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Geoffrey Baker

Music in the Convents and Monasteries of Colonial Cuzco

In 1673 three Indian *maestros cantores* were hired to provide their musical services to the monastery of San Juan de Dios in Cuzco. They agreed to perform at five weekly masses and a range of other annual feasts such as the Fridays in Lent, Holy Week, Easter, Palm Sunday, and the feast-days of San Bartolomé and San Juan (the patron saints of the monastery's hospital and of the order), as well as any funerals of members of the monastery. On certain occasions they were required to bring their shawms (the Fridays in Lent and the monthly *misas de renovación*), and on others to take part in processions (Holy Thursday and Easter Day). On all these occasions, they were expected to bring twelve singers and four instrumentalists—an organist, harpist, *bajonero*, and *cornetista*.¹

Five years later the dean of Cuzco Cathedral, Don Alonso Merlo de la Fuente, expressed his wish to take his niece and goddaughter, who was a novice in the convent of Santa Catalina, away with him to Lima. However, his niece, Doña Josefa María de Santa Cruz y Padilla, was a talented singer and a key member of the convent's musical forces. So keen was the prioress of Santa Catalina to keep the girl in the convent that she not only offered her the chance to profess as a "nun of the white veil" and to take her place in the *coro* without payment of a dowry, but also guaranteed her certain privileges: she would only have to sing on important occasions when polyphony was performed, and she would be exempt from all other convent duties, even if for some reason "God saw fit to take away her voice."²

These two cases underline the considerable importance that Cuzco's convents and monasteries attributed to their musical activities. Santa Catalina placed a high monetary value on the musical abilities of this particular novice,³ so reluctant were they to lose her, whilst San Juan de Dios is revealed as a major musical centre in the late seventeenth century, the frequency and scale of the performances detailed in this contract rivaling

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those of many Latin American and European cathedrals. It is clear, then, that an investigation of the role of music in the houses of Cuzco's religious orders will be essential to developing an understanding of the city's musical life. However, these institutions, along with other convents and monasteries in the Viceroyalty of Peru, have been almost entirely overlooked by musicologists.⁴ The use of music by the religious orders in Lima has been noted briefly in general studies by both historians and musicologists,⁵ with disputes between convents and ecclesiastical authorities over musical performances attracting some attention,⁶ but there are no detailed studies of the musical functioning of Peruvian convents and monasteries.⁷

The problem of sources is acute in Cuzco, as elsewhere in the continent: the city's monastic or conventual archives are either closed to researchers or have been lost entirely. Nevertheless, there are a few documents in the Archivo Departamental del Cuzco which shed light on various aspects of musical organization, training, and performance within the institutions of the city's religious orders, and hint at the role of nuns and monks in the city's musical life.

Convents

I

The Franciscan convent of Santa Clara, founded in 1558, is the oldest in Peru.⁸ It was initially established as a pious retreat, and acted as a centre of cultural indoctrination for the mestiza children of the first Spanish settlers and Inca women. The first mestiza entrants were taken in as fully fledged nuns, yet within a few years a wider backlash against mestizos in Cuzco led to the development of an internal hierarchy based on race. Spanish nuns began to wear the black veil (*el velo negro*), while mestizas took the white veil (*el velo blanco*); as such, a feature which distinguished professed nuns from novices took on the added connotation of marking the perceived superiority of the Spanish nuns over their Indian sisters. A second convent, Santa Catalina de la Sena, was established in 1605 by Dominican nuns who moved from Arequipa after their convent was seriously damaged by volcanic eruptions in 1600 and 1604. This institution was not intended primarily for mestizas; they were allowed to enter, but not officially to take the black veil. A third convent, Santa Teresa, was founded in 1673. No evidence of musical activity at Santa Teresa has emerged, perhaps reflecting the fact that it was founded in response to the perception that the lifestyle of the city's nuns had become excessively lavish; it may therefore have tended towards austerity in its external displays.

Convents appear to have played a unique role in the consciousness of Cuzco's prominent Spanish citizens. Unusually, both Santa Clara in Cuzco and Santa Catalina's first incarnation in Arequipa were founded by their city councils, rather than by families or individuals, indicating that convents were seen as potential symbols of municipal status and pride. Convents, more than any institution other than the *colegios*, were at the heart of the reproduction of Hispanic values. Prominent Spanish individuals could place their children in a convent, sponsor an orphan, or simply play a role as a benefactor, and in this way could invest in their own spiritual future and in the future and prestige of their culture. Convents can thus be seen as symbols of the spiritual and cultural well-being of the city's Hispanic elite. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as an ideological split emerged between locally born *criollos* and Peninsular Spaniards, local elites may have come to identify more with their convents—institutions dominated by local families (perhaps even their own) and interwoven into the life of the city as an important source of spiritual and financial credit—than with the cathedral, a symbol of overseas power, headed by a non-local bishop, and the scene of state-sponsored ceremonial activities. Cathedral ceremonies were usually precipitated by events that were distant both in place (births, deaths, and coronations of the Spanish royal family or military successes in Europe) and time (due to the slowness of communications), and that had little direct effect on the lives of the local populace. The symbiotic relationship between convents and the local elite brought economic, spiritual, and cultural benefits to both parties; convents' cultural activities were therefore a source of civic pride. It is notable that those who frowned upon the musical activities of Lima's convents were primarily the non-local bishops: members of the religious orders and the local elite were generally delighted by them, as we shall see below.

II

In her excellent study of Cuzco's convents, Kathryn Burns describes the churches of Santa Clara and Santa Catalina as “among the most brilliant theaters in the region for the staging of one of the most lavish, spectacular cultural events of the day, the Roman Catholic mass.”⁹ She also points out that musical activities within the convents were not confined to the churches:

The locutorios of Cuzco were anything but backwaters [. . .] as Santa Clara and Santa Catalina grew into *conventos grandes*, their entryways and locutorios became alive, even boisterous, with activity. [. . .] Those of Santa Clara and Santa Catalina might ring with the choral and instrumental music of an evening's entertainment.¹⁰

Evidence from Cuzco's archives supports these assertions and indicates that the city's convents were important centres of musical performance, education, and to a lesser extent, employment, as indeed they were in Spain. The modern image of convents as islands of calm and silence in the middle of the noisy, hectic city is far from accurate with respect to the colonial period. Sumptuous, large-scale performances in church, exuberant fiestas, musical-theatrical performances, and private music-making were all characteristic features of life in the *conventos grandes*, as these "cities within the city" were known.¹¹

An account of musical activities in Santa Clara can be found in the chronicle of the Franciscan Diego de Mendoza, *Chronica de la Provincia de S. Antonio de los Charcas*, dating from 1663.¹² Mendoza emphasizes that ceremonies in the convent were suitably lavish for the "senior" institution in Peru, and that the nuns devoted considerable effort and study to ensure that both plainchant and polyphony with instrumental accompaniment were a regular feature of these occasions.¹³ Documents in Cuzco's archives confirm that musical performance was a key element of convent life. In 1664 the older of two brothers named Tomás de Herrera,¹⁴ who worked as organist in the cathedral, was hired by the convent of Santa Clara for a period of two years to teach music to the nuns. He was to instruct a group numbering up to twelve on a daily basis, teaching them singing, organ, and harp, as well as providing "all the music that might be required in the festivities organized by the convent."¹⁵ Among the music scores held in the archive of the Seminary of San Antonio Abad, Cuzco, are polychoral works whose parts are inscribed with the names of nuns, indicating that such complex pieces formed part of the convents' repertory. The archive includes an anonymous thirteen-part *Lauda Jerusalem* for four choirs: all the parts have female names on them, such as "soror francisca" and "soror maria," and on the cover is written "P.a S.ta Cathalina."¹⁶

Information about musical activities within the convents, but outside their churches, is somewhat easier to locate. Music played a significant part in festivities organized by the convents within the cloister walls.¹⁷ Juan de Pancorbo, *presbítero*, stated in his will (drawn up in 1674) that he had lent a harpsichord to Santa Catalina for a fiesta.¹⁸ Outsiders were also present as witnesses to the splendor of the convents' festivities or, in the case of important visitors, as the very excuse for these festivities. The visit of a prominent Spanish Franciscan friar to the convent of Santa Clara in July 1737 occasioned a special musical performance, including a *loa*, some lively pieces known as *juguetes*, and other "excellent musical works."¹⁹ In 1743 the arrival of the recently appointed Bishop Morcillo Rubio y Auñón in Cuzco precipitated a week of festivities which included an afternoon of music, theatre, and dance in Santa Catalina attended by the bishop himself. One of the works performed was a zarzuela in praise of the bishop, written by the abbess of the convent.²⁰

This last event highlights the fact that musical displays were often designed to impress or flatter their audience, not merely to entertain them. Cloistered nuns were not able to participate in civic events, so occasions such as those described above were key opportunities to make a favorable impression on certain sections of the Cuzco public and, especially, on visiting ecclesiastical dignitaries who might play a long-term role in the convent's affairs. In a more general sense, the skillful performance of elaborate polyphony was a way for these institutions to project their belief in their elevated status in the city. A symbolic hierarchy was projected more commonly in visual form, principally in the order of precedence of various groups in public processions and the seating arrangements at ceremonies, but the cloistered nuns were unable to participate in such visual enactments of prestige, making their aural presence in the city even more important. Music was a means for nuns to make themselves heard, to establish their presence and status in the urban environment from which they were physically excluded: they could be heard but not seen.²¹ Lavish musical entertainments were a symbol of pride not only for the convent, but also for the city: the talents of Cuzco's leading daughters reflected glory on its prominent families. Equally, convents offered the only opportunity for female musicians to shine on the semi-public stage, to achieve recognition and even fame for their skills.²²

If the political implications of most performances were relatively benign, amounting to little more than the projection of a positive image by individuals, institutions, or the city itself, on other occasions the nuns used the convent walls as a barrier behind which they could carry out more overtly political campaigns with virtual impunity. Accounts relating to convents in Lima report that the nuns satirized their political opponents in songs that were composed and performed within the cloister.²³ Music emerges here as a tool for self-expression in a male-dominated and -regulated world.²⁴ The mixture of music and politics within convents was particularly controversial, for the nuns were appropriating and subverting an art form that was supposed, at least in the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities, to embody all that was pure and unworldly. Music could also be used as part of the internal political processes of convents. In 1644, the winning candidate in the election of the prioress in the convent of Santa Catalina, Doña Mencía de San Bernardo, was accused by her defeated rival of a range of underhanded electoral tactics, including courting votes by putting on musical entertainments.²⁵

III

Despite the restrictions of the cloister, the nuns had considerable musical contact with the outside world. Not only were many performances

directed at outside audiences,²⁶ but convents also hired outside musicians to train the nuns, to write music for them, and possibly, to direct their music-making. There are a number of scores in the seminary archive that are marked with nuns' names;²⁷ the exact nature of the link between these two institutions is not immediately evident, but the presence of these scores in the seminary provides evidence of a connection, probably indicating that *maestros de música* from the seminary supplied their services and their music to the convents.²⁸ The nuns also provided employment opportunities for composers. In the will of the indigenous *maestro compositor* Don Matías Livisaca appears an entry which refers to Doña Francisca Olaya, *vicaria* of Santa Catalina, who owed the musician thirty-five pesos for two psalms that he had composed, presumably for the convent's musicians.²⁹ In addition, the convents provided work for organ-builders and repairers, as well as for makers of other common instruments such as the harp and the *bajón*. The organ-builder Juan Antonio Munsibay de Chávez came to a creative agreement with the convent of Santa Catalina: he offered to provide the convent with an organ in lieu of his daughter's dowry as a *monja de velo negro*, worth 3,312 pesos.³⁰ The church of Santa Clara also had a fine organ in the mid-seventeenth century, according to Diego de Mendoza.

There is, however, little evidence that rank-and-file performers from outside institutions took part in convent musical activities. In Spanish cities it was the norm for cathedral musicians to participate in important festivities in other churches, including convents, but in Cuzco there is no sign of such interaction after the early seventeenth century. It appears that the musicians of the seminary may have taken over this role,³¹ but evidence of such assistance is scarce, and ceases in the late seventeenth century. It is perhaps unsurprising that there were few, if any, opportunities for external musicians to perform in convents. The evidence presented above indicates that during the mid- to late colonial period Cuzco's convents had large and complete musical forces (singers, organists, harpists and *bajonistas*) which were capable of performing complex polychoral works; there was therefore usually no need to draft in reinforcements from outside. Certainly, the convents seemed to aim for, and generally achieved, self-sufficiency in terms of performing forces. The evidence points instead to the employment of individual musicians and composers to write or supply musical works, and to direct performances.

IV

Cuzco's convents were fertile territory for music teachers as well as for directors. Not only was the elder Herrera son hired to instruct the nuns of Santa Clara in 1664, but his brother was hired in 1654 by Juan de Pancorbo, administrator of Santa Catalina, to teach a young girl named Ana María

Carillo whom Pancorbo was bringing up in the convent. Herrera was required to give her a daily lesson in keyboard-playing and singing polyphony for two years.³² It appears that he was re-hired by Pancorbo when this contract expired to carry out the same duties for another two years.³³ This time, he was also required to teach composition to the girl, which suggests that at least some of the music performed within convents was composed by the nuns themselves. There is also an indication that convents hired indigenous music teachers as well as Spaniards, which is unsurprising given that the music profession in Cuzco was dominated by Indians.³⁴ In 1676 Diego Achasa, an Indian *maestro bajonero* and resident of the parish of San Sebastián, was hired to teach two girls in Santa Catalina: one was to learn the *bajón* and organ, the other just the *bajón*, and they were to be given two lessons a day.³⁵

Thus convents were important centres of music education. This is underlined by Diego de Mendoza, who writes of the central role of instruction in plainchant, polyphony, and the playing of instruments in the education of novices in Santa Clara.³⁶ The beneficiaries of this education were sometimes orphans who were being brought up in the convent by a senior nun.³⁷ Those of lesser means could support themselves, or even pay off part or all of their dowry, with their musical services. Musical talent was therefore key to climbing the convent social ladder, since it enabled poorer members of the convent, who might otherwise have spent their lives as servants to senior nuns, to participate in convent ceremonies, or even to profess as “nuns of the white veil.” An Indian novice in Santa Clara named Antonia Viacha was granted a reduction in her dowry when she took the white veil in 1708, in return for many years of service both performing and teaching the *bajón*. The tone of the abbess’ statement makes clear that she was highly appreciative of this service, and she offered Viacha the opportunity to pay only 1,000 pesos of the 1,656 pesos and 2 reales that she owed.³⁸

Musical ability thus had considerable financial value; it was highly esteemed by the convent authorities, who were therefore prepared to make generous offers to talented musicians. In 1770 the convent of Santa Catalina offered the black veil to a sixteen-year-old girl for half the usual cost (1,662 pesos and 4 reales) in return for her service as organist in the convent choir. The girl had clearly been preparing for this moment—she had been brought up in the convent, and had already served one year as organist.³⁹ The case of Doña Josefa María de Santa Cruz y Padilla, mentioned at the beginning of this article, shows the extent to which convents valued musicians of talent, and to which such talent could bring not only economic benefits and other privileges but also the advantages of high status within the convent.

The practice of giving financial inducements to talented musicians is well catalogued in both the Old and New Worlds. Convents in Lima regularly waived part or all of the dowry for girls who showed musical skill: La Encarnación had a particularly fine reputation for its musical performances,⁴⁰ and maintained its standards through an admission policy which

favored those who would be able to contribute to these musical activities.⁴¹ This custom had its roots in Europe, where it was standard practice in the convents of Bologna and Ávila, and no doubt in many others in the Iberian Peninsula.⁴²

V

In both the cases detailed above, the girls who were offered financial incentives by Santa Catalina had received their musical education within the convent. However, many parents or guardians, fully aware of the advantages that such a musical training might bring, gave their daughters a thorough grounding in ecclesiastical music as a precursor to their entry into a convent in order to improve their chances of reaping these economic and social rewards. In 1645 a merchant named Juan de Vega Buerres hired the musician Juan Candidato to teach music to his daughter. The contract specifies that he should teach her how to lead both polyphonic and plainchant masses as well as vespers and should instruct her in a variety of keyboard forms and techniques required by church organists, so that “any master of this art or nun who may hear her will confirm her skill.”⁴³ A century later, Don Agustín Apomayta, *maestro organista* and *principal* of the parish of Hospital de los Naturales, agreed to teach music, including “verses of all the psalms,” to the daughter of Don Miguel Cano de Contreras; the contract was for two years of lessons every morning, whether or not the girl should enter a convent during this period.⁴⁴

Other contracts do not specifically mention that the pupil was destined for one of the city’s convents, but training in church music would have been of little use to a girl outside these institutions, and the intentions of the parents are therefore clear.⁴⁵ Don Bartolomé Padilla, *maestro organista*, was hired in 1768 to teach a girl named María Teresa Juana de Dios Olazábal the skill of accompanying vocal music on the organ.⁴⁶ A similar agreement was made between Doña Bernarda Salazar and Don Gregorio Viracocha Ynga, *maestro músico organista*, to teach the former’s daughter, María Pacheco, the organ every day for a year, so that at the end of the year she “could play in any choir.”⁴⁷

Whilst most of these musicians were hired by Spaniards, who were more likely to be able to afford to invest in their children’s musical education—and it was clearly a good investment, given that the return on two years of lessons at 50 to 150 pesos per year could well have been a dowry reduction worth over 1,600 pesos—there are also cases of Indians entering into such agreements. Don Gaspar Viacha, governor of the village of Colquepata, hired Juan Antonio de Chávez to teach singing, *bajón*, and everything relevant to “his profession of *cantor*” to his two daughters, at 100 pesos for six months’ instruction.⁴⁸ Another Indian named Juan de Samudio declared

in his will that he had spent 185 pesos on instruments and musical education for his daughter Catalina.⁴⁹

We can conclude from all this evidence that not only were Cuzco's convents important musical centres in themselves, but that they also stimulated the city's musical economy and must therefore feature in any account of its musical life. They created work for outside musicians, who provided music and trained nuns within these institutions, and they also encouraged musical education outside the convents by providing valuable incentives for musically talented novices.

Monasteries, Hospitals, and Schools

I

Cuzco was home to many more monasteries than convents.⁵⁰ Franciscan and Dominican monks were among the first Spaniards to enter Cuzco, and they established their first houses in 1534, the year of the formal Spanish foundation of the city and only a year after its initial occupation by Hernando Pizarro. The Franciscan monastery in Cuzco was not only the order's first in Peru, but also the head institution of the Franciscan province of San Antonio de los Charcas. In the following year the Mercedarian order founded what was to become the largest monastery in the city, and the Augustinians were soon to follow.⁵¹ The Jesuits were later to play a key role in the city's history; they focused on education, setting up two schools, San Borja for the sons of *caciques* (indigenous leaders) and San Bernardo for Spaniards, as well as the University of San Ignacio de Loyola. Another order which subsequently gained a high profile in the city was that of San Juan de Dios, which ran two hospitals—San Bartolomé for Spaniards and the Hospital de Naturales for Indians—as well as its own monastic house. The Bethlehemite order, which founded the hospital and monastery of La Almudena, was the last to install itself in Cuzco.⁵²

II

Cuzco's monasteries, like its convents, played an important part in the musical life of the city. However, key differences can be noted between the musical activities of these two types of institutions. Whereas conventual music was often sumptuous and on a grand scale, with complex vocal and instrumental polyphony performed by the nuns themselves, the music of the monks appears to have been more restrained, probably limited to plainchant with organ on most occasions. This does not mean, however,

that more complex music was not performed in monasteries, simply that it appears not to have been performed by the monks themselves. No documents equivalent to the contracts to teach sophisticated music to convent novices have been located in Cuzco's archives, nor any evidence to suggest that the monks placed the same importance on musical talent and education as their female counterparts. The only relevant music contracts that survive involve agreements between monasteries and organists or organ-builders. The implication from what is missing, as well as what survives, is that monks were trained within the monasteries by a *vicario de coro*, or choirmaster, who was a member of the community and whose principal duty was to teach and direct plainchant.⁵³

The impression that music played a lesser role in Peruvian monasteries than in convents arises not only from archival sources but also from the accounts of contemporary witnesses. It is instructive to compare their comments—and, above all, their silence—about music in the male establishments with their praise of the nuns' musical abilities and achievements.

The mid-seventeenth-century Franciscan chronicler Diego de Mendoza makes various references to music and ceremony in the monastery of San Francisco in Cuzco, yet he mentions nothing more elaborate than “canto,” or plainchant.⁵⁴ Mendoza's descriptions of the musical activities of the Franciscan nuns of Santa Clara, quoted in the first part of this article, refer to polyphony and instrumental music, elements that are conspicuously lacking from his account of monastic music-making. To judge from his description of the convent, Mendoza clearly appreciated and understood music; I would suggest, therefore, that the absence of references to polyphonic or instrumental performance by the monks is not coincidental.

A similar impression arises from contemporary descriptions of Lima's religious houses. Reginaldo de Lizárraga, a Dominican friar who wrote about his impressions of South America in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, enthused about the musical abilities of the nuns of the convent of La Encarnación.⁵⁵ He also specified that the convent of La Concepción had talented singers and organists, and that the nuns of La Trinidad only performed plainchant and organ, preferring a more austere musical approach which excluded polyphony.⁵⁶ In his description of the monasteries of the five main orders, however, he makes no mention of music; he even makes the point that many friars would attend the Saturday *Salve Regina* at La Encarnación, which strongly implies that the nuns' ceremonies outshone those of their male counterparts.

Antonio Vásquez de Espinosa, another chronicler of Lima's religious establishments in the early seventeenth century, also describes the monasteries of the capital in some detail, and whilst he paints a picture of ceremonial splendor that could compete with the best that Europe could offer, music is again conspicuously absent from his account.⁵⁷ When he goes on to describe Lima's convents, however, he is full of praise for the nuns'

musical abilities.⁵⁸ This evidence points to the conclusion that the musical activities of convents were grander and more widely appreciated than those of monasteries.

III

This does not, however, mean that plainchant was the only music heard in monasteries. In Spanish cities it was normal practice for the cathedral *capilla de música* to supplement the musical forces of monasteries on important days in the religious calendar, and evidence exists that cathedral musicians and, later, singers from the seminary participated in the musical activities of Cuzco's monasteries on the feast-days of their patron saints, at least until the mid- to late seventeenth century.⁵⁹ However, there are indications that from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards monasteries started to draw upon the much more numerous Indian musical forces in the city, based in the parish churches. Contracts between monasteries and individual musicians which survive in the Archivo Departamental del Cuzco tend to involve indigenous *maestros*. In 1653, San Francisco hired the Indian organist Juan Flores Usca to play the organ in its church for one year on a salary of 100 pesos, soon to be raised to 120 pesos.⁶⁰ The following year, Flores Usca was contracted by the monastery of San Agustín, again at 100 pesos for the year, "to serve the monastery as organist, turning up punctually to play the organ at the usual times."⁶¹ He seems to have been quite in demand at this period: two months after his first contract with San Francisco, he signed a second one with fray Luis Ramos, *vicario de coro* of the same institution, again to play the organ in the monastery's church. This time his annual salary was specified as 130 pesos, as well as food and lodging; this improved offer is presumably the reason for the second contract.⁶² However, Flores Usca did not complete this contract, for some five months later the monastery hired a new organist, another Indian named Pedro Miguel from the parish of Hospital de los Naturales, to serve in the church for a year in return for 110 pesos and meals in the monastery.⁶³

It is perhaps surprising that these monasteries did not have a monk who was capable of playing the organ, as this seems to have been the normal arrangement in Spain.⁶⁴ Whilst it is difficult to generalize in the case of Cuzco due to a lack of documentation, there is further evidence that monasteries frequently hired outsiders. The Indian organist Joseph Ygnacio Mayta is recorded as *maestro organista* of the church of Santo Domingo in 1742.⁶⁵ The monastery of La Almudena had an anonymous salaried organist between 1705 and 1728 (see below), whilst La Merced was employing an outsider, Don José Arrisabal, as organist in 1813.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, some monks at least were highly trained in music: fray Joaquín de Toledo, for example, served as cathedral organist from 1772 to 1804. He may well

have served his monastery before moving on to the cathedral, but his case illustrates the risk that a monk who was trained to a high musical standard might then attract a lucrative offer from a larger institution, forcing his monastery to hire another organist to fill his place. Toledo pursued his musical career in the cathedral “without ever turning up at his monastery, so that due to his absence, a considerable amount is expended on paying a secular to play the organ in his respective church.”⁶⁷ These were the words of his bitter rival Matías Barzena, who coveted Toledo’s cathedral post and who went on to recommend Toledo’s “confinement to the cloister, using his ability in the service of a monastery which gave him his education and sustenance.”⁶⁸ Toledo’s superiors might well have agreed.

Monasteries were a valuable source of work for organ-builders as well as organists. It appears from the large quantities spent that it was *de rigueur* for these institutions to have a fine instrument and to maintain it in good working order. Gabriel Cabezas, *maestro de hacer órganos*, was contracted by the monastery of Santo Domingo to repair its organ in 1631. The prior of the monastery lavished 1,400 pesos just on these repairs, which indicates the importance that he placed on this instrument.⁶⁹ In 1662 the Arequipa-born Pedro Guamán, *indio organero, ladino en la lengua española*, was hired to carry out repairs on the organ of the monastery of La Merced; these included replacing seventy pipes, thirteen trumpets, two drums and a bird-whistle, as well as cleaning and tuning the instrument. His work was checked by Tomás de Herrera, organist at the cathedral.⁷⁰ The following year, the same maker sold an organ to the monastery of San Agustín for 700 pesos. The instrument was unfinished, but Guamán agreed to finish, tune, and install it in the *coro* of the monastery within four weeks, after which it, too, was to be checked by Herrera.⁷¹ Either the organ was not particularly well made or it was heavily used, for only eight years later the monastery paid 550 pesos to another indigenous maker, Pedro Romero, to carry out full repairs on the instrument.⁷²

Players of instruments other than the organ were hired for occasions on which greater musical splendor was required. The accounts of San Agustín for the years 1781 to 1785 show a regular monthly payment to an organist, but also occasional larger payments for “music,” “drummers and trumpeters,” and other such expenses.⁷³ These extra musical forces were drafted for important annual fiestas, such as the feast-days of San Agustín and San Juan. Their exact composition is never specified, but drums and trumpets are mentioned on more than one occasion—these were the basic musical requirements of any important celebration. Aside from these events, music in San Agustín would have probably been limited to plainchant.⁷⁴

It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that musical activities of the monks themselves were limited in scope and that the monasteries were largely self-sufficient day-to-day, apart from the occasional need to hire an outside organist. However, there is clearly a distinction between the music

that was performed by the monks and the music that was performed within the monasteries. There was a tendency to hire outside musicians to perform on important occasions, a feature that is conspicuously absent from the surviving material relating to convents; but monasteries appear not to have hired outside music teachers or directors, which implies a more modest musical and educational program amongst the friars. Whilst Cuzco's nuns created the musical spectacle themselves, the monks were happy to pay others to take care of these activities.

A rare surviving document which confirms that Cuzco's monasteries were capable of putting on a lavish musical display when so inclined describes a ceremony that took place in the monastery of San Francisco on 2 August 1678, and includes an eyewitness account of events:

[A]t around one o'clock in the afternoon I saw the whole community and all the monks of the monastery coming out of a door in the main cloister which leads to the church; they came in procession with a tumult of drums, trumpets and shawms, letting off fireworks [. . .], and as they processed they sang the *Te Deum*, arriving eventually at the main chapel [. . .].⁷⁵ [There followed various ceremonies and speeches, which ended with the monks] paying their respects with a great noise of drums, shawms, peals of bells and the organ.⁷⁶

The noise and exuberance of the celebration are notable—accounts of such occasions in monasteries are found much less frequently than those which refer to similar events in convents—as is the distinction between the music of the monks, who processed while singing a hymn, and the clamor of the instruments, which were undoubtedly played by indigenous musicians hired especially for the occasion from outside.⁷⁷ This account seems to reflect a fine balance between the sacred and the secular elements of the fiesta; the monks organized the event and participated in it, yet maintained a certain distance from the more worldly musical elements. Nuns, on the other hand, usually played the leading parts during their fiestas.

IV

More information on the musical world of the male orders is available in the records of a second group of monasteries, those which also ran hospitals. These institutions appear to have offered more opportunities to outside musicians than the other monasteries.

This article began with details of a contract between three indigenous musicians and the monastery of San Juan de Dios. It is clear from this evidence that this monastery was home to regular, large-scale polyphonic performances with instruments in the late seventeenth century, and was therefore no musical backwater. Like monasteries in Spain, San Juan de Dios relied on outside musicians; unlike its peninsular counterparts, it did

not hire cathedral musicians but instead relied on the city's Indian musical workforce, based largely in the eight indigenous parish churches, and as a result musicians could be hired to perform with a regularity that was impossible in Spain.⁷⁸

As if this were not enough to fill the cloisters with music, there are also contracts which show that the *Cofradía de Santo Cristo de la Coluna*, based in the same monastery, prided itself on providing high-quality music at its ceremonies. In 1666 it hired the musicians of the parish of Santiago to provide vocal and instrumental music at its Friday masses and at all its annual feasts, for which it paid eighty pesos.⁷⁹ This link between the confraternity and the musicians of Santiago was still in place twenty years later, when Don Tomás Chauca, *maestro cantor* of the parish, was hired by the *mayordomo* of the confraternity at sixty pesos for one year to bring singers and instrumentalists to its weekly Friday mass, as well as on Easter Monday and Easter morning.⁸⁰ Twenty years later the confraternity again hired musicians to perform at the Friday masses, during Lent and at Easter. This time the contract, still at sixty pesos per year, was to last for six years—such a long contract is unprecedented in Cuzco, and gives a strong indication of the extent to which music played an integral part in the confraternity's activities. On this occasion, the organist and *bajonero* of Santiago were joined by two musicians from other parishes, and the group also agreed to provide “all the necessary singers.”⁸¹

Confraternities contributed significantly to the quantity of music that was heard in all of Cuzco's churches. Whilst the surviving evidence singles out San Juan de Dios as a centre of musical activities, other monasteries also housed confraternities which sponsored musical performances. For example, the same Tomás Chauca mentioned above was also hired in 1670 by the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno* in the monastery of San Francisco “to attend their masses with all his musicians.”⁸²

There is further evidence of the importance of music at San Juan de Dios. In 1649, the friars hired Antonio Cabezas, the younger of a prestigious father-and-son team of instrument-makers, to build them an organ identical to that in the Jesuit church for 550 pesos.⁸³ The monastery also consistently brought in outside musicians over a period of many years. Bishop Mollinedo made an inspection of the hospital in 1680, during which the accounts were presented for the two decades that had lapsed since the last such *visita*. During this twenty-year period, the monks had spent 3,033 pesos on paying musicians to participate in church masses and funerals.⁸⁴ This indicates an impressive and continuous commitment to music, especially given that the bishop wrote in his report summary that the hospital had neither a doctor nor a surgeon, having given both jobs to monks who knew nothing in order to save on salaries. The pharmacy had few medicines, and the patients complained that the monks did not look after them properly, but musical activities were apparently not affected.⁸⁵ *Visitas* such

as these were also occasions for musical performance in themselves. When the bishop visited the Hospital of San Andrés in 1680, the inspection began with a mass sung by the *colegiales* of San Antonio Abad.⁸⁶

Documentary evidence from the mid-eighteenth century indicates that music continued to play a part on important dates in the religious calendar at San Juan de Dios, but that the scale of the performances had declined.⁸⁷ Most of the masses that are recorded were sung by a single priest. They were celebrated on certain saints' days and at the burial of anyone who died in the hospital, and were paid for by families in memory of deceased relatives or by guilds. Exceptionally, groups of musicians performed. The *novenario* of San Juan de Dios was the most important period of the year in the monastery; in 1759, for example, there were payments to drummers, trumpeters, those who organized the fireworks, and so on. Singers were brought in for the Friday masses in Lent in 1772 and 1773, and for the funeral mass of a monk who died in 1768, both the kind of occasions at which musicians had been required a century earlier. Guild-confraternities continued to bring in musicians. In 1775 the *maestros pintores* of the Cofradía de San Lucas paid singers to participate in the mass that they celebrated on the feast-day of their patron saint. Evidence of this annual mass with music dates back to at least 1749. In that year, the guild of Indian builders also paid for a sung mass in honor of Saint Thomas, though in this case it was sung by a single priest.

The monks of San Juan de Dios also ran the Hospital de los Naturales for Indians. The only source of information that has been located concerning music in this hospital is an account book for the years 1792 to 1793. This account book reveals that the hospital had an organ in its chapel, and that it paid the considerable sum of 60 pesos "a los Musicos en el jubileo del año de 92," and 50 pesos the following year.⁸⁸

The Hospital de San Andrés for Spanish women was founded in 1646. Documents detailing the expenditures of the hospital between 1708 and 1730 indicate a modest musical program involving the hiring of outside musicians only on the feast of San Andrés.⁸⁹ There is considerable consistency in the forces that were hired, and even in the exact personnel. The entry for 1715 is typical, recording expenditure on preparing the organ, on two drummers and two trumpeters, a group of shawms, and harp strings, and a larger payment to "Don Ygnacio maestro musico por la musica" (the *maestro* presumably brought a group of musicians with him).⁹⁰ These musicians performed at vespers and later that evening, as well as on the day of San Andrés itself. This pattern was followed every year during this period, and despite the fact that this event occurred only once a year, certain musicians appear to have been "regulars." Don Joseph Ygnacio, an Indian organist and harpist who was also a maker of both instruments,⁹¹ was paid to organize the music every year from 1709 to 1723, whilst the organ-repairer Carlos Cuyotopa was hired from 1709 to 1717.

The Bethlehemite monastery-hospital of La Almudena organized musical activities on a regular basis. Detailed accounts of expenditure survive for the periods 1705 to 1728, and 1774 to 1792; these give a clear picture of the musicians who were hired by the monastery and the occasions on which they were expected to perform. During the period 1705 to 1728 the only salaried musician was an organist, but there were irregular payments to a range of other musicians including singers, drummers, trumpeters, shawmers, *ministriles*, a harpist, *colegiales* or *cantores del colegio*, and sometimes a general payment for “música de la fiesta.”⁹² Although the accounts vary slightly from year to year, there were an average of three annual musical “extravaganzas.” These occurred when the singers from the *colegio* usually performed at Easter;⁹³ during the *novenario* of Our Lady in September; and around Christmas Eve in December, the most important musical event of the year. The entries from December 1718 and 1720 give the tenor of these occasions:

1718—*Cantores en las 9 misas bisperas y fiesta 11 pesos, con arpa y organista tiples y todo los de mas 11 pesos, mas de los ministros cantores 2 pesos.*

1720—*Caxa y clarin, chirimias 2 pesos*

Músicos en los 9 misas 6 pesos

Del tiple y bajon en la misa de aguinaldo 6 pesos, y 10 pesos de arpa y músicos bisperas y dia.

In 1720 the monastery spent 400 pesos on a new organ. Given that it also had a salaried organist, musical performance of some kind must have been a regular feature in the church. There is also a payment to the organist, named Miguel, for “six months of teaching and playing” in 1722. It is not clear who or what he was teaching—he might have been instructing one of the monks in organ-playing, or all of them in plainchant, or might have been teaching the pupils in the Bethlehemite Escuela de la Almudena.

Two names are mentioned in these accounts: there are several payments for musical services to “Ignacio,” and one, in December 1711, for “Musica, de libisaca, noche buenas.” It seems probable that “Ignacio” was the same Don Joseph Ygnacio who organized the annual musical event at San Andrés. Meanwhile, “libisaca” may well have been Don Matías de Livisaca, an important Indian composer and musician from the parish of Santa Ana.⁹⁴ If these suppositions are correct, then the monastery of La Almudena hired two of the most influential indigenous musicians in eighteenth-century Cuzco to organize its events.

The second group of accounts covers a period of eighteen years beginning in 1774.⁹⁵ During the first three years, the monastery made monthly payments of between 10 and 17 pesos to unspecified musicians. Given the sums involved, this probably represents remuneration for several musical events each month. From 1777 to 1792, the accounts are more detailed and

the exact dates of each payment are shown. With few exceptions, during the period 1777 to December 1780 a drummer and trumpeter were hired every Thursday, and a group of musicians was hired every Sunday. On certain important days, both were hired together. In December 1780, the drummer and trumpeter disappeared from the records, and for the next twelve years there were uninterrupted weekly payments of 2 pesos and 4 reales to musicians. Occasionally, there was an extra payment for music at Holy Week or Christmas Eve. From these records, it is clear that the hospital provided a steady source of income for a group of outside musicians over a period of many years, possibly during the whole of the eighteenth century.

The Bethlehemite monks also took part in music-making in their monastery. A document entitled “Libro de visitas generales de 1751, Convento de la Almudena” states that “Every day at the correct hour a conventual mass is said, with the community present—and on Thursdays, Saturdays and Mondays it is sung.”⁹⁶ In addition, a chaplain was required to sing a mass every Monday, with the responses sung by the community of monks.⁹⁷ A later *auto general de visita*, dating from 1780, ordered that when the Holy Sacrament was brought out, a solemn mass should be sung; it was also decreed that when work had finished on the cloister, a response was to be sung at each corner, and finally in the church.⁹⁸

As was the case at San Juan de Dios, music-making in the church of La Almudena was augmented by the activities of confraternities. The “Hermandad de Esclavitud de N. Señora de la Almudena” was founded in the church of La Almudena in 1689; the constitutions of the brotherhood provide a detailed list of the occasions on which a sung mass was to be celebrated, including a range of saints’ days, weekly masses, feasts of Our Lady, and the funerals of confraternity members.⁹⁹ The participation of musicians and a harpist on all these occasions is specified in the constitutions, implying that the sung mass was polyphonic.

V

The regular clergy undertook the task of educating certain sections of Cuzco’s population, and there is evidence that music formed a core subject within their educational programs. The musical education of girls and novices in the city’s convents, and the importance which these institutions placed on musical training, were discussed above. This training was directed internally, in the sense that the nuns’ primary intention was to ensure their continuing musical self-sufficiency and excellence. This may also have been true in the case of the monasteries. Although no evidence of musical instruction has been found, the houses of the religious orders in Cuzco had *casas de noviciado* where future generations of monks were educated; it appears that certain monks, known as *coristas*, were entrusted with

the performance of music, implying that novices were instructed in plainchant by the *vicario de coro* in order to maintain a supply of suitably trained *coristas*. Evidence of the kind of specialized music instruction received by convent girls and novices is, however, generally lacking, implying a more limited degree of musical ambition.¹⁰⁰

The religious orders were also involved in wider educational projects. The Jesuits were at the forefront of efforts to instruct both the Spanish and Indian elites in the city of Cuzco, and ran two schools, the Colegio de San Bernardo for the sons of Spaniards, and the Colegio de San Borja for the sons of *caciques*, or Indian leaders. Although little research has been undertaken on San Bernardo, founded in 1619, some evidence exists that it included music in its curriculum. The college hired a musician named Juan Candidato in 1638 to teach its pupils to sing; he was to attend every day except Sunday and on feast-days, and was paid 120 pesos for a one-year contract.¹⁰¹ In 1645, the Indian *bajonero* Juan Blas from the parish of San Blas was hired by the rector of the college for one year on virtually identical terms: he was to be present at the college between midday and one o'clock every day except Sundays and feast-days to play the *bajón* and teach the pupils. He also agreed to accompany the *colegiales* whenever they went to sing outside the school. His salary was considerably lower, at twenty-four pesos for the year, but he also had the right to go to the college to eat whenever he wanted.¹⁰² One and a half centuries later, music was still sufficiently important at the college that it spent 700 pesos on a new organ by the maker Francisco Andia.¹⁰³ This evidence of daily musical instruction and of performances outside the college implies that musical training was taken seriously at the Colegio de San Bernardo.

The Colegio de San Borja, like the other *colegios de caciques* that the Jesuits established in South America, was founded with the express intention of indoctrinating and acculturating the future leaders of the Indian communities.¹⁰⁴ Even when San Borja was just a glimmer in the eye of a few Jesuit priests, music was already destined to become a central feature of the program designed to mould young Indian nobles according to a Hispanic, Christian vision. The college was actually founded in 1621, but as early as 1567 the Jesuit Juan de Matienzo wrote that music education should be aimed at the sons of *caciques*, while the sons of “commoners” should be directed to trades such as carpentry and building.¹⁰⁵ Regulations for the planned *colegios de caciques* were drawn up in 1576 by José de Acosta and Juan de la Plaza; according to the second of these regulations, “They will learn to read, write, sing, and play the music commonly used in churches.”¹⁰⁶ Just one year after the foundation of the college, one of its teachers wrote that the students learned to sing plainchant and to play keyboard instruments.¹⁰⁷ Thus the teaching of religious music formed part of the overall program of religious indoctrination, just as it had since the first missionaries arrived in the Americas.

It is likely that the Jesuits intended that some of their charges should take up posts as *maestros cantores* in their communities upon finishing their education. The theory behind the colleges was that after a period of intense acculturation, the sons of *caciques* should be returned to their communities, where they would serve as positive role-models to their subjects.¹⁰⁸ The eldest sons were normally destined for political positions, but second sons were often trained in European professions;¹⁰⁹ it would seem, therefore, that the influential post of *maestro cantor* would have been ideally suited to the younger sons of *caciques*. This was a position of considerable authority that combined musical and general teaching duties with religious leadership, and none would have been better qualified to fill these posts than graduates of the *colegio de cacique* system, who inherited authority as their birthright and acquired the necessary skills through their education.¹¹⁰

The Jesuits not only educated the indigenous elite, but were also active in promoting the formation of Indian confraternities in the order's churches and in training the confraternity musicians. As a result, they could draw on these large and diverse Indian musical forces. The Colegio de San Pablo in Lima trained and maintained groups of Indian and Negro musicians who performed at festivities within the college and were also in demand at outside functions.¹¹¹ In Cuzco, the musicians of the Jesuit-sponsored Indian Cofradía del Niño Jesús performed at Jesuit college fiestas,¹¹² whilst at the school in Arequipa, the *Salve Regina* was sung on Saturday evenings by the Indian confraternity with the accompaniment of many instruments.¹¹³ Thus the Jesuits' zeal for music education had the advantageous side-effect of guaranteeing an impressive musical presence at their own celebrations.

Whilst the indoctrination of future Indian leaders was considered the highest educational priority, at least in the early to mid-colonial periods, the teaching of poor Indian children was later to become part of the evangelical project of certain monastic orders, and music was again considered part of the project of inculcating religious doctrine. The rules of the Bethlehemite order included the instruction to found a school in every hospital, in which poor children should be taught to read, sing, and learn Christian doctrine.¹¹⁴ The Colegio de San Borja had also taken in poor children by the late 1760s, and made an annual payment of 200 pesos "to the schoolmaster for teaching the *colegiales* and the poor of the community to read, write, and sing."¹¹⁵

Conclusion

It is clear, then, that the enthusiasm of the religious orders for music had a significant effect on the development of the music profession in Cuzco, providing work for musicians and instrument-makers alike. Convents have emerged as important centres of musical training which also promoted the

wider musical education of girls through their preferential treatment of skilled prospective novices. The employment opportunities offered by monasteries, and by the confraternities that they housed, played a key part in sustaining the city's indigenous music profession, which was largely independent of the cathedral. The Jesuit order ensured that the majority of both the Spanish and Indian elites received a comprehensive musical training as part of their general studies at the *colegios* of San Bernardo and San Borja, and this education undoubtedly left its mark on the patterns of private and institutional patronage of music in Cuzco and the surrounding region. The Spanish alumni of San Bernardo went on to occupy many of the important ecclesiastical and municipal posts in the city, and would therefore have influenced decisions concerning the subsidy of musicians by churches and the performance of music in civic ceremonies. The indigenous elite, meanwhile, played a key role in the promotion and financing of music in indigenous parish churches.¹¹⁶ Thus the monastic houses played an important role in sustaining the musical life of the bishopric of Cuzco through their education and patronage of musicians.

Notes

1. Archivo Departamental del Cuzco (ADC), Protocolos Notariales, Solano, leg. 305, 1671–3, f.s/n (reg.2, 9/6/1673). Francisco Aucatinco, Don Antonio Leon, Don Francisco Jacobi, *maestros cantores* [yndios]: “*se obligaban y obligaron de acudir al combento y hospital de San Juan de Dios [. . .] a cantar en esta manera = Los lunes a la misa de las Animas y los Jueves, viernes y sabado a las ocho de la mañana an de acudir a las missas que se an de Desir los dhos y los dhos Dias de Sabado a las quatro de la tarde a la salbe de nrã seõnora = y los viernes de la quaresma asi a la misa como al ensierro del santo xpto. a de llebar sus chirimias y el Jueves santo a la noche an de acudir a la procesion y el dia de Domingo de rramos y viernes santo an de acudir a la misa de la pacion = y a las Bisperas y missa de la fiesta de Señor san Bartholome = y asimesmo an de acudir a los tres dias del Jubileo de nuestro Padre San Juan de Dios tarde y mañana que es la misa y ensierro y la mañana de pasqua de Resurecion an de acudir a la Proseccion = y a las Renobaciones del señor ansimesmo an de acudir llebando las chirimias = y asimesmo an de acudir a cantar a los entierros que vbiere de Religiosos en el dho combento y a las demas Relijiones que se ofresieren y para todas estas Musicas y Dias Referidos an de llebar los dhos Maestros los oficiales siguientes = organista. harpista. bajon. y corneta = Dos contra altos Dos thenores. seys triples. Dos segundos.*”
2. ADC, Bustamente, leg. 11, 1676–8, f.12–17: “En la ciudad del Cuzco”:
“La Señora Doña Ysabel de Tapia, Priora del santo Monasterio de Santa Catalina de esta dicha ciudad, con las señoras Madres de consejo y demas

señoras religiosas atendiendo a las buenas prendas de Doña Josefa Maria de Santa Cruz y padilla y q.e desde q.e nacio se had criado en este monasterio, y q.e le ha dado nrõ. señor buena voz, y q.e hiciera falta a la musica del coro si saliese del conbento, y la llebase a Lima el señor Dean Doctor Don Alonso Merlo de la Fuente su tio y padrino de bautismo de la dicha Doña Josefa, a quien reconocemos particulares obligaciones por el afecto con q.e nos ha acistido desde q.e llego a esta ciudad = En cuya consideracion la dicha señora Priora Doña Ysabel de tapia, y las madres de consejo, y demas religiosas de comun acuerdo y consentimiento digeron, q.e se dicho señor Dean gustase le darian luego de gracia y sin dote el abito de hermana de belo blanco a dicha Doña Josefa, y la recibirian para cantora, y q.e solamente acudiese al coro los dias de fiestas solenes de canto de organo, y q.e la reserbarian de todos los oficios, y serbidumbres a q.e acuden todas las religiosas asi de velo negro como de velo blanco, y q.e desde luego le concederian, q.e durmiese en su celda por q.e las indias no le hurtasen su ropa: y q.e si Dios se sirbiese de quitarle la voz, no por eso se le quitarian los privilegios, q.e se le conceden q.e goce desde luego para sienpre de ellos.”

3. The dowry payment for a “nun of the white veil” was around 1,660 pesos.
4. This is symptomatic of a wider neglect, to judge from Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 1, who states that convents have been “marginalized mostly by omission” in general colonial historiography.
5. See Robert Stevenson, *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington D.C.: Pan American Union, 1960), 56–7; Luís Martín, *Daughters of the Conquistadores: Women of the Viceroyalty of Peru* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1983); Juan Carlos Estenssoro, *Música y sociedad coloniales: Lima 1680–1830* (Lima: Editorial Colmillo Blanco, 1989), 108; Juan Carlos Estenssoro, “Música, discurso y poder en el régimen colonial” (Masters thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1990), 396–440; and Andrés Sas, *La Música en la Catedral de Lima durante el Virreinato* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos/Casa de la Cultura del Perú, 1971). Burns, *Colonial Habits*, refers to musical activities in Cuzco, but these are far from her principal focus.
6. Notably Estenssoro, *Música y sociedad coloniales*, 87–9, and Estenssoro, “Música, discurso y poder,” 420–5.
7. More information has been gathered on the musical activities of Mexican religious houses, though again, these are rarely the main focus of attention. See, for example, Robert Stevenson, “Mexico City Cathedral Music 1600–1675,” *Inter-American Music Review* 9, no. 1 (1987): 75–114, which also refers to impressive musical activities in Mexico’s convents.
8. This section draws extensively on Burns, *Colonial Habits*, an invaluable source of information on Cuzco’s convents.
9. *Colonial habits*, 106.

10. *Ibid.*, 103.
11. To a certain extent, musical activities may also be inferred by comparison with other New World convents. Cuzco's nuns were no less independent than those of other cities and had the financial resources to back their lavish entertainments, as Burns has demonstrated. For example, Estenssoro, "Música, discurso y poder," 413, quotes a document that shows that villancicos were performed in costume in the Lima convent of La Trinidad in 1627: "estas pasquas de navidad y chalenda tienen las religiossas algunas chansonetas y cantares que cantan en la iglesia de su convento y con ellos ussan de trajes indecentes que puede escandalizar a los oyentes" (Archivo Arzobispal de Lima [AAL], Trinidad, leg. 2). Thomas Gage, a Dominican friar who traveled in Central America between 1625 and 1637, reported the musical talents of a nun named Juana de Maldonado y Paz in the convent of La Concepción in Guatemala City: "In her closet she had her small organ, and many sorts of musical instruments, whereupon she played sometimes by herself, sometimes with her best friends of the nuns; and here especially she entertained with music her Bishop" (J. Eric Thompson, ed., *Thomas Gage's Travels in the New World* [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958], 191).
12. Diego de Mendoza, *Chronica de la Provincia de S. Antonio de los Charcas* [1663] (La Paz: Editorial Casa Municipal de la Cultura "Franz Tamayo," 1976).
13. Mendoza, *Chronica de la Provincia de S. Antonio de los Charcas*, 70. Mendoza's account of musical activities is framed by a description of the physical structure of the convent church:

"Tiene Coro alto, y baxo, donde se cantan, y rezan las diuinas alabanças, a todas horas; a que acuden en comunidad todas las Religiosas, rezan segun estilo de la Orden, con mucha deuocion, y estudio del canto llano, y de organo, las festiuidades classicas, Visperas, Maytines, y Missa con la solemnidad, que en nuestra Religion se acostumbra, y exemplo a todos los que oyen, y atienden a lo deuoto del rezo, y suaue del canto: que como este Santo Monasterio es principio, y origen de todos los de esta Prouincia, el primero del Peru, y en el entran a ser Religiosas de lo mas principal, y noble de este Reyno: siempre se ha conseruado en su primer espiritu, y Religion primera, assi por obligacion propia como por exemplar a los demas Monasterios, que le siguen en el Religioso modo de viuir, ceremonias, y estatutos. Ponen las Religiosas especial cuidado en celebrar sus festiuidades, y Pasquas, con mucha musica, suaue en las voces, y sonora por la mucha destreza adquirida en el continuo exerciçio de estudio del canto, y en tañer con magisterio todos los instrumentos musicos, a mayor harmonia de las voces. El Coro baxo tiene dos rexas, la exterior de hierro, y la interior de madera, con otra cubierta, y llaue: el alto, donde de ordinario se cantan las Missas, y visperas, tiene dos rexas de madera, la exterior dorada, y de muy buena labor,

es muy capaz, y claro: el organo, de diuersas mixturas, y sonoras voces, que acompaña la musica, y autoriza las festiuidades.”

14. Three members of the Herrera family, a father and his two sons—all named Tomás—monopolized the post of cathedral organist for most of the seventeenth century. Stevenson records the first reference to Herrera *père* serving as cathedral organist as dating from 1610, and the appointment of the younger son in 1682, after the death of his brother, who was a *licenciado* and a priest (Robert Stevenson, “Cuzco Cathedral: 1546–1750,” *Inter-American Music Review* 2, no. 2 [1980]:12). More information about the family can be found in a *filiación*, or document about his parentage, prepared by the elder son on 10 June 1678 (ADC, Saldaña, leg. 294, 1677–8, f.363). Although vague about dates, this document reveals that the son had been serving the cathedral as organist for some thirty years by this time, and that his father had worked in the same capacity for more than sixty years.
15. ADC, Messa Andueza, leg. 197, 1664, f.418:
“de enseñar a las monjas profesas y nobicias cantoras que nombrare hasta doce la señora abadeza la musica de canto sin cubrir las cosa ninguna y darles toda la musica que fuere menester para las festiuidades que se ofresiere en el dho monasterio y asi mismo les a de enseñar y adieztrar las musicas de organo y harpa acudiendo a la dha enseñanza todos los dias.”
16. Archivo del Seminario de San Antonio Abad (ASSAA), score no. 14.
17. As Mendoza writes, “*Ponen las Religiosas especial cuidado en celebrar sus festiuidades, y Pasquas, con mucha musica.*”
18. ADC, Solano, leg. 306, 1674–6, f.518: “testamento del L.do Juan de Pancorbo presbitero” [18/6/1674]. [519r] “*yten declaro que el señor prouisor y uicario general don Ygnacio castelui me pidio prestado un Ynstrum.to llamado clausinbalo, que costo tres mill pesos para una ffiesta que ubo en santa catalina.*” Pancorbo, an important musical figure in Cuzco, had been administrator of the convent in the 1650s.
19. See Eugenio Lanuza y Sotelo, *Viaje ilustrado a los reinos del Perú en el siglo XVIII* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1998), an account of a religious expedition to Peru led by the Franciscan friar Alonso López de Casas. During the visit to Cuzco in July 1737, “*Hizo Nuestro Muy Reverendo Padre la visita del monasterio de Santa Clara; y habiendo visitado la clausura, tuvieron las religiosas adornado un cuarto muy capaz donde representaron una loa y otros juguetes a su Padre Muy Reverendo, con muy buenas óperas de música, sirviendo después un refresco muy abundante*” (122).
20. Diego de Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias Cronológicas de la Gran Ciudad del Cuzco* [1749] (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1980), Vol. 2, 294: “*hizo el monasterio de Santa Catalina un festejo de loa, música y bailes en obsequio del señor obispo, quien asistió a él desde las cuatro de la tarde hasta cerca de las ocho de la noche.*” Samuel Claro, “Música dramática en el

- Cuzco durante el siglo XVIII y catálogo de manuscritos de música del Seminario de San Antonio Abad (Cuzco, Perú),” *Yearbook of the Inter-American Institute for Musical Research* 5 (1969): 14, writes of the abbess: “*Merecida fama había alcanzado la Priora del monasterio de Santa Catalina, Madre Agustina de San Estanislao y Alegría, con sus obras para el teatro. En esta oportunidad se representó su zarzuela Los méritos excesivos, aunque duerman son atendidos, escrita en elogio del Obispo.*”
21. The remarks of Craig Monson about convents in Bologna in *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 11, are equally pertinent to Cuzco: “Nuns found numerous ways to render these female spaces somewhat less private; that is, to open windows in convent walls without demolishing them. Music was, I suggest, a powerful tool for partial deprivatization of architectural spaces—one deliberately employed by nuns to forge affective and, in the broad sense, political links with networks in the outside, public sphere.” Equally apt is Robert Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 416, on convents in Milan, writing of “the vital role played by music-making for the projection of nuns’ voices (literally and figuratively) into the exterior world of urban society, and through that society into the consciousness of outside visitors as well.”
 22. Thomas Gage wrote of the nun in the convent of La Concepción in Guatemala City: “This Doña Juana de Maldonado y Paz was the wonder of all that cloister, yea, of all the city for her excellent voice and skill in music” (Thompson, *Thomas Gage’s Travels*, 190)—see note 11. Martín, *Daughters of the Conquistadores*, 242, makes the point that, contrary to the modern view of convent life as restrictive, women in colonial Peruvian society often had a more comfortable, entertaining and sociable lifestyle within a convent than outside, and “they gained a personal independence and freedom seldom enjoyed by their sisters in the secular city.”
 23. The nuns of Lima were accused of performing satirical songs about the viceregal government in 1669; and during a battle that continued for many years between the abbess of Santa Catalina and the archbishop of Lima in the 1790s, “the archbishop was ridiculed in songs and poems in the cloisters of Santa Catalina” (*Daughters of the Conquistadores*, 212–3, 240).
 24. See also Monson, *Disembodied Voices*, 9–10. This element of subversion and challenge to authority expressed through musical-theatrical performances in Lima’s convents has been noted by Estenssoro, Martín, and Sas. Successive archbishops issued a stream of decrees aimed at controlling and limiting the musical activities of the nuns, with villancicos, secular concerts, *comedias*, dancing, and festive behaviour their principal targets. The fact that such edicts were issued at regular

- intervals throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries indicates their lack of effectiveness.
25. AAL, Apelaciones del Cuzco, leg. 6, doc. 1: “Doña Juana de los Remedios, religiosa del convento de nra sra de los Remedios de la ciudad del Cuzco, contra Doña Mençia de San Bernarda, religiosa del dho convento, sobre que se de por nula la eleccion de Priora del dho convento que se hizo” [1644]. One of the accusations was: “para que botasen por la dha doña mencia Prometio a muchos oficios en el convento y sobornos y rregalos teniendo ya preuenidas como para cossa hecha y cierta musicas y saraos Por la dha doña mencia.” Music also played a part in electioneering in Lima’s convents, to judge from the order of Archbishop Liñán y Cisneros in 1703 that “las elecciones en los conventos de religiosas se llevasen a cabo con mayor secreto y seriedad, evitando escandalos y prohibiendo que los partidos manifestasen sus pasiones con clarines, caxas y matracas” (Sas, *La Música en la Catedral de Lima*, 36).
 26. Evidence of attendance by the general public at performances in Cuzco’s convent churches is not easy to locate, given the type of documentation that is accessible, but Stevenson, *The Music of Peru*, 56, and Martín, *Daughters of the Conquistadores*, 212, describe the regular attendance of large congregations in Lima’s conventual churches, drawn by the elaborate musical programmes on offer. The Dominican friar Reginaldo de Lizárraga’s report of the crowd-pulling capacity of music at the convent of La Encarnación, Lima, in the early seventeenth century is especially revealing: “el cuidado en celebrar los oficios divinos, la solemnidad y concierto, con tanta musica de voces admirables, y sobre todo los sabados a la Salve, donde concurre la mayor parte del pueblo y de las Ordenes muchos religiosos a oirla. Yo confieso de mi que si todos los sabados, hallandome en esta ciudad, me diesen mis prelados para oirla, no la perderia. Los señores inquisidores muchos sabados no la pierden y los Virreyes hacen lo mismo” (Reginaldo de Lizárraga, *Descripción del Perú, Tucuman, Río de la Plata y Chile* [Madrid: Historia 16, 1987], 112). There is no reason to suppose that Cuzco’s convents were any less successful in attracting sizeable and distinguished audiences. Mendoza, *Chronica de la Provincia de S. Antonio de los Charcas*, 70, implies their presence when he writes of the “exemplo a todos los que oyen, y atienden a lo deuoto del rezo, y suaue del canto” in Santa Clara in the mid-seventeenth century.
 27. See, for example, ASSAA, score no. 14 (mentioned earlier); no. 45, an anonymous *Lauda Jerusalem a 12*; no. 205, a four-part *Miserere* by Pedro Vidales marked with the name Doña Catalina de San Gabriel on the cover; no. 227, an anonymous four-part villancico *Ya no mas Cupido hermoso*; and no. 228, a villancico *Enigma soy viviente*, marked with the name Doña Francisca Gamarra.
 28. A further indication of a connection between the seminary and the convents may be deduced from several other scores in the seminary archive. No. 326, *Atended escuchad*, no. 98, *Dixit Dominus*, and nos 190

and 191, both *Laetatus sum*, are all dedicated to Santa Catalina, whilst two villancicos, nos 135, *Quedito quedo*, and 161, *Para entrarse Monja*, are dedicated to Santa Clara. The last piece is particularly suggestive, implying that villancicos may have been written and performed for the ceremony of the taking of the vows, as they were in Spain (Miguel Angel Marín, “Music and Musicians in Provincial Towns: The Case of Eighteenth-Century Jaca [Spain]” [Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1999]). The regular borrowing of seminary music by the convents is also implied by the note on a heavily used villancico, no. 145, *Buen viaje, leba la amarra*: “*hombre ô muger seas quien fueses/quien aqueste papel cantares/advertid que nescesita/mucho donayre y gracia.*” The seminary and Santa Catalina were both Dominican-run institutions, which may have helped to forge a musical bond.

Male musicians also played a leading role in convent music in Lima, to judge from an edict dated 1717 in which the archbishop complained about the convents’ excessive expenditure on “*la composición de la música de los Conuentos de Religiosas las semanas Santas, para cantar las pasiones, concurriendo Maestros diferentes a este efecto e instruyrlas*” (Sas, *La Música en la Catedral de Lima*, 39). With reference to Spain, Alfonso de Vicente Delgado, *La Música en el Monasterio de Santa Ana de Avila (siglos XVI–XVIII)* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1989), 18–21, notes that male musicians from Ávila Cathedral participated in the musical activities of the convent of Santa Ana as teachers, composers, and directors.

29. ADC, Raya y Andrade, leg. 240, 1722–3, f.297. Clause 12 reads: “*declaro me deue la S.ra D.a fran.a olaia Monja Profesa y Vicaria del monasterio de Santa Cathalina por dos Salmos q compuse treinta y sinco ps.*”
30. ADC, Bustamente, leg. 22, 1694, f.897. See also Stevenson, “Cuzco Cathedral,” 16.
31. For example, a report written in 1648 by the seminary’s rector, Don Juan de Cardenas y Céspedes, was supported by a witness who stated that seminary musicians took part in the celebrations for the patron saints of the city’s monastic institutions: “*asimismo los dhos musicos colegiales acuden a la celebraçion de los santos patronos de los conuentos y religiones desta ciudad*” (Archivo General de Indias (AGI): Lima, 333).
32. ADC, Flores de Bastidas, leg. 98, 1654–5, f.419. The notarial document begins:

“*En la ciudad del cuzco del piru en siete dias del mes de julio de mill y seiscientos y cinquenta y quatro años por ante mi el escrivano y testigos paresio thomas de herrera rresidente en esta dha ciudad y otorgo que se consertaua y conserto con el L.do juan de pancorbo presuitero administrador del monesterio de monjas de santa catalina de esta ciudad por tiempo de dos años que an de correr y contarse desde seys deste dho mes para efecto de enseñar a una niña que se esta criando en el dho monasterio nombrada ana maria carrillo a tocar tecla*

y cantar canto de organo con todos los rrequisitos que tiene el arte de musica y se obligo a darle todos los dias de trauajo una liçon y no a de tener obligacion a darsela los dias de fiesta de guardar ni los domingos. y por la ocupacion y trauajo que en ello a de tener le a de dar y pagar çiento y ueinte pesos en cada uno de los dhos dos años que se le an de pagar de seis en seis meses la mitad dellos que son sessenta pesos y confeso auer rresseuido del dho llisençiado juan de pancoruo sesenta pesos de a ocho por lo adelantado de los seys meses primeros del dho año de que se dio por entregado.”

This document is alluded to in Stevenson, “Cuzco Cathedral,” 16. Stevenson relies upon Jesús Covarrubias Pozo, “Apuntes para la historia de los monumentos coloniales del Cuzco,” *Revista Universitaria* 46, no. 113 (1957):105–407, for his information. The latter article is, however, too error-strewn to be of use as a research tool. Of the eight documents “transcribed” by Covarrubias Pozo to which Stevenson refers, two contain errors of dating and two contain incorrect transcriptions of names, so that the organ-builder Gabriel Cabezas appears once as Gabriel Calderón and once as Martín Cevallos. Covarrubias Pozo listed the Herrera document as dating from 1644, when it clearly states 1654, and his brief summary of the document contains other notable errors.

33. ADC, Lopez de Paredes, leg. 141, 1656, f.446. The document begins:
- “En la ciu.d del cuzco en seis dias del mes de julio de mill y seiscientos y sinquenta y seis años ante mi el escriuano pu.co y testigos paresio tomas de herrera maestro organero = Y dixo que se consertaua y conserto con el Licenciado juan de pancorbo presuitero para enseñar a una niña que tiene en el monasterio de nrâ señora de los Remedios en la tecla a raçon de siento y beynte pessos cada año a lisionarla y ducomentarla en contrapunto y compusision en la musica y le a de dar a entender todo el juego del organo con que la a de dejar que sepa conoser entender y sacar el proceder y de todos los tonos y sus diapacones a contento de qualquier maestro y por la ocupasion del contrapunto y compossession le a de dar siento y sing.ta pesos de a ocho y de la dha compusision reciue agora setenta y sinco pesos de a ocho que es la mitad de los dhos ciento y sinquenta y lo demas a un año y antes si antes ssupiere el dho contrapunto y compusision = Y por el trauajo de la dha compusision y de lisionar la en la dha tecla le a de dar y pagar siento y beynte pesos por un año en que le a de enseñar los susodho pagados cada seis meses adelantados la mitad y confeso aber receuido los sesenta pesos dellos.”*

Although the pupil is not named in this later document, the fact that it was drawn up two years to the day after the first, and that the salary was the same, suggests that it may have been a continuation of the earlier contract with the same girl.

34. See Geoffrey Baker, “Indigenous musicians in the urban *parroquias de indios* of colonial Cuzco, Peru” (forthcoming).
35. ADC, Solano, leg. 306, 1674–6, f.13. Achasa agreed “*de enseñar a doña sisilia de pas que esta en el monesterio de santa Catalina en el baxon y organo dando dos Lisiones todos los dias y asimesmo a doña sebastiana muchacha en el*

- baxon.*” He was to be paid fifty pesos for the year. His guarantors included Simon Guayanto, “*maestro cantor y natural de la dha parroquia de san sebastian.*” The *bajón* was undoubtedly an important instrument in convents, as it could compensate for the lack of lower voices.
36. Mendoza, *Chronica de la Provincia de S. Antonio de los Charcas*, 71: “*En lugar aparte dedicado para Nouiciado, asisten las Nouicias, y recien professas, que estan a la obediencia de la Maestra de Nouicias; aprendiendo las ceremonias de la Religion, rezado mayor, y menor, canto llano, y de organo, y las muchachas que necessitan de leer, y escriuir, y tañer los instrumentos precisos para la musica del Coro.*”
 37. See ADC, Asuntos Eclesiásticos, leg. 3, 1739–50, Doc. 10. Josepha del Carmen, “*religiosa profesá del velo negro del monasterio de s.ta Catalina,*” declared: “*digo q tengo y poseo un gallinerito con su seldita la que me compro mis padres del qual nesecito disponer para que despues de mis dias dentre en el gose una muchacha nombrada Josepha la baxonera a q.n la e criado desde su niñes, para que sirbiese el coro como lo a estado sirbiendo, y para que pueda tener donde biuir durante sus dias.*”
 38. ADC, Básquez Serrano, leg. 55, 1708–9, f.210. The Abbess told the convent’s senior nuns “*que Antonia Viacha yndia nobicia en este dho monasterio estaua Para professar de velo blanco y para ello auia de dar un mil seis cientos sinquenta y seis pesos y Dos rreales de Dotte y que la susso Dicha en tantos años como a estado en el dho monasterio enseñando a otras de bajonera por que no ayga falta en este dho combento por cuyo trauaxo y seruivio ttan dilatado como el que a tenido seria Muy justo el que se le rremunerasse en alguna manera lo mucho que a servido a este monastterio y que assi a pedido la sussodha le perdonen los seiscientos sinquenta y seis pessos y dos rreales y que dara un mil pessos corrientes de a ocho rreales de Dotte para professar de belo blanco.*” She went on to mention the “*trauaxo tan exsesibo que tiene de baxonera en el coro.*”
 39. ADC, Tapia Sarmiento, leg. 256, 1767–71, f.174v: “*una niña [. . .] de edad de dies y seis años nombrada Maria Eulalia Solorsano [. . .] q.e desde su tierna edad la á criado en este monasterio la madre Manuela del Christo, se le dé el Avito de Religiosa de Velo negro, obligandose el, por la media Dote que son un mill seiscientos sesenta y dos p.s cuatro rr.s condonandosele la otra mitad por la asistencia q.e ha de haser la dha. Maria Eulalia, al choro en el Exercisio de Organista en el que actualm.te está de un año á esta parte á lo que condesendieron dhas. R.das madres Piora, y de consejo p.r ser util, y nesaria en el referido choro, y organo la mencionada Maria Eulalia Solorsano.*”
 40. Stevenson, *The Music of Peru*, 56; Lizárraga, *Descripción del Perú*, 111–2; Antonio Vásquez de Espinosa, *Compendio y descripción de las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid: Historia 16, 1992), 601.
 41. Martín, *Daughters of the Conquistadores*, 182.
 42. Vicente Delgado, *La Música en el Monasterio de Santa Ana de Avila*, 14–15, quotes a 1729 report by the Bishop of Ávila, fray Pedro de Ayala,

- which, as well as confirming dowry exemptions, describes privileges similar to those offered by Santa Catalina in Cuzco: “*en algunos conventos se estila música de religiosas, y cantan versos en lengua vulgar, y especialmente en las mayores solemnidades y en la fiesta del Santísimo Sacramento, de que se sigue que los seglares más van por oír cantar las monjas que por devoción, y ellas se desvanecen por vanidad de su canto, y se admiten sin dote las músicas y no se les da oficios porque no malogren la voz con el trabajo.*” Marín, “Music and Musicians in Provincial Towns,” 110–111, states that this was general practice in the Iberian Peninsula. See Monson, *Disembodied Voices*, for evidence of similar arrangements in Italy.
43. ADC, Flores de Bastidas, leg. 92, 1645, f.s/n. [23/12/1645]. Candidato agreed to teach Francisca de Vega de Buerres: “*que sepa oficiar una misa asi de canto llano como de organo. Que sepa oficiar unas visperas y bertear con el coro que sepa un tiento de mano asentada = otro de rompido = dos motetes entre ellos la Susana = un tiento de dos tiples = Un medio registro = otro de un tiple = otro baxo = que sepa cantar canto de organo de manera que sepa tañer a quatro boces de concierto dandole un maestro qualquier paso sobre qualquier tono de los ocho todo lo qual se obligó de enseñarlo dentro de dos años que a de correr desde oy dia de la fecha desta escritura y qualquier maestro deste arte o monxa que entienda la apruebe.*” The contract was to run for two years, and Candidato was to be paid the considerable sum of 300 pesos.
44. ADC, Arias de Lira, leg. 27, 1745–6, f.4: “*Otorgaron que el dho Dn Miguel Cano de Contreras hase concierto con el dho Dn Augustin Apomayta para que a la referida su hija D.a Maria Rosalia Cano le enseñe el Monacordio y puntos de solfa hasta bersos de todos los salmos [...] al fin de dos años a de estar muy perfecta en dha Muçica sin ignorar Claues ni resetados ora este afuera o en qual quier Monasterio sprê a de correr este consierto.*” Apomayta was to be paid fifty-two pesos per year. He was *principal* (native leader) of the *ayllu* of Matará in the Hospital de los Naturales parish, which was home to a number of musicians.
45. I have only encountered three cases of female musicians in Cuzco who were employed outside a convent. The parish church of Belén and the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Belén made payments to a *vicaria de coro* between 1757 and 1796 (AAC, Parroquia de Belén, Libro de Inventarios, 1743–1869; and Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Belén, 1746–1838). This musician was probably in fact the nun, “*la madre vicaria de casa hermana Paula de buen Pastor,*” who gave a collection of instruments to the church in 1796. Evidence of two other female musicians performing outside a convent is a single payment of three pesos “*a Maria Portocarrero la cantora*” in 1745 by the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario in the *doctrina* of Urubamba, near Cuzco, and a 1779 apprenticeship contract (ADC, Acuña, leg. 14, 1779, f.11), in which the music master Don Leandro de Arcos “*se obliga de enseñar a D.a Josepha Chacon Niña menor de edad hixa de el dho D.n Alfonso Chacon á*

tocar el Ynstrumento de Clabe en todos los puntos de la solfa en toda clase de musica dandole â entender con toda claridad, y distincion, sin ocultarle cosa alguna, anexsa, conserniente, y dependiente al dho Arte, en la buena fee de ser maestro en el En cuya ensenanza se hâ de exersitar el tiempo de una hora por la mañana, y otra por la tarde de cada dia por espacio de un año esto es en todos los dias de trabaxo [. . .] hâ de entregar a la dha Niña, Clabista corriente, y diestra en tocar dho Ynstrumento en qualesquiera partes, y lugares que sean y de la aprobacion de los Maestros en esta facultad.” This contract is unique in Cuzco’s archives, and reflects the profound changes that affected the city’s music profession in the late colonial period.

The only socially sanctioned alternative to the convent for a female musician during most of the colonial period was the home. I have uncovered cases of women learning the harp or guitar for domestic purposes, but it may be assumed that girls who were learning specifically ecclesiastical instruments or skills were destined for convents.

46. ADC, Villavisencio, leg. 283, 1766–8, f.288: “*para enseñar a una Niña nombrada Maria Theresa Juana de Dios Olasabal, la facultad de acompañar con organo la Musica por solfa.*”
47. ADC, JB Gamarra, leg. 132, 1749–52, f.s/n (7/7/1750): “*para q. le enseñe el Organo [...] de suerte q. en el dho año â de aprender el dho Organo tal q. pueda asistir en qualquier Coro.*”
48. ADC, López de Paredes, leg. 151, 1667, f.218. This may well be the same Don Gaspar Viacha, *cacique* of Colquepata, whose musical niece professed (with a dowry reduction) in Santa Clara in 1708 (see note 38).
49. ADC, Bustamente, leg. 14, 1683, f.242. “*Testamento de Juan de Samudio, hijo de Don Gonsalo Toparoca Samudio y Doña Ysabel Tocto: yten declaro que en enseñarle y darle instrumentos como son de harpa monacordio Banduria y en todo lo que sabe cantos y puntos mi hija catalina de samudio tengo gastados siento y ochenta y cinco p.s.*”
50. There are no comprehensive studies of Cuzco’s monasteries, but some information can be found in Hipólito Unanue, *Guía política, eclesiástica y militar del Virreynato del Perú, para el año de 1793* (Lima: COFIDE, 1985); Bernardo de Torres, *Crónica Agustina* [1657] (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, 1974); and Mendoza, *Chronica de la Provincia de S. Antonio de los Charcas*.
51. According to Unanue, *Guía política*, 241–3, the numbers of monks in the four main houses in 1793 were: La Merced, 120; San Francisco, 97; Santo Domingo, 48; San Agustín, 37.
52. The Bethlehemite monastery and hospital of La Almudena was established in 1698, when the order took over the “iglesia semiparroquial” of Nuestra Señora de la Almudena. This church had been founded fifteen years earlier by Don Andrés de Mollinedo, *cura* of the parish of Hospital de los Naturales, because of the increasing number of residents in his parish and therefore the excessive distances that some

- parishioners had to travel to reach the principal church (ADC, Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 13, cuaderno 1, cuerpo 1).
53. Given the paucity of research undertaken on music in Iberian and American monasteries, it is hard to make inferences by comparison with institutions in other cities. Marín, “Music and Musicians in Provincial Towns,” 121, presents evidence that the Dominican friars of Jaca, Spain, were capable of performing polyphony, but he continues: “Nonetheless, even if the Dominicans and Franciscans were able to sing polyphony, plainchant remained the basic mode of performance in daily liturgical worship.” At least some monasteries in the Iberian Peninsula had considerable musical capabilities and saw regular performances of polyphony with instruments—see, for example, Daniel Codina Giol, “La Capilla de música de Montserrat a finales del s. XVII. Datos para su historia,” and Matilde Olarte Martínez, “Difusión de la música barroca española a través de los maestros de Capilla y músicos de los Monasterios,” in *Monjes y Monasterios Españoles* (San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Estudios Superiores del Escorial, 1995), 787–809 and 811–36. However, the current state of research makes it impossible to determine whether these cases were exceptional or relatively normal. No evidence of this level of musical capability on the part of monks has emerged in South America.
54. Mendoza, *Chronica de la Provincia de S. Antonio de los Charcas*, 42–3: “Dizense los Maytines a media noche, como acostumbra toda nuestra Sagrada Religion, obseruando con puntualidad las ceremonias Romanas, assi en el Canto, como en el Rezo, con assyduo desvelo de los Vicarios de Coro, y Casa.” He goes on to mention an outdoor altar between the two cloisters, where antiphons were sung on Saturdays and Sundays: “*espaciosa peana de un Altar de la immaculada Concepcion de nuestra Señora, la una, donde los Sabados despues de cenar canta la Comunidad la Antiph. de Tota pulchra es Maria, con toda solenidad, y adorno, y los Domingos la Antiph. de Stella coeli, &c. contra la peste.*” His description of the monthly procession with the Holy Sacrament in the lower cloister fails, however, to mention music: “*En cada esquina del primer claustro baxo, está un Tabernaculo de madera dorado, cõ su lienço de pintura de olio, para las processiones del Santissimo Sacramento, que celebra todos los terceros Domingos del mes, y demas festiuidades de aquel Cõuento, cuyas processiones se hazen por los claustros baxos, con mucha solemnidad.*” These processions, which occurred on the third Sunday of every month, were accompanied by the Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento of the cathedral, but no payments to the confraternity’s musicians are noted on these occasions (AAC, Cuentas de la Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento fundada en la Catedral del Cuzco y en San Francisco, 1644–73).
55. Lizárraga, *Descripción del Perú*, 111–2. See note 26.
56. *Ibid.*, 113–4.

57. Vásquez de Espinosa, *Compendio y descripción de las Indias Occidentales*, 594–600, especially 597: “celebran sus fiestas solemnísimamente en especial el día de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora que sin hacer agravio, pueden competir con todas las religiones que quitan el deseo de ver las mayores solemnidades de Roma o de Toledo o Sevilla, porque la magnificencia, y ostentación es tanta que iguala a cualquier encarecimiento.”
58. *Ibid.*, 601, on La Encarnación: “la música ha sido y es famosísima, y ha tenido el primer lugar, el gobierno grande, las fiestas solemnísimas, muchas en todo el año y en especial la del Tránsito de la Virgen; donde echan el vesto y todo el año previenen cosas nuevas de galas, y ornato para esta fiesta que dura tres días, y en el último celebran la subida y coronación. Esméranse en el adorno de la iglesia, que excede a lo de España, y en los olores y elección de los mejores predicadores, música e instrumentos”; 602, on La Concepción: “ha corrido parejas en la música con el de la Encarnación, y en voces singulares se la ha ganado, y en las fiestas tan grave y ostentativo como el de la Encarnación, que no es pequeño encarecimiento.”
59. The *Constituciones Sinodales* of Bishop Montalvo, issued in Cuzco in 1591, include the earliest information about the participation of the *capilla de música* of Cuzco Cathedral in the celebrations of other churches (Juan Bautista Lassegue-Moleres, “Sínodos diocesanos del Cusco, 1591 y 1601,” *Cuadernos para la Historia de la Evangelización en América Latina* 2 [1987]: 31–72). Chapter 38, a section encouraging good relations and mutual support between secular and regular clergy, exhorts “que [. . .] honremos sus fiestas especialmente las de sus Patronos como son las del Señor Santo Domingo, San Francisco, San Agustín y la Natividad de Nuestra Señora de la Merced y la Transfiguración del Señor, la advocación de la Iglesia de la Compañía, y los días que se celebran las fiestas de Corpus Christi embiando los tales días la música de esta Iglesia.” Evidence that the musicians of the Seminary of San Antonio Abad took over the role of supporting music in other churches in the seventeenth century was presented in note 31; this evidence is confirmed by a second report on the activities of the seminary, dating from 1669, preserved in AGI: Lima, 340, in which the rector wrote “son mas de cinquenta colegiales los cantores que sirben en la dha Yglesia y la administran en todas las desta ciudad con mucha solemnidad y pompa.” A witness to the report wrote of the seminary musicians’ “asistencia a la yglesia cathedral y al culto diuino que en ella se selebra y asimesmo al que se selebra en las demas Yglesias a donde acuden a oficiar con la musica y canto de coro en los días titulares.”
60. ADC, Messa Andueza, leg. 182, 1653, f.2688.
61. ADC, Flores de Bastidas, 1654–5, leg. 98, f.359 [damaged]–10/9/1654: “para efecto de servir en el conuento de organista acudiendo con puntualidad a tocar el organo a las oras acostumbradas.”
62. ADC, Messa Andueza, leg. 183, 1654, f.425.
63. ADC, Messa Andueza, leg. 184, 1654, f.1426.

64. Marín, "Music and Musicians in Provincial Towns," 120.
65. This information appears in ADC, Arias de Lira, leg. 25, 1741–2, f.329, a contract to build an organ worth 680 pesos for the church of the village of Usicayos in the province of Carabaya.
66. AAC, Parroquia de San Jerónimo, Libro de Fábrica, 1672–1814.
67. AAC, LIV, 2, 39. "*Expediente promovido p.r el D. D. Mathias Barzena sobre q.e se provea el oficio de Organista del Coro de esta S.ta Yg.a Catedral: [f.2v] no es dudable que el Padre Fray Joaquin de Tholedo con el especioso pretexto de organista, anda sin compañero vive todo el dia en la calle subtraido de la vista de sus Prelados, y sin que estos puedan notar sus Costumbres, ni la falta de asistencia a las Obligaciones Religiosas a que se contrajo en su Profesion, convierte en propios usos el Salario que se le contribuye sin acudir con la menor cuota a su convento el que por su defecto eroga una cantidad considerable en pagar un secular, que atienda al organo de su respectiva Yglecia.*"
68. *Ibid.*
69. ADC, Diez de Morales, leg. 75, 1631, f.12.
70. ADC, Flores de Bastidas, leg. 102, 1662, f.108.
71. ADC, Messa Andueza, leg. 200, 1663, f.1310.
72. ADC, Messa Andueza, leg. 214, 1671, f.190.
73. ADC, Beneficencia, leg. 42, 1781: "Gastos diarios del Convento de San Agustín."
74. There are no references to singers in the account books, but then this is consistent with the notion that the singers would have been the monks themselves, and were therefore unpaid. In the same account book, there is a payment of two pesos for the repair of the "*libros de coro*" (January 1783), which were presumably chant books.

The Augustinians appear to have been somewhat lacking in enthusiasm for music compared to the other orders. Bernardo de Torres, *Crónica Agustina* [1657], 257, wrote about the Augustinian Colegio de San Ildefonso, Lima: "*Los Colegiales están esentos de las ocupaciones conventuales, porque en esta casa no se acude a entierros, ni a fiestas, ni se cantan missas, ni las horas canónicas, todo se reza por no faltar a las acciones. En cinco ocasiones solamente se oye canto solemne en esta casa en todo el año.*" A modern historian of the Augustinian order seems to concur, stating that in the seventeenth century, "*Los estudiantes se dedicaron cada vez más a las letras y ciencias y menos al ejercicio de las virtudes. Buscaban afanosamente los grados académicos que les proporcionaban títulos, honores, privilegios y exenciones, dejando para los más incapacitados las tareas del coro y del culto.*" (Avencio Villarejo, *Los Agustinos en el Perú (1548–1965)* (Lima: Ed. Ausonia, 1965), 196).
75. BNL, Ms. B271. "Expediente sobre el escándalo fomentado por los padres franciscanos en su convento del Cuzco" [1678]. This manuscript, along with many others in the Biblioteca Nacional, was badly damaged by fire and subsequently by water, and therefore contains

many gaps. [f.3]: “oy día de la fecha que se quentan dos de Agosto del ano de mill y seis cientos y setenta y ocho estando en la yglesia del combento de nrõ Padre San Fran.co de ella, como a hora de la una del medio dia poco mas o menos vi que salieron por una puerta del claustro principal que sale a la dha iglesia toda la comunidad del dho Combento y Religiosos que venian en forma de procession con grande ruido de Cajas, clarines y Chirimias disparando piezas de fuego que llaman biladores [?] con cruz alta y [. . .] riales acompañandola la comunidad y Religiosos de nrã se[. . .] de las [. . .] redes, y en ella fueron cantando el himno del te deum d[. . .], hasta llegar a la capilla mayor.”

76. “dando la obediencia con grande alboroto de dhos cajas, y chirimias, repique de campanas y organo.”
77. Wind instruments were almost invariably played by indigenous musicians in colonial Cuzco, as in other Latin American cities with a large Indian population. According to the mid-seventeenth-century chronicler Diego de Córdova Salinas, *Crónica Franciscana de las Provincias del Perú* [1651] (Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957), 1035–6, Indian musicians performed at all principal Franciscan monastery festivals in Quito. Similarly, in Baroque Mexico, Indian musicians participated in important monastic celebrations (Stevenson, “Mexico City Cathedral Music,” 86). Where Cuzco appears to have differed from Quito was that in the latter case, the musicians were trained in the Colegio de San Andrés attached to the Franciscan monastery, and therefore had an affiliation with the institution in which they performed. In Cuzco there is no evidence that any of the religious orders other than the Jesuits trained Indian musicians; the evidence presented below indicates, rather, that there was a commercial arrangement between the monks and Indian parish musicians.
78. In Spain, the *capilla de música* of the cathedral often became over-committed, as it was frequently the only group in any given city capable of putting on large-scale polyphonic performances. In Cuzco with a polyphonic *capilla de música* in every parish church, the work load was spread more evenly. There was a greater number of musicians available, and musicians could therefore be borrowed more regularly.
79. ADC, *Messa Andueza*, leg. 205, 1666, f.1106: “Don Juan de Soria Puma Cusi, maestro cantor, natural de la parroquia del Hospital de los Naturales, dijo que por quanto los cantores de la parroquia de santiago de esta ciudad estan concertados con la cofradia del santo cristo de los españoles fundada en el ospital de San Juan de Dios de san bartolome de esta ciudad [. . .] para cantar en la dha cofradia con toda la musica en las missas y ffestibidades del año y entre ellos estaua concertado martin ataupuma contraalto y se le auian de pagar por año ochenta pesos y aora esta conbenido y concertado con los dhos cantores de que en lugar del dho contraalto a de entrar a serbir el dho Don Juan

- de Soria Puma cusi en cuya conformidad otorgo que se concertaba y se concertó con los cantores de la parroquia de Santiago y con Manuel Martínez sequeyro mercader mayor domo de la cofradía del Santo Cristo de los Españoles fundada en la Iglesia de San Bartolomé Hospital de San Juan de Dios de esta ciudad por maestro Cantor y Contralto de los dichos cantores.*” They were to attend every Friday and at all festivities, “*acudiendo con su música y cantando.*”
80. ADC, Bustamente, leg. 16, 1686, f.582: “*para efecto de servir con su música cantando con los oficiales necesarios en las misas que se celebraren los viernes de todo el año y lunes santo si saliere la procesion y la mañana de la Santa Pasqua de Resurreccion con todos los ynstrumentos musicales.*”
 81. ADC, Fernández Escudero, leg. 88, 1707, f.1034. Joseph de Medina, *pardo libre*, Báltasar Chalco, harpist from the village of Quiñota, Miguel Apac Tupa, *bajonero* of the parish of Santiago, and Báltasar Guamán, organist of the same parish, were contracted by the *mayordomos* of the confraternity “*para efecto de asistir de músicos con todos los cantores y tiple nesarios a la misa de los viernes de dha cofradía y a la quaresma a mañana y tarde y el día de pasqua.*”
 82. ADC, Messa Andueza, leg. 212, 1670, f.1167: “*para acuder con la música entera a las misas.*”
 83. ADC, Messa Andueza, leg. 176, 1649, f.1886.
 84. AGI: Lima, 306.
 85. Cases such as these offer evidence of the importance of music to religious institutions. Empirically, the monks could not afford to pay musicians. The fact that they chose to do so indicates that music was important to their self-image and was considered a fundamental part of the religious life, not a luxury.
 86. AGI: Lima, 306.
 87. ADC, Beneficencia, Pergamino 24, 1709, ‘*Datas de Limosnas-misas-entierros.*”
 88. ADC, Asuntos Eclesiásticos, leg. 12, 1790–6: f.171, ff.188–9.
 89. ADC, Beneficencia, Pergamino 23A (1708), “*Libro de Gastos del Hospital de San Andres*”; 25 (1718), “*Gastos diarios del Hospital San Andres*”; 27 (1724), “*Gastos diarios del Hospital San Andres.*”
 90. “*Gasto de la fiesta de el día de el s.r s.n Andres [1715]: “4 p al que aderezo el organo; 4 p a dos caxeros y dos clarineros; 2 p al terno de chirimias; 6 p a D.n Ygnacio Mrõ musico por la música; 1 p para cuerdas.*”
 91. See also note 65.
 92. The account books for this period can be found in ADC, Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 48, 1698–1734; and leg. 78, 1715–1816.
 93. It is not specified which *colegio* is referred to. Cuzco’s most famous singing *colegiales* were those of the Seminary of San Antonio Abad. However, the Bethlehemites ran their own school (see below), and may have trained their pupils to sing at these Easter events.

94. See Baker, “Indigenous musicians,” and note 29 above.
95. ADC, Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 65, 1751–1809, cuaderno 4: “Libro de Gastos del Convento de Bethlemetico del Cuzco 1774.”
96. ADC, Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 15, cuaderno 5, [f.6]: “*Todos los dias â ora competente se dise la Misa Combentual, â que assiste la Comunidad—Y los Juebes, sauados, y Lunes Cantadas.*”
97. *Ibid.*, [f.8]: “*Y de las mizas, que se han pagado al Capellan hasta la presente, apliquesele otra cada semana, que ha de desir cantada, todos los Lunes del año, en el Altar m.r de requiem con responso cantado por la Comunidad, que aplicamos por sufragio de las Animas, y siendo feriado la Cantara del dia, y respectuam.te, se Cantara el responso por la Comunidad.*”
98. *Ibid.*, [f.63]: “*Mandamos no se exponga el Divinissimo Sacramento a la publica veneras.n sino en las Misas de los Jueves las de renovacion, en el Octavario del Corpus, y en la fiesta, q.e de esta solemnidad deve haver anualmente esta Comunidad, conforme a los Decretos Pontificios, lo q.e se ejecutara con Miza cantada solemne y procesion*” [f.64]: “*Mandamos, q.e luego q.e sea concludo la Obra del Claustro se haga cantando en cada esquina, un responzo, y el ultimo en la Yglecia.*”
99. ADC, Colegio de Ciencias, leg.13, cuaderno 1, cuerpo 1, f.4.
100. I have located two exceptions to this general rule in Cuzco’s archives. The first is an apprenticeship agreement between an Indian named Juan Quispe from the village of Chinchero and the Franciscan monk Joseph Cortés (ADC, Fernández Escudero, leg. 95, 1713–4, f.834, dated 6/10/1714). Cortés agreed to take on Quispe’s son, Ignacio, for a period of ten years and to teach him the art of organ-playing, so that he might be capable of taking Cortés’ place when necessary. Quispe was to live in the monastery under Cortés’ roof. Cortés chose to train an Indian outsider as his successor rather than one of his fellow friars, echoing the monasteries’ tendency, noted above, to hire indigenous organists. Cortés took on Quispe “*para efecto de enseñarle a tocar el organo con ttoda perfecssion y asseo de suertte que al fin de dichos dies años pueda ser ofissial enttendiendo de puntto y de ofisiar la missa y demas oras canonicas sin que ygnore cossa alguna por cuia enseñanssa no le a de pagar cossa alguna y solo si en el ttiempo rreferido de dhos dies años se a de servir del dho Ygnacio quispe ocupandole en su lugar para que asistta en el coro en ttodas las funssiones que se ofresieren y de Vesttir a de tener cuidado el dho su padre de darle y el hermano Joseph Corttez solo le a de dar el susttentto natural en su selda, y en estta Comformidad se obliga a no haser falla ni ausencia pena de que ser atraido a su costta de donde esttubiere y Casttigado por la Justticia y a dar quentta con pago de lo que fuere a su cargo, con declarassion que si despues de dos o ttres años anttes de cumplidos los dies años destte conssiertto quisiere lleuarselo al dho su hixo y de factto se lo lleuare rreconosiendo se halla en abttitud de poder exerser el organo por si sin auer menestter demas enseñansa en ttal casso le a de dar y pagar por cada ttiertto de los que le hubiere enseñado*

a ttassion de ottros maestros organisttas llanamentte y sin pleito alguno con las costas de la cobransa.”

In the second case, the Franciscan friar Estevan de Aramburu hired the *maestro bajonero* Don Lorenzo Tambocoro in 1714 to teach his art to five boys who were in the monk’s care; the five were to be able to perform in church functions without guidance within a year (ADC, Maldonado, leg. 205, 1713, f.506, 27/1/1714). Cuzco’s monasteries appear not to have had permanent music ensembles, and in any case, five *bajonistas* would have been excessive even in the largest of establishments; it seems likely, therefore, that the boys were being trained to work in Indian parish churches.

101. ADC, Beltrán Lucero, leg. 5, 1638, f.888: Juan Candidato “*se obligaua y obliigo de acudir al colegio rreal de san bernardo de esta ciudad tiempo de un año cumplido [. .] a donde enseñara a cantar la musica a los colegiales que el padre geronimo ermenegildo rretordel le señalare acudiendo cada dia a darles una lición eceto los domingos pasquas y una fiesta si hubiere mas en la semana y por el trauaxo y ocupacion que en ello a de tener se le an de dar y pagar ciento y beinte pessos corrientes de salario.*” This is presumably the same musician referred to in note 43. Bernardo Illari, “No hay lugar para ellos: los indígenas en la capilla musical de La Plata,” *Anuario del Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia* (1997), 99, refers to a Cuzqueño musician named Juan Candidato who was organist at the cathedral of La Plata in the 1670s and early 1680s.
102. ADC, Beltrán Lucero, leg. 9, 1644–5, f.79.
103. AAC, Parroquia de San Jerónimo, Libro de Fábrica de la Iglesia, 1672–1814: 1799.
104. Virgilio Galdo Gutiérrez, *Educación de los Curacas: una forma de dominación colonial* (Ayacucho: Ediciones “Waman Puma,” 1970); Luís Martín and Jo Ann Pettus, *Scholars and Schools in Colonial Peru* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1973).
105. Quoted in Gutiérrez, *Educación de los Curacas*, 31: “*a los hijos principales, de los caciques y curacas los tengan a cargo el que los doctrinare, de les enseñar a cantar y tañer flautas que lo aprenden muy bien [...] A los otros hijos de los indios comunes se les puede enseñar a hacer tejás y cal y trastejar y ser carpinteros y albañiles.*”
106. Martín and Pettus, *Scholars and Schools in Colonial Peru*, 127. Vásquez de Espinosa, *Compendio y descripción de las Indias Occidentales*, 610, confirms that music was part of the curriculum in the *colegio de caciques* in El Cercado, Lima, in the early seventeenth century.
107. According to a letter written in 1622 by a “Maestro de los Hijos de Caciques del Colegio del Cuzco,” the students “*acuden al canto eclesiástico y enseñase en un clavicordio para el órgano*” (Rubén Vargas Ugarte, ed., *Historia del Colegio y Universidad de San Ignacio de Loyola de la Ciudad del Cuzco* (Lima: Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas, 1948), 151).

108. The *carta anua*, or annual letter, written by the head of the Jesuit order in Peru to his European superiors in 1620, describes the aim of the *colegio de caciques* in Lima: “*el fin de él [. . .] es imponerlos en buenas costumbres y apartarlos de sus padres, [. . .] y volviendo después à sus pueblos puedan enseñarles lo que han aprendido*” (“*Letras Anuas de la Provincia del Peru de la Compañia de Jesús: 1620 a 1724,*” *Revista de Archivos y Bibliotecas Nacionales* 5 [1900]:58).
109. Carolyn Dean, *Painted images of Cuzco’s Corpus Christi: Social conflict and cultural strategy in Viceregal Peru* (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 1990), 84.
110. See Baker, “Indigenous musicians,” for further discussion of the post of *maestro cantor*.
111. Luís Martín, *The Intellectual Conquest of Peru: The Jesuit College of San Pablo, 1568–1767* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1968), 137.
112. Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del Colegio y Universidad de San Ignacio de Loyola*, 42–3: “*Todos los sábados cantan en esta capilla, la Salve de Nuestra Señora con su letanía, a canto de órgano, y así en estos días, como en sus fiestas y procesiones, y en las de nuestro Colegio, tocan los ministriles de la dicha cofradía, sus orlos, flautas, chirimías y trompetas, y esto con destreza.*”
113. Francisco Mateos, ed., *Historia General de la Compañia de Jesús en la Provincia del Perú* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1944), vol. 2, 248, writes of ceremonies in the Arequipa *colegio*: “*con gran música de boçes, las mejores que se saue aya de indios en el Pirú, y de instrumentos, flautas, chirimías y cornetas y vihueguelas de arco, la qual sirue también en nuestras fiestas principales, todo de la cofradía de los yndios.*” The ability of the Jesuit-sponsored musicians in Arequipa around this time can also be gauged from the fact that they were hired by the *maestro de capilla* of the church that was later to become the cathedral to provide their musical services on all important occasions (Robert Stevenson, *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976, 286).
114. ADC, *Colegio de Ciencias*, leg. 78, 1715–1816. The rules, as issued in this volume, were laid down by fray Antonio del Rosario, *prefecto general* of the Bethlehemite order. They include the “*Regla de N.P.S. Agustin, Capitulo IX, del gobierno de Nuestra Religion,*” on f.86 of which is written: “*Continuese el piadoso y necesario ministerio, que dexo introducida N.V.P. Pedro de San Joseph de enseñar a los niños pobres, escribir y cantar y la doctrina christiana, en escuela particular que debe estar en cada hospital. Y será maestro uno de nuestros religiosos, advertido que este sea tal a cuya virtud pueda confiarse, la buena educación y enseñanza de los pobres y esto graciosamente sin recibimiento de alguna paga o estipendio.*” Accordingly, the Bethlehemite monks in Cuzco “*y inmediatamente a su Ingreso, dispusieron una escuela de Infanttes*” (ADC, *Colegio de Ciencias*, leg. 13, Cuad. 1, Cuerpo 1, f.13). Unanue, *Guía política, eclesiástica y militar del Virreynato del Perú*, 251, described the Escuela de la Almudena as a free school with fifty-three pupils in 1793.

115. ADC, Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 50, 1585–1925, cuaderno 13, contains the accounts of the college chapel from 1768 to 1779. These include the payments “*Al maestro de la escuela docientos pesos por enseñar a leer, escribir, y cantar a los colegiales y pobres que se juntan del comun,*” as well as six pesos that were paid annually to “the musicians of San Francisco de Borja” for the feast-day of the patron saint.
116. Contracts in the ADC show that musicians who worked in parish churches were commonly hired by indigenous leaders and their communities rather than by the parish priest, and were paid out of community rather than church resources. In some cases this also applied to the collection of money to pay for the construction or repair of church instruments.

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