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Peru's Musical Heritage of the Viceroyalty: The Creation of a National Identity

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**Peru's Musical Heritage of the Viceroyalty:
The Creation of a National Identity**

By

Fabiola Yupari

Accepted in Partial Completion
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Music

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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GRADUATE SCHOOL

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Master's Thesis

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Fabiola Yupari

6/6/19

**Peru's Musical Heritage of the Viceroyalty:
The Creation of a National Identity**

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of
Western Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Music

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May 2019

Abstract

The music of Peru evolved through the centuries. The conquest of Peru introduced European polyphony to the natives. Since the natives found enthusiasm towards the music of the Spaniards, missionaries utilized and integrated musical instruction as part of the catechization of the natives. The First, Second, and Third Lima Councils standardized the conversion process and enforced restrictions on sacred music. Like Lima, Arequipa also had a vibrant musical culture but the music remains lost. The music during the colonial era transitioned from three phases: early Spanish, Italian, and Nationalism. Church music dominated nearly the entire epoch of the Viceroyalty. The early Spanish music had limited instrumentation and mainly used popular texts from Spain. After the arrival of the Italian composers the chapel expanded with string and wind instrumentalists. The peak of the revolution influenced patriotic songs that united all Peruvians for the cause.

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Introduction

When we think of musical capitals, it is easy to gravitate towards major European musical centers such as Vienna or Paris and thus forget the music from the other side of the globe; music was composed, performed, and published in the New World, and even opera was just as praised in the colonies as in Europe. If anyone is asked about their first impression of Latin American music, their responses are generally confined to modern musical adaptations of popular or national music. Hardly anyone will mention music from the earlier colonial era due to their lack of exposure of this music. Latin American countries are like music history puzzle pieces lost and forgotten in the realm of Baroque and Classical music. Finally, enthusiasm towards the research of the music of the New World has awakened during the mid-twentieth century; these puzzle pieces seem to be coming together to form a cohesive history. Andres Sas (1900-1967), one of the earliest Peruvian musicologists, first researched indigenous folk music of Peru and his research led him to the music of the cathedrals. Other researchers from the 1960s and 1970s, such as Robert Stevenson, were overwhelmed by the treasures they encountered buried in the church archives. For instance, works from seventeenth and eighteenth century Peruvian composers were rediscovered by these musicologists.

Panama was the main southern post prior to the exploration of Peruvian coast.¹ The Spanish in Panama idolized the rumored lands of the Incas for their vast wealth; conquistadors

¹ The earliest chroniclers and first generation of *mestizos*, Garcilaso de la Vega, explained the possible origin on the name Peru. According to Vega the natives did not have the name Peru in their language. Vasco Nuñez de Balboa led an expedition to reach the untouched Pacific Ocean. One of his ships sailed beyond the equator and reached the western shores of South America. Sometime around 1515 and 1516 the explorers encountered the natives and attempted to communicate with them. The Spanish questioned one of the first natives they met, and asked him the name of the land. The confused and scared native replied by stating his name, *Berú*, and where he was at, *pelú*: “The word *pelú* is a noun in the language of that province and means ‘a river’ in general.” Garcilaso de la Vega. *Royal Commentaries of the Incas, and General History of Peru*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), 16.

exhausted all their resources to acquire the riches of the new territory, and the forced coexistence between the Spanish and the natives resulted in a complex Peruvian identity. The children of native and Spanish parents are called *mestizos*, and they faced complications on defining who they were since they belonged to two opposite worlds. Additionally, the Spanish were not the only foreigners in Peru; Italians, French, and slaves from Africa also arrived and lived in the colony. This clash of cultures has persisted even beyond the nineteenth century and into the modern day nation, yet, this blend from all parts of the world is the essence of modern Peru and is reflected in its music.

Nearly a hundred and fifty years have passed since Peruvian colonial music has physically resurfaced, and only a mere handful of sources written in English exist. One work by Robert Stevenson and a doctoral dissertation by Roberto Eyzaguirre are published as full monographs, while other sources only contain minor sections that defines this Peruvian music. Other extensive research performed by musicologists of South America is in Spanish, and majority of these publications cannot be found in American libraries. Moreover, none of these works have ever been translated.² Furthermore, several of these sources are over fifty years old, and current, updated research is not as abundant. This is due to some rather complex obstacles and circumstances I encountered in my own research on site.

One of the foremost of these obstacles is locating seventeenth and eighteenth-century manuscripts as they could be anywhere in places where no source cataloging has been done. For example, composer Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco was *maestro de capilla* in the capital of Lima; his works have been found in other cities in the country such as Cusco, and as far away as Bolivia. Many surviving manuscripts of Peruvian composers are safely stored at the Archivo

² These works are out of print, but can be found at the National Library of Peru and Peru's National Conservatory of Music.

Arzobispal de Lima, whose director is Laura Gutiérrez Arbulú. While recording the works catalogued in the archive and taking photos of manuscripts of interest back in September 2018, I consulted her about the whereabouts of the manuscripts from one of the last composers of the Viceroyalty, Andres Bolognesi (1807-1823). According to the director, either Bolognesi destroyed his works on his way to permanently settling in the provincial city of Arequipa, or his descendants may still own them. Although Bolognesi had a difficult relationship with the ecclesiastical authorities and cathedral musicians in Lima, destroying his own works seems quite unlikely. Given that he lived in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, his descendants may be completely unaware that they own his manuscripts or even his cello. This complicated on-site research.

The expedition to Arequipa's archive was futile and frustrating; there were absolutely no musical manuscripts catalogued at the Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa, though I was fortunate enough to interview the director, Alvaro Espinoza de la Borda, who was generous with his time.

He mentioned that Arequipenian musicologist Zoila Vega Salvatierra had searched for almost five years for any manuscripts in the archives to no avail. Borda further elaborated that the archive was currently under the process of "reorganization," which could raise the possibility of discovering manuscripts within their extensive and chaotic collection. He also believed that the



Figure 1 Archivo Arzobispal de Lima main entrance. .

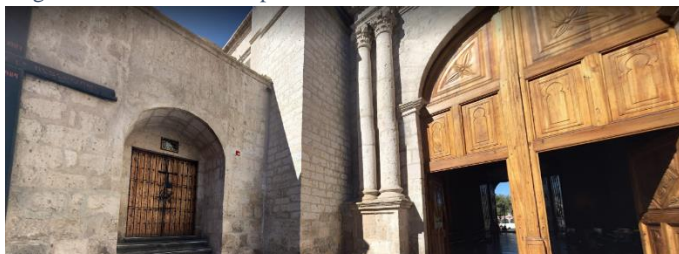


Figure 2 Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa.
Image taken from Google Maps

works may have been “misplaced” somewhere in other archives or somewhere outside Arequipa. In an interview in a magazine, *El Buho*, Vega agrees that these works must exist somewhere: “If in a private archive, I am sure I will then find some score signed by Cayetano Rodríguez.”³ Vega and other musicologists remain hopeful that music from colonial Peru will one day appear since sacred music played a major role in developing cities.

Since the dawn of the Spanish conquest, sacred music served one ultimate purpose: the evangelization of the natives. The Roman Catholic Church’s task of converting the native peoples engendered a stream of guidelines and restrictions mandated by Archbishops. Missions and schools were scattered throughout the entire colony, growing eventually into universities, the oldest one being the Universidad de San Marcos, founded in 1551. These early schools and missions taught natives Spanish, Latin, reading, writing, and music. The Church also incorporated their European sacred chants with Quechua lyrics and other local languages. However, ecclesiastical authorities prohibited the music of the natives and destroyed their traditional instruments, since they believed it could compromise their conversion.

During the Viceroyalty, Peru was not just economically rich with silver and gold, it also had a rich musical culture concurrent with that of its European homeland. However, musical developments of the New World deviated from Europe’s to an extent. Church music of Peru can be clearly divided in three eras—early Spanish, the rise of the Italian influence, and the adaptations by those born in Peru. For example, the instrumentation of early sacred Spanish compositions remained conservative for over a century due to restrictions of Archbishops and the lack of instrumentalists available in the early colony. Even the first opera composed in Peru only

³ “Entonces si yo, en algún archive privado, que estoy seguro que esta, encuentro alguna partitura firmada por Cayetano Rodríguez.” Arthur Zeballos. “El Último estudio de Zoila Vega Salvatierra,” *El Buho* (Arequipa), Oct. 16, 2011. Cayetan Rodríguez (1765-1808) was the last *maestro de capilla* in Arequipa of the Viceroyalty.

had continuo to accompany the singers. Aside from the restrictions, the Church also failed to provide proper salaries for the musicians in the *capilla*, but in the eighteenth century, the Italians of the Cathedral persisted for additional instrumentalists and fair salaries. Church ensembles finally included full strings, horns, and woodwinds.

Remarkably, manuscripts from the earliest times, have managed to survive centuries of political unrest throughout Central and South America. In Cusco, sixteenth century chant books exist from Rome surprisingly survived in the churches and the difficult transportation from Europe.⁴ But, mysteriously, Peru's late colonial music from other major centers, such as Arequipa, have yet to be discovered. One obvious reason for this mystery is war. Spanish Peru was unstable for decades after the conquest, and even more so before and after war for independence in the nineteenth century. This does not, however, explain why compositions from the last *maestros de capilla*, such as Bolognesi and Juan Beltrán (1799-1807) are almost non-existent. Today, absolutely no music of Bolognesi has been found or known to exist, though he was active in opera and as a soloist during the revolution. No traces of the operas or string works he composed are to be found. Similarly, no Masses of Roque Ceruti (1728-1760) have been located, though a generous number of his *villancicos* have been preserved. Masses composed by organist Melchor Tapia (1775-1818) are unexpectedly plentiful on the other hand, but he was never appointed as *maestro de capilla* and not required to compose for the Church. The war for independence limited the funds for the *capilla*, and the Church lost their musical dominance in the city. Sacred and secular music were linked during this time, since all musical instruction originated from the church, José Bernardo Alcedo (1788-1878) was the key element to link these

⁴ Robert Stevenson, *Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington: Pan American Union, 1960), 94.

two realms. Alcedo composed Masses and patriotic national songs; however, several of these works are lost.

The early music of Peru was the precursor to its new identity as a newly independent nation in the nineteenth century, which naturally led the country to the nationalist musical trends of that era, a subject that still needs exploration beyond this thesis. One cannot ignore this early nationalist music of this period, because it was the direct transition into the prominent secular venues and the popularity of patriotic songs. The church was unable to retain absolute musical dominance after the revolution. Patriotic hymns were celebrated by the new Republic, and Alcedo wrote several of these; even the son of Andres Bolognesi participated in the genre. Peru's turbulent origins must be addressed in order to understand the complicated and developing identity of Peru and its music

Chapter 1: History of Peru

Peru was home to the Incas and their civilization dates to the thirteenth century. Prior to the Incas, several civilizations coexisted in the valleys of Cusco and surrounding areas of Lake Titicaca. Incan legend dictates that Illa-Ticci-Ura-Cocha, (also called Viracocha) the maker of the Universe, gave life to Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo as they emerged from the foams of Lake Titicaca; they were the children of the Sun and thus the first true Incas.



Figure 3: Inca territory during the 1530s.
Image from jerodanthonyeathan.weebly.com.

The first emperor, Manco Capac, conquered and united these tribes and centralized power in Cusco. By the end of the fifteenth century the Inca Empire stretched from modern day Ecuador to the southern tip of Chile (Figure 3).

The Spanish conquest of Incan territory occurred after the third voyage from Spanish Panama. These leaders, Francisco Pizarro, Diego Almagro, and Hernando de Luque, agreed to explore further south in order to seek the rumored treasures of the Incas, but the first voyage under Diego Almagro of 1524 was completely disastrous. They were ill-equipped and lacked personnel. Moreover, Almagro's party was attacked by indigenous peoples, resulting in Almagro losing an eye. Securing funds for the second expedition was nearly impossible after the

failure of the first voyage. Fortunately, the *Alcade Major* of Panama, Gaspar de Espinosa, granted the funds and materials necessary in 1526. The second expedition proved to be nearly as futile as the first, and was subsequently in danger of losing support from the Governor of Panama due to the lack of progress by the adventurers. However, Pizarro shockingly managed to travel as far as Tumbez down the coast after almost three years and made contact with Inca nobles (see Figure 4). Upon returning to Panama, Pizarro took two natives called Filipillo and Martínillo with him in order for them to learn Spanish and thus become interpreters for the next expedition. Once Pizarro arrived back in Panama, Almagro and Luque decided that Pizarro should return to Spain in 1528 in order to secure additional funds, support, and recruits. Pizarro consulted with the Council of the Indies upon his arrival and the council, Queen Mother Juana, and King Charles V appointed Pizarro Governor of Peru, granting him funds for the conquest on July 26, 1529. Apart from soldiers, arms, and supplies, Pizarro was also accompanied by ecclesiastics to Peru, as mandated according to the royal decree. The first Catholic order that reached the New World were the Dominicans, and Friar Vicente de Valverde was one of the six authorized missionaries sent to Peru, eventually becoming the only surviving missionary to follow Pizarro to Cusco.⁵ Pizarro's voyage back to Spain, however, sparked a fallout between himself and Almagro, since royal authorities bestowed the power of governor only on Pizarro.

⁵ Pedro de Creza de Leon, *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru: Chronicles of the New World Encounter*, trans. Alexandra Parma Cook and Noble David Cook (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 213.

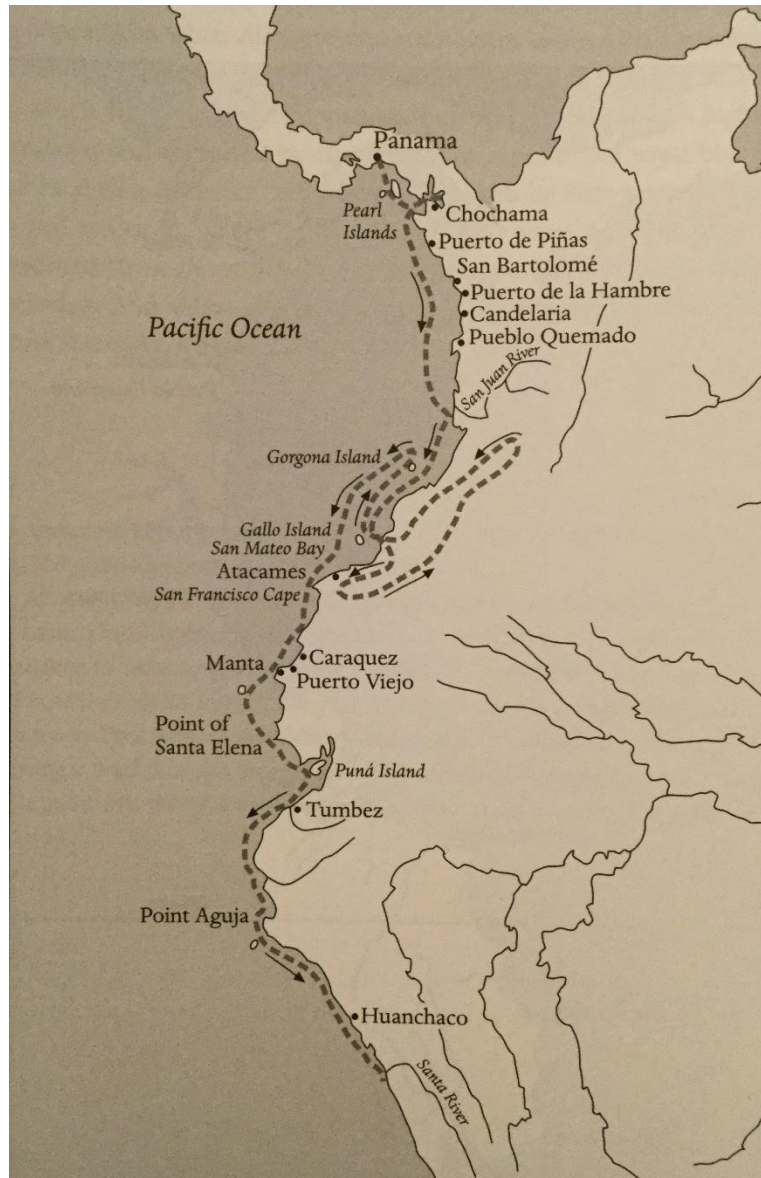


Figure 4: Outline of the second Voyage according to Creza de Leon.

Before the Spanish reached Incan borders on the third voyage, a civil war had already broken out between a new Incan emperor, Atahualpa, and his brother Huascar. Pizarro did not hesitate to take advantage of the weakened Incan state. He focused his expedition on Cajamarca where the Inca Atahualpa resided during the civil war. One of the earliest chroniclers of Peru, Creza de Leon documented the events that occurred in there. In one of his entries Leon noted “about how false news came that warriors were advancing against the

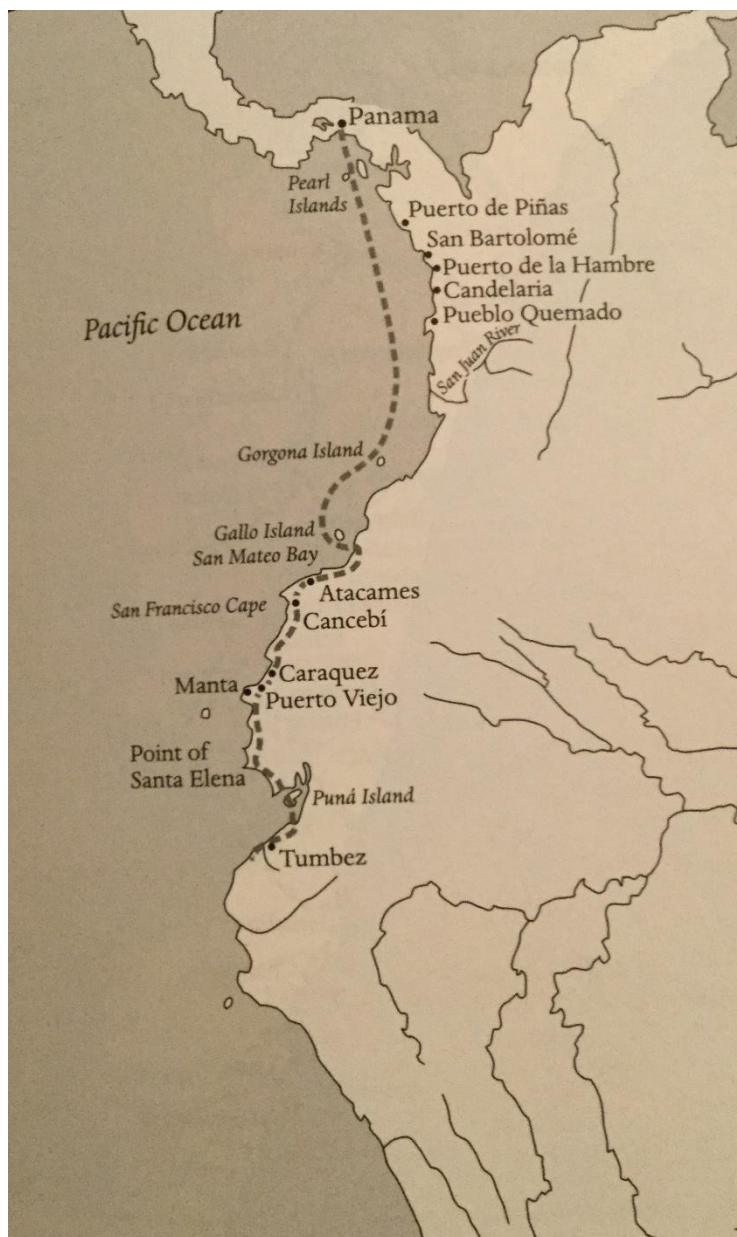


Figure 5: Outline of third voyage according to Creza de Leon

Spaniards, and how Pizarro, breaking the word and the contract that he made with Atahualpa, put him to death with great cruelty and little justice.”⁶ When both parties met at the plaza in Cajamarca, Pizarro sent the Dominican Friar Valverde to approach Atahualpa. The friar took offense when Atahualpa accepted the friar’s breviary and “flung it into the air without knowing

⁶ Creza de Leon, *The Discovery and Conquest*, 252.

what it was,” according to Leon.⁷ Further, Atahualpa refused to leave his position at the plaza and demanded the return of the stolen goods and captured natives from the Spaniards.

Unsatisfied with the encounter, Valverde and Pizarro agreed to capture the Emperor and release Atahualpa for a ransom. The Incan authorities presented gold and silver, but the Spaniards refused to free the Emperor unless he accepted the Christian faith. The Spaniards tactfully utilized their religious propaganda to mask and justify their crimes: “They thirsted for glory, but they desired to secure it by propagating the religion of Christ which their fatherland, notwithstanding all its weaknesses, loved with an ardor that has never been surpassed.”⁸ The conquistadors debated whether Atahualpa’s execution was necessary, but Pizarro made the final decision to garrote Atahualpa.⁹ News of Atahualpa’s assassination spread rapidly throughout the realm, and neighboring tribes, who had opposed the Inca rule, contributed intelligence and men to the Spanish conquest. The official Spanish occupation of Cusco began on November 15, 1533, roughly a year after Atahualpa’s capture and execution. However, the surviving Incas attempted to rebel against the foreign forces, which became known as the Great Indian Rebellion of 1536 and was led by Inca Manco Yupanqui. Manco managed to escape Cusco and gathered reinforcements from the valley of Yucay. During this time, Pizarro’s brothers, Hernando, Juan, and Gonzalo had only a small army and were the only ones who occupied Cusco. The vulnerable army had no option but to evacuate the city after the Incas attacked. The Spaniard’s strategy was to attack the Incas at night, but the momentum was slow since the Incas foresaw the attack. Cusco subsequently fell back to the Spanish hands after the battle, and one of the

⁷ Creza de Leon, *The Discovery and Conquest*, 211.

⁸ J.B. Culemans, “A Revaluation of Early Peruvian History,” *The Catholic Historical Review* (1916): 160.

⁹ Leon further explained that Atahualpa did not understand why the Spaniards were executing him when the ransom was given. Valverde baptized Atahualpa right before his execution and was given a Christian burial. Creza de Leon, *The Discovery and Conquest*, 256.

brothers, Juan Pizarro, was fatally wounded. On the coast, an Inca siege of Lima was later attempted by Manco's uncle, Titu Yupanqui, but was also unsuccessful.

Although Cusco was the Incan capital, the location proved inconvenient for the conquistadors. After the siege of Cusco, Pizarro strategically founded a new capital called *La Ciudad de los Reyes* (Lima) on January 18, 1535 in honor of the Spanish royal family. A city by the coast allowed for easier communication between Panama and Peru. Three main components made up the Plaza Mayor¹⁰ which include the municipal building, the Palace of the Viceroy, and the cathedral. The etymology behind the name Lima was another mispronunciation by the Spaniards, in this case the Rimac River which runs through the city.



Figure 6: Plaza de Armas in Lima. Building on the right is the Government Palace of Peru. Formerly the Viceroyal Palace. Image taken on January 4th, 2018.

Religion played a major role in the dissolution not only of the Incan governmental establishment, but also Incan culture. Shortly after conquest of Cusco, Valverde was nominated as Bishop of Cusco in 1535 and officially appointed Bishop there in 1537.

¹⁰ Currently known as the *Plaza de Armas*

The urgency in converting the natives was supported by the Pope. The conquistadors were flabbergasted that the Incas had absolutely no knowledge of the Christian faith, wondering how it possible, based on their observations, that the Incan people had symbols similar to crosses and crucifixes,¹¹ and religious wear mirroring the mitres and chasubles of a bishop. Additionally, the Incas all believed in one god, who created everything in the universe, and even shared similar myths like Noah's flood. According to the Spaniards, new cities were thus founded not only for administrative purposes, but to cast the devil out of the land. The conclusion of the conquistadors, which could only explain the similarities in iconography and faith, was that the Incas must have misinterpreted the "true religion" due to the Devil's interference. This explanation also addressed Incan rituals of human sacrifice, since the Devil "obligated" them to perform the act. The standardization of the conversion process took nearly fifty years to take hold, as ecclesiastical reforms were constantly mandated over the decades, included restrictions on music.

This approach was further perpetuated by the Spaniard's lust for gold through ransacking the temples and other holy sites from their treasure resulting in the motto: "God, Gold, Glory." A famous quote from Lope de Vega resonated among the Spaniards: "Infinite lands for the King/ And infinite souls for God."¹² The treasure acquired from the Incas only created complications in the development of a new colony.

The drastic changes in the New World resulted in an enormous power struggle, not only between the natives and the intruders, but also between the conquistadors and royal authority back in Spain. Even the conquistadors fought amongst themselves. Although Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro had originally orchestrated the Spanish expedition to South America from

¹¹ There is a possibility that the mistaken objects were tumis which were used for surgical operations.

¹² "Al Rey infinitas tierras/ Y a Dios infinitas almas." See Culemans, "A Revaluation," 160.

Panama, the expedition divided when Almagro and his party went further south from Cusco. Upon Almagro's return from present day Chile, a series of conflicts between the supporters of Pizarro and Almagro flared. Almagro and his forces took control of Cusco, which upset Pizarro's party, and in 1538, the War of Salinas resulted with the defeat of Almagro's army and subsequently his execution. The execution of both Almagro and Atahualpa alarmed authorities in Spain, and they sent Cristobal Vaca de Castro to fully investigate and report back. Spanish authorities also agreed that Vaca de Castro should act as a royal judge if Pizarro was found alive; if Pizarro was dead then Vaca de Castro would take over the position as governor.



Figure 7: Resting place of Francisco Pizarro at the Cathedral of Lima. Image taken on January, 4, 2018.

The plaque:

"Here lies the Marques Governor Don Francisco Pizarro Conquistador of Peru and Founder of Lima Born in Trujillo Extremadura of Spain in 1478 and died in Lima on 26 June of 1541. The Cabildo Metropolitano moved his remains here on 18 January of 1985 to commemorate the 450th anniversary of the founding of the city. May God be in your glory Amen."

Three years later in 1541, Almagro's supporters conspired against Pizarro in order to regain control of Lima, Cusco, and surrounding areas. The conspirators swarmed Pizarro's palace and stabbed him to death. The organizer of the assassination was Juan de la Rada who acted as the guardian of Almagro's son, also named Diego. He declared Diego as the new Governor of Peru, but their control fell through after Vaca de Castro's army arrived and defeated the remaining forces of Almagro in the War of Chupas a year later in 1542. News finally

reached Spain of the conquistador's illegal assassination of Atahualpa without trial, ill treatment of the natives, and exploitation of labor after Castro's attempt to control the land. In 1543, the Viceroyalty of Peru was established. Blasco Nuñez Vela was selected as Viceroy and sent in 1544 to enforce order, as well as present the new laws. Even though Vaca de Castro was ordered to return back to Spain, the king wrote to him to stay on temporarily with Blasco Nuñez Vela as his advisor. Even with the administration's intervention, the abuse of the natives did not improve by much, though upon arriving at Tumbez, Vela immediately ordered proper treatment. The warring conquistadors universally despised the new laws since their acquired wealth was being redirected to the crown and their privileges were limited in the newly acquired land. The Viceroy was defeated at the Battle of Añaquito in 1546 and executed in the rebellion led by Francisco's younger half-brother, Gonzalo Pizarro. It was not until 1569 that the Viceroyalty stabilized under the leadership of Francisco de Toledo.

The claimed territory remained unstable for several years. Although the new colony had phases of relative peace, disputes boiled up well into the Spanish Bourbon period. The Spanish Bourbon dynasty was the result from the War of the Spanish Succession, when the last Spanish Habsburg King, Charles II, had no biological heir to succeed him. The Treaty of Hague signed in 1698 by France, England and the Dutch Republic approved Prince Joséph Ferdinand, the son of Bavaria's elector, to ascend to the Spanish throne, thus inheriting the Spanish colonies and the Spanish Netherlands. The remaining Spanish territories in Italy would then be divided between France and Austria. Prince Joséph Ferdinand died in 1699, which complicated the succession issue yet again. The same three powers—England, France, Dutch Republic— signed another treaty in 1700 in which Archduke Charles would replace Joséph Ferdinand, and the division of the territories remained the same as the previous treaty. However, the father of Charles VI, Holy

Roman Emperor Leopold, refused to sign the treaty and demanded all Spanish territories be granted to his son. Prior to the death of Spanish King Charles II in 1700, he had designated Louis XIV's grandson, Philip, to inherit the Spanish domains in his will. War finally erupted when France invaded the Spanish Netherlands, and the treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt, and Baden that concluded the war in 1714 recognized Philip V as King of Spain, but at the cost of Spanish territories in Italy and the Netherlands. Charles was subsequently elected as Holy Roman emperor since his older brother passed away in 1711. This turmoil had a direct effect upon New Spain.

Throughout the eighteenth century the Bourbon administration conducted a series of administrative and economic reforms, which later triggered instability in the colonies. One of these included the establishment of a Ministry of Marine and the Indies in 1714, which replaced the former Council of the Indies. Finally, in 1750 the Treaty of Madrid settled on-going boundary agreements with Portugal over the western territories, now called Brazil. In 1776, Upper Peru was divided, creating the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata with the capital at Buenos Aires. This loss of Upper Peru was economically catastrophic to the Viceroyalty of Peru, since Upper Peru had the "richest silver mines," according to Timothy Anna.¹³ Additionally, the textile markets of Upper Peru were able to import cloth directly from Europe, which was cheaper and of higher quality than from Lima.

Shortly after the creation of the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata, Tupac Amaru II led one of the last Andean rebellions in 1780. This rebellion was a cry against cruelty towards the native peoples and crown's lack of attention to the issue, but the rebellion has been defined as the least

¹³ Timothy Anna, *The Fall of the Royal Government In Peru* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. 1979), 4.

successful in of all America, according to Timothy Anna.¹⁴ While the rebellion failed, the aftermath disrupted the economic productivity, which further pushed the agenda for further reform in the Viceroyalty, or for complete independence from Spain. Yet, the question remained of who was going to be independent from whom; independence for the natives who were fighting for civil liberties or the improper representation of the Peruvian born Spanish Creoles with respect to political decisions. As mentioned earlier, as the climate for independence developed, Peru still lacked a uniform identity; the *mestizos*, *pardos/mulattos*, and African slaves were still excluded. It was clear that all of these groups had different motives that contributed to Peru's late demand for independence.

However, there were further complex issues in between Peru and Spain aside from the rebellion. The economic upset, lack of dispersed wealth, and political influence among citizens of Peru contributed heavily towards the power struggle. One of the largest upsets in Peruvian economy was when the Bourbon monarchy established the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata, as noted. Upper Peru, Bolivia today, was given to a new Viceroyalty based in Argentina. The loss of Upper Peru deprived Peru proper from the abundant silver mines, though it was justified by the Archbishop of Lima that it would save money in the long term. Aside from the new Viceroyalty, poor public infrastructure, shortage of labor, and limited investment capital all took a toll on Peru's economy. Transporting goods within Peru was immensely expensive as Anna notes: "It was cheaper for Arequipa, for example, to buy imports from Chile or Buenos Aires than from Lima."¹⁵ The terrain of the coast was not forgiving since it only allowed for narrow roads. In regards to the shortage of labor, there was also a poor distribution of labor as well.

¹⁴ The rebels were not all in agreement on their demands in the rebellion. Tupac Amaru declared that he was not against religion or the Spanish crown, but other rebels did not agree. The rebellion was fought at Lower Peru in 1781 and Upper Peru in 1781, which both were defeated at the loss of 100,000 men. Timothy E. Anna, *The Fall*, 29.

¹⁵ Anna, *The Fall*, 9.

The natives were exploited for labor mainly resided in the highlands and were unable to relocate to the urban cities of the coast that had manufacturing jobs. This was also an issue with acquiring slaves from Africa; relocating them was also too costly. Compared to Mexico, Peru lacked wealthy individuals for potential investments, and additionally, Peru's only manufactured products that brought in any significant revenue were clothing and textiles. The lack of disbursement of wealth was obvious both with the indigenous populations, but also within the Spanish/Creole population. Not only was the distribution of wealth a problem, but political influence was also intertwined. More than sixty percent of the population had no say in social policies, and out of the Spanish/creole population, only a fraction were eligible voters (see Table 1 and 2 for general population data of eighteenth century Peru). Based on Anna's data, voting eligibility probably depended on gender, income, literacy, and age; only 5,234 *creole* males were eligible for voting rights.¹⁶ Barely 1% of the entire population of Peru had any political influence, and just like the improper representation of people all over the globe in places like the United States of America or France at the time, this only encouraged revolution.

¹⁶ Anna, *The Fall*, 18.

Table 1 Census of Peru in 1795¹⁷

Population based on class	
Indigenous	674,615 (60%)
Mestizo	244,313 (22%)
Free Pardos ¹⁸ and slaves	41,004 (6%)
Whites	140,890 (12%)
Total	1,100,822

Table 2 Lima Population in 1813¹⁹

Population based on class	
Whites	20,175 (32%)
Indigenous	10,643 (6.5%)
Mestizos	4,879 (7.5%)
Pardos	10,231 (16%)
Slaves	17,881 (28%)
Total	63,809

On July 28, 1821, independence of Peru was declared by José San Martín. Royal forces lost complete power once San Martín's forces entered the city of Lima, but the liberator of Peru was not Peruvian at all: San Martín was Argentinian. The Viceroy fighting San Martín was Joaquin de la Pezuela, and in the letters exchanged between the two commanders, Pezuela refused to acknowledge San Martín as a liberator of the people. He noted that San Martín's

¹⁷ Data taken from Anna, *The Fall*, 16-17.

¹⁸ "Of mixed race" also known as *mulatos*.

¹⁹ Data taken from Anna, *The Fall*, 17.

claim of oppression of the Peruvian people was nothing more than propaganda. But San Martín proclaimed, “When an entire people ask for peace there is no salvation in war for those who contravene their desires.”²⁰ Even though independence was declared in 1821, Peru was not entirely recognized as independent until 1824. On December 9, 1824, the Battle of Ayacucho drove away the last remaining troops of Pezuela. Peru did not hesitate in adopting nationalistic symbols, yet the idea of Peruvian nationalism remained questionable. What was the true Peruvian identity and how were they going to construct their version of nationalism? For centuries, Peru had a diverse population, and this is supported by the data shown above. The struggle for independence did inspire *mestizo* and *creole* composers to write patriotic national songs, and composers like José Bernardo Alcedo had received their musical education from the Church. After the war for independence, the Church was no longer in control of musical activities in the city, and but original sacred compositions and music education declined in the nineteenth century.

²⁰ Anna, *The Fall*. 167.

Chapter 2: Music in Peru

What is the true identity of Peruvian music? Quechua lyrics set to European polyphony were used at missions for the conversion of the natives. The church music was predominately Spanish, but Italians made enormous contributions in the last fifty years of the Viceroyalty. Music continued to flourish outside the church, but the church's magnificent musical traditions were never fully restored after the War for Independence. The ecclesiastical administration struggled to enforce musical restrictions on genres and instruments of the church and to provide proper pay to church musicians even before the war. European trends had gained the attention of the public in New Spain, and the music was imported at an increased rate rather than originally composed in Peru. Even aspiring professional composers were sent overseas for their training. However, Peru's colonial music, both in Lima and Arequipa, had not been abandoned. Peruvian music originated from the musical traditions of Spain, and *villancicos* were a popular genre in the Church. However, Peruvian music continued to develop after Italians were introduced to the *capilla* in the eighteenth century through the War for Independence.

Early introduction of European music

From the conquest to the early years of the Viceroyalty music, dances, and theater were strictly and solely Spanish; the Spaniards were the first to introduce polyphony to the Andean peoples. Documentation by early chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega mentioned that six minstrels, or secular musicians, were part Gonzalo Pizarro's entourage as early as the 1540s. The musicians traveled with Pizarro back and forth from Lima, Cusco, and Quito, playing their

shawms, trumpets and drums when they entered each city. These six minstrels, as Garcilasco de la Vega recalled, sang epics, romances from Castile, and rejoiced about the conquistadors' cruel victories in Peru. The minstrels, Agustin Ramirez, Pedro Bejarano, Juan de Estrada, and a vihuelist Francisco Marcian Dianes, formed the first secular musical establishment in Peru. After Pizarro's army was defeated by Pedro de la Gasca's forces, the musicians were condemned to the galleys, and two others were exiled to Chile and Mexico. One of the minstrels, Mexican *mestizo* Agustin Ramirez taught Garcilasco how to sing and notate music and because of this experience Garcilasco referred these musicians as "nice officers."²¹ An estimated twenty-one secular musicians came to Peru within the first decades after the conquest, and about two hundred musicians came later in the century.

For several decades, musicians in the ensembles of new churches were mostly minstrels, but several instrumentalists did not stay in the colony. These musicians were proficient in more than one instrument, performing on cornetts, shawms, drums, sackbuts, harps, harpsichords, and guitars. Further, in the seventeenth century musicians were solely trained by the church, and the instruments allowed in the chapel were limited by the enforced edicts from the Archbishops.

Formation of church music

Christianity was by far the main contributor to the transmission of European music into the New World throughout the entire duration of the Viceroyalty. Renaissance religious polyphony was astonishingly and eagerly adopted by the indigenous peoples, since they had never heard or developed advanced polyphony in their traditional musical culture. Within the

²¹ "*Lindos oficiales*," José Quezada Macchiavello, "La Musica en el Virreinato," in *La Musica en el Peru* (Lima: Patronato Popular y Provenir Pro Musica Clásica, 1985), 74.

first years of the Viceroyalty, the majority of musical activity slowly and exclusively centered on the church. As mentioned earlier, the first monastic order that reached Peru were the Dominicans, followed by the Franciscans, Augustinians, and, lastly, the Jesuits. The personal delegate of Charles V, Pedro de la Gasca, who arrived in Peru in 1547 was the Viceroyalty's first lawgiver. Gasca issued the orders in 1549 to standardize their missionary efforts,²² requiring the ecclesiastical orders to build schools and learn Quechua. These were required to teach reading, writing, hygiene, singing, and how to pray, and the first three orders who arrived in Peru also made music a primary subject in their schools for the sole purpose of evangelizing the natives.

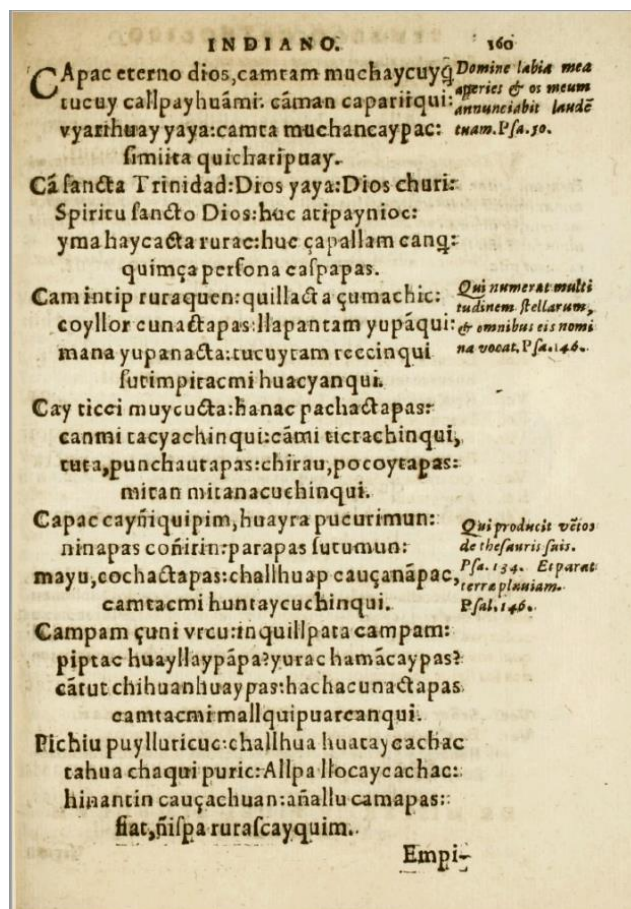
Importing religious works from Europe to Peru was nearly impossible since during the transportation books could barely stay intact; the transportation of music books from Rome could take as long as an entire decade to reach Cuzco. One of the earliest sacred works that arrived in Cusco around 1553 was a book of sixteen Masses by noted Spanish Cristobal de Morales published in Rome in 1544. Another favored composer in the early Americas was Francisco de Guerrero, known for his motets that were published in 1570. His *Liber Vesperarum* of 1584 was actively used in the church's repertory through the entire sixteenth century. The Franciscans intergraded Guerrero's motets as part of their musical education curriculum at the Colegio de San Andres in Quito and in Juaja, a second generation of Franciscans in Peru and the one of the earliest Creoles²³, Friar Gerónimo de Oré, emphasized in his *Simbolo Catolico Indiano* that the natives should be taught plain chant to aid their conversion. The *Simbolo Catolico Indiano* was published in Lima on 1598 by publisher Antonio Ricardo. This work took roughly thirty years to complete and according to Stevenson: "[It was] a manual of religious lyrics in Quechua to be

²² Precedent to the Lima Council by two years

²³ Only of Spanish parents but born in Peru.

sung with native as well as European tunes.”²⁴ Oré also included the Apostle’s Creed in Quechua to the tune of *Sacris Solmenis* (see Figure 8). Additional composers included Tomás Luís de Victoria (1548-1611) and Giovanni Palestrina (1525-1594), whose *5 Masses for four voices* remains in the archives to this day. A total of about forty volumes of plainchant works, several of them still in neumatic notation, were actively well into the nineteenth century.

Figure 8 Quechua lyrics in *Simbolo Catolico Indiano*
Geronimo de Ore, *Simbolo Catolico Indiano* (Lima: Antonio
Ricardo):160.



²⁴ Stevenson, *The Music of Peru*, 44.

Considering that sacred music books from Spain would take years to reach coastal Peru, let alone the highlands, new compositions were encouraged. The mixture of the music of the two cultures began to merge by 1551. Sebastian de Leon, an organist, composed polyphonic works while incorporating some indigenous melodies in Cusco. As an organist, Sebastian de Leon was directly involved with the construction of the cathedral's organ in Lima in 1552 and in La Plata in 1556. One of the first publications of a polyphonic work in Quechua was by another Franciscan, Juan Perez Bocanegra, who included *Hanacpachap cussicuinin* in his treatise *Ritual Formulario e Instruction de Curas*. The composer of *Hanacpachap cussicuinin* remains unknown, although the lyrics of the work were important in both Incan and Catholic symbology,



as Quezada notes: “Huanac Pachap is a beautiful example of the cultural and religious syncretism; the allusions to a Dios Papapam’ and a ‘Dios mamamam’ and the metaphors about love and nature are very typical to the Quechua soul, captivated extraordinarily by the author.”²⁵

Figure 9 Juan Perez Bocanegra²⁶

²⁵ “Es Hanac Pachap una bellísima muestra del sincretismo cultural y religioso; sus alusiones a un “Dios Papapam” y una “Dios mamamam” y las metáforas sobre el amor y la naturaleza, son muy propias del alma quechua, captada extraordinariamente por el autor,” Quezada, “La Musica,” 76.

²⁶ Quezada, “La Música,” 77.

Figure 10 *Hanapachap cussicuinin*
Stevenson. *The Music*, 48-49.

DIVERSAS. 709

ALTO.

Hanapachapcullicuinin huarancaeta muchafcaiqui,
Iupairuru pucocmallqui, runacunap suia
Cuinincallpannac paquemiuinin, huaciascaita,

BAXO.

Hanapachapcullicuinin, huarancaeta muchas
caiqui, Iupai ru rupucocmallqui, callpannacpa
quemiuininrunacunap suiacuinin, huaciascaita,
Zz 3

ORACIONES

TIPLE.

Hanapachapcullicuinin, huarancaeta muchafcaiqui,
Yupai rurupucoc mallqui, runacunap suyacuinin,
Callpannacpa quemiuinin, huaciascaita.

TENOR.

Hanapachapcullicuinin, huarancaeta muchafcaiqui.
Yupai rurupucoc mallqui runacunap suia.
cuinin, callpannacpa quemiuinin, huaciascaita.

Early Music in Lima

Once the Spanish started to develop the land, they immediately erected churches in all major cities: Cusco, Arequipa, Quito, Trujillo, and Lima. The first stones of the first church in Lima were laid the same day the city was founded, and the church was inaugurated on March 11, 1540. It was approved by Pope Paul III the following year on May 14, 1541. The original purpose behind this cathedral was to be a suffragan to the cathedral in Seville. Even the music imitated that of Seville. Dominican friar Geronimo de Loayza from Trujillo, Spain consecrated the new church on September 17, 1543, the same year Francisco de Avila was appointed as cantor of the *capilla*. Loayza was then appointed as the first Archbishop of Lima on January 31, 1545, on the same day as the church earned the rank of *Metropolitana*. Finally, in 1572, the church gained the status of Cathedral.

The rapid development of the *Ciudad de los Reyes* (Lima) became the center of ecclesiastical order for the Viceroyalty. Bishops and those of higher power were extremely vigilant in the development of music and marked specifically the differences between profane and sacred music. Several *Edictos* originated from the First Council of Lima, which gathered from 1551 to 1552 and was led by Archbishop Loayza, who enforced restrictions not only on music but on art and theater as well.

In the First Council of Lima, Loayza signed the cathedral constitution and appointed Domingo Alvarez as *maestro de capilla*, but the position was not officially established until 1612. Alvarez's duties required him to teach plainsong and polyphony to the church personnel. The council also attempted to standardize conversions of the natives by requiring them to memorize all basic prayers, such as the *Credo*, *Ave Maria*, *Pater Noster*, and the Ten

Commandments in both Latin and Spanish. In the second chapter of the constitution, natives were obligated to partake in the following *fiestas*:²⁷

- All Sundays of the year
- Feast of Circumcision
- Feast of the Kings
- The first days of Christmas, Holy Week, and Pentecost
- Ascension of Christ
- Corpus Christ
- Feast of our Nuestra Señora: Nativity, Annunciaion, Purification, and Accession
- San Pedro and San Pablo
- Some vigils of the Nativity and Resurrection and all Fridays of Lent

Due to the low attendance at the First Council, the Second Council of Lima gathered on 1567. The Second Council coincided with the ordinances of the Council of Trent. This council mandated vernacular (Quechua or Aymara) instruction upon priests and imposed greater restriction on the natives. Additionally, the council agreed on appointing a *chantre* at every

²⁷Vega, *Arequipa*, 33.

Primer Concilio Limense

Constituciones de los naturales

Constitucion 21. Què fiestas son los indios obligados a guardar.

- Todos los domingo del año
- Fiesta de Circunciosión
- Fiesta de los Reyes
- Los primeros días de las tres Pascuas [Navidad, Semana Santa, Pentecostès]
- Ascensión de Cristo
- Cospus Christi
- Fiestas de Nuestra Señora: La Nativdad, Anunciación, Purificaión y Asunción
- San Pedro y San Pablo
- Ayunos, vigiliias de Natividad y Resurrección y todos los viernes de Cuaresma

cathedral in Peru to teach singing. If a *chantry* could not be appointed, a substitute with equal training was allowed. The Third Council of 1582 to 1583 declared the obligations of the First Council invalid and reformed the rulings of the Second Council. The indigenous peoples were no longer required to learn Latin, and priests were required to become proficient in Quechua. Music instruction at every mission was mandatory; anyone appointed to a position at a church was also required to have proficiency in singing, since the Mass was then required to be sung. Additional restrictions were imposed on the clergy: any member of the clergy who was caught using “profane” (secular) instruments, such as indigenous instruments or instruments like a vihuela, would have been fined ten pesos and imprisoned for ten days.²⁸ A plausible explanation behind this restriction was to discourage the converted natives to use their own instruments, as well as any outside influences in the worship service. The church strategically worked to redefine the culture of the Incas by building on top of sacred Incan spaces, and any leniency would sabotage this overt dominance. Therefore, the church’s efforts were to keep sacred spaces as pure as possible, although non-clergy who were not in favor of such restrictions attempted to outlaw them, but they were unsuccessful.

The *chantry* was held responsible for overseeing the musical activity of the cathedral. As mandated by Council of Lima, the *chantry* had to be musically trained or at least trained in plain-chant. The first appointed *chantry* for the Lima Cathedral was Francisco de Avila. His duties included teaching the younger singers, and he was the direct supervisor of the *maestro de capilla*, *sochantre* (vicecantor), and organist. The *chantry* was paid a salary of 130 pounds. By

²⁸ “Fuere hallado de noche a qualquiera hora, que sea, con algunos instrumentos músicos...será preso por diez días, y multado en otros diez pesos...demás de ser perdidos los dichos instrumentos para el icho Alguacil, y Fiscal; y so la misma pena prohibimos, que ninguno danze, ni cante cantares deshonestos, ni profanos, en bodas, Missas nuevas, ni en otras Fiestas, ni que en ellas tañen viguelas, o instrumentos, para que canten, o vaylen otros, ni salgan enmascarados, o embozados, a pie, ni a caballo con qualquier traxe, que sea,” Sas. *La Catedral* 33.

the 1600s the position had become more of an administrative one than a musical one; music background was thus no longer a requirement for the appointment. The position then became an administrative link to the chapter, choir, and the music chapel. Since the *chantrre* managed administrative affairs, the *sochantre* took on the duties of directing the choirs but was not always required to teach the boy choristers. This structure was opposite to the rest of Europe, where the *chantrre* or cantor actually took on the musical responsibilities in the chapel, while the *maestro de capilla* (and its equivalent) who was responsible for the administrative duties and compositions required by their contract. The *sochantre* was paid by the *chantrre* and not by the chapter. The first appointed *sochantre* was Cristobal de Molina. A second *sochantre* was included as part of the staff, but the position only lasted until the seventeenth century.

In the *capilla* the paramount instrument was the organ, since prior to the official appointment of a *maestro de capilla*, the organist had to conduct from the organ. An eight-foot organ was first built at Cathedral of Lima in 1552 at a cost of about 1800 pesos. A second smaller organ was installed on 1625 so each choir could have independent instrumental accompaniment. When the position of organist became available, a competition was held and the jurors included the *sochantre*, *maestro de capilla*, and sometimes the *chantrre*.

As previously mentioned, the church used secular musicians for the music as late as 1623 (see Table 3). Andres Sas included an incomplete list of the instrumentalists and vocalist in the *capilla*, and the list does not include a full string section except for a harp around 1654. By 1654 the *capilla* was officially organized by professional musicians (see Table 4). Again, majority of the instrumentalists were wind players like the roster from 1623. The *maestros de capilla* of the following century through persistence were able to expand the orchestra of the chapel. However,

proper official positions and salaries for the instrumentalists remained an issue even towards the end of the Viceroyalty.

Table 3 Music Chapel – 1623²⁹

Names	Instrument/Voice type	Secular (Y/N)
Martín Andres de Ortuno	Bajon	Y
Juan de Ortega Alcazar	Cornet	Y
Diego de Vargas	Contra alto	N
Antonio Correa	Cornet	Y
Francisco de Carbajal	Soprano	N
Juan Carrillo	Contra alto	N
Francisco Pacheco	bajon	Y
Pedro de Balmaceda	Contra alto	N
Cristobal de Bersayaga	Organist	N
Geronimo de Vega	Contra alto	N
Pedro Rosado de Obando	tenor	N
Miguel de Bobadilla	Organist and tenor	N
Juan Vargas de Bustamente	Contra alto	N
Francisco de Zubieta	tenor	N
Boy choiristers		N

²⁹ Sas, *La Catedral*, 72.

Table 4 Music Chapel - 1654³⁰

Name	Instrument/Voice
Manuel de Sequeyra	
Luis de Aguilar	organist
Agustin de Guarnido	Soprano, bajon, dulzaina, harp
Valentin Manso	tenor
Blas de Olmedo	Tenor
Pedro de Cervantes del Aguila	tenor
Alonso Rizo	tenor
Diego de Prado	tenor
Diego de Vargas	Contra alto
Pedro de Balmaceda	Contra alto
Bartolome Sanchez	Contra alto
Manuel Artero de Loayza	Contra alto
Joséph Martínez de Sandoval	Contra alto
Francisco Vasquez de Osorio	Chant singer
Juan Bautista de Toledo (secular)	harp
Juan de Guardino (secular)	Bajon and harp
Pedro Gonzalez (secular)	bajon
Francisco de Casto	Cornet, bajoncillo, dulzaina
Joan Ramos	bajon

In the ratified Cathedral constitution of 1612 (see Table 5), the position of *maestro de capilla* was officially established, and Estacio de la Serna who was a priest and organist at Lisbon was appointed. Those employed were required to have the upmost skills as a keyboardists and vocalists. The duties of the *maestro de capilla* were significantly extensive: they were required to compose new music every year in residence which included motets, Masses, *canzonettas*, and *villancicos*; their teaching duties included polyphonic signing, and counterpoint. They were also responsible for teaching Latin and Spanish to the *seises*. Keeping recruits for the *seises* was another struggle for the *capilla*. Parents often let their children resign from the chapel since their pay was not enough. The *seises*, in fact, were under the care of the *maestro de capilla* since they were obligated to provide lodging, food, and clothing for the

³⁰ Sas, *La Catedral*, 73.

children. The workload for the position outweighed the salary of the *maestro de capilla*, and the first strike was led by Fray Pedro de Jimenez along with the rest of the musician in the chapel in 1668. Aside from directing the music in the church, the *maestros de capilla* also influenced the music in the private home and the theater. The *maestros de capilla* after the 1670s engaged with music outside the church, since they either directed or composed opera.

One of the favored genres, *villancicos*, were predominantly Spanish in style. The *villancico* was the perfect example of the church modifying a secular song and into a liturgical

one. Motets were not as popular,

and Latin was only understood

by a select few, but *villancicos*

are set to a Spanish text, which

made them accessible. As much

as the church endeavored to

control music they were unable

to control the musical taste of the

people. The typical *villancico*

had three main sections

according to Paul Laird: the

opening was a refrain followed

by a *copla* and an *estribillo*. The

melody of the *copla* was

different from the refrain and had

two sections within called *pedes*. The melodic rhyme scheme of the *copla* followed an ABBA

Figure 11 Picture of manuscript taken at the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima. *Morena Soy* by Llaque.

form and had at least four verses. The last composer from Spain was Tomas de Torrejón y Velasco who used texts from Spanish poets. Later in the eighteenth century texts from Peruvian born poets became commonplace. The writers of the text of the majority of *villancicos* are unknown but they may even have been written by the composers themselves. For example, the text from the *villancico* by Bonaficio Llaque, *Morena Soy* was possibly written by Llaque himself (see Figure 11).

Villancicos and the general sung repertory evolved before Llaque. Latin was not universally known and the Church allowed the use of Spanish texts. Early *villancicos* were only accompanied by a continuo instrument such as an organ. The accompaniment for *villancicos* expanded after the arrival of the Italian composers in the *capilla*. The instruments finally included a full strings and winds such as oboes, flutes, and cornettos. The singers in the chapel also increased to balance out the instrumentalists. However, funds to pay singers and instrumentalists were scarce well into the revolution despite the efforts from the *maestro de capilla*. The chapel survived by recruiting unpaid volunteers, which was not reliable.

Table 5 Fourteen clauses of the 1612 Constitution by Lobo Guerro:³¹

1. The chapelmaster is to set both pitch and tempo in all polyphony
2. At first vespers of principal feasts, the *capilla* is to sing the *Domine ad adjuvandum poluphonically*; those in the group who know how to improvise counterpoint will add it above the first antiphon and the Magnificat; both first and third vesper psalms shall be sung polyphonically, unless the Archbishop or

³¹ Summarized and translated by Robert Stevenson in *The Music*, 73-75.

one of the canons wishes a particularly fine soloist to plainchant the third; the organist shall not accompany any soloist, except by the chapelmaster's express order both fourth and fifth versper psalms shall be sung polyphonically; also the vesper hymn and the Magnificat; the *Et misericordia* verse of the Magnificat shall be sung *a3*, the soloist being chosen by the chapelmaster;

3. At terce of first – and second-class festivals, the opening psalm shall be sung in *faborón* by the *cantores*, but the third played by the organist without voices;
4. Processions at first – and second-class feasts shall start in Our Lady of Copacabana Chapel with the singing of a *verso* and suitable motet; at High Mass improvised counterpoint shall be added to the propers and the *Alleluia*; the chapelmaster shall have the exclusive right to choose whatever four-five or six-voiced Mass shall be sung; his choice being governed by the solemnity of the feast; in any case, the *Christe eleison* shall always be sung every slowly by unaccompanied voices; at the Elevation a motet, *Benedictus*. or other suitable piece shall be sung;
5. *Chanzonetas* [in the vernacular] shall be sung at Christmas and Easter *maytines*; at lauds and mattins of Epiphany, Pentecost, Ascension, Corpus, and Lady Feasts [Annunciation, Visitation, Assumption, Nativity]; at mattins of SS. Peter and Paul, Bartholomew, throughout the octave of Corpus; and on St. Bartholomew's *jubileo*-days; on all such days the *Domine ad adjuvandum*, Invitatory, hymn, psalms, and *Te Deum* shall always be sung in canto de organo; the *antiphona del Benedictus* shall be sung *en contrapunto*, the *Benedictus en fauordon* [*faborón*];

fines shall be levied to an appropriate amount for any omissions of the music enjoined in this article;

6. On Sundays during Advent and Lent the *Et incarnatus* shall be sung polyphonically, and motet of the day; on feast days when there is a sermon, Kyrie, Sanctus, and Adnus shall be sung in ferial polyphony, but also there shall be a motet at Elecation; in Holy week all four passions shall be sung polyphonically at Tenebrae the Lamentations and Miserere mei shall likewise be sung in *canto de organo*; the hymn, *Vexilla Regis*, shall be sung very slowly *al sacar la cena*;
7. Every year the chapelmaster shall compose new pieces such as motets *y algunas cosas peregrinas que salgan delos ordinario* (and some out of the way things that depart from routine); he shall also compose the necessary chanzonetas for Corpus and its octave and for Easter in sufficient time so that they can be rehearsed for two weeks in advance; singers who miss the practices shall be fined one *patacón* each time
8. The chapelmaster shall report the contumacy of any singer to the chapter (through the *chanfre*) for such remedial action as may be appropriate
9. The cathedral boys shall sing the *responsorios* every day at prime, terce, High mass, verpers, and compline
10. Since sufficient practice is the key to success, the chapelmaster shall assemble all the adult musicians and *seyses* every possible day for a lesson in *canto de organo y contrapunto*
11. The capilla shall sing only at fiestas and burials authorized by the chapter

12. Special gift money shall be equitably divided among the singers and the instrumentalists
13. No singer may leave before the conclusion of a ceremony; the chapelmaster shall tell the organist at which pitch level to play and shall also have the exclusive control of *accelerandos* and *ritardandos*
14. Any departures from this set of rules may be made only with the consent of the Archbishop and chapter

Arequipa



Figure 12 Cathedral of Arequipa
Image taken on September 21, 2018.

Lima was not the only city with a growing musical reputation. The large city of Arequipa was founded on August 15, 1540 by Garci Manuel de Carbajal, who gave it the name *Villa Hermosa del Valle*.³² The first church in Arequipa, the Iglesia de San Pedro, was erected four years later in 1544 after the “Dominican Bartolome de Ojeda, Diego Manso, and priest

³² Technically re-founded since city was already established by the Incas.

Rodrigo Bravo placed a wooden cross at the site where the cathedral would rise,” according to Mari Meza and Victor Condori.³³ Since earthquakes are frequent throughout all of the coastal region, the Church of San Pedro was extensively damaged in 1582, 1600, and 1604. The earthquakes of 1582 completely demolished the church while those of 1600 and 1604 only devastated portions of the building.

Sebastian de Leon was also in charge of the construction of the main organ, which was completed in 1562. That same year, the first appointed organist was Juan Cabrera, who was also the sacristan and bell ringer. Cabrera was succeeded by Antonio de Leon in 1565, and the post was then occupied by Juan Fernandez Tarifeno, replaced by Jerónimo Tito in 1577. Although records have not been found to support the claim, Zoila Vega speculates that Tito was the first *maestro de capilla* in Arequipa.³⁴

Arequipa took several decades finally to acquire the status of a diocese, granted in 1609, under the jurisdiction of Fray Pedro de Perea. Arequipa still did not have a cathedral, and in 1613 Philip III authorized the construction of one. Perea attempted to elevate the Iglesia de San Pedro to cathedral status instead by drafting a document called *Ereccion de la Catedral* in 1619, but his efforts were not approved by the town council. However, Perea facilitated the contracts for the construction of the cathedral later that year. Construction of the cathedral finally commenced in 1621, and the cathedral was completed in 1656, the same year the new cathedral was consecrated by Bishop Gaspar de Villaroel. Only five administrative posts were granted, due to the chapter’s financial limitations: Dean, Archdean, cantor, schoolmaster, and treasurer.³⁵

³³ “Los dominicos Bartolome de Ojeda y Diego Manso, y el cura Rodrigo Bravo colocaron una cruz de madera en el sitio donde se levantaría la iglesia catedral.” Mari Meza and Victor Condori, *Historia minima de Arequipa* (Lima: IEP Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2018), 62.

³⁴ Zoila Vega Salvatierra, *Musica en la Catedral de Arequipa 1609-1881* (Arequipa Universidad Catolica San Pablo, 2011), 188.

³⁵ Vega, *Musica*. 71.

Because the *sochantre* led the choir and the *seises*, the *sochantre* was also paid by the *chanter*, as in Lima. Additionally, he was not able to employ as many singers in the chapel as needed. The Order of Santo Domingo of 1624, and again in 1651, was an attempt to solve the lack of financial resources for the cathedral. The order allowed the nearby districts of Cayma, Tiabaya, and Characato to fall under the jurisdiction of the Cathedral of Arequipa, which was opposed by the priests of these districts.

Administrative records designated Nicolás de Tolentino as *maestro de capilla* of the Iglesia de San Pedro beginning in 1611. On September 17 of that year, Tolentino arranged with the Jesuit school, the Colegio Menor de Santiago Apostol, to borrow singers from their *capilla* in order to avoid conflicts with celebrations in the future. Thus, specifically in Holy Week and ordinary feast days the singers, cornetists, and bassists from the Jesuit school would participate at the church. The singers from the cathedral would then join the Jesuits in their Saturday Masses. This relationship with the Jesuit school lasted until 1653.

Although Vega does not provide a salary for Tolentino, he most likely earned a salary similar to Isidro Flores, who succeeded Tolentino by 1645. The starting salary of Flores was 200 pesos, 250 pesos by 1654, and finally to 300 pesos by 1655. The last *maestro de capilla* of the century was Juan de Rivera; other *maestros de capilla* from the first half of the eighteenth century remain unknown due to the lack of surviving documents at the Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa.

By 1744 documents finally reveal Francisco Xavier del Carpio as *maestro de capilla* at a salary of 160 pesos. Carpio passed away in 1751, and was then succeeded by Pedro Cárdenas. Interestingly, Carpio urged for the expansion and modernization of the *capilla* to include violins, cornets, and additionally singers, which was around the same time that Lima attempted to add

these as well. The last *maestro de capilla* of the eighteenth century who replaced Cárdenas in 1765 was Cayetan Joséph Rodriguez, who remained in the position until his death in 1808.

The last *maestro de capilla* of the Viceroyalty was Diego Llanos, who remained through the first decades of the Republic. His family had served as musicians of the cathedral for three generations. Ignacio Llanos, his father, was first harpist and organist from 1760 to 1798, and Francisco and Juan José, his brothers, were also harp and organ players.

Curiously, the salaries of the organists were nearly twice as high as salaries of the *maestros de capilla*. One of the last organists of the Iglesia de San Pedro received as many as 684 pesos annually. By 1636, the cathedral was still not completed, but Juan Bautista de León was hired as the organist at a salary of 500 pesos which was the highest pay for an organist for the entire *capilla*.

Vega raised a significant concern whether or not these *maestros de capilla* were composers.³⁶ Obviously based on their position as *maestros de capilla*, they were required to compose music, but how this is proven when no autograph manuscripts are lacking Vega did discover fiscal records from 1744 through 1777 which requested manuscript paper for music, and furthermore, a receipt signed by Rodriguez proved that funds were allocated to the music of the *capilla*:

I have received from Don Antonio Luna, administrator of the factory of the Holy Cathedral, 36 pesos, which are the same as for custom towards the sacred music that is sung among all the choir officials on the Palm Sunday and Holy Week whose compositions from my part which is my reason for being a chapel master with the

³⁶ “¿Fueron compositores estos maestros de capilla?” Vega, *Arequipa*, 79.

pension of distributing his stipend among those who serve him and said pesos are corresponding to the year ninety.³⁷

The music of Arequipa may have imitated the music of either Lima or Cusco, but until autograph manuscripts appear we cannot be certain. Based on the surviving data we are also unsure of whether the *maestros de capilla* were Spanish or born in Peru. Since Arequipa did not have Italians as *maestros*, it is uncertain whether Italian styles were adopted there.

³⁷ “He recibido de Don Antonio Luna, mayordomo de la fábrica de la santa iglesia catedral 36p. que son los mimos que por costumbre están señalados a la música sagrada que se canta entre todos los oficiales del coro en el Domingo de Ramos y Semana Santa cuya composición es de mi [parte] por razón de maestro de capilla con la pensión de repartir su estipendio entre los que la sirven y dichos pesos son correspondientes al año noventa,” Vega, *Arequipa*, 83.

Chapter 3: The Composers

The Last Spanish Composer

Restrictions on church music continued throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which explains why scholars Sas and Vega focused their first chapters on the ecclesiastical authorities and their strict influences. Under the authority of Archbishop Bartolome Lobo Guerro, indigenous instruments were officially banned in 1614. Later, Archbishop Fray Juan de Almaguer, appointed in 1673, mandated that plainchant be reinstated in the chapel since several churches were not regularly practicing the genre. Additionally, he banned stringed instruments during Holy week, and the singing of romances, *villancicos*, and *canzonettas* during most holidays.

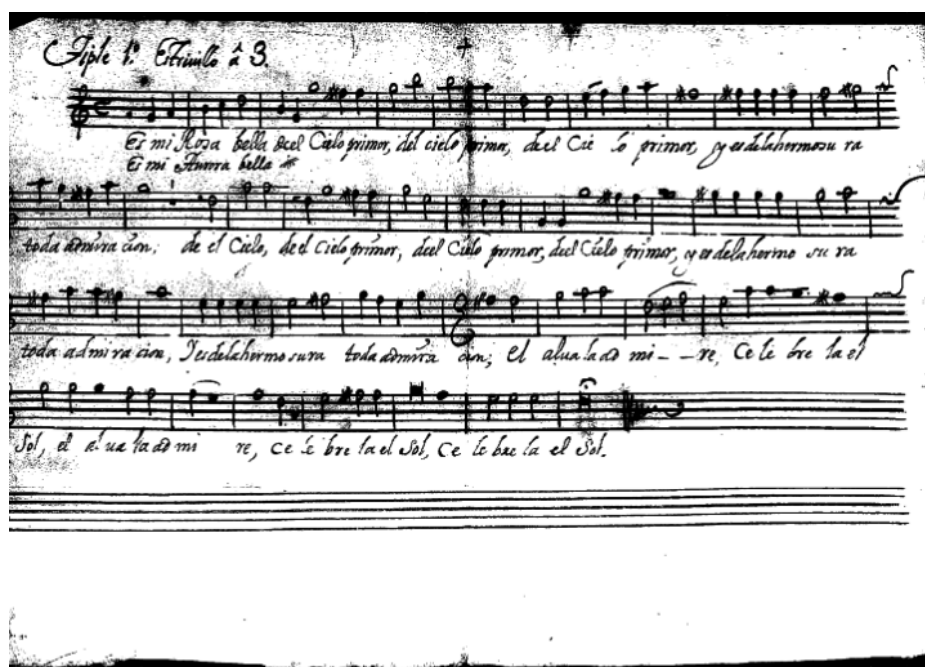
Regardless of the restrictions, the musical development of the Viceroyalty was during the seventeenth century expanded significantly by incorporating new styles and the adoption of opera. The Viceroy Francisco de Borja y Aragon, Prince of Esquilache, arrived in Lima on 1615 and was responsible for introducing the Italian Baroque styles to Peru.

Prior to Tomás de Torrejón de Velasco's arrival to Lima, the music throughout Peru was predominantly Spanish. Tomás Torrejón de Velasco was born in Villarroblendo in 1644 and was the first *maestro de capilla* who was not a priest. Torrejón, since the age of twelve, was in the service of Pedro de Castro Andrade, Count of Lemos; arriving in Lima along with the appointed Viceroy as a gentleman in waiting on February 6, 1667 at the age of twenty-two. Torrejón's wife, Doña Maria Manuela, also followed him to Lima on the same voyage and their son was born on January 29, 1671 who they also named Tomás. Maria Manuela passed away

unexpectedly after the birth of their son, and Torrejón remarried and had two sons³⁸ and three daughters from his second marriage. Five of his six children devoted their lives to religious service, with the exception of Maria Joséfa who was the only one who married.

The education of Torrejón is not known, yet his musical education must have been supported by his parents or a patron, due to his musical proficiency and influences. He was the first to introduce French styles and composed the first opera in Lima. *La Purpura de la Rosa* was commissioned by viceroy, Melchor Portocarrero, Count of Monclova; the work premiered on October 19, 1701 for the celebration of Philip V's eighteenth birthday as the new king of Spain. In the same year on November 11, eight of his *villancicos* were premiered for the beatification of Toribio A. Mongrovejo, which were published by Echave y Assu.

Figure 13 Torrejón's villancico, *Es mi rosa bella*.



³⁸ Juan José and Francisco Javier Evaristo.

Torrejón was the first secular³⁹ *maestro de capilla*, and succeeded Juan de Araujo on July 1, 1677 at the salary of 600 pesos⁴⁰. Like the *maestros de capilla* after Torrejón, he faced three major issues: 1.) disobedient singers; 2.) budget for the music chapel; 3.) and recruitment of the *seises*. On October 3, 1679, the cathedral bestowed upon Torrejón the power either to dismiss or fine musicians, even clerics, as a method of managing the singers. Even with the restrictions imposed by the Archbishop's *edictos*, dismissing singers or musicians was unlikely since the chapel barely had enough for a proper ensemble in the first place. A few years later on April 22, 1681, the chapter announced salary cuts for all employees of the cathedral, including the musicians. Torrejón's salary as *maestro de capilla* cut by a hundred pesos. As he was also responsible for teaching the *seises*, for which he was given the stipend of 152 pesos, even that was cut to 130. His teaching stipend was almost cut again in half the following year after the dismissal of two boy choristers. The chapter reinstated Torrejón's initial salary of 600 pesos in 1697, but his salary was slashed again to 500 pesos in 1724 because the Cathedral could not afford it and he was quite elderly, near his eighties.

Torrejón also wrote secular works, but the majority of his music has been found outside Lima in places such as Cusco, Bolivia, and Guatemala. José Quezada speculates that his works were safest outside Lima due to the prohibitions of dances and secular theater by Archbishop Melchor Linan y Cineros in 1708. Torrejón's opera *La Purpura de la Rosa* utilized a libretto by Calderon de la Barca, which had been used for another earlier opera around 1660 of the same name with the music by Spanish composer, Juan Hidalgo. The libretto was set in a typical Classical setting: a triumphant love story between Venus and Adonis in commemoration to the marriage of Louis XIV and Maria Teresa after the Franco-Spanish War. Louise K. Stein

³⁹ All others had some Holy Orders of some sort.

⁴⁰ Stevenson claims the year of 1677, but Sas has 1676 instead.

speculates that the young Torrejón may have heard Hidalgo's version of *La Purpura de la Rosa* and *Celos aun del aire matan* either in rehearsals or performances back in Madrid, since Torrejón was in the services of the Count of Lemos and his father was Philip IV's huntsman.⁴¹ Later in his life he dedicated his energy to only composition; Torrejón lived a long life and passed away on April 23, 1728 at the age of 83.

Figure 14 Title page of Torrejón de Velasco's *La Purpura de la Rosa*.

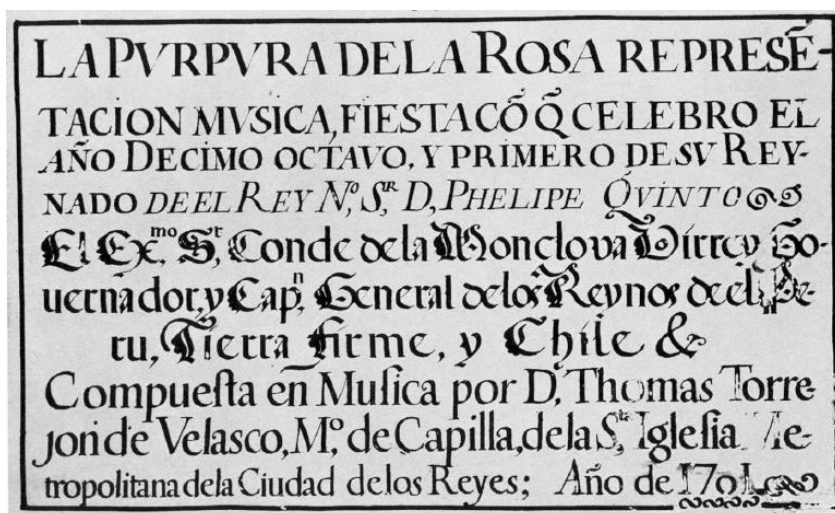


Figure 15 Solo from *La Purpura de la Rosa*
Image from Stevenson's *Opera Beginnings in the New World*.

Tonada sola de la Comedia

1ª El varón - mentes de la mente de los varones que de sus fijas la hermosa madre de amor.

2ª Penoso al valle al valle comenzado su valle de fía con la hermosa de amor mas y no el hazen

3ª El monte - Sabes si bien tenias sus glorias con los hombres de amor mas con los de amor

4ª Le excita al moal llano de del cadao tenas exado el tino embudo de peligro de superfeccion

Al Capto

1ª el varón

2ª el monte

2ª Penoso

3ª Le excita

⁴¹ Louise K. Stein. "Tomas de Torrejón y Velasco's *La Purpura de la Rosa* in the Early History of Opera," *Inter-American Review* 14 (1995): 78.

The Italians

A generation later, Italian styles flourished in the colony, first brought to Peru by the first Italian in the Lima *capilla*, Roque Ceruti. A violinist from Milan, he was born in 1688. Ceruti traveled to Peru with the new Viceroy, Manuel de Oms, Marques de Castell dos Ruis, in 1708 and was employed as a court musician and composer for the marques. The same year, the Viceroy commissioned and wrote the libretto for *El Mejor Escudo de Perseo*, which was set to music by Ceruti. Ceruti left the Marques' court to take the position of *maestro de capilla* at Trujillo in 1721, and there Ceruti was constrained by the chapter's restrictions; in 1722 the chapter had drafted new singing rules for Thursday Masses. He stayed in Trujillo until 1728 and returned to Lima as the successor to Torrejón. Ceruti was the first to bring the violin to the *capilla* in Lima. Nonetheless, a full string ensemble was finally incorporated into the *capilla* only after his death. Shortly after his appointment in Lima the chapter granted raises to all musicians of the *capilla* on October 5, 1731. On April 18, 1746, Ceruti married Maria de los Santos de Jauri in Lima. He remained in the position until his death on December 6, 1760.

The last *maestro de capilla* during the Viceroyalty was another Italian, Andres Bolognesi. He was born in Genoa to José Bolognesi and Benita Camparella. His father was both a violinist and cellist, though Andres' strongest abilities were on the cello. Sas has made a strong, yet incorrect claim that José Bolognesi taught the young Nicolo Paganini violin in Genoa. There was a slight possibility that both José and Andres Bolognesi knew about Paganini, but very unlikely that they were all acquainted. Rodolfo Barbacci completely disagrees with this claim

due to the lack of evidence: “No existe la minima constancia.”⁴² Additionally Carlos Raygada disagrees with the claim since Paganini never mentioned José Bolognesi in his biographies.⁴³

Prior to Bolognesi’s appointment in Lima, he was the *maestro de capilla* at the Cathedral in Lisbon, gave private instruction on the cello, and taught the boy choristers as well.⁴⁴ In Lisbon, the court gifted Bolognesi a cello that he brought with him to Peru. The exact date when



Figure 16 Colonel Francisco Bolognesi|
Image from *El Coronel Francisco Bolognesi: apuntes biograficos y documentos*

Bolognesi arrived in Peru remains unclear, but he arrived between 1806 and early 1807. He succeeded the previous *maestro de capilla*, Juan Beltrán, on September 16, 1807.

Bolognesi frequently travelled between Arequipa and Lima; he actually married a native creole of Arequipa, Juana Cervantes, in 1812. Francisco and Mariano, born ten years apart, were his legitimate sons; Francisco was born in Lima and Mariano in Arequipa. Both his sons dedicated their lives to a military career, and today, Francisco Bolognesi remains recognized as a military

hero.⁴⁵

Andres Bolognesi faced several setbacks while being the head of the music in the cathedral. One of these upon arrival was the negative response to get another European in the cathedral as Sas notes: “On many occasions a victim of hateful ‘criollismo’ from the Lima musicians, whose indiscipline was as anarchic as, for many, their talents were doubtful.”⁴⁶ Since

⁴² Rodolfo Barbacci. “Apuntes para un Diccionario Biografico Musicales Peruano,” *Fenix* 6 (1962): 429.

⁴³ Carlos Raygada. “Guia Musical del Peru,” *Fenix* 13 (1963): 62.

⁴⁴ Also taught cello to the Prince of Portugal.

⁴⁵ Called the *Heroe de Arica*.

⁴⁶ “Victima en muchas ocasiones del odioso ‘criollismo’ de los músicos limeños, cuya indisciplina era tan anárquica como, para muchos, dudosos sus talentos,” Sas, *La Cathedral*, 47.

Lima endured a disastrous earthquake on October 28, 1746, along with the subsequent looting, poor borrowing practices, and handling of manuscripts, the choral library needed rebuilding. Restoration of the library was Bolognesi's main concern once he was appointed as *maestro de capilla*. One of the toughest obstacles Bolognesi faced was his attempt to increase the cathedral's music budget. He tried to have the music budget revised in 1814 in order to include more strings in the cathedral orchestra, and at least another violinist and double bass player were part of his long list of requests for the chapter. Overall, his wish for more musicians were continuously declined by the Archbishop, who cited that funds were tight. To preserve money, the cathedral had a volunteer system called *músicos futurarios*,⁴⁷ who could volunteered their time to regularly play at principle festivals and were promised a permanent appointment as cathedral musicians once positions became vacant. Since Bolognesi was himself a cellist, he stood behind the welfare of the musicians despite the negativity from them. There was one instance when he hoped for his musicians would be compensated 246 pesos for assisting at a ceremony in 1816, but the bishop rejected the request without hesitation due to their strict budget. It was not until 1818 that Bolognesi finally got a second double bass, bassoonist, and clarinetist. In additional efforts to have an increase in musician's pay, he suggested not to replace the harpist after the musician's death, with the result that the harpist's salary would then be distributed to the other musicians. Before the Archbishop left Lima in 1821, the he conversely pushed for the chapter to pay the salaries of the musicians in the cathedral in full, but after his departure the cathedral musical staff was left financially vulnerable. The prolonged instability in Lima forced Bolognesi to retire as the cathedral did not have the funds to continue

⁴⁷ "Future musicians."

to pay his salary. Bolognesi spent his remaining years in Arequipa and passed away on August 27, 1834.

Andres Bolognesi was not exclusively active in the musical activities of the cathedral. He was also the director of the secular orchestra and concertmaster of the first public opera house in Lima until 1823. Andres Bolognesi directed and premiered Tarchi's *Los dos rivales*, Domenico Cimarosa's *Il matrimonio segreto*, Pergolesi's *La serva padrona*, Paisello's *Nina o la pazza per amore*, and Rossini's *Il Barbire di Siviglia* in Lima. In Arequipa it is known that he continued to perform at the Iglesia de los Predicadores as a soloist, based upon a flyer that was printed in 1833 praised his talents. Since he actively performed in Arequipa there is a possibility that he may have continued to compose music there.

The Peruvians

As Europe moved away from Baroque music in the middle of the eighteenth century, music in Lima was still written in the Baroque style. The distance and time were major factors that compromised the European musical transmission into the New World, and, as stated earlier, sacred musical activity in Peru was very conservative. The height of Peruvian cathedral music came under José de Orejon y Aparicio. Orejon was probably born between 1705 and 1706 in Huacho, a port near Lima. He displayed musical talents from a young age, and around the age of nine or ten, he was accepted into the Cathedral of Lima as a boy soprano with the fixed salary of one hundred pesos, a position he retained until he lost his voice. He remained on the cathedral's payroll all the way through 1724, but was then documented as a contra-alto as opposed to soprano. Orejon may have studied with organist Juan de Peralta, and when Peralta passed away in 1725, Orejon was the temporary organist until Joséph de la Madre de Dios was

appointed. By 1730 Orejon had already received his Holy Orders and applied for the position at the Iglesia de Pisco but failed to gain the appointment.

Orejon extended the musical training under Tomas de Torrejón y Velasco and Roque Ceruti. While studying under Ceruti, Orejon also developed an Italian style in his music. Although born in Peru, his sacred music reflected Italian sacred music of the eighteenth century. In 1742, the position as principal organist opened and a competition was held to find the next organist. The competition held on October 6 of that year served to demonstrate the gifts and talent of the organist. No one dared to go against Orejon since his talents were universally known, and due to the lack of candidates, Orejon was appointed principle organist. A decade later, in 1754 Orejon received a raise in his salary to 80 pesos for what Stevenson noted was his “service in great work and precision.”⁴⁸ After Ceruti’s death, Orejon became the interim *maestro de capilla* immediately and officially earned the appointment that same year. During his time in the cathedral, his musical compositions include Passions, duets, *villancicos*, and solo arias. His works that survive include a Passion for Good Friday which was originally written for a triple chorus and orchestra in 1750, later rearranged for double chorus by Melchor Tapia in 1810, and another piece in E minor, the *Aria al SS. Sacramento*, also known as *Cantadt a Sola Mariposa*. Even though there were *villancicos* written by native Peruvian composers, they were still Italian in style, and this was also true for other works. Orejon passed away in 1765. Cristobal Romero took over the position as Lima’s *maestro de capilla* that same year.

Composers in the cathedral were not strictly relegated to the *maestros de capilla*. Melchor Tapia y Zegarra joined the music chapel towards the end of Romero’s appointment as

⁴⁸ Stevenson, *The Music*, 87.

maestro de capilla. Few church documents mention Tapia, but the earliest entry of Tapia was on January 25, 1775, when he was accepted as a singer with the starting salary of a hundred pesos. Ventura Marin de Velasco had succeeded Romero in 1776, but due to his deteriorating health he was unable to fulfill his duty as teacher to the *seises*, Tapia accepted the responsibilities of the *seises* in 1780 with the increase of fifty pesos a year to his salary. Details of his early life and musical training remain unknown, but Tapia took Holy Orders prior to his position at the cathedral. According to Roberto Eyzaguirre, Tapia may have taught himself compositional techniques by studying works of previous composers in the cathedral.⁴⁹ Majority of Melchor Tapia's known works were sacred pieces and several of his works have been catalogued. Tapia composed Masses, magnificats, passions, plasms, and pieces for double choir.

The date when Tapia was appointed as second organist also remains uncertain, but he probably earned the position after 1780. The first organist and composer, Manuel Davalos, was also unable to perform due to poor health beginning in 1807, and Tapia was temporarily appointed as first organist on August 18 of that year. The lack of an increased salary and the extra duties placed upon Tapia, made him unable to oversee the *seises*. The *seises* were then designated to be under the care of the second *sochantre*, Fray Lorenzo Justiniano. Tapia was then officially appointed as first organist on July 28, 1811, after Davalos passed away. The new position finally awarded Tapia the annual salary of 330 pesos.

⁴⁹ Roberto Eyzaguirre, *Melchor Tapia and music in the Lima Cathedral* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami, 1973), 46.

The Peruvians - Era of Nationalism

José Bernardo Alcedo is commemorated as a Peruvian national symbol even to this day, and he was the key who connected the sacred musical tradition to Peru's nationalism. Alcedo was born on August 20, 1788 in Lima, and was the son of a free *mulata*, Rosa Retuerto, and a *creole* man, José Isidoro Alcedo. Initially, his parents desired for Alcedo to pursue medicine, but



Figure 17 Portrait of José Bernardo Alcedo from *Filosofia*

they changed their minds after they acknowledged his musical talent at an early age. Once Alcedo had completed his elementary education, his mother enrolled him at the Convent of San Agustín, where he received his first musical education. At San Agustín Alcedo was taught by Fray Cipiano Aguilar. Alcedo surpassed the convent's expectations and was transferred to the Convent of Santo Domingo, where he continued his musical training with Fray Pascual de Nieves. Alcedo

composed his first Mass in D major here at the age of eighteen. He has about sixty known accredited sacred works, which included several other Masses, passions, and *villancicos*. During his residence at the convent, Alcedo composed other Masses and motets, as well as being placed in charge of the choirboys.

Throughout his childhood he directly experienced the instability of the Viceroyalty that moved a revolution which he supported. Alcedo had a valid reason for his support of the cause, since he would benefit from the reforms and would no longer have been subject to the social stratification set by the colonial rule. Due to his *raza* (race) he did not have voting rights under

colonial rule and even faced enormous struggles towards obtaining Holy Orders into the path of priesthood. His future depended on the war for independence.

San Martín announced a public competition for a national anthem for the new republic on August, 1821; asking for poets and composers to submit their works no later than September 18 of the same year. Competitors met a day before on September 17 at the home of José de Riglo Lasalle, who was one of San Martín's collaborators. Alcedo partnered with a poet, José de La Torre Ugarte, on two works: *La Chica* and *Somos Libres*⁵⁰. San Martín personally selected Alcedo's *Somos Libres* out of the other six compositions presented as the new anthem, and it was publically performed by Rosa Merino on September 24, 1821. According to Barbacci, the opening theme of the *Himno* comes from the Gloria of one of Alcedo's Masses.⁵¹ The location original manuscript of *Somos Libres* remains unknown and possibly has been completely lost. In 1869, naturalized Peruvian and Italian native, Claudio Rebagliati, reduced the score to solo voice and piano, which he also included the other verses of the hymn in his publication (see Figure 56). Alcedo wrote several other *canciones patrióticas*,⁵² but only four have survived, which include *Somos Libres*, *La despedida de las chilenas al Ejército de San Martín Libertador del Peru*, *La Cora*, and *La Chicha*. Two songs that are considered lost are *La Pola* and *La burla de las godas*, and in all, thirteen patriotic works have been accredited to Alcedo.

After the overwhelming response of *Somos Libres*, Alcedo left the monastery to join the 4th Battalion of Chile on August 15, 1822 as a musician. Because of his outstanding leadership of the band and musical abilities, Alcedo was promoted as *Musico Mayor* the following year. Alcedo remained in military service until the end of the 1820s. After the war, Alcedo

⁵⁰ *We are Free*.

⁵¹ Barbacci does not specify which Mass Alcedo may have used. Barbacci, "Apuntes," 416.

⁵² *Patriotic Songs*.

temporarily returned to Lima but decided to settle in Chile instead and resided there for almost twelve years. In Chile he became a choral teacher at the Cathedral of Santiago. He attempted to return to Lima once again in 1841, yet within months Alcedo returned back to Santiago due to the lack of opportunities in Peru. By 1846 Alcedo had become the *maestro de capilla* at the same cathedral, and a position he retained for sixteen years. Alcedo married Juana Rojas y Cea on March 6, 1857, and finally on January 25, 1864 Alcedo returned to Lima one last time. This time, the Peruvian government declared Alcedo General Director of Bands of the Army with a pension.⁵³

Alcedo's treatise, *Filosofía elemental de la música* was published in 1869. According to Slonimsky, this treatise was the first "Peruvian manual of music theory."⁵⁴ Musical education before Peruvian independence was originally organized by the Church, and Alcedo came from this musical tradition. *Filosofía* was Peru's secular pedagogical work. This publication has thirteen chapters. Curiously, each chapter opens with a series of questions and answers dedicated to the topic of the chapter. In his Preface, he reflected on his contemporary view of music in Lima: "in Lima there were twelve orchestras of various sizes and of great intelligence and best in execution."⁵⁵ The Church were unable to maintain a reliable ensemble for decades, and no longer dominated musical activities after Peru's independence. Therefore secular orchestras grew in popularity, since the public supported them.

Aside from Alcedo's sacred musical education work, he was also able to take part in Lima's salon/theater society. Rondon refers to these spaces as *teatros*, or theaters, and notes that

⁵³ *Director General de las Bandas del Ejecito*

⁵⁴ Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music of Latin America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1945), 271.

⁵⁵ José Bernado Alcedo. *Filosofía* (Lima: Imprenta Liberal, 1869), xx. "Se contaban en Lima doce orquestas mas o menos numerosas, de buena inteligencia y mejor ejecución"

they were ideal spaces for the establishment of a national identity on the public level. Overall, the problem was that these spaces only served a certain demographic, mainly *Creoles*. There was absolutely no chance that either an African slave or an individual from purely indigenous descent would be found at these gatherings due to the prolonged oppression and exploitation of these peoples. On the brighter side, the war allowed for opportunities for individuals of slightly lower classes to take part in the nationalism dialogue.

Figure 18 From Claudio Rebagliati's piano and solo voice reduction of the anthem, including the additional verses

CORO

*¡Somos libres! ¡seámoslo siempre!
Y antes niegue sus luces el Sol,
Que faltemos al voto solemne,
Que la Patria al Eterno elevó.*

II

Ya el estruendo de roncadas cadenas
Que escucharon tres siglos de horror
De los libres, al grito sagrado
Que oyó atónito el mundo, cesó.
Por doquier San Martín inflamado,
Libertad! libertad! pronunció;
Y meciendo su base los Andes,
La enunciaron también á una voz.

¡Somos libres! etc.

III

Con su influxo los pueblos despiertan
Y cual rayo, corrió la opinión,
Desde el istmo á las tierras del fuego
Desde el fuego á la helada región.
Todos juran romper el enlace,
Que Natura á ambos mundos negó,
Y quebrar ese cetro que España
Reclinaba orgullosa en los dos.

¡Somos libres! etc.

IV

Lima cumple ese voto solemne,
Y severa su ojo mostró
Al tirano impotente lanzando,
Que intentaba alargar su opresión.
Á su esfuerzo, saltaron los hierros
Y los surcos que en sí reparó
Le atizaron el odio y venganza
Que heredó de su Inca y Señor.

¡Somos libres! etc.

V

Compatriotas, no más verla esclava
Si humillada tres siglos gimió,
Para siempre jurémosla libre
Manteniendo su propio esplendor.
Nuestros brazos hasta hoy desarmados,
Estén siempre cebando el cañón,
Que algún día las playas de Hesperia,
Sentirán de su estruendo el terror.

¡Somos libres! etc.

VI

Excitemos los celos de España,
Pues presente con mengua y furor,
Que en concurso de grandes naciones
Nuestra patria entrará en parangón.
En la lista que de estas se forme
Llenaremos primero el renglón,
Que el tirano ambicioso de Iberia
Que la América toda asoló.

¡Somos libres! etc.

VII

En su cima los Andes sostengan
La bandera ó pendón bicolor,
Que á los siglos anuncie el esfuerzo
Que ser libres por siempre nos dió.
Á sus sombras vivámos tranquilos,
Y al nacer por sus cumbres el Sol
Renovemos el gran juramento
Que rendimos al Dios de Jacob.

¡Somos libres! etc.

Chapter 4: Musical Developments

The Peruvian Baroque

Torrejón's *La Purpura de la Rosa* was meant for high voices in the principle roles, but whether the principle roles were meant for female voices or boy sopranos/male contraltos remains unknown (see Figure 19). The boy choristers participated in musical celebrations when needed, thus female singers were unlikely to have performed this opera during this period. The instrumentation remained the same as Hidalgo's earlier version (see Figure 20), with no winds or strings as part of the accompaniment, only continuo. Torrejón may have used more instruments in this opera if they were available at the time. Both works use a triple meter as well as common time.

By far Torrejón's most numerous works are his *villancicos*. Torrejón's *villancicos* and his other vocal works are accompanied only by a continuo, either harp or organ, and commonly use a triple meter. Until the late compositions of Torrejón's resurface, one cannot know if he experimented with instrumentation and ensemble size. In the extant *villancicos*, he frequently writes for two or four voices and continuo. In one *villancico* (see Figure 21), we can see syncopated rhythms that were typical of the genre.

In the next *villancico* by Torrejón, *Cuantra Plumajes Airosos*, the entrance of the voices are contrapuntal (see Figure 22), with the entrance of the alto voice transposed a fourth down, acting like a response to the second soprano. All the other voices enter with the same text, rhythm, and intervals. The refrain has two sections: m. 1-15 and 16-38. The cadence separating the two sections is a half cadence, but this cadence is used to modulate to the key of C. Measures 11-12 follow a circle of fifth progressions. The new key is reinforced by the PAC cadence in measure 14-15 which the B natural (*si*) in the soprano goes up to C and the tenor G

(*sol*) goes up to C as well. The last beat from measure 15 the voices enter contrapuntally again in the same order of the opening. The second section cadences in a F major chord at measure 38, which is followed by solos from soprano 2, alto, soprano 1, and tenor. The voices are finally in unison at measure 87.

The next section of the *villancico* is the *copla*, which is quite long and follows the traditional four verses for each voice. Each voice has a different text and three of the four voices begin on beat three. In the *estribillo* (see Figure 24), all four voices start and remain in unison for nine bars. In this sections, it does not go back to the melody of the refrain and it the only section that finishes in a different key, C major, while the rest are all in F major. The refrain does not come back but instead ends on an unexpected coda (see Figure 25) section also in a triple meter but written in 3/2. The coda sections is only twelve bars long and the four voices start in unison for two bars.

Overall, the texture of Torrejón's *villancicos* are not heavy. The continuo throughout these pieces doubles to supports the voices and does not overpower them. The melodies are simple and occasionally a syllable will get at least four notes. However, this style changes in the next generation.

Figure 19 First two pages of a transcribed version of *La Purpura de la Rosa*.

8.2 TRANSCRIPCIÓN DE LA MÚSICA

1 [FLORA]
¡Al bor-que [al bor-que] mon-te-ros, que o-ra-de-man - te ve-los, ve en al-

8 [CYNTHIA]
-can-ce de u-na fie-ra la her-mo-sa ma-dre de A-mor! ¡Ven-to-res, al

17
va-llé, al va-llé, que en-pe-ña-do su va-lor, se fi-a en que la her-mo-su-

24 [CLORINDA]
-ra ven-ce más que no el ar-pón! ¡Al mon-te [al mon-te] sa-

32
-bue-sos, que bien ten-drá sus-pén-dor con-tra los hom-bros po-der-

39 [LIRIO]
mas con-tra los bru-tos no! ¡Le-bre-tes, al lla-nar al lla-no, que

[Versos 503-516]

LA PARTITURA DE TORREJÓN

341

47
del cor-do-so te-rro-r (e-rra-dad el tí-ro) em-bes-ti-da, pe-li-gra su per-fec-ción!

57 [FLORA]
Id... [CYNTHIA] que el can-san-cio, que el te-mer

64 [CLORINDA]
Lle-gad... [CYNTHIA] que el can-san-cio, que el te-mer

65 [LIRIO]
Co-rrer... [CYNTHIA] que el can-san-cio, que el te-mer

66
Vo-lad, que el can-san-cio, que el te-mer

66
han en-bar-ga-deo no-so-tros vi-da, al-ma, a-líen-to y ac-ción

han en-bar-ga-deo no-so-tros vi-da, al-ma, a-líen-to y ac-ción

han en-bar-ga-deo no-so-tros vi-da, al-ma, a-líen-to y ac-ción

han en-bar-ga-deo no-so-tros [vi-da, al-ma] a-líen-to y ac-ción

[Versos 516-522]

Figure 20 Hidalgo's original version of *La Púrpura de la Rosa*

LA PÚRPURA DE LA ROSA

1^o Al bosque
FLORA 1. Al bosque, al bosque mon-
CLORI 2. Al monte, al monte sa-

1^o Al bosque
2^o Al monte

-le-ros que o-ssa- - da-men- te re- los Va en al-
-bue-ros que bien ten-dra su ex-plen-dor con-tra

-can-se de u-na fe- - na la her-mo-sa ma-
los hom-bres po-drán mas con-tra los

-dre de a - mor.
bui-ros na.

Figure 21 Torrejón's *Cuando el bien que adoro*

ci - soel sen - tir 25 Que pue - doha - cer

Que pue - doha cer sien mia - mor es pre - ci - soel sen - tir sien mia - mor es pre -

30 Vi - vir 35 vi - vir vi -

ci - soel sen - tir mo - rir mo - rir mo - rir

7 6

vir si si si si vi - vir

40 no no no no no no no

Figure 22

CUATRO PLUMAJES AIROSOS

Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco

Cua - tro plu - ma - jes ai - ro - sos del vien - to Cua - tro plu - ma - jes ai -
 Cua - tro plu - ma - jes ai - ro - sos del vien - to del vien -

ro - sos del vien - to ai - ro - sos
 ro - sos del vien - to plu - ma - jes - ai - ro - sos

to cua - tro plu - ma - jes ai - ro - sos del vien - to so - mos si pe -
 vien - to cua - tro plu - ma - jes ai - ro - sos del vien - to so - mos si pe -

re - gri - nos faus - tos co - me - tas con cau - das de plu - mas de plu -
 re - gri - nos faus - tos co - me - tas con cau - das de

15 20

Figure 23a Soprano 2 solo entrance

Coplas

Tiple 2
110
1.- Sol au - gus - to a - llá me en - cum - bro a ser de tu

Continuo

Figure 23b Alto solo entrance

Alto
130
2.- Mis o - jos sol mis - te - rio - so na - da tie - nen de dor -

Figure 24c Soprano 1 solo entrance

Tiple 1
150
155
3.- Tu e - res el Fé - nix au - gus - to en la i - gle - sia pe - re - gri - no

Figure 23d Tenor solo entrance

Tenor
170
175
4.- De tór - to - la mis - te - rio - sa el a - mor trans - for - mar

Figure 24 Beginning of the *estribillo*

Estribillo II

Tiple I - II y Alto
190 195
Pues c&aron - ten - le las a - ves al te - nor de las fuen - tes y

Tenor
8
Pues c&aron - ten - le las a - ves al te - nor de las fuen - tes y

Continuo

Figure 25 “Coda” of the *villancico*

Tiple I
220 225
Tan - tum er - go sa - cra - men - tum sa - cra -

Tiple II
Tan - tum er - go sa - cra - men - tum sa - cra -

Alto
Tan - tum er - go sa - cra -

Tenor
8
Tan - tum er - go sa - cra - men -

Continuo

230
- tum ve - ne - re - mur cer - nu - i.
men - tum ve - ne - re - mur cer - nu - i.
men - tum ve - ne - re - mur cer - nu - i.
- tum ve - ne - re - mur cer - nu - i.

Music of the Eighteenth Century: The Rise of Italian Style

The *villancico* in Figure 30 for four voices, two violins and continuo, *Hoy la Tierra produce una Rosa* by Roque Ceruti, differs from the previous *villancico* of Torrejón in several ways. This piece is in C minor, although the written key has two flats, which was common practice in Europe. Ceruti incorporated an instrumental introduction similar to an overture, which was not done in the *villancicos* from Torrejón. This *villancico* does however follow the standard two sopranos, alto, and tenor voicing. The vocal entrances are tutti at measure 15 instead of contrapuntally introduced like in Torrejón's *Cuatro Plumajes Airosos*.

The *copla* for the two solo sopranos has melodies that are identical, but with different text starting at measure 84; this sections also has a string introduction of six measures. Instead of an *escribillo*, Ceruti writes a *respuesta* (an answer) to the *copla*, which is prepared by a D major chord into a G minor one in the *respuesta*. After the first soprano solo of the *copla* in the *respuesta*, the piece returns back to the *copla* by way of the second soprano instead. Then, after the second repetition of the *respuesta*, the pieces goes back to the very beginning in a *da capo*.

In this *villancico*, one sees Ceruti's *violono obbligato* style, for from Ceruti forward, *villancicos* and Masses all included a string section of at least two violins. The violins are the driving rhythmic force throughout the entire *villancico* as shown in the sixteenth note ostinatos in the violin parts (see Figure 29). Additionally, the violins not only respond to one another but also to the voices as well.

Violins officially became part of the *capilla* after Ceruti. In the following example of José de Orejon y Aparicio's *villancico*, *Ah del Gozo*, an instrumental introduction opens with strings and continuo. This *villancico* is set for two soprano voices, and the sections are completely different compared to the earlier ones by Ceruti and Torrejón. Although the piece

Figure 25 Call and response between Violin 1 and 2

Figure 25 shows a musical score with four staves. The top two staves are for Violin 1 and Violin 2. A red box highlights a section of the score where Violin 1 plays a melodic phrase (measures 67-70) and Violin 2 responds with a similar phrase (measures 71-74). The bottom two staves are for the piano accompaniment. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The piano part includes figured bass notation: 7, b, b7, q6, and q.

Figure 29 String introduction at the Copla

Figure 29 shows a musical score for the string introduction at the Copla. The score is for Violin 1, Violin 2, and Piano. The title "Coplas" is written above the Violin 1 staff. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The Violin 1 part features a melodic line with a trill-like figure. The Violin 2 part features a similar melodic line. The Piano part features a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and bass lines. The score includes measure numbers 64 and 65.

Figure 260 Copla section; Double arrows: different text but same melody; Box: call and response between voice and strings

95 Tiple I
1. De la co - mún mal - di - ción en vuel - aen i - ras di -

Tiple II
2. No es muy nu - va pre - sun - ción go - ce Ma - rí - a ex - cep

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Figure 271 G minor chord that modulates back to C minor.

Respuesta a la copla

tal que el em - pí - reo pre - sen - ta a su pom - pa
tal, la gra - cia en za -
la gra - cia en za -
la gra - cia en za -

90

95

95

7 5 4

Detailed description: The image shows a page of a musical score titled "Respuesta a la copla". It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is C minor (three flats). The time signature is 3/4. A red vertical box highlights a specific measure in the piano part, which contains a G minor chord (G-Bb-D). This chord is used to modulate back to the key of C minor. The score includes lyrics in Spanish and measure numbers 90, 95, and 95. At the bottom of the page, there are some handwritten numbers: 7, 5, and 4.

Figure 282 Da Capo conclusion

104

la glo - riain - mor - tal.

fi - ros, la glo - riain - mor - tal, la glo - riain - mor - tal.

fi - ros, la glo - riain - mor - tal, la glo - riain - mor - tal.

fi - ros, la glo - riain - mor - tal, la glo - riain - mor - tal.

104

104

D.C. al Fine

6 4

The image shows a page of musical notation for a Da Capo conclusion. It consists of five systems of staves. The first four systems are vocal lines, each with a treble clef and a key signature of two flats. The lyrics are: 'la glo - riain - mor - tal.', 'fi - ros, la glo - riain - mor - tal, la glo - riain - mor - tal.', 'fi - ros, la glo - riain - mor - tal, la glo - riain - mor - tal.', and 'fi - ros, la glo - riain - mor - tal, la glo - riain - mor - tal.'. The fifth system is a piano accompaniment with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). It features a complex rhythmic pattern in the right hand and a simpler bass line in the left hand. A red box highlights the instruction 'D.C. al Fine' at the end of the first vocal line. Measure numbers 104, 104, and 104 are marked at the beginning of the first, fourth, and fifth systems respectively. The numbers '6' and '4' are written below the piano accompaniment staff.

Figure 293 Torrejón's *Ah del Gozo* highlighting the violin texture

(Dúo)

Tiple I y II

Violín I y II

Continuo

10

Ah del

Figure 304 Similar violin texture found in Ceruti

Dúo

Tiple I - II

Violín I - II

Continuo

Vi - ve pues Sa - cra Au - ro - ra, sa - bia dis - cre - ta y lin - da

Figure 315 First Aria section. Highlighted melismatic lines at m. 27

25
cu - yau - ni - ver - si - dad
30

Figure 3632 m.45 highlighted melismatic lines

45
pue - de a la luz de tan - ta so - lu - ción

Figure 337 m.20 highlighted melismatic lines

20
cel a tu do - cel - - - - el e -

Figure 3834 Recitative section: Soprano 1 solo

Recitado

Tiple I

Triun-fa fe - liz Au - ro - ra, so - be - ra - na, del As - pid cruel

Continuo

y la culpáin - sa - na, ven donde - cu - pes, sin que humilde, du - des el so - lio que te - jie - ron tus vir - tu - des

10

pues cuando esqui - va - da - mentehuir bla - so - nas es cuan - do más de triun - fos te co - ro - nas

Figure 39 Recitative section: Soprano 2 solo

Recitado

Tiple II

Su - be Rei - na fe - liz su - be glo - rio - sa a re - gen - tar la cá - te - dra que en -

Continuo

al - tas al triun - fo de pa - lestra vic - to - rio - sa, en ar - gu - men - to, de vir - tu - des tan - tas

5

si el ven - ci - mien - to a glo - rias de si mis - mos dia - tes in - men - sos ya los si - lo - gis - mos.

Patriotic Hymns

San Martín's public contest for a Peruvian national anthem fueled the popularity of national songs. Several of these songs described battles or hardships from the old government, and were usually for solo voice and piano. Peru's national anthem, *Somos Libres*, was first performed as solo voice with piano accompaniment, but Alcedo orchestrated the song with full orchestra. *Somos Libres* has mistakenly been labeled as a march. The piece mimics a march with its repeated dotted rhythms and a trio style section, but the meter is a slow in common time. The original version of *Somos Libres* in F major had an instrumental opening, unlike Claudio Rebagliati's 1869 version with a two bar introduction. The chorus has two main sections, each section is repeated as A : || B: ||.

Figure 350 Based on the printed version from 1864.
Transcribed by Chilean doctorates candidate José Manuel Izquierdo.

After the B section a trio like section follows for solo voice with orchestral accompaniment. The accompaniment is noticeably heavy in the chorus section, but Alcedo set this on purpose. The grandeur of the introduction highlights the first line of the text, which translates to "we are free, let it be, let it be forever."

Himno Nacional del Perú

José Bernardo Alcedo

Tiempo di Marcia

The musical score is presented in a standard format with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) for the piano accompaniment. The key signature has one flat (F major), and the time signature is common time (C). The tempo is marked 'Tiempo di Marcia'. The score includes dynamic markings: 'ff' (fortissimo) and 'mf' (mezzo-forte). The music is divided into systems, with measure numbers 5, 9, and 13 indicated at the start of each system. The score shows a two-bar instrumental introduction, followed by the main section (A) and a repeated section (B). The piano part features a heavy accompaniment with many chords and triplets.

Figure 361 A and B sections

Himno Nacional del Perú

2

Coro

Pno.

17

So-mos li - bres se - a - mos se - a - mos se - a - mos lo

21

Coro

Pno.

21

siem - pre y an tes nie - gue sus lu - ces sus

24

Coro

Pno.

24

lu - ces su lu - ces el sol que fal - te - mos al vo - to so

Himno Nacional del Perú

3

Coro

Pno.

27

-lem - ne que la Pa - tria al e - ter - no e - le - vó que fal -

30

Coro

Pno.

30

- te - mos al vo - to so - lem - ne que la Pa - tria al e - ter - no e - le - vó que fal -

34

Coro

Pno.

34

- te - mos al vo - to so - lem - ne que la Pa - tria al e - ter - no e - le - vó

Figure 382 Solo "trio" section

4 Solo Himno Nacional del Perú

Coro

Ya el es-truen-do de bron-cas ca - de - nas es-cu - cha - mos tres si - glos de ho-

Pno.

Figure 373 Piano reduction by Claudio Rebagliati published in 1901 only with a two bar introduction

HIMNO NACIONAL DEL PERÚ
Reduccion para Canto y Piano

Música del Maestro
JOSÉ BERNARDO ALZEDO - 1821

Restaurada, Armonizada e Instrumentada
con plena aprobación del autor por
CLAUDIO REBAGLIATI - 1969

MARZIALE - ENÉRGICO : $\text{♩} = 104$

CORO

So - mos li - bres! se - a - mos - lo

PIANO

siem - pre! se - a - mos, lo siem - pre! Que an - tes nie - gue sus lu - ces, sus

lu - ces, sus lu - ces el. Sol que fal - te - mos al vo - to so - lem - ne que la

sostenuto il canto

con staccato l'accompagnamento

Conclusion

The music of colonial Peru adapted and transitioned over time. The first foreign music introduced to the people of the Andes was the secular and sacred polyphonic songs of the Spanish conquistadors. Shortly after their arrival, missionaries had immense success converting the natives to their religious practices after they integrated the local native languages into their chants. The indigenous population embraced the musical culture of the church, so much so that the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Jesuits all incorporated musical instruction in their missions and schools. The oldest and developing cities after the conquest, such as Lima, Cusco, and Arequipa, received the status of diocese within the first fifty years of the colony.

Without a doubt the composers of the churches of Peru established a unique identity within sacred music. Despite all of the ecclesiastical restrictions and lack of resources, these composers were capable of producing an immense repertoire. Since instrumentalists were limited, this manifested itself in the abundance of vocal compositions with continuo. *Villancicos* and Masses were the principal genres of the church, and since *villancicos* were in Spanish they replaced the European motets. The church always had an organist in place who were just as significant as the *maestros de capilla*. Even when churches did not have the financial stability to employ a *maestro de capilla*, the organists took on their responsibilities.

In the second half of the colonial era the music shifted dramatically after Italians were hired to direct the musical needs of the church. Roque Ceruti modernized the orchestra by adding violins, and winds such as oboes and flutes expanded the church ensembles during the heyday of cathedral music. Thankfully, several works of Ceruti and Tapia are preserved. However, no works of Bolognesi are catalogued in the archive. Furthermore, church music from

Arequipa is also considered lost, but this music may resurface after the reorganization of the archives.

Secular works from the court of the Viceroyalty coexisted alongside church music, yet, research has not been done on whether any other operas or even instrumental works were commissioned. At the dawn of the revolution for independence, Bolognesi became actively engaged with opera in Lima and promoted the standard Italian repertoire of the era. After he retired from his post at the cathedral, he performed as a soloist in Arequipa, but only extensive further research will answer if Bolognesi continued to compose while in Arequipa.

The era of the Republic elevated José Alcedo as a national symbol for his work now known as Peru's national anthem. Alcedo was the ideal symbol in regards to the Peruvian identity, because like several individuals of today, Alcedo was of native descent but with an European upbringing. The lyrics of *Somos Libres* particularly resonated with Alcedo, since the Republic granted him general freedom and the freedom to vote. As this new focus of nationalism appeared, further research can answer if nationalistic music that arose in this era catered to overall Peruvians, or just a white/creole minority. This issue further complicates the definition of Peruvian nationalism. How can nationalism cater to such a diverse group of people? The Peruvian identity of music of the colonial era into the revolution is the mixture of both the indigenous and European counterparts, and in the span of almost three centuries, we can see the transition from Spanish dominance, into Italian, and finally into patriotic national songs of the new Republic. However, each of these eras of Peruvian music history needs further exploration for a complete historical analysis to be done.

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Appendix A

Catalogued Works at the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima

Composer	Work Titles
Ampuerto,	Vigilia
Arquimbau	No es privilegio Que Instante
Barrios	Sera fines ya del arca
Beltrán	
Campo	Credo (surviving movement) Misa Ave Maria
Castel	Misa
Ceruti	A cantas/sainete A donde ah del mar Al arma Al campo Al mar Al primer intante De plumas Del cielo Despertad Hoi la tierra produce una rosa Que pluma Quien no Quien sera Venid pasajeros Viva Aurora
Cruzelaequi (Mexico)	Oh Admirable Que nos intimas
Delgado	Miserere Ah de quel
Duran	Lamentacion Miercoles Lamentacion Jueves Lamentacion Viernes a 2 Lamentacion Viernes a 8 Lamentacion 2 Viernes Magnificat Pange Lingue

Echeverria	Momento Domine
Esteve	Cantemos
Fimoleno	Angles virtudes
Gorcia Fajer	Misa Parce mihi Taedet animum
Garcia Pachecho	Dixit Dominus/Laudate Domininum Lamentacion 3 Miercoles Lamentacion 3 Jueves Misa Ce firos alegres Duermete pulidito Respiren El Senor de los obres
Gaytan	A la vid Angelicas milicias Ay! Llorosos Cual Sulta Eternamente triste Jardinerito Marineros Mi Sol Nino mio Los ninos de coro La noche se va Palida den sa nube Pasqual esta qui Pues el cielo Que Lastima! Rabia enemigo Sagrado dueno mio Si no me engano Venga el barbaro
Giner	Fue tu primer
Gerrero	Misa
Llaque	Misa Glorioa Morena soy El papagayo Salvate Dios Si el amor Coplas cantada al nino
Mir y Llusa	Misa Misa

	Montes de Oca Beatus Vir Moraes Pedroso Vease Pedroso
Muelas	Sera fines amantes
Nicolini (Italy)	Misa
Ochando	Lauda Sion
Orejon	Untitled XXVI: 1-2; 6-9; 11-25
Salmos	Dixit Laudate XXVI 10 no title
Pedroso	Te Deum (Laudamus lost)
Ripa	Dixit Dominus Dixit Dominus 1768 Lamentacion 1 Miercoles Lamentacion 1 Lamentacion 2 Miercoes ti Lamentacion 2 Miercoles te Lamentacion 3 Miercoles Lamentacion 3 Viernes Laudate Dominus Miserere Miserere 1759 Quem terra Regina celi Veni creator spiritu Aunque arrogante Cnorus las avecillos cielos que pasmo Clara terza Como en Belen Como es el principe Con voces Contra aquellos Cruel Tempestad Cuando por el obre De David De Guadayra De un cazadoreito Del furor Despertad Ea zagalejos El que nace En ecos armoniosos

	<p>En las riberas Estupenda negreita Los gitanillos Hoy al portal Iras arrojo Unas Levanderas Lindas senas~ Marches los luceros Mares undosos Ola Pastorcillos oye nino mio Pra colacim Parejas corren Un pastorcillo Preven el arco Que diferente Que haces senor Que lejanos acentos Quien va Volcanes de amor</p>
Rodriguez de Hita (Spain)	Acordes instrumentes
Romero	Lamentacion 1
Salado	Aquel reloj
San Juan	Invitatorio Cazadores a montear
Tapia	<p>Canticum Contucirum Defecit in Salutare Laetatus sum Laudatus sum Lauda Jerusalem Misa 1795 Misa 1795-1796 Misa 1795-1796 Misa 1796 Misa 1800 a 3 Misa 1800 a 3 y 7 Misa a 3 y 7 Misa 1807 Misa 1808 Misa 1817 a 8 Misa 1817 Misa 1817 Pasion</p>

	Visperas 1809 Visperas 1816 Dixit Dominus Beatur Vir Lauda Jerusalem
Torres	Por el Tenaro monte
Zapata	Laudate Dominum Corderoto
Anon	Beatus vir Benedicto Credi di Cor Mundum Defecit in salutoris Dixit Dominus Gloria laus Invitatorio Lamentacion 1 miercoles 1 Lamentacion 1 miercoles 4 Lamentacion 1 miercoles 2 Lamentacion 3 miercoles Lamentacion 1 jueves Lamentacion 2 jueves Lamentacion 3 jueves Lamentacion 3 viernes Luman ad nevelationem Magnificat Misa a 4 Misa a 2 y 4 Misa Misa a 6 Pasion del domingo Pasion del domingo Visitario tua Coro para loa Coro para loa Intr. a 7 palabras Al amor incomparable A media noche Ay Jesus Ay Jesus Ay mi dios Cantemos con voces Christo resucitado El cielo de pasme Los cielos en su Con sonoros clarines

Corred pastores Decidme selvas Decidme selvas De Nazareth viene Decisime Maria Dulce Jesus mio Misa de Facistol Entónense vivas Gloria a dio Ha de la tierra Hermoso imán mio Hoy los Pastorelillas Lima invoca tu favor Madre afligida Madre de amor bella Madre Llena de dolor Festimos zagales Sabed que ha nacido No lloren Aurora Cantada al niño Jesus Que no hay otra mejor Que cubes sacros Sacros celestes coros Sequid Pastores misticas Venid pastorcito Ya nacio niño hermoso Ya que desnudo Ya suporta Niño precioso El obre entero Que no hay otra Querubes sacros Swguid pastores Ya se aporta Yo soy entremetido
--

Appendix B

Maestros de Capilla – Lima

Name	Tenure
Estacio de la Serna	1612-1616
Miguel de Bodadilla	1616-1622
Cristóbal de Bersayaga	1622-1630; 1632-1633
Pedro de Villalobos	(interim) 1630-1632
Manuel de Sequeyra	1633-1656
Pedro Jiménez	1656-1674
Pedro de Cervantes	(interim) 1668
Juan Araujo	1674-1676
Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco	1676-1728
José de Orellano	(interim) 1728
Roque Ceruti	1728-1760
Joséph de Orejón y Aparicio	1760-1765
Cristóbal Romero	1765-1776
Ventura Marín de Velasco	1776-1798
Manuel Dávalos	(interim) 1798-1799
Juan Beltrán	1799-1807
Julián Carabayo	1807
Andres Bolognesi	1807-1823

Appendix C

Maestros de Capilla – Arequipa

Name	Tenure
Jerónimo Tito	1577
Nicolás de Tolentino	1611
Isidro Flores	1645-1657
Juan de Rivera	1679
Francisco Xavier	1744-1751
Pedro Cárdenas	1751-1765
Cayetano Rodriguez	1765-1808
Diego de la Cruz Prado	1812-1855