The History And Use Of Music In Colonial Spanish America 1500-1750

by

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A Thesis Submitted In Partial Fulfillment Of The Requirements For The Degree Of Master Of Arts In Loyola University

February

1948
VITA

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction. ................................................. 1

I. **PRE-CONQUEST INDIAN MUSIC**

   Importance of music in Indian society--
   Indian musical education--Musical instruments--Songs and singing--Dances
   and dancing. ........................................... 1

II. **SPANISH BACKGROUNDS**

   Reconquest--Music in medieval Spain--
   Place of women--Spanish ballads--autos--
   Secular theatre--Musical instruments--
   Moslem influence. ..................................... 23

III. **THE BIRTH OF HISPANIC-AMERICAN MUSIC**

   First music in America--Missionary use
   of music--Brother de Gante--Government
   policy--Early missions--Mission life--
   Mission schools--Recreation--Indian
   talent--Father de Las Casas--Father
   Salvatierra--Suppression of native
   music. .................................................. 34

IV. **COLONIAL MUSICAL EDUCATION**

   Brother de Gante's school--Musical
   training--Instrument construction--
   Mission education--Secular music
   schools. .............................................. 53
V. COLONIAL MUSICIANS AND COMPOSERS

Brother de Gante--Bernardo Sahagun--
Religious music--Franciscan musicians--
First orchestra--Father Dadey--Jesuits
in La Plata region.......................... 60

VI. MUSIC BOOKS IN COLONIAL SPANISH AMERICA

First music books--Psalmodia Christiana--
Book shipments from Spain--Other books......... 71

VII. COLONIAL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Organ--Other instruments--Importance
of European instruments.......................... 76

VIII. MUSIC IN COLONIAL SPANISH SOCIETY

Early secular music--Alteration of
pure Spanish music--Society life--
Tertulia--Life in the backcountry--
Ballads and folk songs--Colonial
dances--Festivals--Trovador--Negro
influence........................................ 79

Conclusion........................................ 91

Bibliography...................................... 94
INTRODUCTION

"Decidnos las canciones de un pueblo y, os diremos sus leyes, sus costumbres y su historia," is an old Spanish proverb which means, "Tell us the songs of a people and we will tell you its laws, its customs and its history," and the music of Hispanic America is a living example of the wisdom of this old saying. But the recounting of the history of this music during the Spanish Colonial period, a time during which its foundations were laid, is only one of the purposes of this thesis. Its second, and perhaps more important purpose, is to show how music had a definite political and social importance in Latin American society; and how it was used most successfully, by both the Spanish missionary and by his official companion as a means of pacifying, civilizing and Christianizing the natives of the colonies.

The tone of this thesis is sometimes very general, because definite material or data was unavailable. It must be remembered that there is no written record of any of the pre-Conquest Indian music, and that much of the information used herein, dates from after the entrance of the Spaniards into the New World. It has been assumed
that the musical culture found by the Spaniards had existed for some time, and that the music described by the first chroniclers was therefore the music of the pre-Conquest period.

It should be emphasized here also, that in discussing Indian music, the terms used, such as "music," "ballad," "songs," and "singing," are necessarily used in a very broad sense, for what the Indians regarded as music, certainly does not merit the name when judged from any sort of cultural standard.

Material on this subject, both in Spanish and English but especially in the latter language, is notably scarce, not because it does not exist, but because few attempts have been made to put it into any sort of collection; and what material does exist in collections concerns in the main contemporary music. Since about 1920, most of the Latin American governments have been supporting programs of extensive research into their individual musical histories, but the results of this work are not yet completely available in the United States. The best sources of information for this thesis, were the contemporary writings of the missionaries and early travellers in this region, who usually wrote fully and completely of what they did and of what they saw. Fortunately, many of these works have already
been translated into English.

The Music Division of the Pan American Union is devoting much time and effort to further study in this field, and it has begun a series which will ultimately include the musical history of every one of the Latin American countries, although at present only those of Argentina and Brazil have been completed.

Books which deal with the music of the United States usually have a section which includes the music of the southwestern section of our country, which was occupied by the Spaniards.

Periodical literature is fairly extensive, being found especially in the Musical Quarterly, Catholic Historical Review, and the New Mexico Historical Review.
Chapter I

PRE-CONQUEST INDIAN MUSIC

While not a single page, nor even a note of pre-Conquest Indian music has been found, it has been ascertained that before the Spaniards came to the Americas, the natives of these lands had their own musical culture. This culture varied, of course, from tribe to tribe. If at all recognizable as music, it was in a very primitive state of development among the uncivilized nations of the eastern islands and coastal regions, but it was more advanced among the semi-barbaric natives of the isolated, mountaneous highlands. Although the specific details of their musical culture may have differed from nation to nation, the general characteristics of their musical systems were the same; and it is these general characteristics, rather than the specific details, that will be discussed in this chapter.

Just previous to the beginning of the Spanish Conquest, in 1500, the Indian population was estimated at fifteen million people in Hispanic America. The most important nations, who were also the most advanced, were the Nahuatlau tribes, whose chief kingdom
was the Aztec in Mexico, and the Incas whose lands lay in the Andean area of South America. Secondary nations who should also be mentioned, include the Mayas of Central America, the Caribs who lived near the mouth of the Orinoco river, the Arawaks of the Guiana country, the Tupi nation which inhabited the Amazon regions, the Guaraní of Paraguay, the Araucanians of Chile, the Caras of Ecuador, the Chibchas of Colombia, and the Quechuas and Aymarás who are included in the Inca Empire. Among these peoples, in fact among all the tribes of the Americas, music was a real and important part of their lives. Especially with those nations where the so-called monarchy was founded upon a religious base, as with the Aztecs, it was an absolutely necessary adjunct to every religious and civil ceremony. Music, vocal and instrumental, was used to praise beneficent gods and to banish the evil gods. Heroic deeds, adventures and history were all celebrated in song and dancing.

Indian music was limited by primitive instruments, lacked harmony, a system of musical notation, tone quality and stringed instruments, but these shortcomings did not detract from its almost hypnotic effect upon the natives. To them music was "part of the great emotions, religion and love: voice of the first language,"
that of the heart."¹ Perhaps the main reason for its effectiveness
was that it embraced all of the people. The early writers tell us
that music was played, sung, and danced always in a group which some-
times, such as on the occasion of a great festival, contained more
than a thousand persons. Although individual composers, known as mas-
ters of music, did have their place in the musical organization,
their individual works never "failed to be the expression of the per-
sonal feelings of collective sentiment,"² for they were always for the
people to perform together. Little trace has been found of any ex-
pression of the personal feelings of an individual. Dancing and
singing were always united, so closely that in many tribes one word
was used to express both, as with the Quechua's word taqui.

But in spite of the important place that music held in Indian
life, "their musical systems remained at a somewhat lower level than
their achievements in other branches of art."³ This is doubly supris-
ing in view of the fact that centers where music and dancing were
taught, were numerous. There was not a single public act of the
ruler, official or personal, which was not accompanied by music.
There were, in fact so many kinds of ceremonial music, each follow-
ing a definite form, that some kind of training for the participants,

¹ John A. Crow, The Epic of Latin America, Doubleday and Co.,
New York, 1946, 316.

² Carlos Chávez, "Mexican Music," in H. Herring and H. Weinstock,

³ Gilbert Chase, A Guide to Latin American Music, Library of
in this case, the warriors and priests, was considered necessary.
The Aztec monarchy gave royal support to two schools for these Indian priests and warriors in which this ceremonial music was considered the most important subject to be taught. In the regular schools, (the term "schools" used here in a very broad sense,) where the children of the nation were given some sort of instruction in history and astronomy, music was also taught; and there were private singing and dancing teachers who tutored the children of the higher classes. Training and discipline were rigid; daily attendance and long hours of study were required. However, it should be emphasized here that in these schools, music was never taught for its own sake, but rather as an "aid to learning certain parts of the religious material which was considered desirable, and to prepare those who might help in religious services." 4

The indigenes had their troubadour, or professional composer, rhymster and minstrel, whose main duty was to compose suitable music and songs for the great religious festivals. At the time of the Conquest, none of the tribes had a writing system, hence these native composers had also the responsibility of fashioning a method for transmitting the history of the tribe in the form of songs or ballads. These songs were then taught to a small, select group of young men who,

when they had reached a fairly mature age, in turn passed them on to another select group of young men, and thus the history of the tribe was transmitted from generation to generation. It was definitely an inaccurate method of keeping history, for it depended not only upon the honesty of the author, in this case the minstrel, but also upon the memory of the transmitter. The history was often incomplete, for it was the custom to omit the deeds of a ruler whose reign had been unsatisfactory to the people.

Centers existed, in which adult singers and dancers, whose chief duty was to amuse and divert the monarch and nobles of the court, were meticulously trained. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who accompanied Cortés in the conquest of Mexico, tells us that Montezuma delighted in music, and that one whole part of Mexico City "was entirely inhabited by . . . [his] dancers and posture makers; . . ."5 Other early travellers have recorded the Indian custom of having music and dancing during the royal meals. In Peru, where a certain degree of vassalage was practiced, it was the responsibility of a certain tribe of Indians, who "were evidently considered as especially good dancers, to supply performers for the court."6


the personal heroic deeds of their master, and who could be called upon at any time to perform.

Indian Musical Instruments

The development of Indian music was hampered by the primitiveness of their musical instruments. In general, there were three types of native instruments: the percussion group, the noise-makers and rattles and the flutes. The last-named was the only instrument on which a melody could be played, and even then the melodies were extremely simple, and the notes were without much tone quality.

The indigenes did have a musical scale, but it was composed of only five tones. This scale was the pentatonic scale "represented (approximately) by the five black keys of the piano keyboard."7 Some authors believe that this scale symbolized the five fingers of the human hand, but others believe it was chosen because of the need for wide intervals between tones in order that pitch could be more easily recognized. When Mr. Charles W. Mead recently tested the twenty-six Indian flutes that have been preserved in the Museum of Natural History in New York, he found that over half of them could produce only the five notes of this scale. The tones were produced by either a series of holes for finger stops, or by using the varying force of

the breath.

It is generally conceded that the Indians had not stringed instruments, and of course no brass, until the Spaniards brought them the European models. The Apaches of Arizona are reported to have had a one-string fiddle, made of "horsehair with a gourd," but the real existence of this instrument has yet to be proven. Some authors claim that a musical bow, fashioned after the hunter's bow was used by the Andean Indians, but this too is most doubtful.

Any and all sorts of materials, animal, mineral and vegetable, were used by the indigenes for the construction of their primitive musical instruments. Stone, wood, animal bones and horns, clay, reeds, metals, seashells and gourds were all adapted to musical use. Evidently even human material was used for it is reported that "the ancient Mexicans made use of human skulls for drums, and femur bones for ratchets." Although originals of many of these instruments have not been preserved, copies had been made by following the descriptions of the first chroniclers and by using the illustrations found as decorations on ancient pieces of pottery and metal ornaments.

The drum was the most important of all the musical instruments, although of course its "music" was a rhythmic beat rather than any


9 Slonimsky, 47.
melody. It had a military use during war, being used to give orders during skirmishes. It had also a political and social importance in that large drums were "used . . . for communication among the neighboring villages." It was often the solo instrument used in the ceremonial dances, the player giving directions to the participants by the quickness of the beat and the depth or shallowness of the sound.

Drums varied in size, ranging from those small enough to carry, to others which were as big as a man. Father Clavigero, in his *History of Mexico*, describes the Mexican vertical drum known as the *huhuetl*.

"It was a cylinder of wood more than three feet high, curiously carved and painted on the outside, covered above with the skin of a deer, well stretched and dressed, which they tightened or slackened occasionally to make the sound more sharp or deep. They struck it only with the fingers, but it required infinite dexterity in the strikers."11

There was also a horizontal drum, called *teponaztli* which was made entirely of wood. It was a hollowed-out cylinder which was closed on both ends. The only opening was in the center of the drum, and was in the form of an H set lengthwise. (1) The sound was produced by striking one or the other or both of the tongues thus formed with two small mallets, the ends of which were sometimes covered with a soft material, probably crude rubber. The sounds produced by these drums


were of a rather melancholy nature and could sometimes be heard for many miles. The teponaztli were also made in a size small enough to be carried suspended from the neck by a throng.

An unusual gourd water drum or bosipona, used by the Cahita Indians is described by Ralph Beals. It was made by floating a large, half-gourd in a vessel of water, the open side down, and beating it with the fiber-wrapped tip of a stick. "A weird, low but very penetrating "chug" was produced."12 How pleasing or useful this was to the primitives is not ascertainable.

The noise-makers formed the second group of Indian musical instruments and included, besides the rattles, such things as whistles, jingles, raspers, and split-stick clappers. The rattles were usually made of gourds, whose seeds became loose when the gourd was dried, and produced the rattling sound when the gourd was shaken. Some sort of handle was provided, often a straight piece of wood fastened to the gourd with spirit gum or crude rubber. It was not unusual for these rattles to be worn suspended from the neck as an actual part of the dance costume. The whistles were constructed from hollow bamboo or from a single reed, and when blown strongly, these whistles would make "a whining noise, but without any distinct notes."13

12 Ralph L. Beals, The Aboriginal Culture of the Cahita Indians, University of California, Berkeley, 1943, 32. Hereafter referred to as Beals, Culture.

The raspers were pieces of wood or bone that had been notched so that a rasping sound would be produced when it was scraped with another straight piece of wood or bone. The rasper of hirukia of the Cahita Indians was made of mesquite hardwood and was played with one end resting in a half-gourd on the ground. The split-stick clapper was just what its name implies, a straight piece of wood about two feet in length, which was split on two sides so that the pieces could be made to slap the center piece, but this instrument was not very widely used. It became in more civilized times an essential property of slap-stick comedians or court buffoons.

Some type of flute was to be found in very tribe, and was usually made of bone, reed or clay. The flute of the Quechua nation, known as a quena, is called by Charles Seegar "the most perfect musical instrument fashioned in the western world prior to the Conquest." One of these quena is still preserved, and is made from the leg bone of the llama, having a V-shaped mouthpiece and a five-tone scale. While the drum was the instrument associated with war and festivals, it was the flute that was the symbol of love to the Indian.

There were a few other instruments which were employed by the Indians which do not fit into these three groups, and which were

peculiar to only a few tribes. The Mexicans had a conch-shell trumpet, atecocolli, which made a hoarse sound, and the Quechuas had a similar instrument which they called hayllaiquipac. The Indians of the Andes region had a primitive pan-pipe, made of varying lengths of reed or hollow bamboo tied together with fiber and known as antara. Some of these pan-pipes "seem to indicate a seven-note scale and a knowledge of semitones." The natives of Lower California also possessed a pan-pipe, but in their case these pipes were not intended to be used as the musical accompaniment to singing and dancing, but were worn suspended from the necks of the chiefs, and were "never used until . . . actually in the thick of a fight."16

One of the most unusual musical instruments found in South America, some of which are still in actual existence today, was the whistling jar or pot called by the Spanish "silbador or whistler." This instrument consisted of a hollow figure and an attached open receptacle, which were connected with a passage in the lower part of the figure. When the open receptacle was partly filled with water and the whole instrument tipped, the air in the figure was forced out of a small hole in the top and the whistling sound was produced.


The product was a flat tone, with minimum vibrations and was poor in quality.

We have no knowledge of what pleasure the natives may have derived from listening to birds but we do know that birds like parrots, parakeets, etc., which were essentially noise-makers rather than music producers, were the chosen pets. This may help to explain the popularity of the drums and rattles which produced only noise, and the lack of any kind of melodic instrument. The Indian was evidently satisfied with this indiscriminate noise, and the flute which could play a melody, probably came into being more through accident than through any need of the natives for other kinds of musical expression.

The styles of Indian music varied from tribe to tribe and from nation to nation, being influenced by such things as climate, natural environment, political ideas and social organization. John A. Crow has characterized some of the Indian music as follows:

"In Bolivia, the Aymara has songs which were vigorous, incisive, broken with sudden sharp wails which frequently left those who played and sang in tears. The melodies of the Quechuas of the Peruvian sierra were more refined, less suddenly rending, more resigned to fate . . . . The Aztecs
had a music of more percussion, of rawer and more martial
toneology. It drummed into the ear with a persistance that
obliterated the individual . . . .”18

But the predominant characteristic of all Indian music was melancholy,
especially in the isolated, mountaneous regions, and each tribe had
many haravi or laments. Solennity of expression was the watchword
of the Indian music makers and music receivers. Amedée Frezier was
one of the many early travellers who made note of this trait, saying
that the Indian mein "had nothing in it that was gay."19

Indian Songs and Singing20

Singing was a form of musical expression that was extremely
popular with the American indigenes, and was extensively used for
religious ceremonies and festivals as well as for individual amuse-
ment. Some of the early European chroniclers found the Indian voices
to be harsh and offensive, but the Indians "took so much pleasure in
. . . themselves, that on festivals, they continued singing the whole
day."21 To say that there was any attempt at voice culture would be
ridiculous. Falsetto notes, screams, howls, and screeches were the
procution of the native training process. The words "soprano,"

18 Crow, 317.

19 Amedée Frezier, A Voyage to the South Sea and Along the Coast
of Chili and Peru in the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714, printed for J.

20 Terms such as "songs," "singing," and "ballads," are here
used in a very broad sense, as noted previously in the Introduction.

21 Clavigero, 207.
"alto," "tenor," and "bass," cannot be used with respect to Indian vocalists. It would seem that the first function of the voice was like that of most instruments—noise-making. Despite our diagnosis, however, we must term whatever resulted Indian songs.

There were in general four types of Indian songs. The first group included the epic ballads, which often contained the history of the nation and which were sung only on the greatest festival days by the masters of music. The next group consisted of the songs written especially for certain ceremonies, both religious and civil, and for particular festivals, and was in a constant state of change as new songs would be added and older songs dropped from it. The third group was made up of the special songs used only with dances and the last included the songs of an intimate nature such as love songs. Although songs were often performed alone, dancing was never executed without singing.

The epic ballads were especially esteemed by the natives, and were never set to the accompaniment of the flute, for that instrument was the symbol of love while the ballads were "too grave and serious to be intermixed with the softnesses of love . . . ."22

Garcilaso de la Vega tells us that the intimate songs had such

22 Hague, Music, 7.
definite individual characteristics that a "lover, playing the flute
to his lady-love, could indicate to her . . . his contentment, or dis-
contentment, favor or disfavor." 23

Their manner of singing was usually monodic; that is, they all
sang together a single chant or melody, observing no time or measure.
Although some evidence has been found that "singing in groups with
the employment of some sort of prearranged harmony . . . ." 24 was
practiced in some areas, this custom was not common to very many
tribes and seems accidental. Some writers have described a respons-
sive type of singing which was practiced in Mexico, wherein two or
three leaders would sing a verse to which the rest of the group would
answer. The songs were made up of two or three verses which would be
repeated over and over again, the average song lasting about one hour.
Between songs, there would be a short interlude "when they played
upon their flutes . . . ." 25 In general, the music began in a low,
serious tone and the singers sang in a slow, low voice. As the music
continued and the dancing became swifter, the songs became lighter or
fiercer to suit the occasion, and the singing was continued in a higher
voice.

23 Ibid., 8.
24 Slonimsky, 54.
25 Father Alonso de Ovalle, A Historical Relation of the King-
dom of Chile, Longman, Hurst, Ries, Orme, London, 1813, XIV, 117. See
also Captain Edward Cooke, A Voyage to the South Sea, London, 1712, 72.
While the songs used in religious ceremonies and during the festivals usually had set and definite words, the songs used during the regular dancing for amusement, often were extemporaneous, the individual Indian putting to the music any words that might come into his mind and thus some of the first travellers often wrote that there was no sense at all to the indigenes' songs. When we consider that many times these extemporaneous verses were composed during drinking orgies, the observers may well have been correct. Father Jacob Baegert, a Jesuit who lived with the California Indians for seventeen years, described their singing as "nothing but an inarticulate, unmeaning, whispering, murmuring or shouting, which everyone intonates according to his own inclination." 26

**Indian Dances and Dancing**

Dancing was a serious and important part of every act of political and religious life, as well as a means of amusement for the American natives. And although the Europeans viewed Indian singing as disagreeable, they soon found that the natives had extraordinary skill in dancing. 27

26 Father Jacob Baegert, S.J., *An Account of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the California Peninsula*, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C., 1869, 389. Although Father Baegert's residence began in 1752, it should be remembered that the natives with whom he worked were still in a primitive state, and that the area was still only a frontier mission area.

Whenever there was any solemn communication between two tribes, the representative of the one always approached the agent of the second in a formal dance, presenting to him some emblem of peace, as the peace pipe, or calumet. If a policy of war was to be followed against an enemy nation, it was always announced by a dance, "expressive of the resentment which they felt and of the vengeance which they meditated." If an individual was sick, a dance by a group of his friends was deemed the best remedy to restore him to health. Before a hunting or fishing expedition would set out, ceremonies consisting of dances and songs were held in which the gods were asked to protect the health of the fish or animals, in order that the Indians might have a bountiful catch. Some of the more elaborate festival dances depicted events from the history of a tribe or perhaps a group might reenact an outstanding adventure that had happened to them. Other dances were in the form of pantomimes which might illustrate the hunter or worker in the field going about his work. Dances at high revels were of a less formal nature.

The drum was the common instrument used to mark time for the dances, although the natives of Santo Domingo also used rattles filled with pebbles, and the Californians used the clapping of hands.

Their manner of dancing varied from tribe to tribe. Father

Ovalle, describing the dancing of the Chilean Indians, wrote that "their manner of dancing is with little jumping and a step or two, not rising much from the ground; and without any capers such as the Spaniards use," and Thomas Gage tells us that the dancing of the Guatemalan natives was "merely a kind of walking around . . . ."

Some nations always danced in circles, others in straight lines; and the Darién Indians of the isthmus were reputed to have had a dance in which men and women danced together in couples.

Love played no part in their religious and festival dances; in fact, it was most unusual for men and women to participate in a dance together. While the two sexes may have danced the same dance at the same time, they were always in separate groups, quite a distance apart. In reality, the main occupation of women during these festive dances, was to prepare the food for and to feed the male dancers who seldom stopped dancing even when eating. Early writers disagree on how much liquor was consumed during the dancing, some avowing that great quantities were taken in order to improve the flavor of the dancing, and others denying that the Indians danced much after drinking very hard. In any case, on those rare occasions when women were allowed to dance with the men, "the character of the entertainment was still the same.

29 Father Ovalle, 117.

and no movement or gesture was expressive of attachment or encouraged familiarity." 31 This might have been expected among the great majority of tribes, since at no time was there indications of affection or even respect for womenkind.

Before the day appointed for the celebration of a great religious festival, the professional singers and dancers among the more advanced of tribes would spend many days practicing any new songs or dances that were to be used during the celebration. When the morning of the day finally arrived, the ground whereon the dancing was to take place was covered with a huge fiber matting. Generally the dancers were painted, decorated and masked. The musicians then appeared and took their appointed places, sometimes being in the center of the circle of dancers, and other times being in a small house on the rim of the dance floor, entirely concealed from the dancers. Before the actual dancing began, several songs would be sung, either by a small group of the best singers, or in an alternative method between a solo leader and the whole chorus. When it was time for the dance to begin, the three or four leaders would blow shrill whistles and then begin to play upon the instruments. From the tone of the music which was being played, the dancers understood the kind of song and dance to

31 Robertson, II, 213.
be followed and they would begin to dance. The drummer was the most important of the musicians, being the director of the dancing, and "with this instrument and blows upon it . . . he giveth the dancers their . . . changes and signs of the motions of their bodies . . . and giveth warning what and when they are to sing." 32 This has come down to us locally in the form of the barn dance and the Masque Ball. Clowns dressed in animal skins or in strange costumes, chiefly hideous, would intermingle with the serious dancers for the amusement of the spectators, and when one set of dancers was exhausted, it would be replaced by a fresh set, and the dancing would continue, lasting on some occasions for as long as eight days.

The Indians had a seemingly endless variety of dances, which included those for amusement, war, festival and religious ceremonies. There were snake dances, sun dances and spear dances. Father Juan Salvatierra found over thirty different types of dances among the natives with whom he worked and he wrote that "in none of these had he seen anything suggestive of indecency . . . ." 33

One of the most effective of the Indian dances was the war dance which depicted the whole panorama of the conflict, from the very declaration of war through the main battles until the final defeat

32 Gage, 349.

33 Miguel Venegas, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, Arthur Clark Co., Cleveland, 1929, 189.
of the enemy. The dance was performed so realistically that many Europeans who saw it could hardly believe that it was only make-believe.

The main dance of the Caribbean tribes was called Areitos, in which by means of songs and dances, "they recorded their traditions." The favorite dance of the Darien Indians who inhabited the isthmus was the guayacan. In this dance, the participants would gather around the camoturo or master of ceremonies, who played the camó, a kind of flute made of a piece of caña-brava. They would dance in a circle around him, until at a signal, they would break the circles, the couples would come together "and revolve rapidly in time with the music." The Mexican Indians had several distinctive dances, the most beautiful being the tocatin or tocantin. This was originally a temple dance, but it was so outstanding that it was permitted in the Christian churches, and was even danced before the King of Spain after the Conquest. They also had a Maypole dance, in which different colored cords were suspended from the top of a pole fifteen or twenty feet high, and the steps of the dance were so arranged that the varicolored cords were woven together. Another one of their dances was really a game of reeds set to music, and it was known as colomchi; and in a second dance they executed a full skirmish on horseback.


35 Wafer, 323.
complete with spear-throwing, the spears, in this case, being made of a light cane, probably caña-brava. On other occasions they would dance on ropes high above the ground or on one another's shoulders.

Indian music did not disappear with the Conquest, but it remained as a strong influence upon the Spanish music brought by the conquerors and colonists, in time finding an important place not only in secular music, but in the religious music as well. It was the important task of the missionaries to direct this deep-rooted tendency of the natives to sing, play and dance, and to direct their usage toward civilizing the Indians. But the process of training Indian voices in singing and Indian hands to play instruments was to be long and arduous.
Chapter II

SPANISH BACKGROUNDS

In the year 711 A. D., the conquering Moslems added Spain to their Mediterranean empire; that is, all but a very small area in the northern part of the Peninsula. This mountaneous region became the stronghold of a small band of Christian Spaniards who slowly began the reconquest of the country. The reconquest was a slow and difficult undertaking which lasted for over seven centuries, the final step being the capture of the sole remaining Moorish stronghold, the city of Granada in the year 1492. Columbus' discovery of the New World in that same year, marked the beginning of the great period of Spanish discovery, exploration, conquest and colonization. During the first half of the sixteenth century, Spain reached her "Golden Age" in internal political, social, economic and cultural development, and she gave the benefits of that growth to Latin America as a definite part of her colonial policy.

Spanish musical progress kept pace with her other cultural growth, and her predominance in music, which was very evident by 1500,
lasted for over two centuries, even longer than her political superiority in world affairs. It was the well-developed music of Spain's "Golden Age" that was transplanted to the Americas.

Naturally the continuous occupation of the Peninsula resulted in the inevitable intermingling of Moorish and Spanish culture, and this is especially true in regard to music. As the Christian Spaniards moved southward in their reconquest, the influence of the Catholic Church, the only stable force that had kept them united thus far, moved with them. Anything Moorish was regarded as pagan and was to be subjected to suppression; and this definitely included music. But the Moorish music had gained such popularity with the people, that they refused to give it up, and "even after the official suppression of the Mozarabic . . . [music] in 1076, it persisted in many of the Spanish churches."[1] The Spanish officials soon found that it was easier to adapt the Moslem music to conform to Christian doctrine, than to face the ire of the people by attempting to suppress it altogether.

The Moorish contribution to Spanish musical development was active as well as passive. The founder of the Hispano-Arabic school of music was a famous Arab musician named Ziryab, who lived in Spain

about the middle of the ninth century. The Moors also had several excellent musical theorists, the most famous of whom was Al-Farabi, who lived from 872 A.D. until 950 A.D. During the thirteenth century, his works were translated into Latin, and his influence was thus spread all through western Europe.

Music was very important in medieval Spain, especially as an important part of all religious ceremonies. It had also a prominent place in secular festivities such as wedding, coronations and official civil ceremonies. While most of the music itself has been lost, old documents which are still preserved, contain many references which prove its actual existence; and old illustrations show the types of musical instruments then in use, such as harps, viols and cimbals.

Secular music was not given official patronage or encouragement in Spain during the Middle Ages, and depended upon the traveling or itinerant musician for its growth. In general, the term juglar included "all those who earned a livelihood by entertaining in public, whether with music or poetry, or with mummery and tumbling." \(^2\) In 1275, a royal declaration defined the different classes of juglars, limiting the term to those who played musical instruments. Those

\(^2\) Ibid., 34.
entertainers who used pantomime and mimicry were given the name of *remedadores*, the traveling minstrels who went from court to court were called *segriéres*, and the street performers who usually had little skill or talent were named *cazurros*. There was also a special class of *juglar* who "specialized in reciting or singing the *cantares de gesta*, the epic poems narrating heroic deeds and famous events,"\(^3\) and these were esteemed above all others. All except the *segriére* or troubadour, were interpretative artists, that one being primarily a composer, although he might sing his own compositions. While the majority of these musicians were itinerants, others were supported by wealthy patrons, who clothed them in rich livery and kept them at their estates. Foreign *juglars* were very numerous in Spain, over six hundred being present in the provinces of Aragon and Catalonia during the fourteenth century.

It is interesting to note that women played an important part in the musical growth of Spain during the Middle Ages. The *juglar* had a feminine counterpart in the *juglaresa* or *juglara*, "who sang, played and danced for the entertainment of kings and nobles, and also on a lower scale for the amusement of the populace."\(^4\) They participated in the religious and public ceremonies as well. A description

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3 Ibid., 35.

4 Ibid., 33.
of the coronation of Alfonse VIII of Castile, which took place in the twelfth century, tells us that in the midst of the celebration of the Mass, women trained in singing came forth and sang a cantiga. Medieval illustrations often show women playing the various musical instruments.

The Renaissance acted as a strong impetus to the development of Spanish music, and the exchange of musical ideas between that country and Italy was extensive. Musical composers were encouraged by royal and aristocratic patronage, and the itinerant musician brought music to the lowest classes of the people. The Spanish peasantry had a deep, innate love for music and did all of their work singing. Their fondness for dancing was as deep-rooted, and it was the custom on fête days after the great religious festivities were over, for the people to assemble and "dance all sorts of provincial dances peculiar to the different sections of the country." The aristocracy also liked dancing, although it was necessarily more formalized. The zapateado, zorzico, malagueña, seguidilla, fandango, contra danza, and the minuet were all danced in the various courts, the last three being the most popular.

5 Ibid., 32. (From Coronación de Reyes y Ceremonios que en ella de quarden, Ramón, Bishop of Osma, "Vengan doncellas que sepan bien cantar, et canten una cantiga.")

6 Mary Neal Hamilton, Music in Eighteenth-Century Spain, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1937, 14.
Spanish ballads reached their highest point of development at this time. They were known as romances, and they were usually of the heroic type, exploiting the deeds of an individual or group. They had developed during the Middle Ages and had become very popular with all classes of society. They were, in fact, so much sung and recited by the people, that "more than one Spanish writer speaks of them disparagingly . . . ." and refused to quote them because of their commonness. These romances were often broken up and parts of them used in local compositions, and thus they became the nucleii for the regional folk-song which was born during the sixteenth-century. It was also the usual custom for dramatists to use either the ballads themselves, or "the ballad-verse form for lyrical and dramatic purposes . . . ."

The religious dramas of the Middle Ages became the Spanish autos of the sixteenth-century, and a new element, music, was added to them. The autos were in general of two types, the first "treating of subjects taken from the Old Testament, and the second centering around the life of Christ." Much time and skill was devoted to religious music, both for these autos and for the various church services. Spanish composers, such as Tomas Luis de Victoria, ranked with

7 Hague, Music, 21.
9 Chase, Spain, 271.
the best of the European composers, such as the Italian Palestrina.

The secular theatre in Spain, was a product of the Renaissance, and united music and drama to a much greater degree than did the *autos*. The secular theatre also exploited the national dance and folk tunes, as both popular and aristocratic dances and songs were used, not only in an incidental sense, but often as an integral part of the plot itself.

**Musical Instruments**

The organ made its appearance in Spain during the Middle Ages, and the arts of both organ playing and building developed rapidly during the fourteenth century. By 1550, Spain "could boast of organs and organists that could rival, if not excel, the best of Europe,"\(^{10}\) the most famous of these Spanish artists being the blind Antonio de Cabezón, who became organist to the Emperor Charles V in 1528, when he was only eighteen years of age. The magnificent organs which were constructed at this time, were intended primarily for the churches and cathedrals. Harps, strings, clarinets, flutes and sackbuts appear as "accompanying instruments . . . in the churches at about this time."\(^{11}\)

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10 *Ibid.*, 64.

The lute, which was brought to Spain by the Moslems, enjoyed only a short popularity and was soon discarded by the Spaniards in favor of the vihuela or guitar, whose origin has been traced to the old Roman cithera. There was no standard model for the vihuela at this time, the number of strings, method and manner of playing, all being a matter of individual taste. There were three main types of vihuelas, having anywhere from four to seven strings. One type known as the vihuela de mano, was played with the hand; the vihuela de arco was played with a bow; and the third type, the vihuela de pendola employed a pick or plectrum. The manner of playing also varied. The populace were usually content with a mere strumming motion, considering the guitar solely as an accompaniment to their singing and dancing. But the upper classes, who were more concerned with technique and with playing the music that had been especially composed for the instrument, preferred to pluck the strings, either with the fingers or with a pick.

But no matter what the instrument looked like, or how it was played, the Spanish were intensely loyal to the guitar which had little if any artistic importance outside the boundaries of their country, the lute being the common instrument of western Europe. Gilbert Chase thinks that the Spaniards chose the guitar over the lute, be-
cause they had a subconscious dislike for the latter instrument "which had been introduced by the Moslems, and which therefore, symbolized a hated subjugation." But whatever the reason, the vihuela be-
came the national instrument of Spain, used in both urban and rural areas, for accompanying singing and dancing, for concert and salon, and even in the theatre where it was often the solo instrument. Var-
ious other instruments "of wood and metal were also used, as well as different members of the violin family, both plucked and bowed."
These were the instruments that were eventually taken to America.

The continuous occupation of Spain by the Moors gave Spanish music a definite oriental flavor. This was very noticeable, in the southern provinces, especially in Andalusia which experienced the longest period of occupation. The word "Andalusia" is itself of Arabic origin, being derived from the words al-Andalus or "Land of the Vandals" the name given to Spain by the Moors upon their arrival there in the eighth century. Oriental influence was also spread by the "Arab musicians and music teachers who were to be found in most of the southern towns," whose main contacts were directly with the people. Since the majority of the conquerors and early colonists

12 Chase, Spain, 53.
13 Hague, Music, 21.
14 Eleanor Hague, Spanish American Folk Songs, American Folk-
came from southern Spain, it was the oriental-flavored music of this area which exerted the most influence upon the Indian music of the New World.

Several musical customs of the Moors were adopted by the Spaniards and consequently found their way to Latin America. The one that is most common to all parts of Spanish America, is the "custom of accompanying the dancers by the clapping of the spectators so that all shared in the diversion." This characteristic grew through the years until frequently not only clapping of hands, but the pounding of feet and the shouting of conventional words and phrases such as Ole! also accompanied the dancers.

When the Spaniard came to America, he aimed at a double conquest, desiring not only the possession of the land with its material resources, but, more importantly, the religious conversion of the very soul of all the inhabitants. In order to achieve this two-fold aim, he brought with him all that he possessed including his culture; and the complete transfer of his culture, and of music as an integral part of that culture, was a definite part of Spanish government colonial policy. The Spaniard was not long in discovering that the music that he had brought with him was one of the most effective means of

pacifying, civilizing and Christianizing the Indians of Latin America that he had in his possession, and he wasted no time in utilizing it to the fullest degree.
Chapter III

THE BIRTH OF HISPANIC*AMERICAN MUSIC

When the first Spanish music was heard in the Americas, or who performed it is not definitely known, but it is fairly safe to assume that Columbus must have had a few musicians, amateur though they were, among the members of his crews. It is easy to picture a group of sailors, when day was done and the ships were riding quietly at anchor in some strange, new American harbor, gathered around a vihuel-player on the ship's deck, softly singing the ballads and folk-songs of their homeland, Spain. Perhaps their melodies were wafted on the evening air to the small bands of curious, watching Indians on shore who, having been used to only their primitive music and instruments, marveled at these alien sounds and curious guitar.

We do know, however, that the first Mass sung in the Americas, was celebrated on the island of Hispaniola "by Padre Boil, aided by an improvised Spanish choir, at La Isabela on January 6, 1494," and we can be fairly certain that this was the first religious music to be heard in the New World.

Columbus himself set the precedent for the policy of using

1 Coopersmith, 77.

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music as a means of conquest, but unlike his successors, his attempts were not notably successful. In August, 1498, during his third voyage while his ships were at temporary anchor off the island of Trinidad, the Admiral noticed some strange Indians on shore. He immediately ordered all sorts of gifts and presents to be placed upon the deck and on top of the rail so that they could be seen by the Indians, hoping in this way to entice a few of them on board his ship. But for some unknown reason, this act which had been eminently successful previously, failed; the majority of the Indians remained on shore, and the few that did come out in canoes would not approach near to the ship. In a final effort to gain their confidence, Columbus ordered some young sailors to dance "on the poop to the music of a pipe and tabor."² The Indian response was quite different from that which had been expected, for their applause came in the form of arrows and shouting, and their aim was so good that the Spaniards were forced to hoist anchor and to move to a safer location.

The Indian reaction was not strange. The savage natives, having been accustomed only to their noise, could not be expected to be attracted by the music produced by the Admiral's sailors. It would be many years before they acquired a taste for European music.

Spanish colonization began on the island of Hispaniola and soon spread to Puerto Rico, Cuba and Jamaica; thence to the isthmus and finally to the mainland of both North and South America. Music was evidently considered important for keeping up the morale of the first Spanish colonists, for musicians were always included in the various groups of colonists. Two of the best known of these early musicians were Alonzo de Ojeda and Diego de Nicuesa, famed as entertainers.

Spain also hired professional instrumentalists and teachers, and transported them to the colonies at government expense. The first recorded contract between the Spanish government and professional musicians was signed at Seville on February 28, 1509, and involved "three trumpeters--Sebastian Ximénez, Fernando Paz and Diego Hortis, all residents of Palma (Majorca)." There is also an old document, dated 1512, "which speaks of musicians who were brought from Spain . . . to Cuba to 'make gaiety for the populace'"

Music followed the conquerors, notably Cortés, who took five musicians with him on his expedition to Mexico in 1519. It was the custom of the Spaniards to hold a celebration after each one of their great victories. Such a festivity is recorded by Díaz del Castillo, as having taken place in Coyocán about 1521, at which "the soldiers

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3 Coopersmith, 78.

4 Hague, Folksongs, 11.
danced in their armor with the few ladies who were present; ..., and doubtless the music was provided for the dancing by the above-mentioned musicians. But this music was intended primarily for amusement and recreation, and was not used by Cortés as an aid to his conquest. It was the first missionaries who landed at Vera Cruz in 1523 who perceived the natural inclination of the natives for music, and who, realizing that it was one of the most direct and effective means of overcoming the Indian resistance, began to employ it in their converting process.

Brother Pedro de Gante, a Franciscan friar who was among the original group of twelve Franciscans who disembarked in Mexico in 1523, was the first to realize the potentialities of music, and he made it an important part of his curriculum when he founded the first European school in Mexico. He "explicitly says that he took advantage of the singing and dancing which also accompanied ..., Indian sacrifices, and that he himself composed songs regarding the law of God and the faith." His example was quickly followed by his fellow missionaries who, once they had mastered the native languages, began to set the important parts of Christian doctrine to music. The Indian custom of associating song and dance with religion made their task

5 Díaz del Castillo, 197.
6 Braden, 173.
infinitely easier. While it is not definitely known that these early preachers composed the music as well as the words to these songs, it is fairly certain that they would not have wished to keep alive the pagan religions through the extensive use of the music so close associated with them, and whenever possible, the friars doubtless composed their own tunes. The music so composed was probably based on Indian motets, for in this early period of mission work European music was not popular with the indigenes. The Indians of course, were not able to read music, and since this ability could not be developed easily by the adults, they learned these new hymns by ear and committed them to memory. Later on colors were used to indicate notes, the Indians singing a certain note when the friar held up the color which represented it.

The Spanish government did not hesitate to support the religious in this policy of using music as a means of conquest, and soon royal laws were passed which provided that the Indians were to be taught music in addition to reading, writing arithmetic, Spanish manners and customs. In reply to missionary petitions in 1540, Charles V wrote to the provincial of the Franciscan order in Mexico City, asking him to send out singers and musicians to those friars who asked
for them "because with music, they will be able to attract the Indians . . . more quickly to a knowledge of Our Holy Faith." In 1573 a royal decree was passed directing the government officials in Mexico City to use singers and instrumentalists "for the purpose of 'soothing, pacifying and influencing' the Indians who were indisposed to accept peaceably Catholicism and the Spanish rule." This manner of teaching Catholicism was very popular with the people. They were gathered into large groups known as patios and taught for three or four hours at a time. They were so enthusiastic that they chanted the prayers and hymns thus learned by day and night. These patios were organized not only to instruct the natives in religion, but also as an effort to wean them away from their pagan music.

As the missionary work began to develop away from the larger Indian centers, such as Mexico City, the friars found music became more and more effective. It is told how the first missionaries, floating down the various rivers in their small canoes, in order to amuse themselves and to lessen their fatigue, began to play on the flute and to sing hymns, when to their amazement, hordes of savage Indians crowded upon the banks of the rivers. Where once the natives

7 E. Mendoza, *Colleción de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Mexico City, 1871, 333.

had been invisible, they now followed the canoes on foot for miles, seemingly fascinated by the music of the padres. The missionaries thus discovered that music was the one approach that was always successful.9

When a new mission or *reduction* was to be started, it was the custom for two or three priests to go to some clearing in the woods and to begin singing their religious songs, usually accompanied by a flute. Invariably they would soon be surrounded by a large group of Indians to whom they would then begin teaching the truths of the Catholic religion, in this way "preparing the way for founding a new Reduction."10 When enough natives had been converted, a new mission would be established. Necessary building were constructed, fields were cleared and planted, and the padres began to instruct the natives in all kinds of arts. The most attention was given to music because it played such an important part in the ritual of the Catholic Church. Schools of music were founded, choirs were trained to participate in the religious services, and musical instruments were copied. The trained, Christianized natives would be sent out to attract new converts. The music of the missions had a telling effect upon the pagan indigenes who often came to the reductions out of curiosity, and it


"inclined them most to fix their abode there." 11

**Mission Life**

The average day in the mission began in the early hours of the dawn, when the ringing of the Angelus called the boys and girls to church to learn and to recite the catechism. "When the lesson was finished, hymns to Our Lady and the saints, translated by the priests and set to various tunes . . . filled in the time until their elders assembled for Mass." 12 Before setting out for the fields, songs called alboradas would be sung just outside the church. The workers were then gathered into a group to the sound of music, and singing hymns, they marched behind a band of musicians to their stations in the fields. Along the various paths at definite intervals, shrines to different saints had been constructed, and "before each of them they prayed, and between each shrine sang hymns." 13 After the Indians had reached the fields, the padre and musicians returned to the mission proper, and the natives began working. At noon there was a two-hour rest period during which more hymns were sung, and when at last the day's labor was over, the padre and musicians appeared once more, and the workers marched back to the mission singing. In the early evening,

11 Ibid., 90.


the Rosary was chanted in the church, and the remainder of the time was devoted to all kinds of amusements, including music and dancing, the mission day closing with the tolling of the Angelus. On Saturdays and Sundays, a special attempt was made to inspire the converts "by music and hymns, by theatrical performances and dances."

The inclusion of instruction in both vocal and instrumental music in the curriculum of Brother de Gante's school marked the beginning of music education in the New World. As soon as their training was considered adequate, the Christianized Indians were sent out to the missions from de Gante's school to aid the missionaries in their work. It was not long before each church had a choir and an orchestra, sometimes as large as thirty or forty members, who participated in the religious services. Father Cajitan Cattaneo, a Jesuit who worked in the Paraguayan reductions, wrote to his brother in Europe in 1630, and asked him to send various religious music "with all the parts, the whole well copied as to the notes and words and composed by the best masters in Italy; as also twelve or fifteen concertos of Signor Alberti of Bologna, . . . which are so much esteemed, . . . and which are not too difficult for our performers." Father Anton Sepp, who also worked in the same mission area in the latter


part of the seventeenth century, sought musical works from his European friends, almost begging for all kinds of religious works. Besides the religious works in the native tongues, there were hymns and psalms in Latin, and the Catechism was arranged for choral singing with questions and answers. The work in music was considered to be so important, that the Indian choral singer had no other occupation than to practice his music. To be a chanter was looked upon as a most singular honor, and those who became such, were afterwards "esteemed the most knowing in the nation . . . ."16

Some form of organized recreation had to be provided by the missions, in which the Indians could participate, not only to occupy their free time in the evenings, but also to replace their numerous pagan festivals. Thus the major religious feast days were made much of with special ceremonies, sometimes lasting for eight days. Dancing, singing and some kind of a theatrical production were the usual elements in these celebrations. There is even a record of an "opera called 'Santiago' . . . which had special costumes and properties to put it on the stage."17

The feast was usually proclaimed on the eve of the day itself, by the ringing of bells, the sound of trumpets and the beating of


17 Cunningham-Graham, 137.
drums. The festivities on the feast day began with the celebration of a Solemn Mass with full orchestra and choir, followed by a procession in which all took part with music and singing. The afternoon and evening would be devoted to different sorts of entertainment, sometimes "a concert of select airs from the Italian masters, sometimes a variety of dances." While the women never danced, the men and boys often had a special dance which may have represented the conflict between the Moors and the Christians, or the history of their ancestors. The latter type of dance was discouraged, Spanish dances being emphasized in order to make the Indians forget their pagan past, but it was almost impossible for the padres to prevent some traces of that pagan past from creeping into the native performances. These festivals were the only time when ceremonial dancing and singing were allowed, being forbidden for Indian weddings, births and funerals.

The visit of some prelate or royal personage, or even of any ordinary traveller, was a cause for diversion in the mission. The new arrival would be met a few miles from the mission by a group of flutists who would pipe him on his way. Often he would be greeted by a grand Te Deum upon his approach to the mission gates, and he would be entertained with music and dancing during his stay at the mission itself.

At the outset when the lack of a common language was the chief difficulty encountered by the missionary, pantomime and mimicry were used to offset this barrier to understanding. The Spanish auto was adapted to fill the needs of the Indian, an easy thing to do since the natives had had many temple ceremonies in which dramatic representations had played a major part. The first one of these autos to be presented in the Americas, was enacted in Mexico City in 1532, and depicted the fall of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Paradise. Later autos used subjects from the Scriptures and the conflict between the Moslems and the Christians for their plots, and the more talented Indians were allowed to write the texts for them.

The Indians possessed an amazing innate talent for the European type of music which was taught to them, and Europeans were always astonished at the fine performances which they witnessed. A description of a visit of the Bishop of the Assumption to a reduction in Uruguay, tells us that the Prelate, hearing the performance of one of the Indian children on the violincello, was "struck with admiration, and . . . ordered the choir to stop and the child to come nearer and play a sonata by himself." 19

Native ability did not stop at mere imitation, however, but

19 Muratori, 90.
the natives soon began to "compose Christmas carols in the form of four-voiced figured chants, also Masses and other works which showed their possession of undoubted inventive ability." Only a few years after the Spaniards reached Mexico, a Tlascalan Indian composed an original Mass which compared favorably with those of European composition. Their ability was not confined to singing and dancing, but they were also known "to make, on bare inspection, the most intricate organs . . . ." and all kinds of European musical instruments.

One of the most successful conversions made through the use of music, occurred in Guatemala during the first half of the sixteenth century. In that mission area, the Dominican fathers Bartolomé de Las Casas, Rodrigo de Lodrada, Pedro de Angulo and Luis Cancer had been making excellent progress in their missionary endeavors. However, there was one tribe, the inhabitants of Tuzulutlan, who had resisted all their efforts at conversion, until Father de Las Casas decided to employ music. The priests, all of whom knew the native languages well, set about composing verses in the Tuzulutlan tongue, in which they explained the Christian doctrine. These verses they then set to music, and they taught them to four Christianized native traders who had free intercourse with the Tuzulutlans. At the end of


21 Charlevoix, I, 262.
their journey, the traders were well received by the cacique of the pueblo of Casapulas, who was a most influential man in the tribe. In the evening, when the day's trading was over, the traders asked the use of some of the native musical instruments, and then, tinkling the cabela or Spanish bells which the padres had given them, they began to sing the Christian chants. The Tuzulutlans kept them for several days, making them repeat the verses over and over and inquiring their meaning. When the traders insisted that only the padres could explain the verses, the cacique sent them back accompanied by his younger brother, who was well received by Father de Las Casas and the other priests. After several discussions with the padres, "he returned to his country well pleased, with Fray Luis Cancer who successfully commenced the conversion of the people."22

Another missionary who was especially successful in his use of music for teaching and conversion, was Father Juan María de Salvatierra, who worked in the Sinaloa missions of New Spain and in Lower California. Venegas tells us that Father Salvatierra would teach the songs that he had composed regarding the Catholic faith to the children, and the children would in turn sing them to their parents in their own homes. Interested in the religion because of these melodies, "the parents came to learn about these same mysteries."23

22 Hague, Music, 25.
23 Venegas, 188.
order to keep the prayers from becoming dull and burdensome, especially as the adults were somewhat slow in learning them, Father Salvatierra set them to music. The Pater Noster was sung in one loud, unvarying tone without inflection except at the end of a sentence, while the Ave Maria was sung to a simple Spanish melody. Before long the latter hymn "became most popular, being heard in the homes, at work, at play, on the march, in church and during processions." 24

In the Quito mission, the Franciscan brother Jodocus Tycke began using music in 1534, and in Chile, the padres Luis de Valdivia and Hernando de Aguilerra are credited with having "introduced the custom of teaching the doctrine with music in 1591." 25

Suppression of Native Music

As time went on, the Church found that the Indians still clung to the native songs and dances that were so closely united to their pagan religions. In the very beginning, because they could not do otherwise, the priests permitted those of the Indian ceremonial rituals which did not conflict with Christian doctrine to be continued. but at the same time they undertook to "reduce their instincts into what to . . . [the friars] were proper channels, by emphasizing Church ritual . . . ." 26 When this toleration policy failed to

24 Sister Mary Stanislaus Van Well, 94.


accomplish as much as the Church felt ought to be accomplished toward
the complete destruction of the old, pagan religions, church author-
ities found it necessary to exercise a much closer supervision over
any performances of these songs or dances. In 1539 a church meeting
in Mexico laid down several rules regarding native ceremonies.

"We order," they said in part," that when they dance
they must not use anything which will cause suspicion.
They shall not sing any songs which have not been first
examined by the priest, who must endeavor to prevent
anything apart from the Christian doctrine. They must
not dance before daybreak, nor before High Mass, but only
after Hours until Vespers, and when Vespers ring, they
must attend, leaving off dancing." 27

In 1555 the Provincial Council of Mexico forbade the singing of the
native epic ballads, because the Indians "changed the songs into
fables in which they made allusion to their captivity and to the op-
pression of the conquerors." 28

The individual missionaries did not always agree with this
strict policy of the Church in regard to these ballads and dances.
Father José de Acosta, who wrote about the Chilean Indians, said in
1590 that he had seen some of the Chilean dances, notably the mitote,
and "in my opinion it was a goode thing to busie the Indians upon
festivall dayes, seeing they have neede of some recreation." 29 On
the other hand in Mexico, Father Sahagún was lamenting the loss of

27 Braden, 174.

28 Raul A. Buccino and Luis Benvenuto, La Musica En Ibero-
américa, Ferrari Nos, Buenos Aires, 1939, 86.

29 Father José de Acosta, The Natural and Moral History of
confidence in the padres by the Indians, and was disappointed that "now they sing and dance and make their holidays when and where they please, and they sing the old chants that they had in the time of idolatry . . . ." 30

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was found necessary to adopt very stringent measures. The native priests were arrested and removed from their tribes; all temple sites and idols were to be destroyed; and in the churches "local informers were encouraged with the promise of absolution for their past participation." 31

It was deemed necessary to destroy all native musical instruments. In Peru the Jesuit Father Arriaga reported that he had personally destroyed over six hundred large and three thousand small drums and flutes, in that country. In 1614, the Archbishop of Lima "ordered the confiscation and destruction of all Indian musical instruments in his bishopric," 32 and a punishment of three hundred lashes in the public square was administered to those found with such instruments in their possession.

Further instruction concerning Indian ceremonials forbade the uniting of singing and dancing; but all the rules and actual destruction of religious symbols failed to accomplish their purpose, for the natural elements such as mountains, streams, rain and sun,

30 Hague, Music, 8.
31 Steward, 400.
32 Sloninsky, 47.
upon which many of the pagan religions had been founded, were indestructable. As late as 1646, archepiscopal officials were being sent out in search of idolaters, and were writing back reports telling of the continued execution of the forbidden rituals. It had become such a serious problem, that one of the most important charges against Bernardo Lopez de Mendizabal, the governor of New Mexico who was impeached in 1660, was that "instead of supporting the friars in their campaign against Indian ceremonial dances, he had authorized the public performance of these pagan ceremonies in all of the pueblos."33

But in 1660, the adoption of a theory which held a distinction between idolatry and superstition enabled the clergy to again have a tolerant attitude toward these rituals. It has been explained as follows:

"The distinction turned upon the question of whether the subject apprehended divinity in the objects of his worship. If, in the view of the clergy, the Indians practiced huaca worship without attributing any divine essence to the huacas, they were the victims only of superstition."34

The conditions under which the ritual was performed also influenced the clergy. If the Indian took part without sincere belief, participating only because the rest of his tribe did so, he was not regarded as an idolator. After 1670, the records show that the punishment meted out to idolators was very mild, because church officials

33 Eleanor Adams and France Scholes, Book In New Mexico, 1598-1680, New Mexico Historical Society, Sante Fe, 1942, 13.

34 Steward, 401.
realized that many of the natives had received only a scanty indoctrination at the time of their conversion, and that therefore their understanding of religion was limited.

By 1650, religious music had reached a very advanced stage of development in Spanish America. It probably would have reached this high degree even if it had not proved useful as a means of conversion and conquest, because of its intimate connection with church ritual and religious life. The Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Benedictines, in fact all of the religious orders with the exception of the Jesuits, chanted their Office as well as the usual religious services, and it would have been perfectly natural for them to emphasize music in their missions.

It was not unusual for the Indians from the missions to give concerts in the larger cities, sometimes alone, but more often with a full orchestra who played locally-constructed musical instruments. The large churches imported the best music from Europe to be used in the religious services, and this music in turn spread to the smallest of the churches. "The practice and teaching of religious music continued to spread throughout the colonies for the next century and a half, even though most of the missions had disappeared." 35

Chapter IV

COLONIAL MUSICAL EDUCATION

Religious music was the first type of music to be taught to the Indians of the Americas, and although secular music was not neglected, it did not receive in any comparable degree, the government support that the religious music was given.

Early records indicate an early and organized cultivation of music for the church services. The cathedral of the Archdiocese of Santo Domingo was authorized in 1512, and the "capitular organization provided for a singer (chantre), and an organist,"¹ who would be the director or precentor of the church choir.

The first school in which an extensive musical education was part of the curriculum, was founded by Brother Pedro de Gante in Mexico City in 1523. This was also the first European-type school in the Americas. Brother de Gante was a native of Flanders, and had been educated at the University of Louvain, entering the Franciscan order and arriving in Mexico as a missionary friar in 1523. Although we have no definite knowledge of Gante's musical education, we can

¹ Coopersmith, 77.
safely assume that he must have had fairly extensive training in this art, for during the fifteenth century in Europe, "it was expected that a youth, destined for the work of the church, should become proficient in the theory of music, the art of organ playing and in singing."2 In 1527, Brother de Gante moved his school to the monastery of San Francisco in order to expand his curriculum, and he soon had more than one thousand students therein enrolled. The natives were taught not only singing, but European musical notation and technique and the construction of musical instruments.

The first step in the musical training of the indigenes, was the copying of music manuscripts, with emphasis being placed on the straightness and evenness of the lines and the clarity of the notes. After spending a year in this work, the students were given instruction in singing. The plain chant was probably the type of singing that was taught, for it was "the only form of music cultivated in the schools of ... [de Gante's] day."3 While the Indian voices are reported to have been piercing, weak and thin at the beginning of the training period, efficient teaching seems to have accomplished wonders, for "some of the singers, bass, tenor, alto and soprano, were in time, trained to such a high degree that they could have competed successfully with any singers selected from the cathedral choirs of Europe."4

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3 Ibid., 373.

4 Ibid., 375.
The organ was the first European musical instrument to be copied in the native schools of the Americas, but in time as more and more of the European stringed and woodwind instruments were brought over to the colonies, the Indians learned to make these also, under the close supervision of the padres. The students who were thus trained at the music schools of the larger pueblos, were sent to the outlying districts to aid the missionaries in those areas, in the teaching of new converts.

As the missions began to grow in size, it was found necessary to maintain two separate schools in each one of them. In the first school the natives were taught to read, write and to practice the industrial arts; and all the musical arts, such as singing, dancing, instrument playing and construction, were included in the curriculum of the second. Father Alonso Benavides, in his Memorial on New Mexico written in 1626, tells us that in the twenty-five missions which served the sixty thousand Indians of ninety pueblos, "each mission had a school to teach music . . . ." In all of Spanish America by 1630, in schools where music was taught in addition to all other subjects, "probably more attention was given to it than to any other subject of the curriculum."

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5 Fray Alonso Benavides, Memorial on New Mexico in 1626, New York, 1899, 94.

Although every child received a thorough musical training in these schools, the missionaries chose the children who appeared to have the best talent for the special training necessary for the choirs and orchestras. This long and tedious screening process was followed in all the missions of Spanish America. For example, the excellent boys' choir of the Taos nation in New Mexico, had been chosen by the friars "from among more than a thousand . . . ."7 The choir boys were taught to read the Latin and Spanish of the church services, and to interpret the Gregorian chant. Since books for such training were non-existent, at least during the first days of the missions, doubtless the padres had to write some sort of training manuals for their own use, and it is most unfortunate that none of these book have yet been found.

The teaching in these schools was most effective, the pupils soon learning to execute the best of the European music obtainable, generally by ear and memory, and the missionary often felt more pride in his choir and orchestra, than he did in his church. Thomas Gage noted this fact in his travel book. During his journey through Guatemala, he stayed at a Franciscan cloister in the town of Guacocingo. Their greatest glory, he found, was not in their church, but "was the education which they had given to some children of the town, especially

7 Benavides, 71.
such as served them in their cloister; whom they had brought up to dancing after the Spanish fashion at the sound of the Guitarra." 8 He describes the dancing performed by these children which included both Spanish and Indian tunes, and says that they performed "with such dexterity as did not only delight, but amaze and astonish us." 9

Thus far, it is the mission school which has been discussed. The educational institutions of the large urban areas also gave music an important place in their curriculums. The University of Santo Tomás de Aquino in Santo Domingo, founded in 1538, considered the subject so important, that it was made a "prerequisite for the Doctor of Arts degree." 10 The regulations of the Colegio Seminario in Mexico, provided for the services of a music master whose duty it was to instruct the seminarians in music, especially in the plain-chant, for a half-hour every morning, beginning at ten o'clock. This class was made obligatory for all the students, "even if they were not following the ecclesiastical career." 11 In the monasteries, it will be recalled, the monks chanted their Office in choir, and it was for this reason that the class was included.

Secular music schools developed rapidly in the urban areas.

8 Gage, 82.
9 Ibid., 83.
10 Coopersmith, 78.
11 Buccino, 73.
According to many accounts, there were teachers of dancing and of instrumental music even in the earliest days of conquest and colonization. Perhaps the first of these early teachers was a certain Ortiz, first name unknown, who had accompanied Cortes in his conquest of Mexico. In 1526, this Spaniard, who has been describes as "tocador de vihuela y ensenaba a danzar, (a player of the guitar and a teacher of dancing,)" began a dancing school in Mexico City. Musical accompaniment for the dancing was not lacking, for, as we have already seen, instrumental musicians arrived from Spain within twenty years of Columbus' first discovery. The music schools multiplied so rapidly, especially in Mexico, that by 1575 in that country, there were more than twenty-five large ones, and innumerable small ones. It has been recorded, for example, that there were fourteen dancing schools in the fabulous mining city of Potosi.

The first secular music school in Venezuela, was opened in July, 1591, in the city of Caracas by Luis Cardenas Saavedra. Saavedra received the financial support for his school from the Municipality of Caracas in the form of a subsidy, granted to him with the condition that plain-chant was to be taught in his school. He was succeeded in 1593 by Juan de Artiga, who received a further subsidy for the continuation of this same school. During the seventeenth century.

12 Chase, Spain, 258.
musical growth in Venezuela took place for the most part, in the mission schools; but the beginning of the eighteenth century saw the rebirth of secular music in that area, and in 1725, when the University of Santiago de León was established at Caracas, a chair of music was created "with the annual endowment of one hundred and fifty dollars," and its first incumbent was Francisco Pérez Camacho.

Municipal support of secular music schools soon became common throughout all of the Spanish colonies. In Argentina, for example, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Cabildo of the city of Buenos Aires granted a subsidy to a certain Francisco Victoria, in order that he might begin a music school in that place, requiring him to teach musical technique.

Colonial musical education was extensive, and included all the various phases of musical training. Its earliest development took place in the mission schools, and was concerned primarily with religious compositions. Secular education was slower in growth, its greatest progress coming during the seventeenth century as the urban communities were established.

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13 Seegar, 10.
Chapter V

COLONIAL COMPOSERS AND MUSICIANS

The majority of the first European musicians who came to the New World, were members of religious orders, and they served as choir-masters, organists and teachers during the entire Colonial period. The best religious compositions and theoretical works that Europe had produced, were brought to the Americas under the sponsorship of the Catholic Church. These works, many of which are still preserved in the musical archives of the principal cathedrals of Latin America, included compositions by the Italian Palestrina, by the Spaniards Victoria and Cabezón and by the Portuguese Duarte Lobo.

But composers were not lacking among the missionary priests, most of whom had had a thorough musical training during their days at the seminary. As young students, music was an integral part of their lives. Early morning, noon, late afternoon and evening found them in choir, and a regular class in plain song was included in their studies. Whether they were going to become missionary priests or remain at home in Europe, they had to learn how to sing and to play a musical instrument. "He who does not sing is only half a priest,"¹

¹ Father Owen da Silva, O.S.F., Mission Music of California, Warren F. Lewis, Los Angeles, 1941, 19. (Qui non cantata, medius est sacerdos.)
was a well-known medieval adage. Many of the priests who were destined for the American missions, spent their free time copying the religious music of Europe so that they might bring it with them for mission use.

The first European musician and composer in America, who was also the first music teacher, was Brother Pedro de Gante, the Franciscan missionary who began his work in Mexico City in 1523. We are told that he was expert in several of the arts, but that his special talent lay in music; and as soon as he had mastered the native language, he began to translate the Christian doctrine into Aztec, often in the form of hymns. Brother de Gante's two principal assistants, also fine musicians, were Fray Juan de Tecto and Fray Juan de Aora.

Another Franciscan missionary, who was a fine musician and composer, was Father Bernardo Sahagún, who also worked in the Mexican missions during the last half of the sixteenth century. Father Sahagún's most notable musical contribution was the collection of three hundred and sixty-five songs in the Aztec language that he composed, intending a different song for each day in the year. These songs might be called, more correctly, farces, for they "were often accompanied by gestures and intermingled with dialogues." 2

Most of the lay musicians and composers of the sixteenth century were connected in some way with music-making in the churches. As a result, their interest was in the "religious application of their art and they devoted the fullest measure of their talent and inspiration to that end." Two such lay musicians were Juan Rodríguez de Villalobas, who aided the missionaries in the teaching of musical instruments, and Hernando France, who composed a hymn to the Blessed Virgin, to which a text in the Aztec tongue was set about 1575.

At the close of the sixteenth century, another Franciscan missionary musician began to work in what is present-day New Mexico. He was a native Mexican, Fray Cristóbal de Quinonís; and within the space of ten years, he learned the native Queres language, began a church and monastery at San Felipe and "taught many of the natives so successfully that they were skilled singers of the Church services."  

During the first part of the seventeenth century, quite a few Franciscan missionaries became reknown because of their musical accomplishments among the Mexican Indians. Fray Bernardo de Marta, who arrived in America about 1600, was such an excellent musician, that he was called by the natives "the organist of the skies . . . ."

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5 Ibid., 7.
Father Pedro de Ortega who worked in Santa Fe, Father Roque de Figueredo of the Hawikuh mission of Concepción, and Father García de San Francisco y Zuñiga whose mission was located at Senecú, all achieved fame because of their musical art.

Secular composition in Mexico began to develop after the beginning of the eighteenth century. The first opera written by a native-born composer was performed in Mexico City in 1711. It was called La Partenope and was the work of Manuel Zumaya, who also wrote some motets and several choral works. Francisco Moratilla was a well-known composer of villancicos, which were compositions written expressly to be sung. Among other eighteenth-century colonial composers were "Antonio Rodil and Antonio Sarríer, whose work shows the influence of . . . Viennese and Italian schools."6

In Santo Domingo, the authorization which had established the cathedral of the Archdiocese in 1512, had provided for a singer, (chantre,) and an organist. The first record that lists the chantre at the cathedral, names Jorge de Viguera as having that position in 1537. The records for the next hundred and fifty years are not complete, but among those who subsequently held that post, are found the

6 Seegar, 12.
names of Rodrigo Quesada, (1548), Juan Sanchez, (1575), Guillermo Dom-eco, (1576), Juan Francisco Lansera, (1604), Martin de Navas, (1689-91), and Nicolas Fernandez de Montesdoca, (1703-07).7

To the island of Santo Domingo falls the honor of having produced the first native-born musician and composer of the Americas, Cristobal de Llerena who was born on that island in 1540. He entered the priesthood, and was not only the canon and organist of the Cathedral, "but also for more than forty years, he was Rector of the University of Gorjon."8

The professional orchestra made its initial appearance in Santiago, Cuba in 1580. This premier organization consisted of three members, a violinist and two vihuela or guitar players. The violinist was an itinerant Spanish musician, Pascual de Ochoa who had come to Cuba from Seville; the two vihuelaistas were sisters, liberated Negresses from Santiago de los Caballeros, Santo Domingo, named Micaela and Teodora Gines. The next record dated 1595, places the orchestra in Habana. By this time Teodora Gines had disappeared along the way, but two new members had been added, making now an orchestra of four. The newcomers were Pedro Almanza, another violinist from Malaga, and Jacome Viceira, a wind-instrument player from Lisbon, Portugal. To

7 Coopersmith, 78-93.
8 Ibid., 80.
this nucleus of four, other players were added when the size of the fiesta or ball for which the orchestra was to play made this necessary.

While they were also available for church festivals, the main occupation of these professional musicians was playing for the secular affairs of the colonists. The services of this small orchestra were so much in demand, "that patrons had not only to resort to competitive bidding for them, but also had to provide them and their families with food and transportation." 9 Besides this, the musicians insisted on a plentiful dinner being provided for them at the place of entertainment, and in case the amount of pay was not sufficient, this food was taken also. This custom of paying the orchestra with food and supplying their transportation was soon common to all of Latin America, and did not disappear until there were enough orchestras to supply the demand.

There were many fine musicians among the members of the Society of Jesus; and although as an order, they did not chant in choir, it had long been part of the curricula of Jesuit colleges in Europe to teach dancing and music. Besides an artistic value, the training in dance steps was intended to make students graceful. These courses were brought to the Americas, and the Jesuit schools became famous.

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9 Ibid., 73.
for their pageants, dramas and spectacles.

In Colombia, the first musical figure of which we have record is the Jesuit priest Father José Daday, born in Italy in 1574, who came to the colonies in 1604. He began the mission of Sabana, choosing the pueblo of Fontegon as the center of his activities. He had only a rude organ built of bamboo at this mission, but it was while working in this area that he formulated a vocabulary and grammar of musical language. Shortly thereafter, he went to Santafe de Bogata and founded a school of music "where the clergy . . . studied before dedicating themselves to the missions." Father Daday brought many European musical instruments with him, and these he gave to the most talented Indians to copy.

The most important composer in Colombia during the Colonial period was also a priest, Father Juan de Herrera y Chumacero, who was choirmaster of the Cathedral of Bogata in the first half of the seventeenth century. His talent must have been great, for he was described as "the only musician of the colonial period who deserves the title of composer." The majority of his compositions were written for several voices, accompanied by the organ, harp and bass. He composed psalms, villancicos and choral works; and his most famous work is a Requiem Mass dated 1702. His favorite pupil, Juan de Dios Torres, also

10 José Ignacio Escobar, "História Sobre la Música Colombiana," Boletín Latino-americano de música, Montevideo, Pena y Cia, April, IV, 1938, 417.

11 Chase, Guide, 120.
became a famous composer.

Venezuela, after the suspicious beginning with the Caracas music school of Luis Cardenas Saavedra in 1591, entered a dormant stage in its musical development, all its musical growth taking place in the missions. The Franciscans, Capuchins and Jesuits all worked in the missions of Venezuela, and each order had one or two priests who were outstanding musicians. Father Manuel Roman of the Society of Jesus, who had trained a remarkable mission orchestra, was the best known of all the padre musicians. The only seventeenth century composer of note in Venezuela was also a priest, Father Diego de los Rios, a famous painter as well, whose missionary work was in Piritu, but "whose works have been lost." 12

Musical composition began to flourish at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and we have record of three fine composers; José Francisco Valaquex, José Antonio Caro de Boesi and Juan Manuel Olivares. These men wrote primarily religious works, the profane music composed during this period being inferior in quality as well as small in quantity.

Venezuelan music did not really come into its own until 1770, when Father Pedro Palacios y Sojo, called the father of Venezuelan

12 José Antonio Calcano, Contribución al Estudio de la Música en Venezuela, Editorial "Elite," Caracas, 1939, 43.
music, founded in "Caracas, the first Academia of Music which incorporated the procedures most recently applied in Europe."\textsuperscript{13}

In the La Plata region, which included present-day Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, the development of musical culture was entirely in the hands of the Jesuits. Besides teaching voice and the playing of musical instruments, "the Jesuits undertook to teach the theory of music, and therefore an appreciable number of compositions must have been written down,"\textsuperscript{14} but thus far none of these works have been discovered, and it is extremely doubtful if any of them ever will be found.

The most outstanding musician among the early Jesuit missionaries was the Belgian priest, Father H. Luis Berger, who was the first to teach the Indians of this region to play the guitar and the lute. In a letter written in 1628, a fellow missionary described him as a "musician and dancer, and a friend of teaching the Indians to play the bowed lute, with which he has converted many infidels."\textsuperscript{15}

Father Juan Basso (Bach) was another Jesuit missionary who gained fame as a musician. He had been director of the choir to Archduke Albert of Germany before he was brought to Paraguay to instruct the indigenes in music. He devoted himself to his task with such earnestness that his health failed and death overtook him. But

\textsuperscript{13} Buccino, 74.
\textsuperscript{14} Lange, 8.
\textsuperscript{15} Seegar, 8. See also Luper, 4.
he had "founded a school of Guarani music which would last for many
generations." 16

There was a large group of German Jesuit missionaries who did
much to further musical development in the La Plata area. Father
Martin Schmidt and Father Johann Hessner worked as a team among the
Majos and Chiquitos tribes in the north. The padres H. Juan Wolf, Juan Knogler and Martin Dobrizhoffer also did excellent work in music.

The most outstanding of the German Jesuits were Father Anton
Sepp von Reinegg and Father Florian Baucke. The organizing ability
of the latter "was so widely recognized that he was invited to remain
in Buenos Aires in order to establish a conservatory there." 17 Father
Sepp was especially proud of the work he had accomplished in music,
and he wrote that his reputation with the other missionaries was so
great "that they would send members of their missions with gifts to
court my Friendship and to have them instructed in Musick; . . . ." 18

In Chile, the Jesuit Father Jorge Krazer was famed as a builder
"of organs and an organist, who built . . . a great organ which was in-
stalled in the beautiful church of the Company in Santiago de Chile
. . . ." 19. The missionary priests Bernardo Zumiller, Wenceslao
Brayer, Francisco Javier Zepherip and Leonardo Deubler worked in the

16 Muhall, 259.
17 Lange, 8.
18 Sepp, 658.
19 Vincente D. Sierra, Los Jesuitas Germanos en la conquita
espiritual de Hispano-América, Buenos Aires, 1944, 279.
province of Quito.

The most important Jesuit composer of the eighteenth century, who was also a pioneer in ecclesiastical music in Latin America, was the Italian musician and organist Domenico Zipoli. Father Zipoli had achieved fame in Italy several years before he entered the Society of Jesus in 1716. In the following year he sailed for South America, and became the organist at the Jesuit church in Córdoba, Argentina, a post he held until his death on January 2, 1723.
Chapter VI

MUSIC BOOKS IN COLONIAL SPANISH AMERICA

The center of Spanish life and culture during the sixteenth century in the Spanish colonies was Mexico City. In 1533, the first printing press of the New World was set up in that city; and the first book to be issued was the "Christian Doctrine of Pedro de Gante."¹ Six years later, the first book which contained music was issued from this press, "at a time when in Europe itself, few printing houses were equipped with musical type."² Before 1609, two hundred and thirty books had been produced, many of which contained music. This achievement is doubly remarkable when it is remembered that every bit of the printer's equipment, paper, machines and even the printers themselves, had to be shipped from Europe.

The first book which contained music was published in 1556, and was an Ordinarium or Ordinary of the Mass. Its title page, printed originally in Latin, read as follows:

"A rule book of the holy order of the Hermits of Saint Augustine, the bishop, of regular observance, now recently corrected, according to the ancient rite liturgically, but

¹ Buccino, 9.
according to the higher chant. July 15, year of our Lord, 1558 at Mexico."³

It was made up of forty pages, and two colors were used in its make-up, the notes being in black while the lines were printed in red. Although the printer's name is not given, as only one license to print in the Mexican capital had been issued in 1539 to an Italian, Juan Pablo, it is fairly safe to credit the book to his press.

The next volume wherein music appeared, was issued in 1560, and was a handbook of the sacraments printed by Johannis Pauli. The body of the book "consists of one hundred and seventy-three numbered leaves, many of them being entirely devoted to music."⁴

A second printing license was issued in 1559 to Antonio de Espinosa, and his first effort was a Missale Romanum Ordinarium which appeared in 1561. Pedro Occharte, the French son-in-law of Juan Pablo, proceeded to open a third shop, and published a new edition of the Manuale Sacramentorum in 1568, which contained one hundred and eighty-three pages of text and music.

The most elaborate of all the Mexican books printed up to that time, appeared in 1576. It was a Dominican Graduale of two hundred and eight pages, printed in Gothic type in two colors. "The pages are decorated with many woodcuts and initial letters in two colors."⁵

³ Ibid., 3.
⁴ Ibid., 3.
⁵ Ibid., 4.
The most important product of the Mexican printing press appeared in 1583. It was the Psalmodia Christiana of Bernardo Sahagún, and it was a collection of Christian hymns and psalms translated into the Mexican language, but it contained no printed music. It was important because it was the first definite step taken by the Catholic Church in its effort to supplant the native music and its pagan characteristics with European hymns. It was a process which was only moderately successful, because many of the natives still "persisted in singing the words to their own traditional tunes," and still others resisted the change with bloodshed.

Two other books with music were printed before 1600; a Psalterium Annonarium in 1584 and an Antiphonario in 1589, the latter book containing directions for the organ accompaniment. Only one book is known to have been printed during the entire sixteenth century. It was issued in 1604 from the press of Diego López Davolos, a son-in-law of Espinosa who had inherited his press, and it was made up of one hundred and five pages of printed music intended for the use of churches during Holy Week. It was compiled by Johannis (Juan) Navarro, the choirmaster of the Cathedral in Mexico City, and "contained, in addition to the musical settings of the Passions, lamentations and a prayer

6 Chase, Spain, 261.
of Jeremiah."\(^7\)

Why the Mexican press ceased to print music books is not known, although it may be assumed that it was probably the expensiveness of printing, coupled with the difficulties faced in obtaining the necessary printing materials, that caused music books to be imported from Spain rather than manufactured in the colonies.

The strict censorship on the amounts and kinds of books shipped to the Spanish colonies by the mother country, made only one shipment a year possible, and many music books were usually included in these shipments. A list of the music books arriving in 1586 included works by Antonio de Cabezon, "whose compositions had been published in Spain only eight years before this."\(^8\) The manifest for the shipment of 1597 lists "obras de Capilla, (choral works), and four reams (2000 sheets) of coplas (verses),"\(^9\) the whole having been shipped from Seville by Pedro Alcozer. The 1605 shipment consisted of sixteen cases, "each containing . . . a book of music for the Vespers of the whole year written by the famous composer Francisco Guerrero."\(^10\)

\(^7\) Spell, Books, 6. Originals of this book and of all other books mentioned in this chapter, have been preserved; and they may be found in the New York Public Library, the British Museum of Natural History and the National Library of Mexico.

\(^8\) Chase, Spain, 260.

\(^9\) Coopersmith, 81. See also Pereira-Salas, 9.

\(^10\) Chase, Spain, 261.
Music books were at times included among the supplies bought for the missionaries at royal expense. The record of supplies given to Father Alonso Benavides and his companions, upon their embarkation for Mexico in 1624, included the following:

"Three large choir books at forty pesos each . . . .
Five antiphonal books composed by Fray Gerenomino Ciruelo . . . . . . . . .
Five choir books for Mass and vespers . . . . . . . . . . ." 11

It seems strange to find music books on the forbidden list but records have proven this to have been true. The books that were banned were usually theoretical works. However, the control of Spain over the shipment of books was not absolute, and many of the forbidden books did find their way into the private collections of the wealthier colonists.

11 Benavides, 119.
Chapter VII

COLONIAL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

All of the European musical instruments were eventually brought to the Americas by the Spaniards; and they were readily adopted by the Indians who soon learned not only to play them but also to build them. The missionaries were the first to teach the natives how to construct these instruments and to encourage their building. This knowledge of the construction of musical instruments was fairly common among the priests at that time, for in the monasteries of Europe the building of "musical instruments destined for the service of the choir was carried on; ... the choir-master was expected to be able to make all necessary repairs to the organ."¹

The organ was the first European musical instrument to be copied in the New World. In 1527, Brother Pedro de Gante began to teach organ construction to the natives in the convent of San Francisco at Texcoco, Mexico; and "they began in the capital, to make organs destined for all the churches of the country."² The organ was part of the standard equipment for every church, whether mission or urban.

¹ Spell, "Teacher," 373.
² Buccino, 94.
Father Anton Sepp, who worked in the Paraguayan missions, boasts in 1697, of having two organs, "one brought from Europe, the other made here ... exactly like the first." The two organs of the Cathedral of Mexico, which are still in use today, were made in Mexico about 1736. Besides the highly decorated, expensive church organs, there were also small, plain, portable instruments which were "convenient for choir practice, mission work and the plain chant of the monks," and for a long time these portable organs were used in small and poor communities.

Other European musical instruments soon made their appearance in the Americas, even before 1600, and these too were copied by the Indians under the direction of the friars. The Spanish national instrument, the vihuela or guitar, the harp, flute, flageolet, Alpine horn, cornet, bassoon, trombone, oboe, sackbuts, dulcimer and trumpet were all in use in the colonies, not only in the large cities but in the small villages as well. It was the boast of many of the missionaries that "we have scarce any musical instrument in Europe, that is not in use in the reduction; ... and what is still more, that very near all the instruments used among them are of their own making."

The Indians adopted the harp and violin without any changes,

3 Sepp, 661.
4 Kileman, 124.
5 Muratori, 88.
but other instruments, notably the guitar, underwent several alterations. They often changed the number and tuning of the strings, and in Bolivia they substituted the shell of the armadillo as the sounding box, making what is known in that country as the charango.

The harp and the guitar soon became the most popular instruments for secular use, the former being considered the "proper medium for female musical expression," while the latter was the popular instrument for courtship. The violin, violoncello and clarinet were later arrivals, and the piano did not come into use until the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The introduction of European instruments, especially the strings, and the change from the five-tone scale of the indigenes to the seven-tone scale of the Spanish, were important contributions to the further development of Indian music, for they removed the last limitation on that growth. Throughout the whole colonial period, the Spanish and Indian musical cultures became fused, and with the final addition of Negro rhythms, this music became "a mestizo art, the first real mestizo art in America."  

6 Bailey W. and S. W. Diffie, Latin American Civilization, Stackpole Sons, Harrisburg, Pa., 1945, 536.

7 Crow, 3.
Music played an important role in the life of the average Spanish colonist, not only because of its intimate connection with the religious services, but also because it was just about the only means of amusement and recreation that he possessed. Secular music, although it lagged far behind religious music during the first few decades of the colonial period, began to develop rapidly as the number of colonists grew increasingly larger, primarily because it answered the need of the colonist for diversion. It received little, if any, official encouragement, and the religious leaders frowned upon it quite vigorously. There is a record of an action having been brought against a Spanish army officer in 1650, who was accused of offending religious propriety, "for after the church services, he went to a wedding and sang to the accompaniment of a guitar."\(^1\)

The religious and popular music of Spain came first to the Caribbean islands, especially Santo Domingo and Cuba, proceeding from these places to the isthmus and the city of Panama. From Panama, it

\(^{1}\) Slonimsky, 79.
spread to the remainder of the Spanish colonies, being diffused in the north through the great cultural center of Mexico City, and in the south through the capital of the vice-royalty of Peru, Lima. As most of the native music of the Caribbean islands and the isthmus had disappeared because of the extermination of the Indian population of these areas; and as Negro music had not as yet become an active influence, the music reaching Lima and Mexico City was still purely Spanish. This quality was maintained in the music, by the royal and aristocratic classes of society, but when the music reached the populace it began to undergo many changes, and by the time it had reached the back-country, when it was again altered, it had evolved into a mestizo type of music.

The pure Spanish music was acted upon by each and every one of the various types of people that made up the population of the large Spanish-American cities. There were the Indians with their native instruments and songs; soldier, sailors, farmers, miners and craftsmen from Spain and their Creole descendants, each with his own "folk music derived from the various regions in the mother country." These different classes of society took the pure music and changed and adapted it according to their own individual backgrounds and needs. The product of this fusion was carried to the interior by the settler

2 Luper, 4.
who migrated into the backcountry, the itinerant musician and the merchant who went into this region to sell his wares. As communication between the interior and the coast improved, this mestizo music was carried back to the large urban centers, and even back to Spain itself, "where it began to make its influence felt in Spanish peninsular music." 

Life in the Spanish colonies was fairly simple, even in the urban centers, the entertainment being held in the home with all the members of the family and a few friends participating. Public amusements were limited to the balls and fiestas held on the occasion of some great religious feast, or in connection with a royal affair, such as a coronation or wedding. For the well-to-do women, especially "music was practically the only diversion," and they were remarkably fond of it. Frezier found that the women of Lima took much pleasure in entertaining their guests with the playing of the harp or guitar to which they sang, and if they were desired to dance, they did so "with much Complaisance and Politeness." The favorite instrument of the women was usually the guitar, although in some areas the harp was preferred. The young girls of the higher classes, were tutored in music and "they danced to perfection and sang sweetly to

3 Chase, Spain, 263.
4 Hague, Music, 32.
5 Frezier, 255.
the guitar the songs of Spain or the colonial songs, which were composed in every province." 6

The largest private entertainment was the tertulia or social gathering which lasted from about six until nine-thirty in the evening, at which singing and dancing prevailed. Dancers often improvised words to the simple melodies, "while the spectators assisted the guitar orchestra with occasional clapping of hands." 7 The favorite dances were the waltz, bolero and fandango, with the minuet being confined to the viceregal court.

In the backcountry, the diversions of life were home-made, and the people simplified both the music and the instruments, using only those instruments "that were easily portable." 8 In some of the larger manor houses, a variety of instruments including the harpsichord were often found, and books of music were included in the libraries. In the most primitive and isolated regions, where the people were unable to see a priest regularly, each manor house had a lay reader who learned the liturgic texts in Spanish or Latin "so that the ceremonies might be carried through, often including hymns and chants." 9 The fiestas of these people usually grew out of the ac-


8 Hague, Music, 30.

9 Ibid., 31.
complishments of farm labor, being held at the time of planting, harvest and roundup.

Music in the convents and monasteries was not confined to the strictly religious music. It was considered to important in these places, that competition developed between the convents, and "girls with good voices, but no money could often get into the most luxurious of convents."[10] Thomas Gage tells of a Guatemalan nun, Doña Juana de Haidonada y Paz who was the wonder "of all the city for her excellent voice and skill in musick--and for her ingenious and sudden verses."[11] Gage rather frowned upon the enjoyment of music by the religious, and he criticized the young Prior of a cloister where he stayed overnight, for ignoring books and setting "the Guitarra . . . above them."[12]

Music even had a place in the graduation ceremonies of the various universities. On the day preceding the final conferring of the degrees, "there was a parade led by a band in which kettledrums and oboes predominated; behind the musicians marched the faculty . . ."[13]

The eighteenth century marked the beginning of an almost ster-

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10 Gage, 53.
11 Ibid., 51.
12 Ibid., 51.
ile period in colonial music, with the exception of folk music. The artificial court life of Europe was copied by the higher classes in the colonies, and it was fashionable to imitate the Italian models in music, a practice which was a detriment to the natural development of colonial music, and which impeded its growth for many years. The Bourbons succeeded to the Spanish throne, and French influence began to spread to the Americas, notably Santiago de Chile where numerous French families migrated. Music became an elegant social pastime and the small salon became popular, but it was the contemporary European music that was heard at these gatherings rather than any colonial works.

On the other hand, folk music now began to develop rapidly. In Argentina, for example, the Gauc h o or roaming cowboy of the pampas began to develop his own distinctive society in the backcountry areas, and out of this society grew a type of music found nowhere else in Latin America.

The Spanish conquest began at a time when the romance or bal-lad was enjoying great popularity with all of the classes in Spain, and these songs were brought over by the conquerors from the very be-ginning. These soldiers knew their ballads so well "that they often
quoted lines from them to apply to situations in their own lives, just as if they were proverbs."14 Often when they were sitting around the campfire in the evening, they would carry on whole conversations merely by quoting lines from them.

But the early colonists found that these imported ballads were not sufficient for their loneliness or diversion, and so they either added to them, or composed new ones "that told their happiness and their sorrows, and recounted salient incidents in their lives."15

These ballads were not the only type of song brought to the colonies. Some of the first settlers who came from the maritime districts of southern Spain brought their local folksongs, which were strongly imbued with Moorish elements, and this accounts "for many sudden reminiscences of the Orient that come to light unexpectedly in Spanish America ... ."16

The romances and folksongs became the national songs of the various Latin American countries. They fathered the corrida of Mexico, the décima of Puerto Rico, the triste and vidala of Argentina, and the yaravi of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. Some authors trace the yaravi, which is a lament, to the Arabic exclamation Ya Rabi or the Lord, but others feel that it is merely the Spanish version of the

14 Ralph S. Boggs, *Spanish Folklore in America*, University of Miami, Coral Gables, 1929, 135.


Quechua word Haravi which means lament.

One of the favorite amusements of the colonists was a baile or ball, held on special occasions, including all the Spanish dances, such as the fandango, bolero, seguidilla and tirana, and several of the local country dances. In some of the isolated regions, these balls were so popular that "they lasted often for as many as three days with ... feasting and singing."\(^{17}\)

The favorite dance on the island of Santo Domingo was the sallenda, which was introduced by the Negros who had been imported from the coast of Guiana. By 1698 it had become so popular, that the French priest Jean Baptiste Labat reported: "It not only is their main source of recreation, but also has become a part of their religious devotion. They dance it in religious processions and in their churches the nuns performing it on Christmas Eve."\(^{18}\)

The two most popular dances in Cuba were the zarabanda and the habanera. The latter dance has been traced back to the Country Dance of sixteenth century England, which was called contradanza in Spain, or more simply danza. "When imported by the Spaniards into Cuba, it became the danza habanera, that is the dance of Habana ... ."\(^{19}\) and in time the word danza was dropped leaving only habanera.

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17 Ibid., 33.
18 Coopersmith, 83.
19 Slonimsky, 56.
Mexico had two well-known dances, the first being the huapango, which originated in the state of Vera Cruz. It is related to the old Aztec mitote, and derives its name from the Aztec word cuahapango. This word is made up of "cuaitl" meaning log or wood, "ipan" meaning on or over and "co" meaning place." The dance was so called because it was performed on a wooden platform. It was danced by the higher classes at first, but soon became the dance of the mestizos.

The second dance, one of the oldest in Mexico, was the jarabe, whose origin is debated. Norma Schwendener and Averill Tibbels seem to think that it was "an expression of the joy with which the Mexicans first saw the horses which were brought into their country by the Spanish conquerors," the steps of the dance representing the clicking, pawing and prancing of the horses' hoofs. Frances Toors, on the other hand, calls it "a direct descendant of the seguidillas manchegas of the Spanish region of La Mancha."

The best known dance of Colombia in the colonial period, was the bambuco, whose origin is credited to the first slaves imported into Colombia from the west African town of Bambuk. The seventeenth-century zambacueca of Peru which also originated in Africa, and which was very popular with the lower classes, found its way into Chile.

20 Frances Toors, "Mexican Folk Dances," in Herring and Weinstock, 188.


22 Toors, 185.
where it became known as the *zamacueca* or *cueca*. The steps of this
dance, and of all dances introduced by the Spaniards were called *zapateados*, from the Spanish *zapatear*, meaning to beat time with the
shoes, because "in Dancing, they alternately strike with the Heel and
the Toes, taking some Steps and coupleeing, without moving far from
one Place."23

Perhaps the most famous of the *colonial* dances was the Argent-
tine *fandango*, which was a Negro-Gaucho adaptation of the original
Spanish dance. It became popular at first in the rural districts, then
with the lower classes of the cities, and finally it made its way
into the middle and upper-class homes "where it was danced behind
under pain of excommunication . . . banned the *fandango* on July 30,
1743."24

The people of the colonies took great pleasure in celebrating
political events, or official and national or religious holidays.
"These celebrations were occasions for pomp and circumstance . . .
music and marching, and usually lasted from three to eight days."25

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23 Frezier, 263.


25 David R. Moore, *A History of Latin America*, Prentice-
The mornings were devoted to religious services, including Mass, a Te Deum and long processions. The evenings were reserved for balls, banquets, theatre presentations and fireworks. Each colony seemed to have some certain feast day. On the island of Santo Domingo, the greatest festival was held on the fete day of Our Lady of Mercedes. In Guatemala, July 26, St. Ann's day was the most important; and in Chile, the Festival of the Rosary which began on October 2nd, provided the occasion for extensive celebrations.

The travelling minstrel came early to the colonies, following in the path of the soldier, colonist and trader; and was known as a trovador in Mexico and a payador or vallador in South America. "At the bailes and fiestas . . he was paid to compose, recite and sing,"26 but he could also be found travelling with the muleskinners on their way to the Fair at Chihuahua or riding with a band of Argentine Gauchoes on the pampas.

The first slaves were brought to Santo Domingo from Spain about 1500, after a royal ordinance had been passed which permitted "the importation of Negros who had been born slaves and belonged to Christians."27 But these slaves were not enough in number to solve the

26 Campa, 10.
27 Coopersmith, 78.
labor problem, and the Spanish government soon found it necessary to import slaves from Africa to replace the disappearing Indian population in the Caribbean islands. From the islands, the slaves were taken to the mainland, but were never taken very far inland, so that their influence was confined to the coastal regions.

The Negro slave was backward and primitive, and his social and economic status was inferior to the native Indian. His culture exerted very little influence in those areas where a native Indian culture flourished. However, in the Caribbean islands, from which the native population had been all but obliterated, the fusion of Negro and Spanish music began almost at once, the Spanish contributing the melody and the Negro the rhythm.

On the mainland, however, the Negroes were forbidden to perform their music and dances except on certain specified days, and thus their cultural growth was impeded. As a result, "African influence on the artistic life was not felt deeply . . . until emancipation."28

CONCLUSION

Spanish expansion in the Americas was rapid and extensive after the beginning of the sixteenth century. By 1550, Spain had added the isthmus, Mexico, Peru, Chile, the La Plata region, Venezuela, and parts of the United States including present-day New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, Oklahoma and Kansas to Columbus' original discoveries. The guiding idea of the Spanish government during this period of conquest and colonization was two-fold, material and spiritual. The latter was the most important of the two; and to gain her aim she transferred not only her religion and her political institutions, but her entire culture as well. This transfer was achieved through the missions, encomiendas, municipal councils, churches and religious orders, as well as through the direct organs of the crown.

Once the actual military possession of the land was in Spanish hands, the natives were given over to the missionary to convert and instruct, so that they would become useful Spanish citizens, amenable to the royal political controls. The work of the missionary was made infinitely easier when he discovered that the Indian's love of music and its extensive use in his political and religious life,
made it an unusually successful means of gaining his confidence. Once
the native confidence was gained he was easy to convert, and to trans-
form into a reasonable facsimile of a useful Spanish citizen. The
government officials could then take control, while the missionary
moved on to more primitive areas, and the process was repeated over
again.

The music of the late colonial period, (circa 1750) was a mes-
tizo music, composed of Spanish, Indian and Negro characteristics
that had been fused together in the course of time. The Spanish
contribution was the largest, since Spanish music was far superior
to that of the Indian and Negro in musical instruments, harmony and
technique.

The above, however, pertains only to folk music. In reli-
gious music there was little if any fusion of Indian and Spanish quali-
ties, for the religious looked upon the former as purely pagan and
made no attempt to use it, or encourage it in the religious services.
The first missionaries did use Indian tunes to which they set Chris-
tian doctrine, but these were supplanted as soon as possible by the
European hymns so that the natives would forget their pagan religions.

The missionaries did not hesitate to use all the forms of in-
indigenous musical expression, song, dance and theatre in their converting policy, but they used of course, Christian contexts. In time, it was found necessary to resort to forcible suppression of all native ceremonials and to actually destroy Indian musical instruments. Once this policy was incorporated, music began to lose its effectiveness as a means of political control in the settled areas.

In secular life, music remained an important morale-builder for the average Spanish colonist who found in songs, dances and festivals, his main sources of amusement and diversion.
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The thesis submitted by Shirley Mary Smith has been read and approved by three members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

[Signature]

Date

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