

# Musical Life in Caracas Cathedral to 1836



## BEGINNINGS AT CORO

Clement VII created the diocese of Venezuela—the first in South America—by a bull dated June 21, 1531. Diego de Losada founded Santiago de León de Caracas in 1567. Not until June 20, 1637, however, was the seat of the diocese at last officially moved from Coro (founded in 1527) to Caracas (seat of the secular government of the province from 1577). In the meantime, the history of cathedral music in Venezuela becomes of necessity the history of music at Coro.

The Welser banking firm of Augsburg, which from 1528 to 1556 enjoyed exclusive rights to exploit Venezuela, sent out such agents as Nikolaus Federmann (1501-1542)—who used Coro as his base for exploring the Venezuelan interior. But what little funds were available for building the cathedral at Coro came not from these Augsburgers but exclusively from the Crown. Like all other churches erected in Venezuela until a stone edifice went up at Caracas in 1583,<sup>1</sup> the cathedral at Coro began as a straw-covered wooden structure. Rodrigo de Bastidas, bishop of Venezuela from 1532 to 1542, supervised its construction. In a letter to the Crown dated at Santo Domingo January 20, 1535, he called it as good a building as circumstances would allow.<sup>2</sup> Himself born in Triana (Seville) Bastidas knew the best churches of Spain. However, the only New World church building that, in a letter to Charles V dated November 1, 1537, he said "could compete with all but the chiefest in Spain," was that at Santo Domingo.<sup>3</sup> (It was Santo Domingo cathedral of which he was dean before becoming bishop—first of Venezuela, then of Puerto Rico; and in Santo Domingo cathedral he chose to be buried.)

In the same letter of November 1, 1537, Bishop Bastidas urged Charles V to fund something equal to Santo Domingo in Venezuela. How slowly Charles V responded can best be judged from the second bishop's memorial to the Crown dated October 20, 1550. In it Bishop Miguel Jerónimo Ballesteros (who ruled the see from 1543 to

<sup>1</sup>Francisco Armando Maldonado, *Seis primeros obispos de la iglesia venezolana en la época hispánica 1532-1600* (Caracas: Italgráfica, S.R.L., 1973 [Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, CXVII]), p. 450. According to Bishop Juan Manuel Martínez Manzanillo, who governed the see of Venezuela 1580-1592, the church being erected in Caracas at the residents' expense in 1583 was the first of stone, all the rest being of wood and straw: "será la primera que hay de piedra en esta gobernación: todas son pajizas, en las cuales con grande escrúpulo tengo el Santísimo Sacramento por el riesgo de los incendios" (letter to the Crown dated February 22, 1583).

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 15: "Dejé hecha una buena iglesia de paja, conforme a la disposición de la tierra y puesto todo lo necesario lo mejor que yo pude."

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 32: "La iglesia catedral de esta ciudad de Santo Domingo dejó acabada y ha salido tan bien acabada y agraciada que puede competir con cualquier de las de España, dejando las muy principales, de lo cual toda esta ciudad ha recibido mucho contentamiento y consolación y regocijo; pluguiere a Nuestro Señor que en Venezuela hubiese algo de bueno para que en ello me emplease como he hecho en ésta, sea Nuestro Señor loado."

1558) regretfully reported that of the 2000 pesos thus far budgeted by the Crown for cathedral ornaments and books only 76,560 ½ maravedis had actually been paid.<sup>4</sup> Ballesteros asked that some of the unpaid balance be credited at Seville to buy "ornaments, books, and other necessities"—Seville being the cathedral acknowledged by Bishops Bastidas, Ballesteros, and Pedro de Agreda (ruled Venezuela 1558 to 1579) as model for liturgical usages in the Coro cathedral dedicated to Saint Anne.<sup>5</sup>

Small good did any of the books and ornaments sent between 1550 and 1567. On September 8, 1567, French and Scottish protestants sacked Coro, thus avenging the penalties Pedro Meléndez had exacted of encroaching Huguenots in Florida.<sup>6</sup> Bishop Agreda's resulting woes filled a 16-sheet certified report dated December 3, 1567. "They broke in pieces the crucifixes and images, shot the retables, and cut the books of sacred scripture to bits," he reported. All the more reason for moving the cathedral to a less exposed location, thought Bishop Agreda's successor Manzanillo, who spent more time in the newly founded Caracas than in Coro.

The year of Manzanillo's entry into the see, 1580, happens to be the year in which were recorded the first Coro cathedral capitular acts that still survive. Anything specifically musical before that year has therefore to be inferred. True, Juan Rodríguez de Robledo (1504-1570),<sup>7</sup> who settled in Coro in 1528<sup>8</sup> only a year after its founding and who became the first Coro cathedral chantre, is certified in Bishop Ballesteros's memorial to the Crown dated October 20, 1550, as being "a good churchman and natural contralto singer."<sup>9</sup> The same memorial documents the singing of Mass, vespers, and compline at Cartagena—where Ballesteros was dean in 1546.<sup>10</sup> In 1550 Ballesteros coveted six singing clergy for Venezuela, so that daily Divine Office and Saturday Salves could be similarly sung at Coro, rather than merely said. Any episcopal attempt at musical improvement continued being frustrated, however, as late as 1572, when the then richest inhabitant of Venezuela balked at paying even a poor sacristan his dues for a sung Mass,<sup>11</sup> because it cost more than a said Mass.

The milestones in Coro cathedral music from 1580 to 1637 are posted in the following chronological table.

1581,	The succentor Pedro Juares shall receive 50 silver pesos annually for teaching all the ordinands plainchant. On the same day, the chapter prescribes singing of the Salve Regina every Saturday at sunset. <sup>12</sup>
December 11	

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.* p. 109: "La iglesia y fábrica de esta ciudad [Coro] es muy pobre y tiene gran necesidad de ornamentos y libros. V.M. la ha hecho merced por dos Cédulas Reales, la una fecha en Medina del Campo a 1º de Julio de 1532 y la otra en Madrid a 27 de octubre de 1535, de dos mil pesos. De estos se han pagado setenta y tres mil y 560 maravedis y medio."

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 141. As late as September 28, 1656, the Caracas cathedral acknowledged an obligation to venerate the saints in the Seville cathedral calendar.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 179 (he was 60 in 1564), 247 (died October 26, 1570).

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 162 (in 1560 he testified to having been in Venezuela 32 years). On November 13, 1560, Bishop Agreda reported to the Crown that he had not been paid his chantre's salary since 1549. In recompense, the bishop recommended his promotion to dean, which was granted.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 108: "Es buen eclesiástico, cantor contralto y tiene natural de voz." On the other hand, Bishop Ballesteros complained that he actively promoted Indian enslavement (p. 111).

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 323.

<sup>12</sup>Caracas Cathedral, *Libro primero de Acuerdos Capitulares del M.V.S. Dean y Cabildo* [September 3, 1580-August 25, 1625], fol. 11. For the summary of this act in the "Yndice Chronologico delos

- 1582, February 12 Fray Juan Martínez Manzanillo, who took the Dominican habit in Santo Domingo April 17, 1545, and who on October 14, 1580, was royally presented for bishop of Venezuela, arrives with Tridentine reform missals to replace the old missals. On February 23 he gives instructions for the care of the new chant books. On March 13 the chapter instructs the majordomo to hasten a choirbook stand to hold the chant books.
- 1590, June 19 Bishop Manzanillo appoints Marcos Árias de Villasinda, natural son of the lieutenant governor of Venezuela<sup>13</sup> and currently cathedral sacristan, to keep an attendance record of the dignitaries whose duty it is to sing the canonical hours.
- 1596, May 27 Juan Camargo, scion of another leading family, is appointed a cathedral singer. He and two or three other paid singers are released August 30, 1598, after arrival of a new chantre.
- 1600, January 21 Ana de Morales, widow of the conquistador of Coro Antonio Col who was alcalde of Coro in 1563,<sup>14</sup> endows sung Masses on November 8 and December 25, preceded by sung vespers.
- 1603, January 14 The necessity of replacing the thatched-roof cathedral, wet at every rain, stimulates a contract with the architect Gaspar de Rivera Matajudios to finish a new structure in 30 months.
- 1606, January 31 The chapter agrees to order chant books from Spain, one *de sanctis*, the other *de tempore*.
- 1608, December 31 The chapter approves reimbursing Dean Diego Fernández de Cárdenas for a Toledan chant passioner—probably the 1576 edition.<sup>15</sup> Four other chant books bought around this time still remained in the cathedral archive at Caracas as late as 1806:<sup>16</sup> *Antiphonarium de Sanctis. Illustrissimi Domini Alfonsi Gregorii Archiep. Caesaraugustanam iussu Aeditum* and *Antiphonarium de Tempore* (Saragossa: Pascual Pérez, 1596 and 1598 [Palau y Dulcet, 13062, 13063]); *Missale cantonale proprium missarum de tempore* [and *de sanctis*] (Madrid: Ex Typographia Regia, 1597 [Palau y Dulcet, 173072]).
- 1613, January 20 Incited by Bishop Juan de Bohorques who upon arrival January 12 wished to start having Divine Office sung in the newly covered cathedral nave, the

Acuerdos del M.V.S. Dean y Cabildo." see *Actas del Cabildo Eclesiástico de Caracas. compendio cronológico* [hereafter *ACE*], ed. by Manuel Pérez Vila (Caracas: Talleres de Itálgráfica, C.A., 1963 [Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, LXIV-LXV]), I, 4.

Concerning the compiler of the *índice*, see Jaime Suriá Vendrell, "Juan José Guzmán y la labor civilizadora de la Iglesia en Venezuela," *Boletín Histórico* [Fundación John Boulton], 7 (January, 1965), 5-32. Born at Caracas January 21, 1754, Guzmán died there October 13, 1819. A leading scholar of his day, he became so accomplished a Latinist that he was chosen to write Bishop Martí's funeral elegy. Only Caracas among all Latin American cathedrals possesses chronological and subject matter indexes of its books of colonial capitular acts—thanks to Juan José Guzmán.

<sup>13</sup>Pedro M. Arcaya, *Población de origen europeo de Coro en la época colonial* (Caracas: Itálgráfica, 1972 [Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, CXIV]), p. 56.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 252.

<sup>15</sup>*Passionarium cum officiis maioris hebdomadae. iuxta formam missalis & Breuiarij Romani. Ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilij Tridentini restituti. Cum cantu sancte Ecclesie Toletane* (Toledo: Juan de Plaça, 1576 [Palau y Dulcet, 214435]).

<sup>16</sup>*Inventario de las Imagenes. Altares. Alajas. Ornamentos. y demas Utensillos de esta Stã. Iglesia Metropolitana de Caracas. Mandò formar este Libro El M.V.S. Dean y Cabildo de ella por su Acta de 7 de Octubre de 1806.* fol. 147: "Un cantoral de misas de santos, impreso en Madrid en 1597: otro de tempore de la misma impresion: antifonario de Santos impreso en Zaragoza en 1596: otro id. de tempore de la misma impresion."

- February 14 After voting to continue José Trinidad Espinosa as interim chapelmaster, the chapter asks him to search for boys with good voices. He shall teach them singing.
- February 19 Cayetano Carreño resigns the chair of music in the university. He is succeeded by Juan José Pardo, a professor whose textbook is Gerónimo Romero de Ávila's *Arte de canto-llano, y órgano* (Madrid: J. Ibarra, 1762). Pardo holds the chair until December 1817. Pardo's successor appointed in March 1818, Hilario Bosset, occupies the chair until 1822.<sup>81</sup>
- July 3 A royal cedula dated April 23, 1793, restores to the bishop the right (granted May 18, 1695) to name all cathedral officials except the majordomo and chapter secretary. Not the chapter but the newly appointed bishop, Fray Juan Antonio de la Virgen María y Viana (ceremonial entry into Caracas September 8, 1793), will therefore decide musical appointments during the next five years.
- November 7 Cayetano Carreño resumes the post of acting cathedral organist.<sup>82</sup>
- 1794, José Angel Lamas, having missed 38 ceremonies during the last half of  
January 22 1793, is entitled to only 21 pesos 1 real (his 30-peso salary garnisheed in the amount of 8 pesos 7 reales).<sup>83</sup>
- June 2 Five extra instrumentalists and a vocal soloist from outside the cathedral are paid a total of 13 pesos for their aid on Ascension Day. The first violinist and the vocalist each receive 2½ pesos, the second violinist, French hornist, and two clarinetists each receive 2 pesos. José Trinidad Espinosa, who is still acting maestro de capilla, disburses these payments.<sup>84</sup>
- August 29 The chapter accepts a 2200-peso endowment for maitines sung every September 7. The organist shall receive 3 pesos and the succentor 2 pesos for their extra efforts that night. Eight boys shall assist.
- 1795, The twelve-year-old orphan, Simón Bolívar, future liberator of the country,  
August 1 enters Cayetano Carreño's house (situated on the corner of Cuji and Romualda) as a boarding pupil of Carreño's elder brother, Simón Rodríguez (1771-1854).<sup>85</sup>

<sup>81</sup>Leal, *Historia de la Universidad*, pp. 261-262. From 1842 to 1873 Juan Hilario Bos[s]et was bishop of Mérida. José María Osorio (1803-1851) dedicated his 36-page *Directorio coral de la Catedral de Mérida . . . litografiado en Mérida año 1846* (preface dated July 3, 1844) to him.

<sup>82</sup>AGN, *Libros de Contabilidad*, 697/698. [Bienes Eclesiasticos Caracas. Mayordomia de Fabrica 1794-1801], fol. 111: "Al Teniente Organista D. Cayetano del Carmen desde 7. de Noviembre [1793] en que entró a servir esta plaza, veinte y dos pesos quatro reales."

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 111<sup>v</sup>. On this date he was listed as *tiple*.

<sup>84</sup>AGN, *Libros de Contabilidad*, 697/698 (1794-1801), fol. 122: "Caracas y Junio 2<sup>o</sup> de 1794 a<sup>s</sup>. He recibido de D<sup>o</sup> Martin de Ascanio Mayord<sup>mo</sup> de Fab<sup>ca</sup> de esta S<sup>ta</sup> Iglesia Catedral por las asistencias de Ministros foraneos à tocar y cantar en Misa maior y hora el dia de la Asencion de N<sup>tro</sup> Señor à saver / Por un primer violin dose reales en la Missa y ocho reales en la hora 2<sup>o</sup> 4<sup>o</sup> / Por un voz dose reales en la Missa y ocho reales en al hora 2<sup>o</sup> 4<sup>o</sup> / Por un segundo violin un peso en la Missa y otro en la hora 2<sup>o</sup> / Por dos clarinetes un peso à cada uno en la Missa y otro peso à cada uno en la hora 4<sup>o</sup> / Por una trompa un peso en la Missa y otro en la hora 2<sup>o</sup> / Que todo importa treze pesos cuya traza fue dispuesta p<sup>r</sup> el M.V.<sup>l</sup> Cav<sup>do</sup> el año de ochenta y seis a peticion del L<sup>do</sup> B<sup>r</sup> d.<sup>n</sup> Juan Gabriel Liendo M<sup>tro</sup> de capilla q<sup>e</sup> fue de esta dha Iglesia / Jph Trinidad Espinosa."

<sup>85</sup>Both brothers shared the same roof from the date of Simón Rodríguez's marriage to María de los Santos Ronco, June 25, 1793, to 1797. For the marriage certificate found by Manuel Landaeta Rosales in the Altagracia *Libro 2<sup>o</sup> de Matrimonios blancos de 1790 à 1805*, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>, see Arturo Guevara, *Espejo de Justicia* (Caracas: Imprenta Nacional, 1954), p. 123. According to this certificate, Rodríguez (born in 1771) was an *espósito*. His Chilean biographer Miguel Luis Amunátegui had it from Simón Rodríguez's



- 1796, José Angel Lamas becomes organista, a title that he will hold until death  
June 2 December 9, 1814.  
June 3 Cayetano Carreño, who will retain the post until death March 4, 1836,  
becomes titular maestro de capilla.

*Composers connected with the Oratory of St. Philip Neri*

Caracas boasted in Cayetano Carreño and José Angel Lamas her two most notable colonial composers of wholly European blood. Contemporary with them flourished a pleiad of Venezuelans of mixed African descent—José Antonio Caro, Juan Manuel Olivares, José Francisco Velásquez the elder, Lino Gallardo, Juan José Landaeta, and at least a half-dozen others whose musical development was greatly enhanced by the patronage of the rich Padre Sojo (1739-1799)—brother of Simón Bolívar's maternal grandfather.

Padre Sojo, more correctly Pedro Ramón Palacios[y] Sojo,<sup>86</sup> was born at a country estate in the valley of Santa Cruz de Pacayrigua January 17, 1739. Seventh of eleven children (all the others were born at Caracas), he was the son of the magnate Feliciano Palacios Gedler and Isabel Gil de Arratia. In December of 1762 Bishop Diez Madroñero ordained him priest. With the aid of the Marqués de Ustáriz he obtained crown permission July 2, 1764, to found at Caracas a congregation of the Oratorians. On April 28, 1769, he embarked for Europe. After obtaining Clement XIV's bull of December 4, 1769, authorizing the Caracas oratory, he returned by way of Madrid, arriving home November 2, 1770. On December 18, 1771, Bishop Martí canonically erected the Caracas oratory. Of the seven founding members, four were priests, two were in minor orders, one was a lay person. Padre Sojo's initial offices included that of prefect of music. Dr. Gabriel José Lindo, the priest among the four who had supervised building of the chapel, refectory, and houses for the Oratorians during the years 1764 through 1771,<sup>87</sup> quarrelled with Padre Sojo over a debt owed the carpenter Antonio Cardozo. A four-year suit erupting between Sojo and Lindo (brother-in-law of Pedro José de Osío hired as cathedral organist December 10, 1748) would have ended disastrously for Sojo in 1782 had not he appealed to the metropolitan at Santo Domingo.<sup>88</sup>

As early as October 5, 1779, Bishop Martí complained to the crown that Padre Sojo retired to a recreational center in the outskirts of Caracas (in San Pablo parish) and to another country house near Chacao ("two leagues outside Caracas") where he and other Oratorians played ball and indulged in musical concerts day

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own mouth that his father was [Alejandro] Carreño (*ibid.*, p. 67). He opened a primary school May 31, 1791, and on May 19, 1794, presented the Caracas town council with a plan for educational reform (*ibid.*, p. 94). After implication in the abortive conspiracy of 1797 he escaped to Jamaica, whence he voyaged to Baltimore. There he earned his living three years working as a printshop compositor. In 1804-1805 he worked for a chemist in Vienna. In 1823 he returned to South America richer by 64,000 *duros* (died at Amotape, Peru, February 28, 1854). During his twenty-year absence in Europe, his first wife lived with Cayetano Carreño, wife and family. Biographical details in Venezuela (Federal District), Consejo Municipal, *Simón Rodríguez (escritos sobre su vida y su obra)* (Caracas: Tipografía "Exito," C.A., 1954), pp. 137, 145, 182-187. See also, indexed references in Calcaño, *La ciudad y su música*.

<sup>86</sup>Biographical data in Juan Bautista Plaza, "El Padre Sojo," *Revista Nacional de Cultura*, XIX/124 (September-October, 1957), 9-65.

\**Ibid.*, p. 19.

\*\**Ibid.*, p. 42.

and night.<sup>89</sup> After grossly abusing his power, Dr. Lindo was himself in 1784 deposed from his office of bishop's professor.<sup>90</sup> In 1792 Bishop Martí died. On September 7, 1797, a royal cedula acknowledged the right of the Caracas Oratorians—still numbering only four priests among them—to manage their own finances without episcopal intervention. Shortly thereafter, on May 23, 1798, Padre Sojo's own lifetime dream came full circle when he was elected *prepósito* (head) of the Caracas congregation. In his will signed June 17, 1799, within days of his death, he left 50 pesos and a violin and viola to Juan José Landaeta, son of Juan José Landaeta; his cello to Lino Gallardo; 50 pesos to Pedro Pereira, organist of San Felipe Neri; 100 pesos to the flautist Mateo Villalobos, and 50 to Marcos Pompa.<sup>91</sup> These gifts capped a lifetime of favors to African-descended musicians.

The memory of these favors remained still vivid as late as 1861 when one writer summarized his philanthropy thus: "Lover of the arts, especially music, he invested the greater part of his fortune in their cultivation."<sup>92</sup> Supremely aware of his protégés' need for musical instruction, Padre Sojo deputed the mulatto Juan Manuel Olivares (1760-1797) to train "various youths gathered at his Chacao hacienda." From this Chacao school emerged a generation of mulatto art-composers, including the composer of *Gloria al bravo pueblo*, declared the national anthem of Venezuela by Guzmán Blanco's presidential decree May 25, 1881.<sup>93</sup>

### *Juan Manuel Olivares*

Born at Caracas April 12, 1760, Juan Manuel Hermenegildo de la Luz Olivares was baptized in Caracas cathedral April 20.<sup>94</sup> He was eldest of nine children who survived to adulthood. His father was the silversmith and goldsmith Juan Félix Olivares,<sup>95</sup> who at his death in 1787 was worth 5000 pesos, and owned a town house, a country seat in Chacao, two Negro slaves, a horse, a mule and four burros.<sup>96</sup> Among musical possessions, his father owned a harpsichord made by

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 37: "Consta que en muchas horas y días que tienen desembarazados los Neristas se retiran frecuentemente a una casa de campo que han fabricado en los arrabales de esta ciudad en la feligresía de San Pablo, y a otra que también tienen dos leguas distante de esta misma Ciudad cerca del Pueblo de Chacao a jugar en ellas pelota y bochas y tocar conciertos de música día y noche." According to Bishop Martí, who was egged on by Lindo, they neglected their church in favor of these country houses.

<sup>90</sup>Blas Joseph Terrero, *Theatro de Venezuela y Caracas*, ed. Pedro Manuel Arcaya (Caracas: Litografía del Comercio, 1926), p. 65. Terrero (1735-1802) rated Lindo an egomaniacal despot. A royal cedula dated October 4, 1784, ordered Lindo to return to the Oratorians. However, he intrigued to have his sentence reduced to six months banishment in Puerto Rico. On returning, he still enjoyed Bishop Martí's confidence although no longer officially the bishop's provisor.

<sup>91</sup>"El Padre Sojo," p. 53. To his godson Isidro Olivares, son of the deceased Juan Manuel Olivares and Sebastiana Velásquez (Sojo solemnized their marriage May 11, 1789), he bequeathed 100 pesos.

<sup>92</sup>José Antonio Díaz, *El Agricultor Venezolano, ó Lecciones de agricultura practica nacional* (Caracas: Rojas Hermanos, 1877), I, 171; quoted in Calcaño, pp. 86-87. The first edition was published at Caracas by M. de Briceño in 1861.

<sup>93</sup>Calcaño, p. 170. The composer was either Juan José Landaeta or Lino Gallardo; see Calcaño, p. 176.

<sup>94</sup>Juan Bautista Plaza, "Juan Manuel Olivares, el más antiguo compositor venezolano," *Revista Nacional de Cultura*, VIII/63 (July-August, 1947), 108. He found the baptismal certificate in the Cathedral parish *Libro 25 de Bautizos de Pardos (1759-1762)*, fol. 18.

<sup>95</sup>On March 19, 1760, in San Pablo Church, he married Paula Farfán, who was like him of mixed African descent.

<sup>96</sup>Carlos F. Duarte, "Los Olivares en la Cultura de Venezuela," *Boletín Histórico de la Fundación*



Pedro José Osío.<sup>97</sup> Juan Manuel as well as the second son, Juan Bautista<sup>98</sup> (born in 1765), both of them musicians, obviously knew Osío and may well have studied with him.

Padre Sojo solemnized Juan Manuel's marriage to Sebastiana Velásquez May 11, 1789, in San Pablo Church. (It was her brother José Francisco Velásquez—another musician of the Sojo mulatto group—who fathered a like-named composer son.) Of the five children born to Olivares-Velásquez couple, four were alive at Juan Manuel's death. Padre Sojo himself was godfather of their second son Isidro—bequeathing him in 1799 the already mentioned sum of 100 pesos. At earlier unspecified times Padre Sojo gave Juan Manuel Olivares a property “below Miguel Gómez's property on the road leading from San Pablo to La Guaira” and a Negro female slave worth 200 pesos.<sup>99</sup> Apart from Padre Sojo's gifts and pay for being organist of San Felipe Neri Church, Olivares also earned substantial sums from his compositions: witness the 186 pesos paid him by the cathedral majordomo in 1791. He was also paid handsomely for organizing special music for confraternity festivals. As an example, the majordomo of the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario paid him 120 pesos on October 21, 1793, for Naval festival music.<sup>100</sup>

On March 1, 1797, Juan Manuel died suddenly at El Valle de la Pascua—now El Valle, a Caracas suburb. That same day he made his will, signing the main portion, but dying before the codicil was ready for his signature.<sup>101</sup> The three who helped draw his will (and in whom he declared himself abundantly well pleased) were his wife, her brother the musician, José Francisco Velásquez, and another mulatto musician, Francisco Villalobos.<sup>102</sup> His possessions at death included an unfinished piano (“un piano sin concluir”).<sup>103</sup> According to Ramón de la Plaza, who in 1883 was the first to publish any of Olivares's compositions, he played piano, organ, and violin,<sup>104</sup> and was also an unrivalled teacher. His pedagogical methods that made him fitting founder of a school included team composing. For

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*John Boulton*, 15 (September, 1967), pp. 366–367. According to Duarte, Juan Félix Olivares's will is in the Caracas Registro Principal, Testamentarias, tomo M.O.P. 1787.

<sup>97</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 368: “un clave de la fábrica de don Pedro Osío.”

<sup>98</sup>Concerning him, see William J. Callahan, Jr., “La Propaganda, la Sedición y la Revolución Francesa en la Capitanía General de Venezuela (1789–1796),” *Boletín Histórico*, 14 (May, 1967), pp. 197–200. He aspired to the priesthood and had the reputation of reading widely. In 1794–1795 he was a musician at San Felipe Neri Church. In 1796 he led the band of musicians hired by Our Lady of the Rosary Confraternity to celebrate the 15 events in San Jacinto Church called Naval.

<sup>99</sup>Plaza, “Juan Manuel Olivares,” p. 107.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 114. In the facsimile receipt dated October 21, 1793, Olivares acknowledges receiving 120 pesos “en paga de la Música de las quince fiestas q<sup>e</sup> llaman de Naval y q<sup>e</sup> se an hecho en S<sup>n</sup> Jacinto [Dominican church] este presente mes.”

Naval was celebrated in October. In 1762, 1763, 1768, Ambrosio Carreño was paid for Naval music. The contracted leaders brought with them their own bands.

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>102</sup>Plaza, “El Padre Sojo,” p. 53, lists Mateo, Francisco, and Pedro as the three musical Villalobos brothers to whom he bequeathed 100, 100, and 25 pesos respectively.

<sup>103</sup>Duarte, “Los Olivares,” p. 369. Pianos began being imported to Caracas in 1796, according to Aristides Rojas, *Estudios históricos*, primera serie (Caracas: Tip. y Lit. del Comercio, 1926), p. 308. In a Caracas inventory of 1798 (will of Gervasio Navas) is mentioned “un clave piano de nogal, sin herraje” valued at 150 pesos (“Los Olivares,” p. 369, note 9).

<sup>104</sup>Ramón de la Plaza, *Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela* (Caracas: Imprenta de “La Opinión Nacional,” 1883), pp. 91–92, 95.

example: together with a pupil identified by the initials "J.L."—probably Juan José Landaeta<sup>105</sup> (1780–1814)—he composed *Exit Dominus* for treble and alto accompanied by continuo, paired violins, oboes and French horns.<sup>106</sup>

In 1947 his three largest cathedral-type works were analyzed by Juan Bautista Plaza (the manuscripts are in the *Escuela de Música "José Angel Lamas"*). Concerning Olivares's first Good Friday Lamentation for orchestally accompanied solo tenor, Juan Bautista Plaza wrote:

In the *Lamentacion Primera a solo del Viernes S<sup>to</sup> concertada con Violines, ff<sup>as</sup>, trompas, viola y Baxo* [paired violins, flutes, and French horns; viola, and bass], copied in 1804 by José María Mendible Isaza (= Izaza) for Marcos Pompa's use, Olivares vaunts his mastery of musical form better than in perhaps any other work. After a brief instrumental preface, the solo tenor sings "De lamentatione Jeremiae Prophetae" to a poignant melody heard again at the close, when it is repeated with the words "Jerusalem, Jerusalem." Olivares imposes further unity by making a ritornello of the music for the Hebrew letters Heth, Teth, Jod. The key scheme unfolds itself thus: G minor-F Major-F minor-E flat Major-C minor; G minor-F Major-D minor-G minor. Between repetitions of the ritornello in these different keys to set the Hebrew letters, he usually writes new florid music for each Latin verse.

The second of Olivares's masterpieces is his *Salve Regina* for three voices (SAT) accompanied by strings and horns (oboe parts are missing in the *Escuela* set copied around 1800).

His *Salve* ranks among the noblest surviving Venezuelan colonial testaments. The first of the five sections is a D Major Andante. The CAT chorus singing in mostly stepwise motion enters after a 16-measure instrumental introduction. As is elsewhere the rule in the colonial repertory, the choir here eschews imitations in favor of block chords garlanded with wreaths of violin fiorituri. Once done with the first section, Olivares abandons D Major, not returning to it until the fifth and final section. In the second section, an Andante in G minor for solo tenor (Ad te), he modulates transiently to B flat minor and E flat minor at "gementes et flentes in hac lacrymarum valle" (weeping and wailing in this vale of tears). As if pausing for sobs, the florid melodic line is fractured with rests at "suspiramus" and "gementes." Next comes a vigorous G Major choral Allegro (Eia ergo) that breathes confidence. The fourth section, a 2/4 Larghetto (Et Jesum), opens and closes in E minor. However, alternating passages in G Major for homophonic chorus and solo tenor or soprano fill 31 of the 58 measures. In the final Largo of 17 measures (O clemens), the choir returns to hieratic block chords in D Major.

The third surviving Olivares chef-d'oeuvre is a *Stabat Mater* copied around 1820 by Jesús María Montero (1782–1869), a pupil of Juan Luis Landaeta (1772–1812).

The music consists of four "movements." The choral "movement" (CATB) serves for 8 strophes, a soprano solo serves for 6 strophes, a contralto solo for 3, and a soprano-contralto duet for 3. The duration when all 20 strophes of Jacopone da Todi's text are sung extends to an hour. However, if only a single strophe or two be sung to each "movement," the duration can be cut to concert proportions. Not that the repetitions cloy. The music is too inspired for that to happen. Preludes, interludes, and postludes are always finely balanced. At no time

<sup>105</sup>Juan Bautista Plaza, "Juan Manuel Olivares," p. 115, preferred to resolve "J.L." as José Angel Lamas. Calcaño, p. 129, correctly opted for Juan José Landaeta.

<sup>106</sup>The copy dated 1799 at the *Escuela de Música "José Angel Lamas"* is catalogued 10A. "Composed by maestro J.M. Olivares and a pupil of his, J.L.," this D minor 3/4 work is analyzed in J.B. Plaza's article. "The voices move predominantly in parallel thirds, but the orchestral accompaniment abounds in the syncopations dear to our colonial masters."



does the instrumentation (2 violins, viola, strings, bass, 2 flutes, 2 horns) disturb the elegiac, pensive glow of the text. Paired flutes, now and then undergirded by horns, avoid anything that glitters. Instead, they generally float in suave thirds an octave above the violins. The interchangeability of the various strophes, so far as Olivares's music goes, is proved by incomplete parts of this same work copied by his brother-in-law José Francisco Velásquez. In Velásquez's parts, the soprano solo movement is used to set the first strophe, and the "Cujus animam" strophe is assigned to either tenor or alto.

In addition to his Good Friday Lamentation, Salve Regina, and Stabat Mater—all three of which works breathe Holy Week piety, Olivares is represented in the Escuela de Música "José Angel Lamas" archive by his own autograph copy of a set of Holy Week *Motetes a duo para las R.R.M.M. Monjes Concepciones* (Gloria laus, In monte Oliveti, Deus meus respice in me, Doleo super te, and Alleluia for Holy Saturday). Utilizing no more accompaniment than figured bass, these duos (in E flat, D minor, and D Major) demand no more than the moderate singing abilities of the Caracas Conceptionist nuns who commissioned them.<sup>107</sup> Possibly Olivares's also is the odd-verse A Major *Magnificat con fuga al final* catalogued 11A at the Escuela. Copied around 1810, the parts of this magnificent work are for CAT, paired violins, oboes, and horns.

In alphabetical order, the mulatto disciples attributed to Olivares by the author of *El Agricultor Venezolano* (1861) numbered among them: (1) Juan J. Caro<sup>108</sup> to whom the Escuela archive attributes an orchestrally accompanied D Major Mass *a 4* (CCAT) "copied by a humble brother of St. Philip Neri's Oratorio";<sup>109</sup> (2) Lino Gallardo;<sup>110</sup>

<sup>107</sup>Likewise the *Duo para dos violines*, a da capo 6/8 pastoral movement (C minor) published at pages 16–17 of Ramón de la Plaza's musical appendix (1883), makes no virtuosic demands of the players. Olivares's *Duo* is the only surviving Venezuelan pre-1800 instrumental work.

<sup>108</sup>José Antonio Caro, presumably his elder brother, was born at Caracas November 14, 1758, and was shot at Cumaná October 16, 1814 (Calcaño, p. 153). See notes 62 and 63 above. Reviewing a performance of the Kyrie and Gloria of an unspecified José Antonio Caro de Boesi Mass by the Agrupación Polifonía (Nazyl Báez Finol, director), Rházes Hernández López declared that "the score contains a lofty and sublime message from the best period of our sacred music and declares the composer a genius" (*El Nacional*, April 24, 1973, p. C-11, col. 1).

<sup>109</sup>Tiple 1<sup>o</sup> of the Escuela pre-1800 Copy A attributes this work to Juan Bohesi de Caro. The continuo of the Copy C set that once belonged to a member of the Izaza musical clan is headed: "Acompañamiento de la misa a 4 del Mtro Boesi." The other sheets of Copy C say "Boessi" or "Mtro. Boessi." Concerning the surname Boesi, see Calcaño, pp. 94–96.

<sup>110</sup>Calcaño considers him the veritable composer of the Venezuelan national anthem, pp. 166–176. To summarize biographical data (*ibid.*, pp. 154–166):

He was born around 1773 at a village called Sabana de Ocumare, son of Rudecindo Gallardo and Barbara Timotea Aguado. He came to Caracas in early youth and on December 26, 1794, married María del Carmen Araujo who died shortly thereafter. In Caracas Cathedral on April 30, 1799 he married Maria Catalina Pereira (born at Caracas in 1781). On June 17, 1799 Padre Sojo bequeathed him a cello. Juan Vicente Bolívar, brother of the Liberator Simón, was godfather of the youngest of his three daughters, Francisca de Paula, born in April of 1805. After Juan Vicente's death in a shipwreck, Simón assumed godfather responsibilities. In 1808 Lino Gallardo played the cello given him by Padre Sojo in the orchestra that accompanied Monsieur Espenu's French opera troupe brought from Havana and New Orleans. Fired by revolutionary zeal he played an active role in the conspiracy of April 19, 1810. In August 1810 he joined the Sociedad Patriótica. Nonetheless, after the débacle of 1812 and his imprisonment at La Guaira, he forwent politics.

On August 16, 1813, he acknowledged receiving 25 pesos from the cathedral majordomo, Tomás Borxes, for Assumption music that he had provided the day before (AGN, *Iglesias*, Tomo LXV [1813–1816], fol. 62). In the *Gazeta de Caracas* of February 11, 1818, he announced the opening of an academy of music in his house the next afternoon at 4:30. Simultaneously he boasted of a fine music

(3) Juan José Landaeta;<sup>111</sup> (4) Juan Luis Landaeta;<sup>112</sup> (5) Pedro Pereira; (6) Marcos Pompa; (7) José Francisco Velásquez;<sup>113</sup> (8) Mateo Villalobos.



### José Angel Lamas

Born at Caracas August 2, 1775, the paramount Venezuelan composer was baptized in Altigracia church on August 5 with the names Joseph de los Angeles del

library and an excellent assisting faculty. On January 27, 1819, he published the prospectus for a Sociedad Filarmónica offering orchestral concerts to subscribers. At least ten were given between January 24, 1819, and January 6, 1820. In a *Gazeta* article of August 16, 1820, praising mulattoes, the *fiscal* Andrés Level de Goda, called Lino Gallardo the "Haydn of Caracas" and made him the leader of a mulatto musical group that included José Francisco Velásquez, Mateo Villalobos, and José María Cordero. On Simón Bolívar's triumphant return to Caracas in 1827, Gallardo dedicated another patriotic song to him and visited him with his daughters Josefa, Eladia, and Francisca. Bolívar responded by naming him a customs official (Fiel de Peso) at La Guaira. In 1830 the former Fiel de Peso unsuccessfully tried to oust him. He held the office until about 1836 when he moved back to Caracas hoping for an improvement in his health. He died there December 22, 1837, and was buried in the cathedral cemetery.

His title to being composer of the national anthem in 1810 (text: *Gloria al bravo pueblo*, by Vicente Salias) is upheld in Juan Vicente González's *Biografía del General José Félix Ribas* (Biblioteca Ayacucho edition [Madrid: Editorial América, 1918], p. 20). Not until 1883 was Juan José Landaeta proposed as its composer.

<sup>111</sup>Juan José Landaeta, who disputes with Lino Gallardo the honor of having composed the Venezuelan national anthem, was born at Caracas March 10, 1780, and baptized in the cathedral. Both his father, who bore his same name, Juan José Landaeta, and his mother, María Candelaria Arévalo, were natives of Caracas. His first dated composition is a *Tantum ergo a 3* written cooperatively with Olivares's brother-in-law ("por dos ingenios: José Francisco Velásquez y J.L."). In 1799 he composed a still extant *Benedictus a 3*. His *Salve a 4 voces con violines, trompas, oboeses, viola y Bajo Para el culto de N.S. de las Mercedes el año de 1800* survives at the Escuela de Música "José Angel Lamas" in three copies, the first dated around 1810, the second 1820, third 1850. (In the last copy of this B minor work, tiple and tenor parts switch with original tenor and alto parts.) Additionally, the Escuela archive holds his undated *Pésame a la Virgen* for alto accompanied by paired violins, oboes, French horns, and bass.

In 1805 he signed a proposal to establish a primary school for mulattoes (Escuela de Primeras Letras para enseñanza de los pardos) which won the support of the Ayuntamiento. In May and June of 1808 he was concertmaster of the orchestra that accompanied eight operas, or parts thereof, given by the Espenu French opera company. The star of this company was Jeanne Faucompré, to whom Andrés Bello dedicated a sonnet. According to a contemporary manuscript used by Juan José Churión in writing his *El Teatro en Caracas* (Caracas: Tip. Vargas, 1924), p. 162, their repertory included *Pizarre, ou La Conquête du Pérou* (1785) by Pierre Joseph Candeille (1744-1827), and *Les Mystères d'Isis* (1801)—the latter mixing excerpts from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* and *Don Giovanni* in a farrago with text by Morel de Chédeville.

In 1810 Landaeta joined the Club de los Sincamisa, a revolutionary organization meeting at the home of Antonio Moreno. In 1811 he wrote a patriotic hymn to commemorate the First Congress of Venezuela and that same year proposed a Certamen de Música Vocal e Instrumental for the giving of four subscription concerts every month. In 1812 he was imprisoned at La Guaira for his part in the suppressed independence movement, but was released sometime before Bolívar entered Caracas August 7, 1813. According to Ramón de la Plaza (*Ensayos*, p. 103) he was shot at Cumaná on October 17, 1814. Although this may well be true, Ramón de la Plaza added other romantic details rejected by Calcaño. If indeed Juan José Landaeta did compose the music for the Venezuelan national anthem, Salvador N. Llamozas coyly concealed the proof in his article "Gloria al bravo pueblo!" published in *La Lira Venezolana, Revista Quincenal de Musica y Literatura*, Año I-Mes VIII (August, 1883), p. 74 (the footnote reads: "Atribuyen algunos la paternidad de *Gloria al bravo pueblo* á Lino Gallardo, contemporáneo de Landaeta; pero existen más fundamentos para creer que fuera este").

<sup>112</sup>Juan Luis Landaeta, doubtfully described by Ramón de la Plaza as Juan José's uncle (*Ensayos*, pp. 102-103), was born at Caracas around 1772 into a family of means. By the time he married the well-to-do widow María de la Encarnación Rengifo de Díaz September 17, 1798, he was already practicing

Carmen.<sup>114</sup> The other four children were José María, María Petronila, José de la Encarnación, and María del Carmen. According to already cited list in *El Agricultor Venezolano* (1861) he and Bernabé Montero were the only two “whites” among Olivares’s Chacao pupils. No later than July 1, 1790, and probably in 1789, Lamas began earning 60 pesos annually as cathedral tiple—this being an omnigatherum musician’s post endowed in 1751 by bequest from the first rector of Caracas university. Because of the negligible pay or for other reasons, he missed one out of every four required cathedral ceremonies in the latter half of 1793. On about the same

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medicine—while simultaneously keeping his hand in music. His possessions included five slaves, a medical library and various musical instruments. In the orchestra that accompanied the French opera at El Conde theater in May–June 1808, he played double bass (Churión, p. 167). His most notable pupil was José María Montero (1782–1869), the Veit Bach of Venezuelan music (Ramón de la Plaza, p. 105).

Despite his comfortable circumstances, he joined the same proletarian Club de los Sincamisa to which Juan José Landaeta belonged. During the earthquake of March 26, 1812, he, his wife, and son Nicolás were killed—only his daughter María Isabel and his slaves escaping destruction. According to José Domingo Díaz, *Recuerdos sobre la rebelión de Caracas*, first published at Madrid in 1829 (Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, XXXVIII [Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama, S.L., 1961], p. 573), not only he but also Padre Sojo’s other protégé Marcos Pompa died in the Caracas earthquake of March 26, 1812.

Calcaño’s sources: a detailed inventory of Juan Luis’s possessions in the Registro Principal and Manuel Landaeta Rosales’s article “Juan Luis Landaeta” in *El Universal* of April 19, 1916. (Ramón de la Plaza [*Ensayos*, p. 102] melodramatically but falsely claimed that Juan Luis was assassinated at Boves’s perfidious command.)

<sup>113</sup>Calcaño thus identified the elder and younger Velásquez = Velázquez (pp. 92–93): José Francisco Velásquez, Olivares’s brother-in-law called “the elder” to distinguish him from his likenamed son, was a paid singer at feasts in San Mauricio church from 1786 through at least 1794. On the basis of extant works, he counts as extraordinarily prolific. His earliest dated composition is a Mass in D Major for two tipples, paired violins and horns, and bass, written in 1787 (Escuela de Música “José Angel Lamas,” MS 175). In 1798 cooperatively with Juan José Landaeta (identified by the initials J.L.) he composed a *Pange lingua* and *Tantum ergo* in E flat Major for two tipples and alto, paired violins, oboes, horns, and bass (Escuela MS 39). To prove how fluent was his creative muse, he composed that same year on a single day—March 20 (“hecho en Caracas a 20 de Marzo de 1798”)—his E flat Major setting of the Cujus animam strophe of the Stabat Mater for two tipples, paired violins, flutes, horns and bass (Escuela MS 44). His G Major gradual, *Venite fili, audite me*, for tiple and alto, two violins, and bass (MS 153), is dated 1800. He died in 1805. Fortunately his facility did not degenerate into the banality that often plagues the oeuvre of extraordinarily fecund composers.

His homonym son who, according to Calcaño, p. 93, died in 1822, must have remained in Caracas throughout the twilight years of Spanish rule. In the August 16, 1820, issue of the *Gazeta de Caracas*, Andrés Level de Goda cited as the four outstanding mulatto musicians of Caracas: Lino Gallardo, Mateo Villalobos, José Francisco Velásquez, and José María Cordero. Of the five Latin-text works credited to Velásquez *fils* in the Escuela archive (MSS 49, 58, 134, 161, and 209), the two most substantial are an orchestrally accompanied Mass for four voices and an orchestral Te Deum. Unlike Olivares, José Antonio Caro, and Juan José Caro de Boesi, both the Velásquez who died in 1805 and the Velásquez who died in 1822 (or 1827) composed numerous delightful Spanish-text tonos. Of the ten by Velásquez *père* or *fils* in the Escuela archive (MSS 35, 49, 53, 71, 151, 152A, 152B, 177, 257, 270) the younger’s *Es María Norte y Guía* for SSTB, paired violins, oboes, horns, viola, and bass, typifies the brightness, briskness, and beauty of their Spanish-text compositions. Hand copies dated 1876 and 1889 prove the currency of this tono throughout the entire century.

<sup>114</sup>Parroquia de Altigracia, *Libro abierto en 1751*, fol. 100<sup>v</sup>: “En la Ciudad Mariana de Caracas en cinco días del Mes de Agosto de mil Septecientos setenta y cinco años; Yo el infrascripto Theniente Cura de esta S.Y.P. de N.S. de Altig.<sup>a</sup> se Baptisè solemnen<sup>te</sup> puse Oleo y Crisma y di benedicion<sup>es</sup> Eclesiasticas à un Parbulo, q<sup>e</sup> nacio el día dos del dho Mes, à quien puse por nombre Joseph de los Angeles del Carmen, hijo leg<sup>mo</sup> de Jph Maria Lamas, y de Maria Juliana Peralta, personas blancas de esta feligresia, fue su Madrina Paula Petrona Peralta, à quien adverti el parentesco, y obligacion y para que constè lo firmo D<sup>n</sup> Fran<sup>co</sup> Antonio Velez de Cossio.”

date that Cayetano Carreño became titular maestro de capilla, June 3, 1796, Lamas ascended to cathedral bajonista—a post paying 100 pesos annually since January 5, 1683. In contrast with his two immediate predecessors in the post of bajonista, José Bernardo Ovalle who held it less than a year, and José Rodríguez who held it five, Lamas continued bajonista 18 years—until death December 9, 1814.

His earliest dated work still remains his most famous and the single best known work of the Venezuelan colonial repertory—his *Popule meus* of 1801, composed when he was 26.<sup>115</sup> Despite this masterpiece, his modesty continued moving him the next year to inscribe his D Major three-voice tono, *En premio a tus virtudes* (accompanied by paired violins, oboes, horns, viola, and bass): “compuesto por Dn. José Angel Lamas, aficionado en Caracas año de 1802”—as if anyone capable of it dared be labelled a mere “amateur.”

In that same year, on July 1 [1802], he married Josefa María Sumosa, a parishioner of Santa Rosalía church.<sup>116</sup> Their first son José Lorenzo del Carmen born August 10, 1808, died in childhood. Cayetano Carreño served as godfather of María Josefa del Carmen, baptized May 13, 1810, in San Pablo Church. Baltasar Pompa was godfather of his third and last child Josefa Gabriela del Carmen baptized March 22, 1812.

Earlier that year, on January 3 [1812], he filed a petition with the cathedral chapter for a money gift to relieve his poverty. In it, “he said that he lacked funds to clothe himself properly for the cathedral functions that duty obliges him to attend. His pay is so small that it barely suffices for house rent and food, and he has no other income.”<sup>117</sup> The chapter responded March 10 with 30 pesos given “in consideration of his good service and exiguous pay.”<sup>118</sup> Perhaps his compositions

<sup>115</sup>The front cover of the original manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Las Mercedes branch (facsimile in Calcaño, p. 143), from which the Escuela de Música “José Angel Lamas” copy (MS 248) was made, reads *Popule meus / a tres voces, dos Violines, dos / Oboeses, dos Trompas, / Viola y Baxo. / Compuesto / Por Don José Angel Lamas. / Caracas A. 1801*. His other dated works: *En premio a tus virtudes*. 1802 (Escuela MS 166); *Sepulto Domino*. 1805 (MS 140A), 2<sup>a</sup> Lección de Difuntos, 1806 (MS 142), *Misa en Re*. 1810 (MS 179), *Ave maris stella*, re menor, July 1814 (MS 72). See also Israel Peña, *José Angel Lamas 1775–1814* (Caracas: Imprenta Universitaria [Colección Aniversarios Culturales], 1965), p. 34.

<sup>116</sup>Both her parents Miguel Sumosa and María Josepha Dominguez were dead. His father was dead. *Partida de Matrimonio* in Archivo Parroquial de Santa Rosalía, *Libro I (1791–1821)*, fol. 63, published in Juan Bautista Plaza, “José Angel Lamas (2 de Agosto de 1775–9 de Diciembre de 1814).” *Revista Nacional de Cultura*. Año XIV, N.º 100 (September–October, 1953), p. 36.

<sup>117</sup>AGN, *Iglesias*, Tomo LXIII (1811–1812), fol. 406: “Muy venerable Señor Dean y Cabildo = Josef Angel Lamas vecino de esta Ciudad, y Musico Bajonista de esta Santa Yglesia Metropolitana, con el respeto debido à V.S. M.V. dice hallase al presente sin aquella desercia debida para asistir à las funciones de su obligacion como sus compañeros, pues aunque tiene su renta esta muy corta y con ella paga el alquiler de la Casa donde vive, y absolutamente lo que adquiere es tan poco que à penas le alcanza para su alimento, y no teniendo recurso alguno, viene en suplicar à V.S. M.V. se digne por un efecto de su notoria benignidad cubrir su presente indigencia con lo que sea de su agrado; favor que espera el suplicante recibir de la bondad de V.S. M.V. en Caracas y Enero tres de mil ochocientos doce = José Angel Lamas.”

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*: “Atento el buen servicio del exponente y la corta renta que goza, se le conceden por una vez treinta pesos en calidad de gratificacion remuneratoria: los cuales le entregará el Mayordomo de la fabrica D.º Rodolfo Vasallo . . . Asi lo acordò Su. S.ª en el Cabildo ordinario de este dia: de que certifico = Juan Joseph Guzman Secretario del Cabildo.” (Despite this certification, Guzmán made no mention of Lamas in his minutes of the March 10, 1812, chapter meeting copied in the cathedral acts, *Libro XXIV de Acuerdos Capitulares* [1809–1812], fols. 223–224’.)



netted him now unknown sums from time to time.<sup>119</sup> But in 1813 he still remained so poor that he was eager for a mere eight reales to be made from music copying.<sup>120</sup> He died in abject indigence 39 years old December 9, 1814. Some unnamed colleagues sang the next day at his charity funeral in San Pablo Church.<sup>121</sup> His grave-site in the adjacent cemetery was obliterated in 1876.

His legacy consists solely of his compositions, 25 of which are in the Escuela de Música "José Angel Lamas" archive under these manuscript numbers: 3, 4, 40, 72, 75, 92, 112?, 124-126, 140-142, 166, 179, 188, 219, 220, 230-233, 236, 248, 260. He showed his unique ability to write powerful and poignant adagios at the outset of his career. The downward diminished-seventh scoops that profile the stark opening measures of his *Popule meus* can still move the hearer to tears, even after almost two centuries' abuse of the diminished seventh. His elegiac minor melodies are extremely supple. Triplets, running sixteenths, and dotted rhythms, combine with longer-value notes to sculpt sinuous lines of transcendent grace. His harmonic vocabulary—like the richness of his vocal solo and instrumental melodies, with their augmented seconds, tritones, and sevenths—equals Haydn's in variety.

On the other hand, his choral parts are elementary. Nor does he require anything pyrotechnical of his instrumentalists, even first violins. In Caracas he obviously lacked choral and instrumental performers who vied with those at the beck of his plusher peninsular contemporaries—Domingo Arquimbau at Seville, Manuel José Doyagüe at Salamanca, or Mariano Rodríguez de Ledesma at Madrid, for example. All the greater credit does he therefore deserve for inspirations poured into such masterworks as the following:

MASS IN D for SATB, paired violins, oboes, horns, viola, cello, and bass. Catalogued as Escuela MS 179, this *Misa en Re* certifies its date in a notation on the cover of the first violin part of the Credo: "compuesta en 1810." The vocal and instrumental parts of the Escuela set, copied about 1830, are grouped into: 9 booklets or sheets containing Kyrie and Gloria, 13 containing Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. Under the supervision of Eduardo Lira Espejo was published (Caracas: Ediciones Musicales de la Radio Nacional, 1959) a 220-page score.

<sup>119</sup>His *Popule meus* of 1801 may, for instance, have been commissioned by the Cofradía del Santo Sepulcro. According to the cathedral A.C., XXI (1800-1802), fol. 64, this confraternity depended on annual gifts to pay for music, sermon, and lights at solemnities under its care: "quedando la Cofradía con el cargo de costear y agenciar lo demas necesario de dicha solemnidad como es cera, musica, sermon."

<sup>120</sup>AGN, *Iglesias*. Tomo LXV (1813-1816), fol. 96: "Caracas Nov<sup>e</sup> 4 de 1813. Recivi del S<sup>or</sup> Mayor-domo de Fab<sup>ca</sup> de esta S<sup>ta</sup> Yg<sup>a</sup> Cated.<sup>1</sup> ocho r<sup>1</sup> valor, de una copia q<sup>e</sup> saquè del Invitatorio de Maytines: p<sup>a</sup> su resguardo le doy èste fha ut supra. José Ang.<sup>1</sup> Lamas."

<sup>121</sup>Manuel Landaeta Rosales, "José Angel Lamas Autor del 'Popule Meus'," *El Gran Boletín*, Núm. 51, June 20, 1908, p. 2, col. 2, transcribed the death notice from the Parroquia de San Pablo, *Libro X de Entierros de adultos de 1812 á 1821*, fol. 117<sup>r</sup>. Frequently referred to but nowhere conveniently available, his transcription merits repetition here: "En diez dias del mes de Diciembre de año de mil ochocientos y catorce, se le dió sepultura eclesiástica en el cuarto tramo, con entierro cantado por mayor, con seis acompañados, al cadáver de D. Josef Angel Lamas, adulto, legítimo marido que era de D. María Josefa Sumosa, vecino de esta ciudad y de esta feligresía. Se le administraron los Santos Sacramentos de la Penitencia y de la estrema unción. No recibió el sagrado viático por estar trabadas las quijadas cuando llegó Su Magestad á la casa. No hizo testamento por no tener bienes. Dejó dos hijas. Fue su entierro todo de limosna y no ingresó nada á la fabrica, y para que conste lo firmo yo el infrascrito Cura Rector de esta S.I. de S.S. Pablo de la ciudad de Caracas. Br. Domingo de Herrera." Landaeta Rosales explained that "tramo" meant the space from pillar to pillar, counting from the altar. San Pablo, demolished in 1876, had one nave and a small annex on the west side. His remains, purportedly found in 1948, were lost soon thereafter (Calcaño, p. 150).

which however discourages performances because the vocal parts remain in their original clefs (SAT in C Clefs) and the horns are alternated in D (written notes sound a minor seventh lower) and in E flat (sounding a major sixth lower).

Among Lamas's strengths that strike any close student of the whole Mass is his superb architectural sense. Other lesser composers might have contented themselves with such obvious gestures as making an arch of the Kyrie-Christe-Kyrie. But his Kyrie II (31 measures) is no mechanical repetition of Kyrie I (41 measures). The string tracery, which throughout the entire Mass makes an iridescent foil to the chorus, undergoes especially important reshaping. To unify the whole Kyrie-Christe-Kyrie arch, Lamas makes much of melodic sixths. In the Christe imitations [Letter E], solo voices sing falling sixths. In Kyrie I and II, the ripieno chorus (SAT) sings rising sixths.

To unify the throughcomposed Gloria, the soprano soloist weds "Domine Deus Rex coelestis" [Letter O] to the same melody in G minor that the alto soloist repeats in B flat Major with the words "Domine Fili unigenite" [Letter Q]. Or, over a larger expanse: the soprano soloist's melody for "in excelsis" [page 40] returns with the text "agimus tibi" [page 63]. In the Gloria, as in the Kyrie, Lamas intrudes imitations sparingly. But when he does condescend to them, for instance at "Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris" [pages 89-91], they are so skilfully inserted that they do not ruffle the prevailing homophonic texture.

Like the Gloria, the Credo contains numerous happy repetitions that rib the structure into a unified central nave: witness the same music for "Et resurrexit" at pages 157-158 and for "Et vitam venturi" at 184-185; or the perky Haydn finale-type melody introduced as an instrumental ritornello at pages 161-162 that is repeated at page 181 and at page 187.

The throughcomposed Sanctus and Benedictus divides into 30 (AB) plus 35 (CB) measures. The choral music for "Pleni sunt" (measures 17<sup>3</sup>-22<sup>1</sup>) recurs with only the slightest indispensable adjustments at "Hosanna" (22<sup>3</sup>-27<sup>1</sup>, 57<sup>3</sup>-62<sup>1</sup>) and at "qui venit" (52<sup>3</sup>-57<sup>1</sup>). The melody to which the soprano soloist sings the word "Benedictus" (pages 202-203) duplicates the second theme incipit in the first movement of Beethoven's piano concerto, opus 15 (first publication, March 1801).

The perfectly proportioned Agnus (the only movement without solos) consists of 7 + 7 + 10 measure sections. The first section starts in D minor, the second in B flat Major, the third in G minor. The close in D Major (measures 23-24) exemplifies his unique skill with codettas. The same two bars for soli horns that added their instrumental amen to the Sanctus-Benedictus again add their unction at the close of the Agnus. Such a simple but so affecting a gesture sets Lamas apart from his contemporaries. Limited by the most modest of instrumental and vocal resources, he singularly succeeded in transforming even a 24-measure movement into *multum in parvo*.

GRAN MISERERE for SATB, paired violins, oboes, horns in F or D, viola, and bass. The Escuela de Música "José Angel Lamas" score (MS 260), which was copied from parts dated about 1815, was published as second in the series Colección Cuadernos de Música (Caracas: Ministerio de Educación, Dirección General, Departamento de Publicaciones, 1972 [92 pp.]). Lamas's seven-movement setting embraces these six verses selected from Psalm 50, Vulgate numbering: 3A (Miserere mei), 4 (Amplius lava me), 6 (Tibi soli), 10 (Auditui meo), 14 (Redde mihi), and 18 (Quoniam si), followed by the Gloria Patri. Keys: I-II and IV-V in D minor (II, IV-V ending on D Major chord), III in F Major, VI-VII in D Major.

To unify the whole work, Lamas begins the voice-parts in all movements (except Auditui meo) with a dotted-rhythmic figure. Not only does the dotted rhythm launch each movement except IV (all movements are in common meter) but also the same dotted figure turns up often enough interiorly in such movements as Amplius lava me (on strong beats) and Redde mihi (weak and strong beats) to be classed as a motto rhythm. Derived from the speech rhythm of the first three syllables in "Miserere," this rhythmic figure joins a wide variety of

melodic turns. Fortunately Lamas forbears hurrying it so tightly in any one movement that it wears out its welcome.

The centerpiece of the seven movements, *Audiu meo*, is the fulcrum on which swings the entire work. Whereas movements I through III have set suppliant, beseeching verses ("Have mercy," "Wash me," "Against thee only have I sinned"), IV bursts forth confidently: "Very presently thou shalt give joy and gladness to bones that hitherto have been broken." Taking his cue from the text, Lamas begins IV with bold triadic leaps, all parts in unison loudly proclaiming the descent of the Almighty. Next, the solo soprano, supported by panting violins and viola, sings of "joy and gladness." This fine forte-piano contrast—tutti chorus and orchestra proclaiming the Almighty's descent in unison quarter-notes that boldly outline chords, and the solo soprano's glad reply—is repeated five times. So far as key scheme goes, the first tutti outlines D minor, second tutti outlines F Major, third and fourth D minor, fifth G minor. To cap these five forte-piano, tutti-solo contrasts, the movement concludes with another forte D minor tutti, this time fading into the mist of pianissimo D Major.

Continuing chiastically, V counterparts III. Both begin with contralto solos in which the initial dotted rhythm precedes the leap of an ascending fourth. Both continue with solo-tutti antiphony. As an added fillip, V reaches its climax with a fugato (62-64 of the 1972 published edition), the subject of which derives from the opening contralto solo.

The penultimate movement (verse 18: "For thou desirest not sacrifice, else I would give it") opens with an exultant D Major tutti. The bubbling SA duet commencing at measure 23<sup>3</sup> amplifies the effervescent melodic idea already broached by the contralto soloist in bar 13. Although conceivably at some Caracas *Tenebrae* services plainchanters inserted missing verses 19-21 before the *Gloria Patri*, its triumphant mood so aptly jibes with the joy of *Quoniam si voluisses* that continuous performance of movements VI-VII seems an artistic necessity. For that matter, the emotional tone in all six verses set by Lamas—rising as do the sentiments from the dark night of self-reproach to the bright light of full forgiveness and acceptance by the Almighty—seems to demand continuous performance of all seven movements.

Lamas's third large concert work presently available for public study is his throughcomposed *SALVE REGINA* in E flat for SAT, paired violins, oboes, horns in E flat, viola, and bass. His own original manuscript parts, all stamped LAMAS with a wood block of his contriving, are catalogued as Escuela MS 41. They duplicate a later set of parts in Escuela MS 191. The published score is Cuaderno 5 in the Archivo de Música Colonial Venezolana (Montevideo: Instituto Interamericano de Musicología, 1942; in collaboration with the Venezuelan Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1943). As Juan Bautista Plaza remarked in the prefatory note, this *Salve*—one of Lamas's five (Escuela MSS 3, 4, 40, 41, 192)—contrasts with Olivares's *Salve* for three voices (MS 38), because it is a continuous uninterrupted setting of the entire text. The first 17 bars of orchestral tutti function as a ritornello. They provide accompaniment in the home key of E flat for the opening ten bars of the chorus (which enters in measure 18); transposed into B flat become an instrumental interlude before *Et Jesum*; and again in the home key provide the accompaniment for *O clemens*. In reality, the orchestral ritornello does more than accompany; it dominates the choral parts, which are consistently elementary. Melodically the choral parts could indeed be mere horn parts in a classical symphony. While valuably anchoring sonorities, they show by contour and interval what modest ripieno singers Caracas cathedral employed. Only during the alto and soprano solos (*Ad clamamus*, *Et Jesum benedictum*) does Lamas confide "interesting" melodic lines to vocalists.

Among instruments, the first violinist's part monopolizes melodic interest. Does this emphasis diminish musical value? By no means. Even if one deems the work a violin concerto movement with concertante passages for alto and soprano soloists, one must concede that the violin figuration perfectly matches the appropriate mood of a *Salve*. The rhythmic variety is most fetching (graced triplets, dotted sixteenths, 32nds, combining with a variety of longer

values). The unity of the whole work reveals Lamas's master craftsmanship. Having made a wide descending interval the opening motto *Te narrows* from an octave to a seventh to a sixth (measures 4, 5) and then opts for the descending sixth as the affecting interval with which to begin four phrases in the soulful *Ad te clamamus* section (33-48).

Worldwide recognition of Lamas's unique gifts awaits only the re-edition of such works as these in clefs to which present-day singers are habituated, correction of misprints that plague even the most recent issues of his plangent *Popule meus*—and above all soigné recordings. Venezuela's legacy of his works is too precious to lie any longer fallow for lack of proper advertising.

### *Cayetano Carreño*

To spark interest in Lamas's drab biography, Ramón de la Plaza resorted to fiction. It was he who pretended that Lamas committed suicide in 1816,<sup>122</sup> after having orchestrated Mozart's Requiem so that it might be performed for the first time in Caracas at the exequies of José Tomás Rodríguez Boves—killed December 5, 1814, at the battle of Urica. Lamas himself died December 9, 1814, and Boves's funeral was not held at Caracas until February of 1815.<sup>123</sup>

Equally false are some of Ramón de la Plaza's data concerning Cayetano Carreño—whose birth he dates at Caracas August 7, 1766, on one page, while on the next he dates his death "at the age of 60[!]" on March 3, 1836.<sup>124</sup> To hide Cayetano Carreño's having been the exposed son of Alejandro Carreño, *Ensayos* endowed both him and his brother who taught Bolívar, Simón Rodríguez, with a mythical "don Cayetano Carreño" for their father.<sup>125</sup> Four milestones in the career of the Cayetano Carreño who began as Caracas cathedral maestro de capilla on June 3, 1796, have already been posted above in the chronological table under these dates: August 3, 1791; July 18, 1792; February 19, 1793; and November 7, 1793. Below follows a table outlining the events in his forty-year career as titular chapelmaster, 1796-1836.

1797,	Carreño solicits 90 pesos for the following orchestral works composed by
March 30	him. These are to be sung during Holy Week this year: 2 Passions, one for Palm Sunday, the other for Good Friday; 2 Misereres, one <i>a 4</i> , the other <i>a 5</i> ; Vexilla regis hymn. Despite minority objection that he should have awaited chapter approval before starting to compose, the majority of the cathedral chapter vote to pay him what he asks. They agree that his compositions are both "useful and necessary." <sup>126</sup>
July 4	The cathedral agrees to buy a set of new choirbooks being printed at Madrid.
July 28	The bishop decrees the singing of a solemn votive Mass followed by singing of the Litany of Loreto, in thanksgiving for the discovery of the conspiracy

<sup>122</sup>*Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela*, p. 98.

<sup>123</sup>Calcaño, p. 150.

<sup>124</sup>*Ensayos*, p. 100.

<sup>125</sup>Calcaño, p. 177, gave the correct date for José Cayetano del Carmen Carreño's birth at Caracas, August 7, 1774. For his death March 4, 1836, see p. 188.

<sup>126</sup>*Segunda parte del Libro XIX . . . desde 13 de Enero de 1795 hasta 13 de Febrero de 1798*, fol. 366<sup>o</sup>: "Así mismo en este Cabildo, mediante citacion hecha tambien por cedula antediam al Ill<sup>mo</sup> Señor Obispo, y a todos los Señores Capitulares para tratar sobre el memorial presentado por Don Cayetano

- of Manuel Gual and José María España. Frequently throughout the ensuing struggle for independence Carreño will be asked to direct the music at thanksgivings decreed for gains made by one side or the other.
- 1799,  
October 18 The custom of hiring outside musicians for special days, which was sanctioned March 18, 1778 shall continue. In the absence of the dean, whoever is presiding may approve payments.
- 1803,  
March 24 Each choirboy in the tribune not on regular salary shall receive a 25-peso gift to help him buy vestments. Until the choirboys are all properly habited, they shall continue singing in the tribune, except when marching in processions.
- 1804,  
February 21 The chapter votes to double Carreño's salary, raising it from the annual 200 pesos paid Caracas chapelmasters since the post was created April 10, 1671, to a yearly 400 pesos. During the prefatory discussion, mention is made of Carreño's having acquitted himself with notable efficiency and distinction—such distinction indeed that "others" are now trying to lure him away from the cathedral. This must not be allowed to happen because there is none other his equal in Caracas.<sup>127</sup>
- March 9 Even an annual 400 pesos fails to recompense Carreño adequately for his indispensable services, say some members of the chapter who think him worth 600. Nonetheless, the canons agree that until his 400-peso salary voted a fortnight previously is approved by the crown, 400 it shall be.
- May 4 After being commissioned on February 21, 1804, to examine the large organ built in 1770-1771, Carreño receives 80 pesos for himself and his assistants who have taken it apart and cleaned the flue pipes. The chapter asks him to report on what else needs doing.
- June 22 He reports that a thorough overhaul is required. The chapter votes 950 pesos payable to him and José Ginés Ramírez, "both of them intelligent in such matters," for the overhaul.
- November 18 A solemn Te Deum is sung to celebrate the elevation of Caracas to a metropolitan see, with the native-born Venezuelan Francisco de Ibarra as archbishop.

Carreño Maestro de Capilla de esta S<sup>ta</sup> Yglesia, en que suplica se le manden satisfacer noventa pesos valor de los papeles de Musica que ha compuesto para un Miserere a quatro voces, otro a cinco, las Pasiones de Domingo de Ramos y Viernes Santo, la adoracion de la Cruz y el Hino Vexilla con sus correspondientes instrumentos: Se acordò que sin embargo de que no correspondia atenderse esta peticion por haver procedido el dicho Maestro de Capilla a empeñarse en trabajar y costear los expresados papeles sin precedente consulta y acuerdo de este Cabildo, que no se huviera negado a ello; considerando que son utiles y necessarios para el mejor desempeño de las funciones dela proxima Semana Santa, se le paguen los sobredichos noventa pesos por el Mayordomo de Fabrica dandose al efecto testimonio de esta Acta: Mas el Señor Racionero D<sup>n</sup> Justo Buroz dixo / fol. 367 / en su correspondiente lugar que no convenia en que se hiciese el enunciado pago por estimar como atrevim.<sup>10</sup> la falta de atencion al Cabildo en el procedimiento del Maestro de Capilla."

<sup>127</sup>Discussion of Carreño's merits occupied the chapter on January 31, 1804. AGN, *Iglesias*, Tomo XLVII, fol. 259<sup>v</sup>, records his being ready to leave for better pay elsewhere: "tener noticia de que el Maestro de Capilla de esta Santa Yglesia D<sup>n</sup> Cayetano Carreño se halla sin embargo del buen afecto que tiene a servir en ella en disposicion de aceptar otro empleo que proporcione comodamente su subsistencia por no proporcionarsela la renta que gosa como tal Maestro de Capilla y que considerada por una parte la eficacia, lucimiento, y demas buenas partes con que notoriamente desempeña este oficio, y por otra que sabiendo el sera muy dificultoso hallar otro que quiera entrar a exacerlo . . . / fol. 261 / lo que ha tenido el Maestro de Capilla que ha sido docientos pesos anuales desde su creacion que se hizo en diez de Abril de mil seiscientos sesenta y un años . . ."

- 1806,  
October 7 The chapter orders an inventory of cathedral possessions, which include the 17-rank organ constructed in 1770 and 1771 by Matías José Fonte del Castillo, and repaired in 1804 by Carreño and José Ginés Ramírez, a 6-rank portable organ, a large harpsichord, two bajones, two oboes, a flute, French horn, and violin, and a music archive itemized by liturgical category under these classes: orchestral, vocal accompanied by organ, vocal accompanied by harpsichord and bajón, vocal with only a bass instrument (composers' names are not given<sup>128</sup>). Item 381 lists "two large choirbooks, one with Latin works, the other with Spanish-text compositions." Item 459 is his catchall for abandoned eighteenth-century sheet music: "various folders of music parts that are absolutely useless because they are incomplete and in bad shape."<sup>129</sup> As his reason for labelling 8 Christmas, 4 Epiphany, and one Sacrament villancico "not useful," he cites the "imperfections of the writing."<sup>130</sup>
- 1807,  
January 16 The chapter votes to "consider various old music sheets as worn out" and to give an old pontifical to the cathedral at Guayana (= present-day Ciudad Bolívar). Thus disappears the evidence now needed to show what was sung in Caracas cathedral before Cayetano Carreño.
- 1810,  
August Carreño sets Andrés Bello's patriotic song *Caraqueños, otra época empieza*, and sings it in the streets.<sup>131</sup>
- August 8 Carreño receives 30 pesos to distribute among the extra musicians who marched in the procession from Holy Trinity Church to the cathedral on July 31 for the installation of Archbishop Narciso Coll y Prat.
- September 23 The Suprema Junta now governing Caracas orders a solemn Mass and Te Deum to celebrate the news that a similar Suprema Junta de Nueva Granada has been established at Bogotá. Carreño receives 10 pesos to distribute among extra musicians.<sup>132</sup>
- 1811,  
January 9 He receives another 10 pesos to pay 10 extra musicians who played January 6. The same will happen the next month when extras play on February 2.

<sup>128</sup>Archivo del Cabildo Eclesiástico, *Inventarios de las Imágenes* (see note 55 above), fol. 23, lists (without composer attribution) three Misas concertadas, two Offices of the Dead, nine Lamentations, five Misereres, two Passions, five other Holy Week items, a Stabat Mater, a Christmas aria, and nineteen villancicos.

<sup>129</sup>*Ibid.*: "Varios legajos de papeles de música absolutamente inútiles por estar incompletas las piezas y maltratadas." Whatever his other merits, Cayetano Carreño lacked any historical piety. In both the 1807 and 1809 codicils to the inventory ordered October 7, 1806, he again labelled all old books as "useless." Like any active composer he preferred augmenting the archive with his own works or those of his contemporaries.

The first inventory to specify composers (signed by Fernando Figueredo on December 31, 1877, fols. 147<sup>v</sup>-148) lists no Venezuelan composers older than José Antonio Caro (1759-1814) and no foreigners earlier than Haydn (Seven Last Words) and the Bohemian active at Vienna, Jan Vaňhal (1739-1813), to whom is credited a "Misa á toda orquesta." Item 91 in the 1884 repertory is an organ-accompanied "Misa primer tono de Romero"—identifiable probably as Gerónimo Romero de Ávila.

<sup>130</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>: "Nota: los papeles de las diez y seis ultimas partidas están sin uso, estimandose inútiles por las imperfecciones de su letra." In all likelihood, the "imperfections" of which Carreño complained included antique notation—no longer readable by Caracas musicians around 1806.

<sup>131</sup>Concerning this song, see Calcaño, p. 196. According to the edition of Juan Vicente González's *Biografía de José Félix Ribas* used by Calcaño, Carreño's voice was "dulce y melodiosa." But "dulce y melancólica" are the adjectives in other editions. See the edition prefaced by R. Blanco-Fombona (Caracas: Editorial González González, 1956), p. 97. Ciriaco Carreño, the composer's eldest son appointed assistant cathedral organist on October 20, 1812, fought as a cavalry officer under Ribas and according to Plaza, *Ensayos sobre el arte*, p. 100, was killed at the battle of Urica December 5, 1814.

<sup>132</sup>AGN, *Iglesias*, Tomo LXI, fol. 131.

- March 2 Ten extras at a peso each assist at Mass and Te Deum for the installation of the Junta General de Diputados.
- July 12 The *Gazeta de Caracas* publishes Carreño's letter dated July 10, in which he offers to supply his orchestra free of charge on July 14, the day that Venezuelan independence is publicly proclaimed.<sup>133</sup>
- November 2 Carreño signs for the ten extras who performed on November 1.<sup>134</sup>
- December 10 Carlos Alva signs for the ten extras who performed on December 8. Carreño suffers from an injury.<sup>135</sup>
- December 27 Carreño's absence continues. Carlos Alva signs for the ten extras who performed at Christmas.<sup>136</sup>
- 1812, Carlos Alva again signs during Carreño's protracted absence.<sup>137</sup>
- March 21
- August 25 Carreño has now recovered and signs for the 30 pesos paid extras who performed August 1 at the Te Deum and Mass celebrated in thanksgiving for the restoration of royal rule.<sup>138</sup>
- October 13 Because of destruction wrought by the catastrophic earthquake of March 26, 1812, the only church in central Caracas where Domingo Monteverde, the new captain general, can be received is San Francisco.<sup>139</sup>
- 1813, Plans are laid for the rebuilding of the cathedral and for the repair of the houses in which the choirboys and sacristans must live.
- January 26
- August 16 Carreño signs for 25 pesos distributed extras who played at Mass and Te Deum August 15.
- 1814, José Ildefonso de Echegarai, succentor, has fled without informing anyone of his whereabouts. His successor as head of the choirboy school shall be José Manuel García de Noda.<sup>140</sup>
- June 3
- September 2 A Te Deum is sung for the victory of the royalists at Aragua de Barcelona.<sup>141</sup>
- September 6 Another Te Deum is sung—this time for the rendition of Cumaná.<sup>142</sup> During the next seven years Venezuela continues subject to Spain.

<sup>133</sup>Calcaño, p. 184, reprints Carreño's noble offer. For the original text, see *Gazeta de Caracas*, III/361 (July 12, 1811), p. 3, column 1: "Rasgo patriótico."

<sup>134</sup>AGN, *Iglesias*, Tomo LXII (1811-1812), fol. 68.

<sup>135</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 67. On July 2, 1805, Carlos Alva was approved by the Ayuntamiento to head a new primary school for pardos.

<sup>136</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 65 (Alva's receipt states that he signed "por enfermedad del M<sup>tro</sup> de Capilla").

<sup>137</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 323.

<sup>138</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 426: "30 pesos para gratificar à los músicos extraordinarios, q<sup>e</sup> asistieron à la Misa Solemne, q<sup>e</sup> con Te Deum al fin de ella se cantò en la referida S<sup>ta</sup> Yg<sup>a</sup> del Canton del Narauli, el día primero del pres<sup>te</sup> mes en accion de gracias p<sup>r</sup> la restauracion del Gob.<sup>no</sup> Español de esta Provincia / Cayetano Carreño."

<sup>139</sup>*Libro XXV de Acuerdos Capitulares, Comienza hoy 11. de Agosto de 1812*, fol. 36<sup>y</sup>.

<sup>140</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 111. According to the act of March 5, 1816, Echegaray fled to Cariaco, where he took up residence as *cura*.

<sup>141</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 127<sup>y</sup>. José Tomás Boves (1783-1814) entered Caracas July 16, 1814. Bolívar evacuated Barcelona August 19 and entered Cumaná August 24.

<sup>142</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 128<sup>y</sup>. In the same chapter meeting, the canons learned that the Madrid printer José Doblado to whom money had been advanced for a new set of choirbooks had died after completing only one of the books commissioned by Caracas cathedral. On January 27, 1815, the chapter again discussed means of recovering the advance (fol. 169).

- September 23 The chapter appoints Enrique Vaamonde to head the choirboy school—but only temporarily. José Manuel García de Noda returns with a five-year appointment on November 11, 1814.<sup>143</sup>
- 1815, March 14 Complaining that the musicians have become lax, the chapter requires Carreño and his subordinates to wear surplice and bonnet when performing in the tribune.<sup>144</sup>
- 1816, February 16 The chapter reprimands the organist for failing to play at Friday Masses.
- March 31 The captain general asks that the custom of sending a canon to sing Mass on St. Philip Neri's day at the Oratorio continue. The chapter replies that mere custom need not become law.<sup>145</sup>
- 1817, February 17 The chapter allots Carreño 10 pesos to pay the extra musicians who assisted at Mass and Te Deum February 16, in honor of Ferdinand VII's marriage to the second of his four wives, María Isabel.<sup>146</sup>
- March 31 Carreño receives 12 pesos to distribute among the extra musicians who performed at the penitential rites March 26, commemorating the earthquake five years earlier.
- 1825, June 27 From Cuzco, Bolívar writes Carreño a letter calling his brother Simón Rodríguez "the best man in the world, but since he is a philosopher, a man without country, home, or goods." In the same letter Bolívar offers Simón Rodríguez's wife, María de los Santos Ronco<sup>147</sup>—who lived with the Cayetano Carreño family until 1820 (thereafter with Juan Meserón's family in Petare)—a 100-peso monthly pension.
- 1826, November 10 Busy with his university studies in canon and civil law, the cathedral organist who is Juan Bautista Carreño has entrusted his organ playing duties to his 52-year-old father Cayetano and to his younger brother Manuel Antonio. The chapter gave him no written permission to do so. Manuel Antonio does not play devoutly, piously, and gravely. He must learn how to play in correct cathedral style.<sup>148</sup> At this same session, the chapter orders the succentor to teach plainchant to all the singing chaplains.<sup>149</sup>
- 1830, January 22 The resolution of March 6, 1778, requiring the maestro de capilla to teach the choirboys music has been disregarded. Cayetano Carreño shall select a

<sup>143</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 151<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>144</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 179<sup>v</sup>: "Sobre que Musicos dela Tribuna asistan vestidos de Sobrepelliz"; fol. 180: "se mandó que el Maestro de Capilla, y demas Musicos de ella asistiesen en la tribuna con sobrepelliz y bonete." For noncompliance, the chapter agreed to fine each delinquent four reales.

<sup>145</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 275.

<sup>146</sup>AGN, *Iglesias*. Tomo LXVI (1816-1817), fol. 92: "Como Maestro de Capilla de esta S<sup>ta</sup> Yg<sup>a</sup> Metropolitana, he recibido del Mayordomo de fabrica D.<sup>n</sup> Tomas Borges, diez pesos para gratificar à los músicos extraordinarios, que por orden del S.<sup>r</sup> Dean D.<sup>r</sup> D.<sup>n</sup> Jph. Suares y Aguado, asistieron à la Misa y Te Deum laudamus, que en celebridad del Matrimonio de nro Augusto Soberano el S.<sup>r</sup> D.<sup>n</sup> Fernando Sèptimo (que Dios gñe.) se solemnizaron en la misma S<sup>ta</sup> Yglesia, ayer diez y seis del corriente. Y para q.<sup>e</sup> conste, lo firmo en Caràcas à 17.. de Febrero de 1817.. / Jph. Cayetano Carreño / son 10 p.<sup>5</sup>"

<sup>147</sup>Arturo Guevara, *Espejo de justicia*, pp. 240-241, reprinted her replies dated August 23 and November 5, 1825. See also Calcaño, p. 187.

<sup>148</sup>A.C., XXVIII ("Comienza el 6 de Septiembre de 1825"), fols. 59<sup>v</sup>-60. Concerning Manuel Antonio the act reads: "que le ensaye particularm<sup>te</sup> y le adiestre en tocar debota, piadoza, y gravemente como corresponde en las Yglesias catedrales, y está espresam<sup>te</sup> mandado, y para que todo se cumpla con la exactitud que el Cabildo espera, el Maestro de Capilla haga la apuntacion q<sup>e</sup> en el caso es conveniente, y lo presente á este Cabildo."

<sup>149</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 60: "Que el Sochantre enseñe el cantollano à todos los Capellanes de Coro."

certain number of the altar boys showing aptitude and shall teach them figural music. He shall also teach two or three how to play. For each who becomes a competent organist he shall be paid a 50-peso bonus.<sup>150</sup>

- March 16 Cayetano Carreño needs ruled music paper, if he is to comply with his obligation to teach polyphonic music. The majordomo shall buy what he needs.<sup>151</sup>
- April 20 He wants to know where and when he shall teach the choirboys polyphonic music. The chapter allows him to select the hours that he deems best and designates a school room.<sup>152</sup>
- May 4 In keeping with the more exact way in which business is now conducted, Cayetano Carreño asks that a successor to the deceased musician José Calzadilla be formally named.<sup>153</sup>
- 1831, February 8 Despite the chapter ruling of November 10, 1826, requiring that the singing chaplains know plainchant, nothing has come of it. Cayetano Carreño shall dictate lessons in plainchant, since at present textbooks are lacking. He shall thoroughly exercise the chaplains in Gregorian chant, so that this cathedral can again begin complying with universally received church discipline. Each weekday not a day of obligation and not a day for a sermon or funeral, he shall teach plainchant in the room next to the sacristy, beginning after morning office. Clergy absent without permission shall be fined an entire day's pay. On certification by the dean or his deputy, the majordomo shall gratify Carreño for this extra teaching with an additional 40 pesos each month. Carreño shall also teach the choirboys figural music, as was prescribed in the act of January 22, 1830. Once Lent is over, he shall do so on Sundays and other feast days that the boys are free.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>150</sup>A.C., XXIX ("Comienza el 5 de Enero de 1830"), fol. 9<sup>v</sup>: "Seguidamente previniéndose el citado futuro de esta iglesia, y por las mismas razones que repetidas veces se han tenido en consideracion en estos ultimos tiempos, y desde seis de marzo de 1.778, en cuyo día se mandó á D.<sup>n</sup> J.<sup>n</sup> Gabriel Liendo enseñare los monacillos, se acordó que el maestro de Capilla lo verifique ahora, escojendo entre los niños del servicio de esta Catedral los que tengan mas aptitud para aprender el canto figurado de organo, y qué á dos ó tres de ellos los enseñe a tocarle, ofreciendosele como se le ofrece la gratificacion de 50 p. pagadera p. la fabrica p.<sup>r</sup> cada uno de dhos. dos ó tres q.<sup>e</sup> entregue enseñados."

<sup>151</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 21: "que p.<sup>a</sup> cumplir con el acuerdo en que se le mandó enseñar a los niños de esta ig.<sup>a</sup> el canto organico, es menester pap<sup>l</sup> rayado para musica."

<sup>152</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 27<sup>v</sup>: "en q.<sup>e</sup> lugar y en que dias y horas enseña a los niños de esta iglesia el canto figurado de organo . . ."

<sup>153</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 31.

<sup>154</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 59: "Finalmente, para proveer á la necesidad de saber el canto los Ministros del Coro, y por que sin embargado de lo mandado en acta de diez de Noviembre de mil ochocientos veinte y seis, nada se ha conseguido, se mandó: Que el maestro de capilla D.<sup>n</sup> Cayetano Carreño, siguiendo precisamente el metodo detallado en aquella acta, se encargue de enseñar dicho canto á los Capellanes de Coro, dictandoles al efecto las reglas, por no poder ellos de presente proporcionarles libros, y oportunamente exercitarlos en la practica, de modo que consiga dar á la Yglesia unos Cantollanistas de los que pide el Concilio de Trento: que todos los dias que no sean festivos de ambos preceptos, ni ocurran sermones, ni funerales, se les haga dicha enseñanza acabados los oficios de la mañana, y por ahora en la pieza siguiente á la Sacristia: que los que no asistieren, á no contarse de licencia, ó patitur en el Coro, se les falle por todo el dia en el cuadrante, y que al citado Carreño se le den por la mayordomia cuarenta reales, por la gratificacion mensal, con el *Visto Bueno* del Señor Dean o Presidente, a cuya responsibilidad deja el Cabildo este su acuerdo. Finalmente, se añadió que el referido maestro de capilla, pasada la próxima Cuaresma, todos los Domingos y demas días festivos en que los monaguillos no tienen escuela, les enseñe el canto figurado de Organo, como se le mandó por acta de veinte y dos de Enero del año próximo pasado de mil ochocientos treinta."

- 1832, February 3 José Vicente Amézaga and Mariano Rodríguez, *músicos de la capilla*, and Manuel Antonio Carreño, *etc.*, complain of not being paid promptly.<sup>155</sup>
- July 3 With the chapelmaster's approval, the bajonista is fined for not walking in Corpus Christi nor its octave procession. Miguel Rosales, who walked in the street procession playing his French horn shall be paid in the bajonista's stead.<sup>156</sup>
- October 2 Manuel María Pérez succeeds Manuel Antonio Carreño as tiple, the latter having resigned the post.<sup>157</sup>
- 1833, July 12 Mariano Borges, after having for many months fulfilled his duties as bajonista only sporadically, now comes not at all. He shall be considered as dismissed.<sup>158</sup>
- 1835, December 18 Cathedral penury permits only two Christmas villancicos, this year—Cayetano Carreño's 40th and last as maestro de capilla.<sup>159</sup>
- 1836, March 4 He dies on March 3 or 4. His remains are deposited in the cathedral chapel of Our Lady of the Pillar. His son Juan Bautista succeeds him as chapelmaster.<sup>160</sup>

In 1884 Carreño's works in the cathedral archive included: 3 orchestral Masses, one organ Mass (in E minor), 2 Passions, Officium defunctorum, De profundis, a set of Compline psalms, 2 Te Deum (one with orchestra, the other with organ accompaniment), 4 Miserere (3 orchestral, one with organ), 2 Tantum ergo (with orchestra), 2 Graduals (one for the vigil of Pentecost, the other for St. Peter), and *In monte Oliveti (Oración en el huerto)*.<sup>161</sup> The latter, a setting of Matthew 26.39b-42, was published in 1943 as Cuaderno 6 in the Archivo de Música Colonial Venezolana edited by Juan Bautista Plaza.<sup>162</sup> *Tristis est anima mea*, a setting of Matthew 26.38, was published in the same year as Cuaderno 3 in the same series.

Both passion motets are 4/4 andante music in Carreño's favorite key—F minor.

<sup>155</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 100<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>156</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 113.

<sup>157</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 119<sup>v</sup>: "tiple de la capilla, plaza vacante p<sup>r</sup> renuncia q<sup>e</sup> hizo Manuel Antonio Carreño."

<sup>158</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 149: "Tubose presente que el Bajonista Mariano Borges tiene abandonada la plaza, y despues de mucho tiempo, q<sup>e</sup> no servia sino interrumpidamente, ahora la ha dejado sin ocurrir ningun dia de la capilla."

<sup>159</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 219: "seis pesos al Maestro de Capilla como parte de lo que antes se le daba, quedando la musica reducida á solo dos villancicos."

<sup>160</sup>Plaza, *Ensayos*, p. 100, gives March 3, 1836, as his death date and lists Juan Bautista, Juan de la Cruz, Manuel Antonio, Cayetano, and Lorenzo as his surviving sons. In 1862 Manuel Antonio embarked for New York City with his wife and Teresa. See Calcaño, pp. 374-376.

<sup>161</sup>The cathedral music inventories of December 31, 1877, April 5, 1884, and December 15, 1906, are found in *Inventarios de las Imagenes, Altares, Alajas, Ornamentos, y demas Utensillos de esta Stã. Iglesia Metropolitana de Caracas*, fols. 147<sup>v</sup>-148, 160<sup>v</sup>-163, and 218<sup>v</sup>-221<sup>v</sup>. Beginning with the 1884 inventory the music is numerically itemized. In the 1884, Cayetano Carreño's works embrace numbers 7-9, 15-18, 20, 25, 31, 49, 54, 56, 63, 72, 75, 94, 111, 119. In the 1884 inventory number 39 is a *Lamentación* by Ambrosio Carreño, numbers 21 and 41 are Juan Bautista Carreño's *Jaculatorias a orquesta i voces* and *Lamentación*.

<sup>162</sup>Issued cooperatively by the Venezuelan Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Dirección de Cultura and the Instituto Interamericano de Musicología at Montevideo, to commemorate the centenary of the reburial of Bolívar's remains at Caracas. To commemorate the fourth centenary of the founding of Caracas, the Comisión del Cuatricentenario de Caracas sponsored *Musica religiosa de cinco maestros caraqueños* (Caracas: Imprenta Municipal, 1967). Transcribed for piano and voices, Cayetano Carreño's *In monte Oliveti* occupies pp. 11-22. Some bad blunders mar the 1967 transcription.

Also, in the sorrow-laden 68-measure *Trinitis est* (SAT) and its 111-measure sequel *In monte Oliveti* (SATB) Carreño limits the instrumentation to his usual string quartet, paired oboes (clarinet in C replaces oboe 2 in *In monte Oliveti*), and paired French horns. In both works, an instrumental introduction (11, 20 measures) sets the mood, the first violin weaving a plangent melody above the homophonic under parts. Further to unite them, in both motets the choral sections border on the plainness of the turba-sections in Spanish Renaissance passions. Carreño assigns Jesus's words in *In monte Oliveti* to a solo tenor.

Sectionally, the longer motet divides into 20 measures (instrumental), 19 (chorus), 32 (solo), 21 (solo and chorus), and 19 (chorus), with Jesus's plea, "Father, if possible take away this cup," as the heart piece in a chiasmic structure. The harmonic vocabulary in both these deeply felt works does not go beyond the German augmented-sixth chord and the modulations wander no further than A flat and E flat Major. Nonetheless, the innate dignity and pathos of the texts find perfect expression in Carreño's nobly restrained settings.

So far as large-scale works go, he again chose F minor, related and parallel keys, for his crowning masterpiece—the Office and Mass of the Dead copied in Escuela de Música "José Angel Lamas" MS 128.<sup>163</sup> This monumental work, devoid of plainchant but eminently devout throughout, consists of invitatory (Regem cui omnia), lessons (Parce mihi, Taedet animam meam, Manus tuae), Requiem Mass (Introit, Kyrie, Gradual, Sequence, Offertory, Sanctus, Agnus Dei), and responsory (Libera me). String quartet, paired oboes and French horns in E flat or F accompany the four-part chorus (SATB). Tenor solos in Manus and Benedictus, tiple solos in In memoria and Dies irae, bass and alto in Dies irae—plus several duos—desirably vary the vocal texture. The few imitations are confined to the Taedet lesson (measures 25-31, 39-40) and responsory (47-48). As elsewhere in Carreño's repertory, he consistently allots his most plastic lines to first violins. Highlighted by their pitch, the concertmaster's appoggiature, dotted rhythms, triplets, and running sixteenths interspersing longer note-values, skillfully banish the stodginess to which Office and Mass of the Dead music frequently falls prey.

Except for the Libera me, every movement begins instrumentally. As for dynamics, he specifies constantly alternating planes of soft and loud: witness especially the Dies irae. But to judge from the frequent instrumental markings, any sudden abrupt contrast between pp and ff, any violent outburst followed by a general pause, any frenetic buildup, violate his esthetic canons. In keeping with an overall elegiac mood, he requires muted strings in the Sanctus. Not for him the theatricalities of the Requiem in D minor (Escuela MS 27<sup>164</sup>) by the best Venezuelan immediately after him, José Lorenzo Montero—member of the only other clan rivalling the Carreños in Venezuelan musical history.

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<sup>163</sup>Defectively copied in Sharon Elizabeth Girard's doctoral dissertation, "Music of the Requiem in Venezuela: A Study of the Colonial Tradition and its Background of Folk and Autochthonous Music of the Dead" (University of California at Los Angeles, 1975), II, 79-203. All the music in her Volume II existed in already transcribed scores at the Escuela de Música "José Angel Lamas."

<sup>164</sup>Escuela manuscript dated 1856, not 1836. Calcaño knowingly ranked José Lorenzo Montero foremost in his generation, pp. 230, 254.

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