septiembre de 1745., hasta 1º. de Diciembre de 1788, fol. 23.



Voz sola, con Violines.

Oygan vna Xacarilla de mañina si berana, J luybrida fofil - clavel, Tajo, Rosa, y Nana, clavel
Tajo, Rosa y Nana, oygan los Coos heix cantorias, Ja la Nina Cari vida y la Nina Concorida, vida graciosa, gra-
ciosa y fofanacha, ancha de la Diva eterna, trino de las soberanas, Ana lealtade confiante, Deseo magno la clava, ara fofil y la con-
templo, templo del magro mo nana, templo del mayor morro, Ave de Dios y la nana, ave, ave, ave, ave y fofil a la fofila, a la
cunasa de Estrella, ella a la fofil e Dorracia, ella a la fofil e Dorracia, graimorosa la fofileza, gra-
cia de la manzana, gra, gra, de la manzana, sana e fofil del fofilo - fofila Diva alta Palma
fofila Diva, fofila Diva, fofila Diva alta Palma, fofila Diva alta Palma, alma con Dios se Necrea, alma, alma, a ma

alma con Dios se Necrea, se Necrea se Necrea, alma con Dios se Necrea, se Necrea se Necrea, con el mundo se fin fofila,
con el mundo se fin fofila, con el mundo se fin fofila, alma pofil se con firme, se con firme, firme fofil nana ra da,
fifine fofil nana ra da, fifine fofil nana ra da



Viento 1.

Diez puntos a el Viento 1.

Handwritten musical notation for Viento 1. The notation is written on ten staves, each beginning with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music consists of a series of rhythmic patterns and notes, with some measures containing multiple notes beamed together. The notation is dense and fills most of the staves. There are some markings above the staves, including a '3' and a '2'. The piece ends with a double bar line and a decorative flourish.

Viento 2.

Diez puntos a el Viento 2.

Handwritten musical notation for Viento 2. The notation is written on ten staves, each beginning with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music consists of a series of rhythmic patterns and notes, with some measures containing multiple notes beamed together. The notation is dense and fills most of the staves. There are some markings above the staves, including a '3' and a '2'. The piece ends with a double bar line and a decorative flourish.

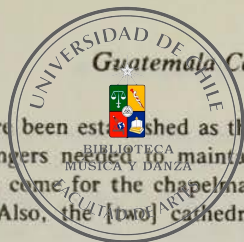
All parts of *Luzid fragrante Rosa* (violin, bajoncillo, voz, acompaamineto) are notated in B flat, except the violin (D Major) which doubles the voz and bajoncillo parts a major third higher. "Quujujruys," putative composer of the model Minuet, certainly suggests Quiroz—whatever the identity of "Duyn Sjtujjguy."

On Quiroz's death in 1765, his nephew Rafael Antonio Castellanos—both the greatest and most fecund native-born composer in Guatemalan annals—inherited the chapelmaster's mantle. Like an Elisha preparing to follow Elijah, Castellanos had already spent twenty years (beginning in 1745) as a Guatemalan cathedral salaried singer.¹⁰⁰ The highlights of Quiroz's last quinquennium, and of Castellanos's 26-year régime can be thus flashed in chronological sequence:

1761, December 5	Immaculate Conception maitines shall henceforth be sung the night of December 7, not recited that afternoon. The chapelmaster shall receive 12 pesos to distribute among his musicians for their participation in this event. ¹⁰¹
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¹⁰⁰*Libro VI*, . . . comienza con el año de 1789, fol. 29: "Entrega y donacion" (see above, footnote 84). In his deed to the cathedral dated August 5, 1791, Castellanos averred that he had served the cathedral 46 years, 20 as singer, 26 as maestro de capilla. Now gravely ill with no hope of recovery, he bequeaths his entire musical remains—instruments, compositions, and library—to the cathedral ("ha quarenta y seis años que sirvo a esta S^{ta} Ig^{la} veinte de Cantor de la Capilla, y veinte y seis de Mtro. de esta. Y hallandome /fol. 29^o/ en la presente gravemente enfermo, y sin ninguna esperanza de vida, me ha sido preciso disponer, y preparar las cosas de mi incumbencia . . .")

¹⁰¹*Tomo 5.º*, fol. 39: "desde el presente año, los maitines de esta festiuidad que hasta aqui se an resado la tarde del dia siete de Disiembre en esta S^{ta} Metrop^a Iglesia sean solemnemente Cantados no por la tarde, sino entrada la noche del mismo dia; y tambien a de salir la propina que se ha de dar al M^{ro} de Capilla y sus Musicos que será la de doze pesos."



- 1764, September 26 Fifteen having heretofore been established as the correct number of adult instrumentalists and singers needed to maintain an adequate cathedral program, time has now come for the chapelmaster to suggest names to fill singing vacancies. Also, the [two] cathedral organs should now be painted.¹⁰²
- 1765, January 4 On the recommendation of the chapelmaster, José Tomás [Guzmán] is appointed organist.¹⁰³
- 1766, March 4 Six choirboys who know how to read and write shall be sought. They shall assist at the choirbook stand in special attire.¹⁰⁴
- 1766, July 19 The dean, Francisco José de Palencia (elected bishop of Comayagua in 1773, died there 1776), agrees to oversee the painting and repair of the organs, and also supervise certain other improvements in *coro*.¹⁰⁵
- 1767, December Carlos de Rivera, majordomo of the Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno de San Gerónimo contracts Rafael Castellanos for Christmas week music. Castellanos brings ten boys (= 120 pesos) and 18 adult musicians (= 217 pesos). For his trouble in preparing them during three months' practice he asks 14 pesos. Rivera complains that Castellanos divided the money unfairly. However, Rivera is himself charged with liquoring his guests, collecting admission, and hiring a group of Blacks who scandalized the pious. In the ensuing lawsuit not finally settled until March 28, 1772, Castellanos's total personal take for furnishing music at the Rivera events is quoted at 77 pesos.¹⁰⁶
- 1770, November 20 The cathedral chapter discusses the proper response to a questionnaire¹⁰⁷ presented by Archbishop Pedro Cortés y Larraz (1712-1787, ruled Guatemala February 22, 1768, to September 30, 1779). He asks (question 13) if the cathedral hires a competent organist and a sufficient number of musicians to dignify the cult; also if the choirboys assigned to sing polyphony are being well taught. The archbishop also asks whether any effort is being made to satisfy the complaint of the succentor Simón [Carrillo y] Toledo¹⁰⁸ that the choirbooks lack plainchants for certain newly added liturgical offices.¹⁰⁹
- 1771, New choirbooks are being prepared. Already the office of Christ's Blood is

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, fol. 49: "Que propongan los Cantores que falta para complementar el numero de quinze Musicos y Cantores que tiene la Capilla para que la Yg^a esté bien servida . . . que los Organos se pintan."

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, fol. 50: "Nomb^{to} de organista. Despues visto el Informe del M^{ro} de Capilla se monbro para organista a Joseph Thomas [Guzmán]." On Guzmán's teacher see note 172.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 54: "Assi mesmo se acordó se mande al M^{ro} de Capilla del Choro de esta S^{ta} Yglesia solicite seis Niños españoles hijos legitimos que sepan leer y escribir para que asistan al Facistol con Opas de Monasillos."

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, fol. 56: "Y tambien con la pintura de los Organos y refaccion de las cañas, assimismo con el dorado y pintura de las sillas del Coro."

¹⁰⁶Archivo General de Centroamérica, A 1, Expediente N° 16984, Legajo 2306. The Rivera events were staged in the patio of a house rented from José de Cisneros for 23 pesos; subsequently he asked another two pesos for repairs ("para reparos delo mucho que descompucieron el patio, paredes, i vna pila dela dha casa").

¹⁰⁷Dated September 28, 1770, this questionnaire enters the cathedral acts in *Tomo 5.º*, fol. 71^v.

¹⁰⁸See footnote 99 for his appointment May 21, 1756, to succeed Miguel Patiño as a "Capellán de Choro."

¹⁰⁹*Tomo 5.º*, fol. 77: "que providencien los dichos S^{tes} sobre los libros de coro y algunos oficios que falten conforme a vna memoria que hizo el P^{re} Sochantre D^{no} Simon Toledo que remitió su Señoría 111^{ma} a este Cauildo."



- April 19 being copied in one choirbook, but money is needed if copying is to continue.¹¹⁰
- 1773, Antigua Guatemala suffers the worst of a long series of earthquakes. The president of the Audiencia, Martín de Mayorga, thenceforth heads the political party advocating removal of the capital to its present location, a move opposed by Archbishop Cortés y Larraz. On October 19, 1777, the Crown approves all Mayorga's proposals. As punishment for his opposing civil authority,¹¹¹ Archbishop Cortés y Larraz is translated to Tortosa diocese on the Ebro, which he governs from 1782 to 1786. During more than a quarter century, Guatemala cathedral ceremonies are celebrated in interim quarters. Construction of the cathedral in Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción (the present capital site) starts July 25, 1782, but not until March 16, 1815, is the still unfinished cathedral structure ready for inauguration. The cathedral chapter meets for the last time in Antigua October 3, 1779 (*Tomo 5.º*, fol. 108^v) and in Nueva Guatemala for the first time on January 9, 1780 (*ibid.*, fol. 110). From 1780 through at least February 11, 1791, the cathedral chapter pays the university authorities (San Carlos Borromeo) in Antigua monthly rent to store the cathedral ornaments in University premises not badly damaged by the earthquake of July 29, 1773.
- 1775, The chapter distributes *edictos* inviting competitors versed in plainchant to try out before Saint James's day for the post of succentor.¹¹²
- 1779, Archbishop Cayetano Francos y Monroy enters the perturbed see on the very eve of the cathedral chapter's removal to the newly selected site. A provisional chapel erected in Nueva Guatemala on the spot later occupied by the Central Market serves for cathedral ceremonies from November 22, 1779, to April 17, 1787, when Santa Rosa begins hosting cathedral ceremonies (an arrangement that continues 28 years). At least three other churches are inaugurated in Nueva Guatemala before Archbishop Francos y Monroy's death July 17, 1792: San José (1783), Calvario (1787), Capuchinas (1789).¹¹³ (Santuario de Guadalupe follows in 1793.)
- 1783, The interim succentor (no qualified aspirant for titular succentor having been found) is *bachiller* Feliciano de Augusto, who on this date asks a pay raise for carrying the full load. The chapter accedes.
- 1784, The chapter acts favorably on Castellanos's petition for musicians' pay raises, retroactive to January 1, 1784.¹¹⁴ Among instrumentalists, the annual salary of José Andrino, violinist, rises from 44 to 100 pesos; of Manuel José

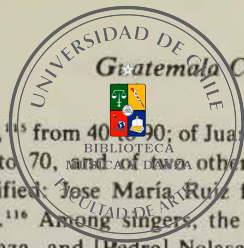
¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 81: "Libros nuevos de choro . . . estan ya preparados y aun comensado a poner en vno de ellos el oficio de la sangre de Christo . . ."

¹¹¹This archbishop's "affronts" to civil authority began as early as May 31, 1768, only four months after his entering the Guatemala see. On that date he dared write the Crown a letter asking that public hangings and bullfights in the plaza fronting the cathedral be discontinued, because of the impediments to Divine Service resulting from tumults just outside cathedral doors. Naturally, the secular officials did not favor moving their favorite diversions elsewhere. See Estrada Monroy, *Datos*, II, 67, for the complete letter.

¹¹²*Tomo 5.º*, fol 95^v: "se ponga Edicto combocatorio por termino de seis meses . . . dando examen en Canto llano . . ."

¹¹³Pedro Pérez Valenzuela, *La Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1934), p. 226. By 1782 Nueva Guatemala counted 13,251 inhabitants (128 secular clergy, 239 friars, 233 nuns [p. 225]—less than a fourth of the population of Antigua before the 1773 earthquake.

¹¹⁴*Tomo 5.º*, fol. 116: "Aumento de salarios â los Oficiales Musicos de la Capilla . . . Asi tambien se tratò en este Cav.º del aumento de salarios, q^e por su memorial y lista, ha pedido el Mtro de Capilla." The list follows.



Estrada, harpsichordist,¹¹⁵ from 40 to 90; of Juan Alberto Velasques, second bajón-player, from 40 to 70, and of two others listed as altos whose instruments are not specified: Jose María Ruiz from 44 to 80 and Manuel Ramires from 38 to 60.¹¹⁶ Among singers, the annual salaries of Manuel Retalulés, Miguel Pontaza, and [Pedro] Nolasco Aristondo are boosted to 100 pesos, of Nicolás Espinosa to 80.

- 1784,
March 10 The chapter succors Castellanos—after a long illness—with a one-time gift of 100 pesos. As reasons for doing so, the chapter recalls (1) his exemplary services over many years and (2) what it means to the cathedral functions to have at the musical helm such a sovereign master.¹¹⁷
- 1784,
April 27 Gregorio Sánchez, holder of the intermediate rank between *seise* and *capellán de coro* called *familiar del coro*, has been teaching Latin grammar and singing in the Colegio de Infantes founded June 10, 1781, by Archbishop Francos y Monroy.¹¹⁸ Although the chapter denies his request for a chaplaincy, the chapter does agree to pay him an extra 110 pesos annually "because of his good voice and the need for good voices in the [cathedral] choir."¹¹⁹ For this extra amount he must continue teaching and must live in the Colegio de Infantes subject to the Rector.
- 1784,
August 13 As first musical fruits of the Colegio de Infantes, the students Francisco Estrada and José de Avelar gain appointments as interim singing chaplains. They occupy chaplaincies left vacant by Juan Reloxillas's resignation and Tomás García's dismissal.
- 1785,
May 18 The chapter views with alarm the small number of clergy in the cathedral choir.¹²⁰
- 1785,
May 24 Six vacancies have reduced the cathedral musical forces to a mere shell. To recoup losses, Castellanos proposes appointing the following five applicants: Juan Aragón and Nasario Albestarán, high voices, 80 and 60 pesos annually; Santos Trejo, high voice and violin, 60 pesos; José María Curra, oboe, 80 pesos; Manuel Espinosa, bajón player, 70 pesos.¹²¹ Also, Castellanos proposes raising the salary of Manuel Estrada, harpsichordist,

¹¹⁵"Manuel Joseph Estrada Alto y Clavicordista."

¹¹⁶Both are listed as players of "alto" instruments.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 116: "Asimismo haviendose visto otro memorial presentado por el M^{tro} de Capilla Rafael Antonio Castellanos, en que haze precentes las necesidades á q lo ha reducido la larga, y prolixa enfermedad, de q aun adolece, y pide para subvenir las algun socorro; todos los S^{res} vnanimos y conformes fueron de parecer, q en atencion á los dilitados, y puntuales servicios del suplicante y á lo que importa para el m^{or} lustre de las funciones de la Iglesia su salud, se le acudiesse, sin exemplar, con cien pesos por via de ayuda de costa." See also Alfred E. Lemmon, "Archivo General de Indias 'Guatemala 956'—un Legajo Musical," *Heterofonía*, 64 [XII/1] (January-February, 1979), p. 21.

¹¹⁸According to the founding deed (Estrada Monroy, *Datos*, II, 131-133) the Colegio de Infantes enrolled twelve choirboys approved by the maestro de capilla for their musical aptitude ("doce niños aprobados por el Maestro de Capilla en su idoneidad para el canto, destinados a intruirse con perfeccion, en este arte y en las primeras letras para que con el tiempo y aun desde ahora en cuanto lo permita su destino, sirvan a la misma Iglesia").

¹¹⁹*Tomo 5.º*, fol. 116: "q^e en atencion de su buena Voz, y necesidad, q^e de estas hay en el Coro . . ."

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 127: "se llegaba al ser mui raros los sacerdotes q^e se aplican á el Coro." As a result of "la inopia q^e hay en el Coro de Capellanes Sacerdotes," the chapter had been allowing seises to hold chaplaincies on an interim basis.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, fol. 128: "hauiendo visto vna peticion presentada por el M^{tro} de Capilla Raphael Ant^º Castellanos en q despues de hazer presente lo diminuto de Operarios, q se halla la Capilla por estar vacantes seis plazas, y resultar de esto grande falta; proponia para los sinco de ellas á los oficiales siguientes." The musicians' names follow.

from 90 to 100 pesos. He merits this advance, because he counts among our most constant in attendance and has faithfully served the cathedral more than a quarter-century.¹²² Finally, Castellanos advocates raising "the other bajón player, Juan Alberto Velasques, to the same salary earned by his father and predecessor, 85 pesos."¹²³

- 1786,
May 30 All the cathedral ornaments have been stored in university premises at Antigua since the 1773 earthquake. After lengthy deliberation, the cathedral chapter votes to pay the university cumulative storage charges of eight pesos monthly from January 1, 1780 (discounting what the cathedral has paid to repair the damaged university buildings), and 10 pesos monthly from now on.¹²⁴
- 1786,
July 28 Eight singing chaplains petition for pay raises from the annual 250 pesos "assigned them before 1773, when living costs [in Antigua] were only a third of what they now are in Nueva Guatemala."¹²⁵ The chapter accedes with 365 pesos, but requires ordination to at least the subdiaconate for eligibility to the pay raise. Concurrently, the chapter raises fines for absences.
- 1786,
August 8 Gregorio Sánchez [see April 27, 1784] petitions for the portion of his 110-peso increment due last month (36 $\frac{2}{3}$ pesos). The chapter asks Castellanos to evaluate Sánchez's teaching. Castellanos acknowledges some good results despite lapses in Sánchez's class attendance. However, he complains that the students' knowledge of plainchant remains poor.¹²⁶ The chapter agrees to pay Sánchez his 36 $\frac{2}{3}$ pesos, but warns him that his teaching will be reevaluated at the close of his next pay period.
- 1786,
August 11 Because of the runaway rise in living costs, the chapter increases the monthly pay of *familiares del Coro* from six to nine pesos monthly.
- 1786,
August 25 The chapter acknowledges responsibility for the cathedral choirboys' health. As an instance: when a choirboy must be taken home ill with *tabardillo*, the chapter agrees to recompense his mother, Doña Barbara Castañeda, for nursing care.
- 1786,
November 28 Castellanos who had heretofore been paid 410 pesos annually (including 60 for choirboy care) applies for a substantial salary raise. His justifications (in the order that he listed them): (1) necessity of paying extra musicians for festivals out of his own pocket; (2) higher cost of boarding the two boy sopranos entrusted to his personal care; (3) competing organized music groups that play for burials—despite chapter orders to the contrary; (4) the cathedral singing chaplains tolerate these groups that play burials for less money, because they themselves dislike the effort of marching in processions for mere pittance; (5) dearth of other special functions paying tips. The chapter responds by raising him from 410 to 600, not just for these reasons but "above all because of the outstanding credit that the chapelmaster has gained by virtue of his excellent teaching, his honorable conduct, and his

¹²²*Ibid.*: "era merecedor de esta gracia, por ser de los mas asistentes, y haver servido à la Yglesia con fidelidad mas de veinte y sinco años." In this act, as in the act of January 7, 1784, cited in footnote 115, Manuel Estrada is denominated *clavicordista* (= harpsichordist).

¹²³*Ibid.*: "à el otro Bajonero Juan Alberto Velasquez se le concediera el mismo salario q tenia su Padre y anteceesor, 85 p^{as} anuales."

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 138^v.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, fol. 140^v: "quando asignò los doscientos cincuenta p^{as} apenas costaban los viveres la tercia parte de lo que hoy . . ."

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, fol. 141: "El M^{tro} de Capilla dixo, q el referido Sanchez, aunq reconoce algun adelantamiento, aunq no al q se necesita para ser un perfecto cantollanista; lo q podia con su habilidad, cogiendo este estudio con mayor aplicacion."



- famed zeal for the splendor of the cathedral.¹²⁷ This raise shall not, however, apply to future chapelmasters.
- 1787,
July 10 The system continues of admitting candidates to the choirboy school (Colegio de Seises, or Colegio de Infantes) only on Castellanos's certifying that the candidate has a good and useful voice and on the Rector's guaranteeing the boy's legitimacy and honorable family connections.¹²⁸
- 1787,
September The chapter doubles the salary of the cathedral organist, José Tomás Guzmán, previously getting 150 pesos annually, on condition that he pay his own substitute while ill. The organist must play every day at least twice—sometimes even three and four times. The chapter suspects Guzmán, who claims to have been sick the last three months, of malingering.
- 1787,
October 14 The heirs of Francisco José de Vega (became archdeacon in 1771¹²⁹) have asked 543 pesos for two choirbooks, one containing ferial introits, the other feast day introits for the whole year. Before paying this huge amount, the chapter seeks two appraisals by experts—first by Castellanos, second by the Guatemala printer Ignacio Beteta (active 1785–1827).¹³⁰ The renewed emphasis on expensive plainchant books accords with a late eighteenth-century trend observable throughout Spanish dominions as a whole.
- 1788,
May 9 The chapter names Gregorio Sánchez an interim *capellán de coro*, substituting for Padre Manuel Salguero, who claims to be sick. However, Salguero turns over only half his salary to Sánchez. By November 28, 1788, Sánchez has therefore quit in disgust.¹³¹
- 1788,
August 12 Nine-year-old Juan Antonio Urrutia has been provisionally admitted to the Colegio de Seises (= Colegio de Infantes) on recommendation of a high official. His musical aptitude must be certified.
- 1788,
August 26 Castellanos advises the chapter that 12 pesos will no longer buy villancicos for St. Rose of Lima's maitines scheduled three days hence; the chapter therefore increases the allotted sum to 14 pesos.¹³²
- 1789,
September 15 Despite the precedent of 1788, Castellanos this year receives only 12 pesos for St. Rose of Lima's villancicos.¹³³
- 1789,
October 6 Castellanos lists the four reed instruments used in Guatemala cathedral music as being two bajones, a *tenorete* ("which is a middle-size bajón"), and a *bajoncillo* = *bajonsillo* ("which takes the soprano part"). Only a *tenorete* player is presently missing. He is additionally needed because the *tenorete* frequently gives the opening pitch.¹³⁴ Castellanos suggests Pantaleón Cilieza

¹²⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 146v: "sobre todo, atendido el particular merito, q el M^{tro} ha adquirido con su acreditada instruccion, honradez, y notorio zelo por el esplendor de la Iglesia . . ."

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 153. On this date the chapter appointed Ignacio Noboa, student in the Colegio de Infantes, an acolyte, "because he has some instruction in plainsong and has the other requisite qualities" ("en atencion à tener alguna instruccion en el canto llano y concurrir con las demas circunstancias necesarias").

¹²⁹Juarros, *Compendio* [1936 ed.], I, 258.

¹³⁰Concerning this printer, whom José Toribio Medina opined to have been a relative of Manuel José de Quiroz (even possibly his son), see *La imprenta en Guatemala (1660–1821)*, p. xxxix.

¹³¹*Tomo 5.º*, fols. 159 (May 9, 1788) and 165 (November 28, 1788).

¹³²*Ibid.*, fol 162: "p^a recompensar los gastos q se causan en hacer letras, escribir los papeles, repararlos con los cantores, y Tiples, y satisfacer a los Oficiales el mayor trabajo, que impenden."

¹³³*Libro VI . . . comienza con el año de 1789*, fol. 5v: "Que se paguen al M^o de Capilla 12 p^s por los Villancicos de S^{ta} Rosa = para que se distribuyen entre los Musicos Cantores, y Supernumerarios, que asisten à cantar los Villancicos."

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 6: "los instrumentos de soplo, y cañuela, q ha habido, y deben haber en la Capilla, son quatro, es à saber, dos Bajones, un Tenorete (q es un Bajon mediano), y un Bajonsillo, q hace voz de tiple,

to fill the vacancy at 100 pesos yearly salary. He also proposes dismissing two incompetents hired May 24, 1785, Násario Albestarán and Santos Trejo, each earning a yearly 60 pesos. In their places, he advocates hiring (at 100 pesos each) José Estrada Aristondo, tenor singer and violinist, and Vicente Sáenz,¹³⁵ alto singer and violinist. "Both these latter show predispositions to accept the necessary instruction and both are of good character," Castellanos testifies.¹³⁶

Continuing with his memorial, Castellanos deplores what the ever mounting inflationary spiral in Nueva Guatemala is doing to other musicians' exiguous salaries. "Juan de Aragón, an able alto singer with a good resonant voice, and who stays on pitch" should be raised from a yearly 80 to 100 pesos, Castellanos successfully argues.¹³⁷ He also—but however without success—begs that the singer Manuel José Ramírez be raised from an annual 60 to 80 pesos, that the oboist José María Curra go from 80 to 100, and that the bajón players Juan Alberto Velasques (a veteran of fifteen years' cathedral service) and Manuel Espinosa (able to play violin in cases of necessity) go from 85 and 70 to 100 pesos. When arguing in behalf of the oboist and bajón players, he witnesses to the necessity of these instruments despite their prejudice to the players' health. "Formerly bajón players could be recruited from villages, but no longer," he ruefully adds.¹³⁸

The chapter members take as their reason for refusing to raise anyone but Juan [de] Aragón the fact that Curra, Velasques, and Espinosa teach no apprentice instrumentalists. To this, Castellanos replies that the number of cathedral functions at which salaried singers and instrumentalists must assist during the year—roughly 250, plus rehearsals at his house occupying whole days in anticipation of feasts¹³⁹—allows the musicians absolutely no leisure whatsoever for unpaid activities.

y q â la presente estaba haciendo falta solo el Tenorete, el qual instrumento, â mas de ser util, era acomodado p^a dar el tono, quando por algun acaso fallan los Bajones . . ."

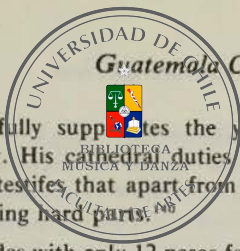
¹³⁵According to Sáenz Poggio, *Anales*, XXII/1-2, pp. 16-17, Vicente Sáenz c1756-1841), who was born at Antigua, came to Nueva Guatemala in 1775 when the valley was still vacant. García Peláez, *Memorias* (1852), II, 297 called him a pupil of Manuel Pellecer in Antigua. According to an unsigned article, "Compositores nacionales," *Diario de Centro-América* (Guatemala), XXVII/7539 (August 8, 1907), p. 2, already at the age of nine (1765) he won a prize for his musical prowess. His first instrument was portable organ, his next the violin. After establishing his reputation in Nueva Guatemala as a composer of Christmas music, he spent "more than 40 years" in the cathedral musical establishment—"as concert-master, maestro, then as organist." If Sáenz Poggio's dates are reliable, Vicente Sáenz began his cathedral career at the age of 33 after 14 years in Nueva Guatemala.

¹³⁶*Libro VI*, fol. 6: "proponia paraque los ocupasen â Josef Estrada Aristondo de tenor y violin, y â Vicente Saens de alto y violin: y porque a estos los hallaba con la habilidad è instruccion necesaria, y eran de buena conducta, suplicaba fuesen admitidos . . ." The chapter hired the pair, but at a yearly 80 rather than Castellanos's proposed 100 pesos.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 6: "Juan de Aragón cantor alto, de voz suficiente y sonora, de habilidad, y mui seguro p^a la entonacion . . ."

¹³⁸In this context Castellanos reveals that some New World cathedrals paid musicians capable of both singing and playing separate salaries for the two occupations; other cathedrals expected them to do both for a single salary. On the subject of the oboist he proposed a 20-peso raise for Curra "q toca el Obùe, el qual es un instrumento armonioso, y mui necesario p^a la Capilla, y por ser de soplo es nocivo â la salud." On bajones he testified "Que los Bajones los que dan la entonacion â todo canto, pero mui infensos â la salud, y por esto hay mui pocos, q se apliquen â su exercicio, no hai otros â la presente en la Ciudad, q los q actualmente sirven a la Capilla: q en otros tiempos se podia ocurrir por Bajoneros â los pueblos; pero no habiendo ya este recurso, se hace preciso enseñarlos . . ."

¹³⁹On the subject of their "250 asistencias" preceded often by lengthy "ensayos y repasos," Castellanos averred that their service "no està reducido â sola la asistencia del Coro, sinoque, con anticipacion a las fiestas, asisten â su casa p^a los ensayos, y repasos; en q ocupan algunos dias" (*Libro VI*, fol. 6).



- 1790,
July 9 Vicente Sáenz respectfully supplicates the nearly 100 pesos originally proposed for his salary. His cathedral duties prevent his earning money elsewhere. Castellanos testifies that apart from his instrument he is a solo singer capable of handling hard parts.
- 1790,
September 7 Again the chapter accedes with only 12 pesos for the villancicos sung at St. Rose of Lima's maitines.
- 1790,
September 22 At Archbishop Francos y Monroy's behest, December 12—the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe—becomes a day of obligation for *ladinos* in the Guatemala archdiocese.
- 1791,
February 11 The bulk of cathedral possessions still remains in Antigua, stored in an Universidad de San Carlos building for an annual 120 pesos. Not until March 20, 1791, does the chapter order that retables and other ornaments begin being moved to Nueva Guatemala, where cathedral ceremonies have to date been celebrated in makeshift, temporary quarters.
- 1791,
April 5 Padre Francisco Estrada, a singing chaplain, has been sick in the Hospital de San Pedro for almost two years. Since hope of his recovery seems slight, the chapter decides to name a substitute.
- 1791,
April 12 Castellanos petitions the chapter to appoint Francisco [de] Aragón, possessor of "a very fine voice, and useful because of his ability and studiousness" at an annual 100 pesos.¹⁴¹ The chapter allots him only 80, the salary of his deceased predecessor with a high voice, José María Ruiz—despite the fact that Aragón's credentials include at least three already performed compositions.¹⁴²
- 1791,
May 2 Castellanos explains that the ability to teach *bajón* is a distinct gift from the ability to play. He urges the chapter no longer to withhold the 100 pesos annual salary deserved by the veteran *bajonero* Juan Alberto Velasques—despite the ruling of October 6, 1789, that he must teach. The chapter agrees. Characteristically, this request will be Castellanos's last. Ever paternal in his solicitude for his players, singers, and composers, he thus ends his life with a gracious gesture intended both to alleviate a unique player's distress and at the same time to assure the cathedral of this unique player's continued services.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 16^v: "Pero que no siendo equivalente esta cantidad á su trabajo, asi por quedar sin libertad para poder acudir á otras partes, como por que su voz no es solamente para el fuerte en alianza de otros, sino que es há solo, y con el desempeño de papeles principales . . ."

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*, fol. 27: "Se leyó una peticion del M^{tro} de Capilla Rafael Castellanos, en q hace presente que en dicha capilla estan dos lugares vacos, vno de ellos por fallecim^{to} de José M.^a Ruiz, de voz alta: y hallando por conven^{te} el que se provea este lugar, proponia y suplicaba, fuese en el Fran^{co} Aragon, q es de muy buena voz, y util por su habilidad y aplicacion, con el salario de cien p^s anuales."

¹⁴²According to García Peláez, *Memorias* (1852), II, 297, Francisco [de] Aragon was a pupil of Mateo Pellecer. In 1967 Francisco [de] Aragón's extant works in the Guatemala cathedral music archive included:

Alaben oy los cielos. Con violines, clarineo y bajo, for December 8, 1788.

En la brillante carroza. Villancico de Navidad a 4. 1786. Con violines y flautas. Alternate text dated 1787, *La Luz de Luz*, for Ascension.

Si de Pedro recuerdo. Cantada a Duo a S^a S^o Pedro Apostol Con Violines. En la Nueva Guath.^a año de [17]86.

¹⁴³*Libro VI*, fol. 27^v: "Ultimamente habiendo informado el M^{tro} de Capilla, q la calidad q se puso á los Bajoneros en Cabildo de 6 de Octubre de 89 de que en haciendo constar, q se aplicaban /fol. 28/ á enseñar, se proveeria sre [sobre] el aumento de salario, q solicitaba, era impracticable, asi porq el exercicio de enseñar necesita de particular instruccion, la qual no consideraba tener los Bajoneros, aunque sí la bastante p^a el uso de sus instrumentos como porque este cargo es distinto del q tienen por Oficiales de la Capilla y era menester q se les pagase por separado con una renta competente . . ."



1791,
July 19

Before the notary Miguel González, Castellanos ("Raphael Antti" Castellanos" is his signature at the close) on this day dictates a codicil (Archivo General de Centroamérica, A 1 20, Legajo 931, fols. 55-58) to his last will and testament signed at Nueva Guatemala February 12, 1784.

In the codicil, he begins by itemizing the various bequests of music and instruments that will be confirmed in the cathedral act of August 5, 1791. The harpsichord ("clave") that in 1784 he had designated for Miguel Pontaza shall instead go to Manuel Truxillo, who knows how to keep it in good order. In place of the harpsichord, Pontaza shall inherit all the testator's recently acquired new music. A Roman missal containing introits shall also be Pontaza's during his lifetime—at his death reverting to the cathedral.

Although the sacred music brought from Spain by [Archdeacon Francisco José de] Vega shall go to the cathedral, Castellanos leaves the *sainetes* and *tonadas* brought from Spain to Pontaza. Manuel de Quiroz's "American" *tonadas* and *sainetes* shall be sold and the proceeds applied to Masses for Castellanos's soul ("en lo demas deberán los Albaceas dividir las tonadas y Saynetes de Europa . . . y solo los de America que son los del Maestro Man^l Quiròs se han de vender para invertir su importancia en Missas, en sufragio de su Alma").

Instead of the violin in 1784 promised to Lorenzo Gómez, Gómez shall inherit a spinet ("monacordio") already borrowed and still with him. Nazario Truxillo, whom Castellanos had promised a pair of violins and an *Arte de Música*, has died. Therefore his brother Manuel Truxillo, inheritor of the harpsichord mentioned above, shall also inherit what was promised Nazario in 1784. Additionally, Manuel Truxillo shall receive a change of clothing and a spinet ("monacordio"). Manuel Ramirez shall be remembered with a violin.

The testator's sister, "Micaela Castellanos y Quiròs," remains his universal heir. She shall choose the churches in which endowed Masses in his memory shall be sung every year on the feasts of Saints Raphael and Jacinto.

1791,
August 5

Shortly before this date Castellanos dies. His legacy to the cathedral includes: (1) his own entire composed oeuvre of motets, villancicos, and *tonadas* in loose sheets; (2) a choirbook containing his original invitatories for Blessed Sacrament, for Our Lady's Assumption, for Apostles and Virgins, his maitines composed at Archbishop Cortés y Larraz's request, and his responsories for Assumption and St. Peter's terce; (3) all good condition, excellent sounding Italian music that he bought from [Canon Ignacio] Fernández (treasurer of the cathedral, 1785) for 210 pesos, all the Spanish music that he bought in 1787 from Archdeacon Francisco José de Vega for somewhat less than 300 pesos, and four or five European Misereres costing 25 pesos each (plus a Miserere donated by Archbishop Cortés y Larraz and another donated by Felipe Rubio); (4) a printed European choirbook; (5) an Italian bassoon of four joints, superior in every respect to a *bajón*, and a pair of clarinets in A. He delivers back to the cathedral ten polyphonic choirbooks containing Masses, Salves, Passions, motets, and vespers music (Magnificats and psalms), "all of which must be guarded in a secure locked area." Additionally, he returns all the loose sheet music in his care, consisting of Masses, Lamentations, Misereres, and psalms in Latin, and of arias and villancicos in the vernacular. Miguel Gerónimo Pontaza, his executor, has an exact list of all this musical treasure.



In return for these bequests, but more specifically in recognition of his lifetime of dedicated service to the cathedral, he begs the chapter to come to the financial aid of his decayed sister, Micaela Castellanos, who during a quarter-century has helped him take care of the cathedral choirboys and musical apprentices, has alleviated his own personal daily needs, and in short has made possible his cathedral career.¹⁴⁴

The Croesus riches of Castellanos's original repertory bequeathed Guatemala Cathedral cannot begin to be properly appreciated until a thorough catalogue of his works is published. Nonetheless, the partial list published in 1970 in *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas*, pages 76–79, and repeated on the next two pages, reveals him to have been the composer of no less than 135 festive vernacular works. In 1979 (*Heterofonía*, XII/4, 10), Lemmon reported Estrada Monroy's cataloguing another 15 vernacular and Latin works.¹⁴⁵

The dates of Castellanos's compositions known to Stevenson range from 1765 to 1791; performances continued up to at least 1802. Annotations on the covers document circulation of his works to such widely spaced indigenous population centers as San Juan Amatitlán (1780, 1788) and [Santiago] Nunualco [= Nonualco], to name two villages—the first 28 km from Nueva Guatemala,¹⁴⁶ the second located east of the capital of present-day El Salvador.¹⁴⁷ (Historians of music in the latter nation can add to their list of colonial maestros the name of Manuel Dávila, active in the 1780s.)

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 29: "Entrega y donacion" (see above, footnotes 84 and 100). The text of the entrega continues thus: "he comprado y trabajado instandome la aplicacion y amor que he tenido a este S^{ta} Igl^{ia} y es constante Y siendolo tambien el q no dexo a mi Hermana Micaela algun socorro, y que es de edad mi persona, Musicos, y aprendices q han servido en dha Capilla: ocurro a el amparo y benignidad de V.S. de qⁿ no dudo quedar consolado en que se digne asignarle a dha mi herm^a anual, o mensualmente alguna limosna para que se mantenga los pocos dias q le pueden faltar de vida.

Rafael Antonio Castellanos Maestro de Capilla declaro hacer exacta entrega de todo lo q^e se me entregò, conviene a saber: Diez Libros de canto de Organo, de Visperas, Misas, Motetes, Salves, y de Pasion; los quales estan y deben continuamente estar en la alacena del Corito baxo de llave Como tambien entrego todo el Papelage de Musica q^e contiene Salmos, Misas, Lamentaciones, Misereres, Arias, Villancicos, y otras cosas: de lo q dara cuenta Miguel Pontaza como mi albacea. Declaro a mas de esto dexar de mi espontanea voluntad a esta S^{ta} Igl^{ia} un Libro q hize y costee con la Musica q compuse para lo q pertenece a la Capilla en los Invitorios del Santissimo, de la Asuncion de N^{ra} S^{ra} de Apostoles y de Virgenes, de los Maitines impuestos p^r el S^{or} Larraz con los Responsorios de Tercia de la Asuncⁿ de N^{ra} S^{ra}, la de s.^{or} S. Pedro, y otros Cantos. vn instrumento italiano, q se llama Fagòt, de quatro piezas, superior en todo al Bajòn, un par de Clarinisitos, q llamamos de Alamire, con sus quatro rodajas. Dejo tambien todos los papeles de Musica, q p^r servicio de esta S^{ta} Igl^{ia} he agenciado y compuesto, conviene a saber, Motetes, Villancicos, y Tonadas al Santissimo, a la Concepcion de N^{ra} S^{ra} de Pascua de Nav.^d, a S.^{or} S. Pedro, y a otros Santos Quatro, o cinco Misereres de la Europa del precio de 25 p.^s cada uno, fuera de uno q dio el S.^{or} Larraz, y otro D. Felipe Rubio. Dexo toda la Musica, que le comprè al S.^{or} Fernandez, papeles mui bien tratados, y de mucha sonoridad, la que me costò ducinetos y diez pesos. Dexo mejorado con Musica /fol. 30/ Ytaliana, Española, y Guatemalana, lo que pertenece a la Capilla en los Oficios de honras de Reyes, y de Principes."

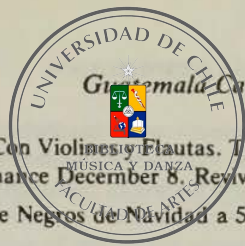
¹⁴⁵Alfred E. Lemmon, "Archivo General de Indias 'Guatemala 956'—un Legajo Musical" (see footnote 117 above), p. 23, note 23, signaled having transcribed *Subvenite* (1789), sung at the funeral commemoration of Charles III (1716–1788). Castellanos's vernacular music deserves a doctoral dissertation.

¹⁴⁶Guatemala, Dirección General de Cartografía, *Diccionario Geográfico de Guatemala* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1961), I, 20. According to Juarros, *Compendio*, I, 70, San Juan Amatitlán counted 3,009 parishioners in 1784, Pocomam being the language spoken.

¹⁴⁷El Salvador, Ministerio de Obras Públicas, Instituto Geográfico Nacional, *Diccionario Geográfico de El Salvador* (San Salvador: Instituto Geográfico Nacional Ingeniero Pablo Arnoldo Guzmán, 1974), III, 246–247; shown on the map opposite p. 136. Juarros, I, 70, gave it 7,464 parishioners, and the language spoken as Náhuatl.



- 174 *Afuera, afuera*. Villancico de Navidad de Negros. â 4. Con Violines, y Trompas. con tres voces, q.^e suplen en un paso. Año de 1788. Ti Ti A Te, 2 violins, 2 horns (sounding an octave higher than notated). Bajo. After an 18-bar *vivo* instrumental introduction the chorus commands: "Make way for the king of Guinea, Gaspar who now approaches with all his troupe (*Que entlamo la tlopa Gaspala . . . que entlamo la gualda de Reye Guinea*)."^a G Major, 3/8, 3/4, 6/8. Respuesta mentions the Senegal drum, *tambaco*. Chorus whistles "Achi" and imitates drumming with "tan, tan, tan." Delightful folkloric music, skillfully constructed.
- 170 1. *A la tierna Maria*. 2. *Triumfante Señora*. Dos Tonadas a la Asumpcion de N^{ra} S^{ra}. Fueron echas p^a la M^{ca} Fran^{ca} Palada Religiosa Capuchina. año de 1771. Wrapped up in this same bundle were twelve more villancicos by him dated 1765, 1770 (twice), 1771, 1773, 1774 (four times), 1780, 1781, 1791.
- 173 *Alla va una Xacarana*. Xacara en Dialogo a la celebrad^a de la Asump.ⁿ de nra S.^{ra} Con Violines. Nueva Guath.^a y Agosto de 1788. Two altos sing this clever A minor jácara in 3/8. Lacks coplas. In the introduction one soloist sings: "Something new befits the Church. If there is nothing novel in the xacarandina you are about to give us, why proceed? No one will listen!"
- 170 *Antòn no quiere este año cantar xacarilla nueva*. Xacara de Navidad â 5. En la Nueva Guath.^a y Octubre de 1787. Ti A A A Te, 2 violins, Bajo continuo. After 2/4 introduction, 3/8 Estribillo *muy vivo* and coplas. C minor (two-flat signature). The text rings clever changes on traditional Christmas texts. Anton sulks, complaining that he is sick and tired of the old, old story. But of course he later joins in the universal merriment.
- 100 *A Siñola Plima mia*. Negro de Navidad â 5. Con Violines, "Guath.^a y Disciembre de 1773 . . . fuè a Nunualco â Manuel Davila" on cover. Sung again in 1789 and 1800, this captivating G Major estribillo-coplas Negro constantly pits 6/8 against 3/4, meanwhile calling on both violins to veer from pizzicato ("punteado") to arco at lightning speed.
- 155 *Astronomia grande*. Tonada â Duo. Two sopranos, 2 violins, 2 flutes; composed for August 15, 1785. Brilliant G Major, 3/8. Cover marked "Seminario."
- 199 *Aucensia tirana*. Tonada â Duo con Violines. A la Ascenssion del Señor. Nueva Guath.^a y Febrero de 1790.
- Bonetero*. Villancico Jocosos de Navidad A 2 Coros, con VV^{es} y Trompas. Por Raphael Castellanos, año de 1758. Other villancicos by him in the same bundle bear the dates 1758, 1766, 1767, 1768 (four times), 1775, 1779, 1780 (twice), 1781, 1782 (twice), 1784, 1788. A 1776 villancico adds as his middle name "Ant^o."
- 63 *Diuino atlante*. Aria a S.^f S.ⁿ Juachin, a 3. Vozes Con Violines, Tromp.^s Psalterio, y Simphonia. Agosto. año de 1765. 3 Bajo parts, one marked "de Symphonia y Psalterio," the second "Violin y Clave," the third "para la Bassa." Although not mentioned on the cover, the parts for Flautas are not only included but are obligatory to the musical sense, since the flutes reply to the violins in delightful antiphonal passages. On a duplicate part "simphonia" has been crossed out and "Viola obligada" substituted. However, the clef remains treble. The "aria" calls for 3 tiple, the third of which is designated "Tiple, o Alto Atiplado."
- 90 *El Negro Maytinero de Navidad*. A 5. Vozes. Con Violines y Tromp.^s. Tenor introduction starts: "Vn Negro viejo bonbacho Fiscal de sierto lugar para el Niño vnos Maytines dice que quiere ensayar." A Major. Ti Ti A A Te, Vns 1 & 2, Tr 1 & 2, Ac.
- 118 *Gitanillas bienen*. 1775. "Chaz chaz," the usual gypsy refrain, precedes the six coplas of this pleasant Christmas villancico. G Major, 6/8.
- 201 *La Ascension triunfante*. Villancico a 3. Con Violines A la Ascencion del Señor. En S.ⁿ Juan Amatitàn, en Febrero, y Marzo de 1791.



La Maternidad Sacra. Tonada â Duo. Con Violines y Flautas. This soprano duet was composed in November of 1775 for performance December 8. Revived in 1787 and 1798.

169 *Lo Negro que sono gente*. Villancico de Negros de Navidad a 5. En la Nueva Guath.^a en Sep.^a de 1787.

179 *Negros de Guaranganà*. Villancico â 4 de Navidad, con Violines y Baxo. F Major, 6/8. Introduction plus coplas.

161 *Oygan una Xacarilla*. [17]86. Xacarilla â Voz Sola, con Violines.

160 *Oy sube a los cielos*. Ascension. Villancico a 4. "Sⁿ Juan Amatitàn y Febrero 1780 Por Raphael" on cover. Later performances, 1786, 91, 94, 1801.

111 *Pescadores noche Buena*. Villancico de Navidad a 4. y a 5. Con Violines. "Buena. Agosto 1774" on cover. Duplicate violin parts, one pair in A, other in C. "Bajo transportado 2. puntos bajo" part proves that the C Major version came first. Other parts: "Una Voz tiplada," Tiples 1 & 2, Tenor; "Clave in C." Plan: Introduction-Estribillo-Coplas.

147 *Si perfecciona*. Duo Solo, y a 3. Con Violines. a nro P.^o S.^o S.^o Pedro Apostol. "Fue hecho en la Nueva Guath.^a en 11. de Junio de 1782. P.^a que cantaron los Niños Ynfantes de este Colegio de S.^o S.^o Jph. Por Raphael Ant^o. Castellanos." In this same bundle, five other Castellanos items dated 1776, 1776, 1777, 1780, 1788.

184 =*Subvenite Sancti Dei*. Responso â Quatro. Con Violines, Flautas, Oboes, y Trompas. "Para las Exequias Funerales q se le hicieron en esta S.^a Metropolitana en esta Nueva Ciudad de la Assump.^a a nro Catolico Monarca D.^o Carlos Tercero (q de Dios goza)." Ti Ti A Te, Ac.

178 *Triste Caudal de Lagrimas*. Duo a la Ascenⁿ del Señor con Violines. En S.ⁿ Juan Amatitàn, y Abril de 1788. "88. 1802" on cover.

157 *Vaya de xacara amigos*. Xacara a Voz Sola Con Violines. Immaculate Conception. Composed November, 1785. Repeated 1790. On cover: "fuè a Nunalco p.^a Manuel Davila."

163 *Vaya de xacara nueva*. Xacara a la Concep.ⁿ a cinco voces con violin.^s Composed September, 1787. Revived 1796. Ti Ti A A Te, 2 violins, Ac. Another Castellanos xàcara (August 15, 1788) "en Diàlogo" revels in similar repetitive bass figures, grouping however in 9/8 and 6/8.

Venite adoremus. Invitatorio â 3. Vozes, y Bajo. 4.^o tono. 1772.

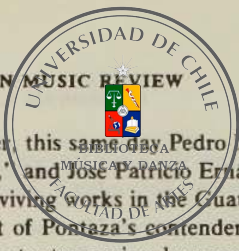
Venite adoremus. Invitatorio â 3 voces y Bajo. Octavo Tono 1772. Ti A Te. Another *Venite adoremus*. 8.^o tono, also for August 15, bears the date 1774.

109 *Ya Jesus sube triumphante*. Coplas a 4. Con Violines. A la Ascension del Señor. "Guath.^a 1774. 83. 94. 1801" on cover.

55 more villancicos dated 1767, 1768 (two), 1769, 1770 (two), 1771, 1773 (two), 1774 (two), 1775 (two), 1776, 1777 (two), 1778 (two), 1780 (six), 1782, 1785 (three), 1786 (three), 1787 (four), 1788 (five), 1789 (six), 1790 (five), 1791 (two); 1794, 1796 [posthumous performance dates on covers of this last pair]. 22 more tied in a bundle not examined.

1791, September 6 A large majority of the cathedral singers and instrumentalists petition the chapter to appoint Miguel Gerónimo Pontaza as Castellanos's successor. As qualifications, they mention Castellanos's having reared him from the age of four, Castellanos's having appointed him executor, his having substituted for Castellanos during the maestro's illnesses, and his having taught singing in the archdiocesan seminary during the last four or five years.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸*Libro VI*, fol. 30^o: "con la debida atencion y respeto suplicaban, se les pusiese por tal M^{tro} a Miguel Pontaza: lo qual pedian fundados en que les parecia idoneo para obtener el empleo, y por haverlo criado el finado M^{tro} Rafael desde edad de quatro años, doctrinado en buenas costumbres, y enseñado el arte de Musica . . ."



However, this same by Pedro Nolasco Estrada [Aristondo], "Official de la Capilla," and José Patricio Hernández, "Musico," also apply for the post. If still surviving works in the Guatemala archive tell their sufficient tale, only the first of Pontaza's contenders is additionally talented as a composer.¹⁴⁹ The chapter temporizes by appointing Pontaza interim maestro de capilla at half-pay, plus a supplement to maintain the choirboys under his personal care.

- 1791,
December 23 A detailed appraisal of the music that Castellanos bequeathed the cathedral fixes its value in excess of 800 pesos. The chapter therefore votes to start paying his sister Micaela Castellanos a monthly pension of six pesos.
- 1792,
July 3 Miguel Pontaza certifies Rafael Rodríguez for a scholarship (*beca*) in the Colegio de Seises. On July 27, Pontaza, *M^{tro} interino de Capilla*, asks that new *opas* be bought.
- 1792,
September 11 On Pontaza's recommendation Francisco Aragón, a singer hired for 80 pesos April 12, 1791, who is now Oficial de la Capilla, gets a raise to 100.
- 1793,
November 13 To meet the expenses of the war with France, the elderly dean Juan José González Batres is forced to start contributing 1000 pesos annually, the other canons a total of 2000 (divided proportionately to their salaries).
- 1793,
December 11 Miguel Pontaza accepts José Cornelio de las Lagas, natural son of Isidora Requena, as an apprentice for eight years. At the end, Pontaza must outfit him with new clothes. During the eight years, Pontaza has the right to retrieve him if he flees. However, the boy can be transferred to another maestro if Pontaza neglects him.¹⁵⁰
- 1794,
January 10 Juan Félix de Villega, bishop of Nicaragua, is announced as the new archbishop of Guatemala (dies February 3, 1800).
- 1794,
February 21 The chapter commissions Antonio Carbonel (canon 1785, *maestrescuela* 1798, chantre 1808) to solicit from Spain two organs superior to those on hand, one for ferial use, the other for festival use.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹Works by two other members of the same musical clan survived in the Guatemala archive in 1967. Nicolás [Estrada] Aristondo was represented by 26 villancicos dating mostly from the 1780s, and also by a hugely popular Christmas playlet thus annotated on the cover: *En los brazos de la Aurora. Tonadilla de Navidad a Solo y a 3. con Violines y Tromp^a. Retornelito por Raphael [Castellanos] 1780*. Other jottings on the cover reveal how popular this tonadilla became in nearby Honduras and in Mexico: "fue â Comavagua/ y â Jalapa/ y â Ciudad Real se copió." At top (left side of the cover): "fue â las Capuchinas/ y â las Beatas de Pinuela la Voz Sola con letra de Loa del Niños."

Mariano [Estrada y] Aristondo was represented in 1967 by an "Aria â la Purissima Conc^a de Ntra S^{ra} con Violin^a y Clarin^a," dated 1784, *Del Adan segundo*; by another aria preceded by recitative dated 1785; and by two villancicos dated at Guatemala 1783 and December 1786.

Pedro Nolasco Estrada Aristondo's works in the Guatemala archive include:

Milagrosa Ynfanta. Villan.^{oo} a Duo. y a 6. con Violines, Trompas y Bajo.

No os ausenteis mi bien. "Se cantò este año de 1793" on cover. Recomposed 1798. Two other Ascension villancicos by this same composer were recomposed in 1798 and 1799.

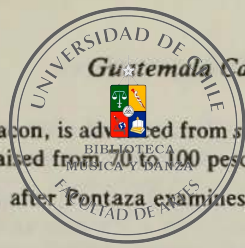
Venid atended. Quatro Santissimo. Con Violines y Clarincillos de A. En la Nueva Guath.^a 1790. A Major (three sharps), 3/8 and 6/8.

Xacarilla, xacarilla. Villancico o Xacara al Niño Dios a solo y a quatro con violines y Bajo. 1783. Ten other villancicos dated 1784, 1785 (four times), 1786, 1787 (thrice), 1790.

Other items dated 1786, 1788, 1789, and undated. Estrada Monroy, *Datos*, II, 181, listed 13 Christmas compositions by Pedro Nolasco Estrada Aristondo dated 1784-1790.

¹⁵⁰Archivo General de Centroamérica, A 1 20 Legajo 1100, fols. 187-188.

¹⁵¹*Libro VI*. fol. 57: "se comisionó p^{or} este Cabildo al S^{or} D. Antonio Carbonel, paraque pide â España vn organo mejor q el q hoy tiene la Igl^a, para todos los días, y otro superior para las fiestas clasicas."



- 1794,
March 6 Francisco García, subdeacon, is advanced from *sacchante interino* to titular succentor, and his pay raised from 70 to 100 pesos annually.
- 1795,
June 26 Five seises are admitted, after Pontaza examines and approves their voices and musical ears.
- 1795,
August 6 The chapter votes to continue investing a yearly 2500 pesos of *fábrica* funds in the Colegio de Infantes (= Seises), founded June 10, 1781, "because it is the nursery of good choir singers and chaplains."¹⁵²
- 1796,
February 5 The rector of the Colegio de Seises complains that his charges learn no plainchant. Pontaza teaches only sporadically, often sends a substitute whom the students do not respect, and the teaching methods of both are poor.¹⁵³
- 1796,
September 23 Oaxaca and Valladolid (= present-day Morelia) cathedral chapters have petitioned the Crown for the right to wear the more elaborate ceremonial garb hitherto restricted to Mexico City and Lima cathedrals.¹⁵⁴ The Crown's extension of identical sumptuary privileges to all New World cathedral jibes with the late colonial trend to equalize the privileges of all American subject jurisdictions.
- 1796,
December 13 The recently deceased alto singer Juan [de] Aragón [see October 6, 1789] is replaced with Silvestre Bersián earning a yearly 100 pesos.
- 1797,
September 15 During the six years since Castellanos's death, Miguel Pontaza has continued with only the title of interim chapelmaster. Meantime, discipline has deteriorated to such an extent that the cathedral music is now the laughing stock of Guatemala. Led by Vicente Sáenz (appointed October 6, 1789), seven cathedral musicians—Silvestre Bersián, Pedro Nolasco Estrada, Nicolás Espinosa (singer, 1784), Pantaleón Cilieza (tenorete, 1789), José Estrada (violin, 1789), and Juan Alberto Velasques (bajonero, 1784)—therefore petition the chapter to end disorder and confusion by appointing a titular maestro de capilla with ample authority to govern. According to them, Pontaza's unfitness stems from several roots: he cannot conduct, nor can he lead with his voice or from an instrument; he cannot hear nor correct mistakes; he trains no boy sopranos; what few prospective boys were entrusted to his care have been withdrawn by disgusted parents; and worst of all he lacks the most fundamental prerequisite for being a maestro de capilla—he cannot compose.¹⁵⁵ The chapel replies to the petition by allowing

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, fol. 67^v: "es el taller de los Capellanes, y buenos Cantores de Coro."

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, fol. 71: "los Colegiales se hallaban sin instruccion en el Cantollano, por la poca aplicacion y mal metodo de enseñar, q tiene el Maestro; el poco tpo. q emplea en su enseñanza; sus repetidas fallas; y por no hacerlo regularmente por si, sino por uno de sus discipulos, a quien los Colegiales no tienen respeto alguno."

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 76^v.

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*, fol. 83^v: "Se leyò una peticion que presentaron siete Musicos de la Capilla, y fueron, Vicente Saens, Silvestre Bersian, Nicolas Espinosa, Pedro Nolasco Estrada, Pantaleon Cilieza, Josef Estrada, y Juan Alberto Velasques, diciendo q por motivo de estar sin Maestro de Capilla estaban sufriendo los mayores azàres è incomodidades, q se pueden dar en el Coro; porque aunque el V. Cab^{do} se sirvio proveer el año de 91 en Miguel Pontaza interin se determinaba; como se ha pasado tanto tpo. así, piensan algunos de los Cantores, q así se queda, y han roto el hilo de la subordinacion y concordia, de suerte q cadauno de estos por su pte hace lo q se le antoja, asistiendo como y quando quiere, mandando y determinando à su arbitrio; motivo porq se ha cambiado de Coro de Musica en una confusa griteria, de q es testigo todo Guat.^a pues en el dia es el objeto de la irrision dho Coro, siendo el origen funesto de este desorden, saber los Musicos por experiencia, practica, q el citado Miguel no es de ninguna manera para el empleo; pues no tiene espiritu para mandar, ni disposicion para arreglar, ni voz para regir, ni instrumento que sirva de



- each choir singer and instrumentalist to turn in his sealed chapelmaster choice to the chapter secretary.
- 1797, October 6 Pedro Nolasco Estrada [Aristondo] wins the secret ballot election and is appointed with a 350-peso annual salary, plus an additional 60 for maintaining two tipes (= boy sopranos).¹⁵⁶
- 1798, April 20 During Pontaza's six somnolent years, musicians' salaries have stagnated. Estrada now begins a campaign for merit increases, beginning with Manuel Ramires (present since before January 7, 1784, he asked in 1789 for the same increase that he now finally receives—from a yearly 60 to 80 pesos). The chapter warns Estrada "to be especially careful that Ramires corrects his faults."¹⁵⁷
- 1798, April 27 Missals and *Epistoleros* are in bad shape; offices are missing from other choirbooks.
- 1798, November 9 Pantaléon Ciliesa's request for a pay raise shall be referred to Estrada for his opinion. Vicente Sáenz's virtues are so obvious "that in deference to this applicant's signal merit, and his being first violin, his salary shall be augmented by a yearly 24 pesos."¹⁵⁸
- 1798, November 13 On Estrada's recommendation, Ciliesa = Siliesa is raised to a yearly 80 pesos.
- 1798, November 20 Agustín Granados succeeds the dead bajonero Domingo Peralta at a yearly 80 pesos.
- 1799, July 19 José Estrada, singer and violinist, solicits a raise to which he feels entitled because of his long years of good service and consistently punctual attendance.¹⁵⁹ The chapter raises him to a yearly 80 pesos. At the same session, the chapter (on chapelmaster Estrada's recommendation) accepts Nicolas Saso as the deceased Desiderio Montalbo's successor.
- Also at the same session, the chapter learns that the Crown demands another 3000 pesos from Guatemala cathedral for war expenses.¹⁶⁰
- 1799, October 25 Prompted by Estrada, the *acólitos de coro* whom he certifies in plainchant petition for three more pesos monthly. To qualify, they must have regularly attended his class in plainchant.¹⁶¹
- 1800, April 26 After nine years as chorister and six months in Estrada's plainchant class at the Colegio de Infantes [= Seises] Juan Zapata, an *acólito del coro*, asks for the raise promised in the act of October 25, 1799.¹⁶²

timón y apoyo à las voces, ni destreza para apuntar à estas quando se turban, ni tipes que canten; pues por la poca enseñanza los han sacado sus padres; y lo que es mas, ni composicion /fol. 84/ que es el caracter que hace Maestro. &c. Y concluyen suplicando al V. Cabº se sirva proveerlos de vn Maestro de Capilla, que esté adornado de los prerequisites suficientes para el desempeño de su obligacion."

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*, fol. 84^v.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 87^v: "teniendo especial cuidado el Maestro de que se enmiende en las fallas."

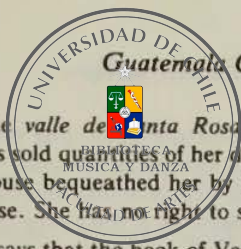
¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 90: "En atencion al particular merito del pretendiente, y à ser el primer violin aumentasele veinte, y quatro p^a cada año."

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.*, fol. 95^v: "José Estrada Cantor y violin solicitando aumento de sueldo alegando su antigüedad, puntualidad, asistencia, y buen servicio . . ."

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 96^v. These forced contributions (going back to November 13, 1793) set the fashion for the ever-mounting demands made by caudillos once independence was in the air. Before mid-nineteenth century such exactions brought not only Guatemala but also nearly all other Hispanic American cathedrals to their financial knees.

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*, fol. 98. The certificate guaranteed each petitioner "de haver asistido con aplicacion à la clase de canto llano."

¹⁶²*Ibid.*, fol. 108.



- 1800,
April 30 Pontaza, absent in the *valle de Santa Rosa*, complains that the aged Micaela Castellanos has sold ~~quite~~ ^{quite} of her deceased brother's music and might try to sell the house bequeathed her by her brother. Pontaza added three rooms to the house. She has no right to sell it.¹⁶³
- 1800,
June 4 Chapelmaster Estrada says that the book of Vespers Psalms is in "very bad condition" and must be repaired. The chapter agrees to the repairs on condition that none of the music suffer changes.¹⁶⁴
- 1801,
December 23 The chantre, Isidro Sicilia, must see to the fixing of the organ.
- 1802,
March 15 Estrada suggests José Estrada [see July 19, 1799], Pantaleón Cilieza [November 9, 1798], and Mariano Ocampos as replacements at 100 pesos each for Juan Fajardo, Vicente Sáenz, and his son Benedicto Sáenz, who quit their posts (100, 125, 100 pesos) August 15, 1801.¹⁶⁵ As successors to José Estrada and Pantaleón Cilieza, previously earning 80 pesos, he proposes Luis Bolaños and Felipe Díaz at 92 pesos each. The chapter counters by asking for a report from the quitting musicians.
- 1802,
March 27 In their report, the three quitting musicians—Fajardo and the two Sáenz's—give other more lucrative occupations as their reason.¹⁶⁶
- 1802,
April 1 The chantre announces the arrival of Félix de León, a master organ-builder, who will evaluate the Antigua cathedral organ.¹⁶⁷
- 1802,
April 5 Maestro Andrés Agreda y Parejo, on his own confession a self-taught organ builder,¹⁶⁸ offers to repair the old organ from the cathedral in Antigua.
- 1802,
April 30 Agreda y Parejo's offer is accepted and he is ready to proceed with repairs and rebuilding. However, he requires in writing the pitch¹⁶⁹ desired by the chapter. The succentor opts for the original pitch of the Antigua organ, but chapelmaster Estrada prefers the higher pitch of the Socorro organ.

¹⁶³Archivo General de Centroamérica, A 1 20, Legajo 1487, fol. 244: "halló q^e havia vendido varios papeles de musica y q^e trata de vender la casa en la qual fabrico tres piezas de su peculio." After being replaced by Pedro Nolasco Estrada, Pontaza apparently quit Nueva Guatemala.

¹⁶⁴*Libro VI*, fol. 111: "con especial cuidado de no alterar la Musica."

¹⁶⁵*Ibid.*, fol. 130. According to García Peláez, *Memorias*, III (1852), p. 261, Benedicto Sáenz studied keyboard instruments (*teclado*) with the friar-priest José María Eulacia, who arrived from Spain in 1790. García Peláez, III, 262, lists other prominent musicians in Guatemala at the turn of the century. Among these were fray Manuel Codina, Dominican organist; Gil Ramos, piano teacher; Manuel de Lara y Arrese, who introduced chamber works by Haydn, Boccherini, Pleyel, and Mozart and brought a string quartet version of Haydn's *Creation* to Guatemala; and Gil Lambur, an excellent violinist. García Conde, *gobernador intendente* en route from Honduras to Sonora, was a first-class amateur.

¹⁶⁶*Ibid.*, fol. 130: "piden se les tenga por apartados de las plazas . . . por no poderlas servir cumplidamente, con motivo de otras ocupaciones que se les han hecho forzosas."

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 131: "expone haber hecho venir desde el Texar al Mro Organero Felix de Leon . . ."

¹⁶⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 149 (July 3, 1803): "no ser un facultativo experto, sino un oficial de pura aficion . . ." He was by no means the first organ builder in Guatemala. Alfred E. Lemmon, "Dos Fuentes," *Heterofonia*, 65 [XII/2], 31, cites an Indian named Luis López who on January 13, 1657, contracted to make a six-rank organ for Izalco, costing 500 tostones (Archivo General de Centroamérica, A 1 20, Legajo 661, fols. 12^v-14). On February 4, 1671, Lorenzo Gutiérrez contracted to make an organ for suburban San Antón church *con su flautado, octavas, quincena o campanillas*, costing 250 pesos (A 1 20, Legajo 680, Expediente 9173, fols. 36-37). Francisco Ximénez, *Cuarta Parte (Libro Sexto) de la Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa, Orden de Predicadores* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1971 [Biblioteca "Goathemala," XXIV], p. 201, mentions fray Francisco Montoya, a Dominican who after arriving in 1704 made organs at Antigua.

¹⁶⁹*Libro VI*, fol. 133: "sobre cuio particular estèn discordes el Sochantre y M^{ro} de Capilla." According to Agreda y Parejo, most singing chaplains joined the succentor in desiring the semitone lower pitch of the old organ.



- 1802,
July 14 The chantre complains that the contract with Agreda y Parejo does not include *la mixtura de cornetas*, "which is very necessary." A chief source of cathedral income around this time that will be diverted to payment for the organ rebuilding is the selling of dyes.¹⁷⁰
- 1802,
October 29 During the interim while awaiting the rebuilt organ, the chantre asks permission to buy a piano for 100 pesos.¹⁷¹
- 1803,
February 18 Coaxed by Antonio Carbonel—now *maestrescuela*—Narciso Truxillo,¹⁷² still residing in Antigua, has agreed to become a candidate for cathedral organist.
- 1803,
July 3 Although in his attempted rebuilding of the organ Agreda y Parejo has lost large sums (only partly recouped by an additional 500 pesos from the chapter), chapelmaster Pedro Nolasco Estrada still remains unsatisfied with the sound of the *flautas*.¹⁷³ The chantre agrees to insist on a new wind chest and the addition of higher pitches to the dull mixtures.¹⁷⁴
- 1803,
July 8 Agreda y Parejo asks that tuning costs and additional stops not be tallied against the additional 500 pesos awarded by the chapter. According to the specifications that he hands the chapter the rebuilt organ includes twelve mixtures. The stops bear these names: *aflautado principal, violín, dulzaina grande, octava grande, dulzaina en quincena, octavita y espigueta, espigueta con tercera, veintedocena repetida, octavita aguda, trompetas, becerro, tambores*.¹⁷⁵ At last satisfied, Pedro Nolasco Estrada has certified in a report dated June 3, 1803, that the organ is perfect, and in some respects exceeds what Agreda y Parejo promised. "It includes 16 flue ranks, two ranks of reeds, plus two mixtures consisting of 90 metal and wood pipes, making a total of 630 pipes. So far as the proportions of tin and lead in the flue pipes go, everything seems to fulfill the contract."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 138.

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, fol. 140: "podría mandarle hechar un Piano, cuyo agregado lo tenia tratado en cien pesos y que segun le habian asegurado los inteligentes, le hacia falta . . ." The chapter decided that the chantre "podia con libertad mandar agregar al Organo el referido Piano."

¹⁷²*Ibid.*, fol. 147. According to García Peláez, *Memorias* (1852), II, 297, Narciso Truxillo = Trujillo, Vicente Sáenz, and José Tomás Guzmán were all three pupils of Manuel Pellecer [in Antigua].

¹⁷³Siding with the chapelmaster, the chapter agreed that Agreda y Parejo should take care of the "flautas que se nota no sonar bien, y hagase de nuevo lo que dice el Maestro de Capilla" (*Libro VI*, fol. 149).

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*: "hacer nuevo secreto, y poner las misturas que faltan de pitos."

¹⁷⁵Agustín Estrada Monroy, "El Órgano de la Catedral Metropolitana de Guatemala," *Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia*, XLII (1969), 519. As source he cites the Archivo Eclesiástico, Legajo 18, Armario Mayor, Doc. 49, folio 2. When he states that it was Archbishop Francos y Monroy who ordered the chapter to stage the competition won by Benedicto Sáenz (p. 520) [in 1803] he contradicts *Datos*, II, 130, citing that archbishop's death eleven years earlier (July 17, 1792). However, he does correctly list Esteban Mariano de León y Garrido as the interim cathedral organist in 1802 and José Tomás Guzmán (pupil of Manuel Pellecer at Antigua) as the deceased titular organist (*Anales*, XXII [1947], 16). According to Estrada Monroy, (*Anales*, XLII [1969], 520), citing the Archivo Eclesiástico, Legajo 18, Armario Mayor, Doc. 50, folio 1, Benedicto Sáenz's opposers in 1803 for the organistship were León y Garrido, Esteban Hidalgo, and Francisco Aragón of Nueva Guatemala; Narciso Truxillo of Antigua. Antonio Carpio, organist of Santa Domingo convento in Nueva Guatemala, signed the certificate awarding Benedicto Sáenz the post that he was to hold 28 years (until 1831).

¹⁷⁶Estrada Monroy, "El Órgano," pp. 519-520 (citing Legajo 18, Doc. 49, folio 6°): "16 órdenes de flautas y dos de lengüetería, mas dos de mixtura de metal y madera, con un total de 90 flautas mas, que hacen por todas 630 y por lo tocante a la mezcla de estaño y plomo de que están hechas las flautas, me parece estar conforme a la contrata."

Skipping over from 1803 to the earthquake of December 25, 1917, partially demolishing the cathedral in



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Nueva Guatemala, Estrada Monroy states that during the rebuilding which followed, the organ regained its former place of honor between the coro and the altar, but that certain flue ranks no longer spoke. In 1932 proposals to import a monumental organ from Germany caught the fancy of a committee headed by Monseñor Mateo Perrone. Funds collected from coffee exporters paid for an E. F. Walcker (Ludwigsburg) that arrived at Puerto Barrios March 5, 1937, at Guatemala City April 21, and that was premiered in September. In 1962 it was moved on the order of Monseñor Mariano Rossell Arellano. Alfred Wolburg, organ builder resident in Mexico City, superintended the move. Hans Hüber was the first organist after the move. At a concert June 26, 1969, in which the Guatemala Symphony Orchestra participated, and in which Elias Blas was organ soloist in Saint-Saëns's Third Symphony, the Walcker organ of three manuals and pedal board counted more than 4800 pipes divided among 47 ranks. (Estrada Monroy itemizes these ranks, p. 521.)

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