COLONIAL MUSIC, CONFRATERNITIES, AND POWER
IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF LIMA

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Musicology
with a minor in Latin American and Caribbean Studies
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2010

Urbana, Illinois

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Abstract

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My dissertation studies the intersections of colonial Spanish ecclesiastical and secular hegemonic orthodoxy, subaltern heterodoxy, the confraternity as an institutional nexus of these competing forces, and the musical expressions thereof in the Archdiocese of Lima, particularly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All strata of society, from slave to viceroy, gathered in confraternities, which could serve as institutions of both church control and the conservation of “pagan” traditions, and which contributed the greater portion of musical activities during the yearly religious festivals. These festivals, in turn, formed one of the principal contexts for public displays of colonial positions of power. My dissertation, through the lenses of confraternities and their musical life, explores power and cultural traditions in the archdiocese as an exemplar of how these forces operated throughout the Spanish American colonies, challenging a retroactive, historically inappropriate narrative of unilateral Spanish domination, racial essentialism, and homogenization of subaltern groups.
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Preface

When I first began to define a potential dissertation topic, I imagined that I, like many other Latin Americanists, would focus on the music of the cathedral (in this case, the cathedrals of the Spanish colonies). Cathedral music, representing elite Hispanic culture, seemed a reasonable choice within the context of historical musicology, which tends to emphasize the musical culture of Western European aristocracies. Through the course of my preliminary research, however, I could not ignore the marginalization of the colonial context in much of Latin American musicology, coupled, ironically, with musicological colonialism. To be sure, Latin American musicology certainly knows of composers of indigenous and African ancestry associated with cathedrals in the Spanish colonies who closely followed the conventions of Western European concert and concerted vocal music. Yet, much of Latin American musicology, perpetuating modern colonialisms, generally marginalized the musical and cultural traditions of people with indigenous and African ancestry beyond the cathedral, and virtually reduced them and their music to lifeless stereotypes—just as elite Hispanic orthodoxy had done during the colonial period. Too often, discussions and analyses relied on the orthodoxies of the Hispanic colonial elite, and they demonstrated little effort to filter these discussions and analyses for a post-colonial audience with little need for cultural chauvinism and rigid constructions. Too often, discussion and analyses rested upon faulty premises of racial essentialism, and they used inflexible categories that members of colonial society would not have. To a degree, these musicological colonialisms are latent manifestations of attitudes inherited from the colonial era, and reinforced through patterns of social stratification that arose during that era, but have largely survived into the present day in much of Latin America.

Upon my first arrival to Peru, I was stunned to see profound, debilitating poverty that I had never witnessed before in the United States, and the depressing sight of elderly men and women and very young children—of all ethnic groups, but the vast majority indigenous—begging on the streets of Lima remains etched in my memory. In everyday activities that I take for granted in the United States, such as going to the movies, dining out at a mid-range restaurant, or going to a play, I expect to see a broad demographic range of patrons and members of the audience. These activities are well within the means of most Americans, regardless of ethnicity. When I participated in those activities in Lima, in stark contrast, a majority of the
people in a movie theater, mid-range restaurant, or playhouse had European phenotypes (even though people of wholly or predominantly European descent comprise about 15% of Peru’s population), with a smaller portion of mestizos, and a much smaller portion of those with visibly strong indigenous or African ancestry. In Peru, “everyday” activities such as these are beyond the means of most people, and since colonial patterns of social stratification have persisted, this means that socioeconomic status strongly correlates to ethnicity. This explains the ethnic profiles of the moviegoers, restaurant patrons, and theatergoers I witnessed. I have never experienced this in the United States, where whites are hardly unique in having the means to participate in these seemingly everyday activities, and indeed comprise between slightly less than half to almost 70% of the nation’s poor, depending on how one defines American whiteness.¹ To be fair, I usually went out in Miraflores, San Isidro, or San Miguel, affluent districts in the Lima metropolitan area where (especially Miraflores or San Isidro) large numbers of North American and European white tourists visit, and the ethnic disparities would have been exaggerated in those locations. But most of the people I observed in the streets and neighborhoods of those districts were mestizo or indigenous, so I expected to see some reflection of that when I went to these venues.

Although my experiences in Peru were generally very positive (even with the circumstances I just described), I could not ignore other modern colonialisms that also sometimes caused discomfort during my stay there. In particular, while I do not believe that Peruvians are any more or less likely to harbor racial prejudice than Americans, I have observed that Americans seem to have learned to feel shame, embarrassment, or ignorance when they do. I found that when asserting that the race relations in the United States were worse than those in Peru, my Peruvian friends and acquaintances (of a wide range of ethnic groups) astutely referenced the violent history of Jim Crow racial segregation, the often simmering relations between many whites and ethnic minorities, and the infamous media images of impoverished, dejected, and neglected African Americans following Hurricane Katrina in the United States. Yet, they initially recognized no inherent racial prejudice in statements (in which I genuinely believe they intended no offense) such as “I could never date an indigenous person, but we could be good friends,” or the numerous reasons (beyond the positive ascription I received as a

¹ According to the US Census Bureau, non-Hispanic whites comprised 43% of the nation’s poor in 2008. When Hispanic whites were included, the proportion increased to 68%. See http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/data/incpovhlth/2008/table4.pdf.
foreigner) that some used to argue why I favorably differed from Afro-Peruvians. In the United States, for better or worse, most of us have learned to express such prejudice when we’re sure of our company, or that the cameras and microphones are off. Or, we seem to simply keep them to ourselves, anticipating their potential to offend.

After my dissertation research, as I surveyed a bibliography to more firmly orient the place of my study in Latin American musicology, the issue of colonialisms emerged yet again. I found the treatment of two unavoidable elements of colonial Latin American society—race and power—to be critically inadequate. And they made me think of a shocking experience I had while I was observing a panel discussion on racism in Latin America during a Fulbright enrichment symposium in Quito, Ecuador. As a member of the audience, my attention had begun to lapse after several long days of workshops and panel discussions, but I suddenly refocused it when a member of the panel—which consisted of affluent, educated, white Hispanics, save one indigenous man who seemed to visibly share my skepticism that diversity issues could be adequately addressed when the panel overwhelmingly reflected such a limited demographic profile—pointed to me and singled me out from the audience in order to reinforce some point that I had missed during a particularly soporific part of her discussion. As she completed her thought, she said, referring to me, “and he could never feel equal to a white.” The American and Ecuadorian audience was stunned into silence by this vulgar, public breach of seemingly commonsense etiquette. Unfortunately, at that time, my improvised Spanish was far beneath the task of expressing the visceral offense I took to her unconscionable disrespect, extraordinary rudeness, and arrogant patronizing, and she seemed to be more bewildered and taken aback by the scene that followed her rhetorical device, of me, a black person assumed to be the oppressed victim of white hegemony, immediately challenging her perfectly erroneous assumptions, than capable of digesting the substance of that challenge (for which my Spanish was adequate). This stark experience, unfortunately, highlights aspects of a larger issue in Latin American musicology, where many researchers—overwhelmingly sharing the demographic profiles of the panelists in Ecuador—assume a tone of almost self-congratulatory condescension toward, with distorted, unauthorized representations of those assumed to be, the passive, downtrodden, defeated victims of “white power.” This condescension and unilateral view of Hispanic hegemony, informed by racial essentialism, taint mainstream Latin American musicology as persisting colonialisms.
My experiences with colonialisms in living and in historiography demanded attention, and they ultimately resulted in my framing my dissertation as not only an endeavor to contribute to the research on confraternities and music in the Spanish colonies, but also as a necessary critique of musicological colonialisms. This has required an explicit conceptual framework from which to interpret available sources, and the use of methodologies in addition to those of conventional historical musicology. I view my dissertation then, as an interdisciplinary consideration of the complexities of colonial society in the Spanish Indies, as an opportunity to test elements of social theory, which are generally critically overlooked (or only tangentially addressed) in previous work in the area, and as a challenge to narratives of unilateral power, and developmental and racial essentialism that taint current Latin American musicology. Other musicologists of colonial Latin American music, such as Beth Aracena, Geoffery Baker, and Bernardo Illari, have used elements of social theory in their studies, but I believe that the conceptual framework that I propose in Chapter 1 (and explore throughout this dissertation) is unique in its explicitness and scope, as well as in its exploration of ambiguities in social hierarchies. This framework includes such themes as hegemonic paradox, habitus, doxa, orthodoxy, heterodoxy; power and discourse; hegemony and subalternity; and a consideration of alterity and hybridity. This exploration of colonial confraternities, music, and power is an opportunity to expand the current state research of confraternities and their music in the Spanish colonies, while avoiding the “intellectual stumbling blocks” that I address in Chapter 1.

Confraternities (cofradías) or brotherhoods arose as an “important vehicle for the Christianization of Central and Western Europe,” arriving in Spain between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries.² In Europe, the early Christian Church arose as a “federation of brotherhoods, each with its own congregation, functionaries, statutes, and treasury.” They served principally to evangelize pagan populations and offered mutual aid to members, especially through prayers for dead members.³ In Spain, in addition to their religious purpose, confraternities served as “social security institutions” based on the collective undertaking of a wide range of religious and secular activities by social groups larger than kin groups, and “laid

³ Ibid., 4.
the basis for a social and cultural life,” that continues to form an important element in the social fabric of Spanish-speaking countries.

Confraternities preserved their evangelizing and mutual aid functions when established in Peru, and were “essential in the propagation of Catholicism during the early colonial period,” which took place during the zealous Counter-Reformation, less than a century after the end of the Spanish *Reconquista*. As I argue throughout this dissertation, in the Spanish colonies, the intimate connections between the Roman Catholic Church and orthodoxies of what constituted membership in “civilized” Hispanic society (as Spaniards or Hispanicized natives, blacks, and those identified as mixed) rendered these two concepts inseparable. For that reason, I frame colonial Hispanic society, the Spanish colonial enterprise and the religio-cultural latticework that supported it as Hispano-Catholicism or Hispano-Christendom. In this vein, confraternities served to evangelize and Hispanicize hitherto “pagan” (from the perspective of colonial Hispano-Catholic orthodoxy) populations, while the activities associated with confraternities confirmed members’ membership in Hispanic society. As I will show later in this study however, this theoretical frame was often irreconcilable with *how confraternities served their members* as they carved a place for themselves in colonial society.

Confraternities followed a rather strict hierarchy of offices, the holders of which were elected every one or two years by all members in a general assembly. The highest office was that of the *mayordomo*, held by one or two individuals, and charged with the administration and direction of the organization. The treasurer, sacristan, delegates, messengers, scribes, and festival committee members assisted the chief executive officer (*mayordomo*). The responsibilities (*cargos*) of the *mayordomo*, of which financing the conspicuous display of wealth and pomp during main festivals was preeminent, often brought heavy financial burdens, and many *mayordomos* were bankrupt by the time their term ended. On the other hand, *mayordomos* who successfully executed their *cargos* gained significant cultural capital, which could enhance their own, their confraternity’s, and their family’s social status. Throughout the colonial period, a *mayordomo*’s successful execution of his *cargos* could be one means of publically demonstrating his elevated membership in “civilized” Hispano-Christian society. By the late colonial period, the ethos of Hispano-Christian “civilization” had begun to evolve into

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4 Ibid., 5.
5 Ibid., 8.
the ethos of whiteness, an ethos that I will discuss in Chapter 3. Because of the financial demands of the confraternity, mayordomos were most often affluent members of society: they were well-off mestizos, Spaniards, blacks, mulattos, and natives, including those of the indigenous nobility (curacas and caciques).

Requirements for potential members of the confraternity included baptism, first communion, and an entrance fee. As I discuss later, the constitutions frequently also required members to make periodic donations (limosnas) to the officiating members of the clergy for their work during the quotidian and celebratory activities of the organizations. Annual fees and periodic collections of offerings and alms were the principal sources of income for confraternities.

Regarding religious activity, the mass was the most important and frequently recurring activity in confraternity life, as reflected in countless entries in surviving account books. The most important masses took place during festivals, for individual funerals, and during yearly memorials for dead members. My own research confirms Meyers’s report that the activities of confraternities included celebrations not only of the patron saint (or Christian contemplation), but others that occurred throughout the year, culminating the Holy Week, All Saint’s Day, and Marian celebrations. Attendance at these events was mandatory, and members could be fined for their absences.

Téresa Egovil writes that religious festivals in the city of Lima, which occurred “with the general participation of all devotees of the city,” resulted in a series of expenses for confraternities because they competed against each other in the processions, attempting to display the “best cloaks for Saints, the best jewels, and floats adorned with silver, flowers, and candles.” Confraternities also participated in other festivals, such as those celebrating the “foundation of churches, happy occasions for the Crown, reception ceremonies for the viceroy or archbishop, or military victories.” From the beginning of processions in Lima, confraternities fought “in order to obtain the preeminence in being the organizations heading the parade with its Holy Saints,” and ecclesiastical authorities also inserted their personal preferences, “especially if

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6 Ibid., 12.
7 Ibid., 13.
8 Ibid., 12.
the Holy Saint belonged to their convent, monastery, or religious order,” until higher church authorities established rules in order to avoid disorder as processions developed.10

Expenses for processions were exorbitant, sometimes using all of a confraternity’s yearly collections, or, if exceeding them, resulting in that organization’s debt and liens on its possessions. In order to avoid economic disaster, ecclesiastical authorities passed ordinances to be added to confraternities’ constitutions that stipulated that confraternities not spend more on festival celebrations than they could afford. Given the “custom of having celebrations with great solemnity since the first years of the Viceroyalty,” this did not, however, prevent mayordomos from overspending so that they could gain prestige and “spread the reputation of the confraternity.”11 Conversely, the economic distress that these expenses caused could also partially explain the hesitation of many confraternities to participate in processions, although, as I discuss in Chapter 4, authorities could have considered this simply an excuse that black and mulatto confraternities—which they particularly singled out for chronic under-participation—used in order to not participate.

I use account books extensively in this dissertation, and in order to give the reader some sense of the financial investments that confraternities made during festivals and other events in Roman Catholic rituals, I am adapting Geoffrey Baker’s “A note about salaries” from the appendices section of his dissertation.12 During the last decade of the seventeenth century in Cuzco, a yearly salary of 400 to 600 pesos could support a modestly comfortable lifestyle. Wealthy confraternities were known to spend at least, often several or more multiples of, this amount for festivals alone. During the late seventeenth century, indigenous workers in textile mills (obrajes) ideally received between a roughly forty-eight and fifty-six pesos annually, well below that required for a modestly comfortable lifestyle, while the standard daily pay for manual labor (aside from mining) was one-quarter peso plus food. During the middle of the eighteenth century, laborers on rural estates (haciendas) might earn fourteen to eighteen pesos yearly, while obraje workers could earn one peso daily; in both cases, these salaries alone were probably not

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10 Ibid., 57.
11 Ibid., 56-57.
enough for subsistence. As I show in later in this dissertation, confraternities typically paid musicians such as shawm players (chirimistas), drummer (bajeros), and trumpeters (clarineros) anywhere from one to several dozen pesos for performing during a single festival, well above the typical wage of a manual laborer. If musicians such as these hired themselves out to several confraternities and/or were hired for enough musical functions beyond those needed for festivals, they would have enjoyed a comfortable life.

Confraternities were organized under patron saints, reverence of the Virgin Mary, and contemplation of Roman Catholic themes. Confraternities had an essential place in public, heavily attended religious festivals, during which the colonial state and Church carefully choreographed official displays of power and control, which I discuss in Chapter 2. In the city of Lima, the Church recognized over sixty confraternities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and there were far more confraternities in the rural areas of the archdiocese. During the colonial era, the archdiocese of Lima was unique because it contained large groups of all the major racial categories of the Spanish colonies, and members of all racial categories participated in confraternity life. In 1639 for example, of the eighty-five Lima confraternities that the Church recognized, twenty-six were of Spaniards, nineteen were of natives and mestizos, and forty were of blacks and mulattos.

Since confraternities provided an avenue for social advancement, particularly wealthy mayordomos often sponsored far more than one confraternity. As members of the most socioeconomically advantaged strata in colonial society, mayordomos were expected to conform to prevailing standards of Hispano-Christian decency, and their activities in support of their confraternities reinforced their colonial position. Yet, as I discuss throughout this dissertation, confraternities were no mere reflections of Hispano-Christian domination, and some mayordomos participated in pre-colonial indigenous activities in the outlying provinces of the archdiocese. But neither were confraternities enclaves of deliberate resistance among people of African and indigenous descent. They, like the members who joined in them, were often ambiguous and contradictory.

This project would not have been possible without institutional and personal support. I would like to thank the Fulbright Commission (IIE) for supporting my dissertation research in Lima, Peru with a Dissertation Research Fellowship between September 2005 and November 2006. I am especially grateful to the staff of the Fulbright Commission of Peru for the invaluable
assistance they provided as I experienced culture shock and began to adjust to life in Peru. A Tinker Travel Grant from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CLACS) made my pre-dissertation research in Cuzco and Lima possible during the summer of 2004. The CLACS also supported my language studies in Brazilian Portuguese and Quechua while I did coursework through Foreign Language Area Studies fellowships between 2002 and 2003. I am indebted to the former director of the CLACS Nils Jacobsen (whose course in Andean history began my fascination with Peru) for his insight on Peruvian historiography, archival research, and introducing me to several researchers active in Lima and Cuzco.

The staff of the Historical Archives of the Municipality of Lima showed incomparable patience and efficiency in accommodating my many requests. The director and staff of the Archiepiscopal Archives of Lima were critical as I gathered archival materials. Director Laura Gutiérrez demonstrated her understanding nature by granting me access to thousands of folios (resulting in nearly 5,000 digital images). I cannot express the value of Melecio Tineo’s calm demeanor, infectious optimism, and matchless knowledge of archival sources. Jessica Aliaga’s impish humor made me laugh and smile. Ana María Vega de Zárate, director of the Franciscan Historical Archives, granted me access to the musical archive, which was in disarray upon my arrival. In exchange for access to this archive, I organized and completed a preliminary catalogue (“Catálogo Preliminar de Partituras de Música del Archivo Histórico Franciscano de Lima (Setiembre-Noviembre 2006)”), a gem of practical experience for me. Ana María recently passed away, and I will miss the many conversations we had while I worked.

The members of my dissertation defense committee, John Walter Hill, my advisor, Christina Bashford, Donna Buchanan, and Tom Ward, were unfailingly patient and supportive as I postponed completing this project several times in order to address more immediate, non-academic requirements of life. John Walter Hill directed me in the early stages of my research to likely documentary sources and issues to consider from his own study of Italian confraternities, his insistence that I integrate musical examples and analyses kept me grounded in methodologies appropriate to historical musicology, and his erudition has always inspired me. Christina Bashford’s particularly sharp eye for typographical errors, and suggestions for fine-tuning the editing of my music sources and remembering the audience were especially useful as I made final revisions of the manuscript. Donna Buchanan’s formidable candor and razor-keen
observations command respect, and her reminders to include audiences beyond those in Latin American musicology will always resonate in me in future research. Finally, Tom Ward’s attention to not only the quotidian and yearly rituals in the Roman Catholic Church, but also their temporal evolution, has been a valuable corrective in my thinking.

Finally, my family, especially my late grandfather, my mother, and my brother, continue to exemplify the merits of education, hard work, sacrifice, and remaining grounded.
Chapter 1

A Critique of Essentialism, Homogeneity, and Unilateralism

Introduction

Upon a reflection of the undisputed importance of Incan cultural heritage in the development of Spanish and indigenous syncretism in colonial Cuzco, and historians’ long acknowledgement of the colonial Cuzco School of visual arts, Geoffrey Baker is struck by the virtual omission of natives in two seminal musicological articles regarding colonial music in Cuzco, a symptom of the generalized marginalization of the colonial context in mainstream Latin American musicological literature. He writes:

Looking at the articles of Stevenson and Claro, however, Indians are almost entirely absent. They are not mentioned once by Claro. Stevenson notes that Indians were trained as *ministrilles* in the cathedral in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and collects the names of a few seventeenth-century indigenous organ-builders. Overall however, the Indians could hardly have occupied a more peripheral place in the corpus of musicological works on Cuzco. Where was the meeting of two worlds? Where was the “hybrid city” that had so caught the imagination of social and cultural historians?

The “colonial-ness” of the setting – the racial inequality, coercion, accommodation, negotiation – is virtually absent; the Cuzco which emerges from these pages feels like provincial Spain, like a variation on a Hispanic theme. Yet racial and social stratification are generally considered to be the two most characteristic issues of colonial Latin American history. Studies which neglect these issues are surely failing to grasp the elements which most distinguish the colonies from the metropolis, and to grapple with the “colonial” in colonial Latin American music.  

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14 Baker, 9-10.
In a related vein, Beth K. Aracena comments on the pervasive focus on Hispanic cathedral music in Latin American musicology, which ignores equally important musical traditions of much broader swaths of colonial society that merit serious scholarship. She writes:

Historiographically, Latin American musicology has constructed itself as the succession of chapelmasters working at the most prominent cathedrals. Indeed the majority of biographical information on colonial musicians derives from church records and manuscripts which focus on cathedral personnel. Beyond cathedral walls flourish other musical traditions, however, which are equally worthy of our attention.¹⁵

In this chapter, I am concerned with addressing unexamined assumptions, or “intellectual stumbling blocks”¹⁶ about colonial society that affect mainstream Latin American musicologists’ interpretations of musical culture. First, I draw attention to the pervasive reinforcement of logos-centric, colonial-era, Hispanic hegemonic discourse (which includes “racial” essentialism, homogenizing of hegemonic/subaltern categories, and official denial of mutual cultural exchange) present in mainstream Latin American musicological investigation. Intellectually and scholastically, this reinforcement prevents balanced examinations of power, “race,” and social stratification, without which the investigation of colonial Latin American musical cultures is critically deficient and crumbles under the weight of the (ideally) self-correcting rigors of scholarship. Beyond academia, this reinforcement contributes to the persistence of internalized and projected justifications for many of the social pathologies (including poverty, ignorance, and infectious disease) that disproportionately affect subalterns in Western societies and their former colonies.

¹⁵ Beth K. Aracena, “Singing Salvations: Jesuit Musics in Colonial Chile, 1600-1767” (dissertation), University of Chicago (1999), 143-144.
¹⁶ I borrow this term from David Patterson. During my first year as a musicology graduate student, I took his course in the intellectual history of American concert music. During our readings of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century figures in American concert music, we were often struck by what Patterson described as “intellectual stumbling blocks,” a euphemism for the then cavalier, commonsense discourses of race that most modern audiences would find mildly to extremely offensive. They were often only marginally relevant to the readings or discussions (if at all), but they were jarring in their commonsense matter-of-factness, becoming stumbling blocks that caught us off guard. In that course, we moved forward with the salient themes of the readings and discussion. In my dissertation, I address “intellectual stumbling blocks,” since, while not always characterized by offensive discourses, they are more than distracting relics of the past, and are emblematic of unexamined discourses of race and class that form the problematic conceptual frameworks regarding colonial society in recent mainstream Latin American musicology.
Finally, I propose a preliminary theoretical model (interwoven with a discussion of social stratification in the Spanish colonies) to equip myself with the critical tools to interpret the available historical and musical evidence, and compensate for the inherent inadequateness of this evidence alone. The principal elements from my model of hegemonic paradox and alterity are an expansion of Bourdieu’s formulation of habitus, doxa, orthodoxy and heterodoxy; a linkage of power and discourse influenced by Foucault; an extended exploration of hegemony and subalternity seminally inspired by Gramsci; and a consideration of alterity and hybridity informed by Bhabha. Since individuals of hegemonic strata recorded the bulk of extant historical evidence for use by other cohorts, exclusive, unreflective reliance on this evidence necessarily distorts and limits investigation. A preliminary theoretical framework serves to inform my assumptions and conjectures made in light of the inherent perspectival and material incompleteness of the documentary evidence alone, and will hopefully induce future researchers to work to confront issues that remain unresolved by my work. Ultimately, this framework contributes to a methodology that acknowledges the sophistication, subtlety and acumen of those whose sophistication, subtlety, and acumen are too often invisible in colonial and neocolonial historiography.

Musicologists of colonial Latin American music have been collectively slow to expand their work by including serious inquiries about non-elite colonial society and integrating them with earnest studies of colonial musical cultures, and even slower to assimilate systematic social theory to frame their investigation. Among the few researchers (some of whom I discuss below) who have made the attempt, a prevailing tendency exists that reinforces a narrative that rigidly and anachronistically oversimplifies fluid and often ambiguous colonial social categories, in particular by discursively conflating “ruling class” and “elite” with “Spanish,” which is further conflated with “European,” or “white,” while presenting subalterns as defenseless, passive, and exclusively of African and/or indigenous descent—discursively denying Spanish (and following the conflating logic of the narrative, “European” or “white”) subalternity. This colonizing European/colonized non-European binary underlies mainstream Latin American musicology.

This partially results from the historical emphasis in historical musicology on elite northwestern European musical cultures, which lacked a multiracial colonial context—the audience and canonic musicians investigated were primarily European and from hegemonic social strata—this emphasis could hardly prepare investigators to study the colonial musical
cultures of the far more “racially” heterogeneous Spanish Indies. Indeed, early investigation of colonial musical cultures in Latin America—certainly affected by northwestern European and Anglophone cultural, economic and military hegemony—attempted to mirror northwestern European and Anglophone historical musicology, focusing on the musical cultures associated with elite Spanish institutions (peripheral to the West until the post-Franco Bourbon restoration in 1975 and entry in 1986 into what was formalized as the the European Union in 1993), while virtually omitting the heterogeneous colonial bodies that performed, created, and reproduced these cultures. In Latin American musicology’s version of literary critical theory, the reification of musical texts and artifacts and analyses has structured the belated investigation of non-elite, non-European musical practices. In this vein, Bhabha’s critique of literary critical theory in its treatment of non-Western Others is appropriate to my criticism of mainstream Latin American musicological research:

The Other is cited, quoted, framed, illuminated, encased, in the shot/reverse-shot strategy of serial enlightenment. Narrative and the cultural politics of difference become the closed circle of interpretation. The Other loses its power to signify, to negate, to initiate its historic desire, to establish its own institutional and oppositional discourse. However impeccably the content of an ‘other’ culture may be known, however anti-ethnocentrically it is represented, it is the location as the closure of grand theories, the demand that, in analytical terms, it be always the good object of knowledge, the docile body of difference, that reproduces a relation of domination and is the most serious indictment of the institutional powers of critical theory.17

This reproduction of Occidental discourses of alterity and domination has framed researchers’ retroactive, essentialist and static “racial” characterizations that were absent from (or if present, certainly not prevalent in) discourses of “race” until post-independence nationalism. When researchers have belatedly considered the social milieu of colonial musical cultures in the Spanish Indies, they have overwhelmingly relied on superficial, unexamined and not infrequently outdated discourses of power—perhaps internalizing the so-called Black Legend of

17 Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture, New York: Routledge (1994), 31. Unless otherwise noted, all italicized words and phrases in my citations are those of the author.
Spanish colonization—and falling behind even mainstream historical musicological investigation, which has generally explored newer methodologies cautiously.

**Mainstream Latin American Musical Historiography and Opportunities for Post-Synchronic, Homogeneous, and Unilateral Interpretation**

As changing demographics, evolving intercultural relations, and heated discussion in the strengthening pluralism in the West continually challenge and dismantle the authority of Eurocentric triumphalism, and even while researchers attempt to more conscientiously consider the social context of colonial Latin American music, internalized formulations of unilateral European domination persist in Latin American musicology, frequently tainted with attitudes ranging from paternalistic condescension to naïve racialist characterizations of musical culture—these formulations and taints not only distract one from the study of colonial musical culture in the Spanish Indies, but form a problematic framework with which to consider the social contexts in which these musical cultures existed. To highlight my observations, I will share excerpts from mainstream Latin American musicological literature from the past twenty-five years, and foreshadow how my research addresses the issues I discuss.

In his 1988 book *La música en la Argentina*, a generation after *The Music of Peru*, Vicente Gesualdo presents a sensible discussion of indigenous and European music from Argentina’s colonial period, but devotes less than one page to the music of Africans, using most of this space in a discussion of the various forms of African servitude, and emphasizing the negative attention that the “indecent,” “barbaric,” and “coarse” music of Africans drew from contemporary observers. He unreflectively uses a quote from 1773 from the Spanish literary figure Alonso Carrio de Lavandera (pseudonymn “Concolorcorvo”) to characterize African music. Rather than qualify Lavandera’s ethnocentrism, Gesualdo simply cites him as a source to describe African music—the result is that what should be a description of African music appears to be an indictment, regardless of Gesualdo’s intentions. He writes:

> Las diversiones de los negros bozales son las más bárbaras y groseras que se puedan imaginar. Su canto es un aúllo. Usan como instrumentos musicales una quijada de asno

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18 Buenos Aires: Editorial Stella.
que rascan con un palo duro, también hacen con madera unos altos y típles cuyos sonidos espantan hasta a los burros. Utilizan como tambor un tronco hueco al que ajustan en los dos extremos un pellejo tosco. Este tambor lo carga un negro, tendido sobre su cabeza, y otro va por detrás con dos palitos en las manos golpeando el cuero, sin orden, con el solo fin de hacer ruido. Sus danzas se reducen a menear la cadera y la barriga con mucha deshonestidad, que acompañan con gestos ridículos, y que traen a la imaginación la fiesta que hacen al diablo los brujos los sábados.19

The diversions of the savage Africans20 are the most barbarous and coarse that one can imagine. For instruments they use an ass’s jaw that they scrape with a hard stick, and with wood they make loud and high [aerophones?] whose sounds would frighten even donkeys. For a drum [they use] a trunk with a hole in it to which they tighten a crude hide at the two extremes. A black carries this drum above his head, while another black follows him with two sticks in his hands beating the hide, without order, with the singular purpose of making noise. Their dances are reduced to shaking the hip and belly with much sexual abandon, which they accompany with ridiculous gestures, and bring to the imagination the festival that that they have for the devil and sorcerers on Saturdays.

In his 1989 article “Herencia Musical de las Tres Españas en América,”21 Samuel Claro-Valdes describes the social organization of colonial society according to casta (“caste”) categories. The following excerpt is noteworthy because contemporaneous historians were already rigorously challenging the view expressed in Claro-Valdes’s descriptions (particularly of indigenous and black passivity) by the time of the article’s publication.22 It is also significant

19 Ibid., 53. Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this dissertation are mine. Although I profusely cite primary and anecdotal sources in my study, I believe that, in contrast to many mainstream Latin American scholars over the past twenty years, I do so with consistent critical attention to who wrote them, and for whom. Otherwise, I run the risk of appearing to ethnocentrically criticize cultural practices, when my purpose is to describe them in a manner that is informative, yet culturally sensitive.
20 Bozales were newly-arrived and unhispanicized enslaved Africans, perceived (in colonial orthodoxy) to be the most “savage” of people of African descent in the Americas; conversely, American-born creole (criollo) people of African descent, because of their assumed acculturation in Hispanic Christendom, were considered more “civilized.”
22 For example, it was well-known among historians by the time of the publication of Claro-Valdes’s article that slave and indigenous insurrections regularly occurred throughout the colonial period, growing in frequency and intensity during the eighteenth century; see for example Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy: La gran rebelión en los Andes: de Túpac Amaru a Túpac Catari, Cuzco, Perú: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas,"1985; Rebellions and Revolts in Eighteenth-Century Peru and Upper Peru, Cuzco, Perú: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas, 1985; Un siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales, Perú y Bolivia 1700-
because it is symptomatic of anachronistic descriptions of social categories and structures (rigid, separate, and unilateral) that would have been bizarre to colonials. Claro-Valdes writes, emphasizing the rigid apartheid-like social stratification and utter impotence of non-Spaniards:

Los blancos o españoles—que incluían a los criollos, o españoles nacidos en América—tenían la hegemonía política, económica y social, formaban el núcleo gobernante y posesían casi toda la riqueza. “El desdén que españoles y criollos sentían por los mestizos y las otras ‘castas’ era ilimitada”, según Magnus Mörner en 1967. Los indios eran vasallos libres de la corona, pero desde el primer momento estuvieron sometidos a una serie de disposiciones especiales de tributo, sometimiento y restricción. Siendo la música uno de los pocos y señalados ejemplos por medio de la cual el indígena adquirió un reconocimiento superior a su condición racial. Los mestizos tenían al comienzo todos los derechos de los blancos…Sin embargo, a partir de 1576 se implantaron las primeras medidas restrictivas que llevaron, hacia fines del período colonial, a transformar a los mestizos en una verdadera casta racial: no podían ser caciques, ni escribanos, ni notarios, ni protectores de indios, e incluso encontraron traba para ordenarse de sacerdotes, pese a lo cual varios sacerdotes mestizos se desempeñaron como músicos de nota. Con todo, el mestizaje “podía considerarse en sí mismo como una amenaza contra el orden social, económico y político establecido [Mörner, p. 19-20].” Los negros introducidos como esclavos en América como una solución al problema de la escasez de mano de obra, constituyeron un fenómeno histórico que ha sido profusamente estudiado. Siguiendo a Rosenblat, podemos decir que “de manera injusta se ha acostumbrado, hasta ahora, a ver a los negros como masa inerte, pasiva, de la historia americana…Los mulatos, mezcla de español y negra, constituían la clase artesanal e incluso alcanzaron el sacerdocio y poco a poco ganaron una situación social independiente y superior a la de los indios. Las otras castas, en cambio, tuvieron a veces una condición social probrísima.

Whites or Spaniards—which included Creoles born in America—had political, economic and social hegemony, [and] formed the governing nucleus, and possessed almost all of the wealth. “The contempt that Spaniards and Creoles felt for mestizos and other ‘castes’ was limitless,” according to Magnus Mörner in 1967. Indians were free vassals of the crown, but from the very beginning they were reduced to special types of submission [such] as tribute, subordination, and restriction. Music was one of the few and highlighted examples through which the indigenous acquired a recognition superior to his or her racial condition. At first mestizos had all the rights of whites…But beginning in 1576 the first restrictive measures were implemented, which began, toward the end of the colonial period, to transform them into a true racial caste: they could not be native lords, scribes, notaries, advocates for Indians, and they even encountered obstacles to be ordained as priests, in spite of which many mestizo priests worked as noteworthy musicians. Altogether, racial mixing “could be considered in itself a menace to the established social, economic, and political order.” Blacks, introduced as slaves in

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25 Claro-Valdés, 15-16.
America as a solution to the problem of a scarce supply of manual labor, were an historic phenomenon that has been intensely studied. According to Rosenblat, we can say that “through injustice [society] has become accustomed, through the present day, to see blacks as an inert, passive mass in American history. The mulattoes, a mixture of Spanish and black, constituted an artisan class and even achieved priesthood and little by little earned a social position independent and higher to that of the Indians. The other castes, on the other hand, sometimes had an extremely poor social condition.\footnote{As I discuss later, in the Spanish colonies, the term “white” (“blanco”) was not in widespread use until the very late colonial period, and “whites” could have African and indigenous ancestry well above the historical threshold of blackness or indigenousness (“one drop to one sixteenth”) in Anglophone and continental European countries and still be considered “white” (and the far more salient category was “Spanish,” not “white”); “Indians” were not without exception a servile population—for example, the Spanish crown recognized the titles, landholdings, and privileges of native lords through the turn of the nineteenth century; as with all other social groups, mestizos and mulattoes had a wide range of social status; and the constant menace of black resistance and rebellion in cities in the Spanish colonies, and subsequent laws in response, belies a description of them as “passive.” As I will discuss later in this chapter, while it is true that Spanish colonial society certainly operated in social hierarchies based partially on what we now identify as racial ancestry, the boundaries of these ancestries were not nearly as rigid and indicative of social status as Claro-Valdes suggests. Indeed, the criteria for colonial social status were wealth, education, acculturation to Spanish modes of behavior, as well as phenotype. Since miscegenation affected all strata of colonial society, then what we now identify as racial ancestry alone was an insufficient marker of social status, and metaphors of “race” were more likely metaphors of social status, rather than unequivocal assertions of racial ancestry (the latter concept itself emerging late in the eighteenth century). Of course, as in the colonial era, such categories still often overlap in present-day Latin America, but, throughout this study, I draw a distinction between criteria that overlap, and those that truly define social categories.}

In their 1990 book \textit{Historica de la música en la Argentina},\footnote{Rodolfo Arizaga and Tompeo Campas \textit{Historica de la música en la Argentina}, Buenos Aires: Ricordi Americana, S.A.E.C. (1990).} Rodolfo Arizaga and Tompeo Campas implicitly deny “white” subalternity, and mainly restrict subaltern sectors of colonial Buenos Aires to people of African descent, who, according to the authors (apparently oblivious to the serious taint resulting from the embedding of racial stereotypes in a scholarly presentation), are naturally fond of rhythm, and argue that these downtrodden Africans, even without the influence of the “tropical exuberance” of their native lands, nonetheless managed in celebrations to show a degree of happiness not found among their (North) American slave brethren:

La vida social generalmente intense cuandos los jerarquías danzan en los escenarios del poder, recibió en estos tiempos una respectable cuota musical. Se realizaban conciertos íntimos con obras de autores europeos, en lo que predominaba la música para clave, violin, flauta o arpa a cargo de los propios contertulios, y se organizaban bailes familiares, muchas veces suntuosos, en los que las danzas de salon más aceptadas eran el minué, la gavota, la contradanza, el paspié y el vals.

Resulta lógico deducir que en estas tertulias aristocráticas no participaba el hombre común, quien también siente avidez y necesidad de esparcimiento al igual que los

aristócratas. Esto se dio, principalmente, en la población de color. El negro, por naturaleza, es apegado al ritmo. En aquellos tiempos, en el Río de la Plata había esclavitud, aunque de características menos brutales que en otras zonas americanas, como el sur de los actuales Estados Unidos y Brasil, donde se la utilizaba como mano de obra agraria. En el Río de la Plata, en cambio, por razones de idiosincrasia productiva, el negro estuvo destinado casi exclusivamente a la servidumbre urbana, incluida la doméstica.

Ese negro, amordazado por la rigidez de una iglesia que prolongaba el fanatismo de Felipe II…y acaso sin la excitación de la exuberancia tropical, se entregó a sus celebraciones una alegría quizá más moderada que la de sus hermanos de infortunio en otras regiones.\textsuperscript{28}

The generally intense social life when elites danced in scenes of power, received in those times a respectable amount of music. They gave intimate concerts with the works of European composers, in which music for keyboard, violin, flute or harp predominated and were provided by those who attended these informal gatherings, and they organized friendly, often times sumptuous dances, in which the most accepted salon dances were the minuet, the gavotte, the contradance, the passeped and the waltz.

It is reasonable to deduce that in these informal aristocratic gatherings the common man did not participate, who also felt self-indulgent and needed to relax as much as the aristocrats. This occurred, principally, in the colored population. The black, naturally, is fond of rhythm. In those times, in the River Plate, there was slavery, but of a less brutal nature than that in other American zones, such as the south of the present-day United States and Brazil, where slavery was used like a hand of agrarian labor. In the River Plate, on the other hand, for reasons of [the] productive idiosyncracies [of the colony], the black was destined almost exclusively for urban servitude, including the domestic.

This black, softened by the rigidity of a church that sustained the fanaticism of Phillip II…and even without the excitement of tropical exuberance, brought to his celebrations a cheerfulness perhaps more moderate than that of their brothers of misfortune in other regions.

In his brief 1992 article “Los pardos y la sociedad colonial de Buenos Aires hacia fines del siglo XVIII,”\textsuperscript{29} Waldemar Axel Roldán accurately describes the fluidity of “race” in colonial

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 17.
\textsuperscript{29} “(Pardos and the Colonial Society of Buenos Aires Toward the End of the Eighteenth Century)” in \textit{Latin American Music Review}, 13:2 (Fall/Winter). In my studies, “pardo” most often referred to people of partial African descent. Axel Roldán’s (and other Latin America musicologists’) awkwardness could be emblematic of the result of sustained American and northwestern European hegemony in Latin America with which many from broad sections of Latin American countries come to terms. When engaging with American and northwestern European constructions of “racial” identity, they recognize (or deny?) the incompatibility of Latin American constructions of race (which assume mixture and are informed by socioeconomic status) with American and European constructions (which do not recognize heterogeneity, operate by hypodescent and do not reference socioeconomic status) projected upon them, but reinforce historically and culturally inappropriate American and European models. While Spain has reinforced its position in the “developed” world through its entry into the European Union, Latin American countries largely moved from Spanish hegemony to American and northwestern European hegemony, from colonies to neocolonies, awkwardly and partially shifting from the orthodoxies of the Spanish to those of the
Latin America, recognizing how socioeconomic status, along with perceived biological heritage, determined one’s “racial” category in colonial discourse in Buenos Aires, but he immediately lapses into a rigid, simplistic (and inconsistent) description of *pardos* and their status in colonial society (and also imposes modern interpretations of “purity of blood” that were far from crystallized during the period of time in question). In the following excerpt, Axel first describes *pardos* as those having mixed racial parentage, but later seems to use this term to describe anyone not recognized as white in colonial society, and he contradicts himself in acknowledging that wealth defined social status more than ancestry, only to suggest later that the taint of the mixed ancestry of *pardos* negated any prestige from wealth they had, and doomed them to marginalized status. Finally, he reduces African servants (before having completed his discussion of *pardos*, seemingly suggesting a third conflation, with Africans) to passive caricatures. Axel Roldán writes:

Genéricamente se conoce a estos hombres como “pardos.” Pero la sociedad de Buenos Aires tenía más en cuenta la posición económica alcanzada que la pureza de sangre. No importaba tanto ser blanco, mestizo o mulato. Lo significativo era el nivel económico logrado…[pero] esos pardos, eran los desposeídos de siempre, los nacidos para servir, los marginados del poder para quienes la sociedad colonial no encontraba lugar ni modo adecuado para ocuparlos. No había cabida para ellos a pesar de haber sido eficaces defensores de la patria. Quedaron relegados a vender chucherías, pastelitos, tortas, dulces y golosinas o atender puestos de verdura, carne vacuna o pescado. Las mujeres pertenecían al servicio doméstico y en muchos hombres recayó también esta tarea. Don...
Francisco de Paula Sáenz tenía en su casa diez negros vestidos de rigurosa etiqueta, siempre dispuestos a acudir al llamado del patron por la más insignificante menudencia.  

Generically these men [of mixed racial heritage] are known as “pardos.” But the society of Buenos Aires paid more attention to the economic position achieved than the purity of blood. It was not important if one were white, mestizo, or mulatto. What was important was the economic level reached...[but] these pardos were always the dispossessed, born to serve, marginalized from power for which colonial society had neither found a place nor an adequate mode to accommodate them. There was no room for them despite having been efficient defenders of the land. They remained relegated to selling confections, pastries, cakes, sweets, and sweet tidbits or to selling vegetables, beef, or fish at stands. Women belonged in domestic service, and this work fell to many men also. Don Francisco de Paula Sáenz had ten Africans in his house dressed in the most rigorous etiquette, always available to come to the call of their patron for the most insignificant trifle.

Astoundingly, near the end of the article, Axel Roldán describes the music of gente de color (people of African descent) toward the end of the eighteenth century, with a racist (and supremely inappropriate, especially considering its placement in a refereed academic journal) statement on these musicians (and presumably contemporary gente de color):

Nadie los amparaba, nadie los protegía, estaban indefensos. Eran los protagonistas de muchas de las perturbaciones que vivió Buenos Aires por entonces. Algunos miembros conspicuos de la Iglesia habían comenzado a no ver muy bien ciertas pretensiones, como la de divertirse baliando fandangos o recreando bailes de carnaval. Unió región de pardos que surgió a la escena de esas manifestaciones del quehacer artístico solo por la maravillosa disposición natural de la gente de color hacia la música, que es harto conocido.

No one defended them, no one protected them, they were defenseless. They were the protagonists of much of the unease through which Buenos Aires lived during that time. Some outspoken members of the Church had begun to see certain pretensions in a

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30 Ibid., 227. Regarding the depraved status of persons of mixed racial heritage, Axel Roldán’s description of colonial Buenos Aires, even if accurate, would have been an anomaly in the Spanish American Empire. As I discuss later, persons of mixed racial heritage were found among all strata—elite to slave—throughout the Spanish colonies, and enjoyed freedoms in proportion to the amount of wealth they possessed. Although the term “mulatto” is widely considered offensive, I try to preserve the terms and meanings as they were used during the colonial period in Peru, particularly among those who most commonly referred to themselves as “mulattos.” The term “mixed race,” while now more widely considered to be neutral in Anglophone countries, has no Spanish translation that connoted the same meaning indicating mixed African and Spanish ancestry, as “mestizo” referred to those of mixed Spanish and indigenous ancestry.

31 Ibid., 228.
negative light, such as that of entertaining oneself dancing fandangos or recreating dances from Carnaval. A legion of *pardos* emerged at the scene to view the work of artists only for the marvelous natural disposition of people of color toward music, which is well known.

In his 2000 article “Antecedentes históricos del culto a San Baltazar en la Argentina: La Cofradía de San Baltazar y Animas (1772-1856),” Norberto Pablo Cirio describes a number of institutions (one of which was the confraternity) designed to reinforce Hispanic control over slaves, but he does not question the extent to which these institutions fulfilled their design:

> En América Latina los esclavos negros siempre han sido objeto de fuertes controles por parte del gobierno y sus amos. La metropolis, temerosa de motines y revueltas, cosa que no pocas veces sucedía, instauró diversos mecanismos de control social, muchos de ellos de carácter paternalista como la cofradía.

In Latin America, African slaves have always been objects of strong controls on the part of the government and their masters. Colonial centers, fearful of uprisings and revolts, which not infrequently occurred, established various mechanisms of social control, many of a paternal character, such as the confraternity.

Later, quoting Javier Laviña’s article “Afroamericanos, rebeldes cimarrones y creadores,” he continues:

> Para conseguir el sometimiento y la degradación humana del esclavo, los señores contaban con fuertes aliados, la iglesia encargada de practicar la violencia espiritual (y) el estado que se encargaba con rigor en la aplicación de la ley contra todos aquellos que

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33 ibid., 193.

34 After reading Cirio’s article, one has the impression that all of the black and mulatto population of Buenos Aires was enslaved, and indeed he conflates “black” and “slave”, which is of course a distortion, and only gives us a glimpse of this large, varied population. In my study, I draw attention to the different strata of the black and mulatto population in the city of Lima: affluent, impoverished, freeborn, emancipated, slave, and newly enslaved. Throughout my study, I try to identify and preserve the distinctions between and within groups that colonials would have recognized.

intentasen alzarse contra el justo dominio…[y] La cristianización, al menos formal, de los esclavos era un objetico que los propietarios no desdénaban porque se llevaba a cabo como un mecanismo más de dominación. Los esclavos recibían como doctrina la aceptación de su condición y la promesa de la libertad después de la muerte, con lo que, de alguna manera, se intentaban frenar las sublevaciones.\textsuperscript{36}

In order to achieve the surrender and human degradation of the slave, powerful men counted on strong alliances, the church was put in charge of extirpating paganism, the state in charge of rigorously applying the law against all who should attempt to overcome their \textit{justo dominio}…[and] the evangelization (at least formally) of the slaves was an objective that the slave owners did not reject because eventually it served as an additional mechanism of domination. The slaves received as a doctrine the acceptance of their condition and the promise of freedom after death, which, in a certain form, was used to check uprisings.

Cirio rightly recognizes the utility of the Church as an institution that could check potential subversion, but takes his source at face value, as if the invulnerability and success of elite designs were beyond question and slaves simply internalized Church doctrine and acquiesced to their bondage:

\begin{quote}
De este modo los grupos de poder solucionaban tres problemas a un tiempo, convertir a esos paganos en Buenos cristianos (una obsesión que atormentó a toda la conquista española), tenerlos calmos de revueltas, augurándolos una libertad eternal post mortem y, naturalizando su condición, desentenderse de su condición de esclavos.\textsuperscript{37}
\end{quote}

From this mode, the groups in power solved three problems at the same time, converting the pagans into good Christians (an obsession that plagued all of the Spanish conquest), peacefully discouraging them from revolts by promising eternal freedom \textit{post mortem}, and naturalizing their conditions, overlooking their conditions as slaves.

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 194.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.
Finally, while correctly noting the widespread funerary emphasis of confraternities during the colonial period and particularly of Saint Baltazar, Cirio casually reduces the lifelong desires of the slaves in that confraternity to that of dying in peace, after having been conquered in life:

Aunque la preocupación por la muerte y el más allá pueda considerarse una angustia de la cual no escapa ningún grupo humano, aquí ocupa una lugar tan destacado y reiterado que parece ser que lo único que anhelaban los negros cofrades era morir en paz con un entierro digno, una actitud resignada, vencida.\[38\]

Although preoccupation with death and the thereafter can be considered a torment from which no human group escapes, here it has a place so emphasized and reiterated that it seems that the only thing for which the African brothers longed was to die in peace with a dignified funeral in a resigned, defeated outlook.

Recent research that explicitly draws from a conceptual framework holds much promise in expanding our understanding of colonial Latin American musical cultures (since I believe that an explicit conceptual framework forces the researcher to constantly review and revise his or her assumptions in light of the documentary evidence), but rather rigid discourses of power and retrospective racial essentialism, as well as problematic terminology, still occasionally embed themselves in researchers’ premises. Beth K. Aracena’s dissertation proposes the use of post-colonial theory to filter and move beyond unilateral and monolithic interpretations of Hispanic hegemony in order to decipher the resisting and subversive voices of the indigenous and Africans embedded in ostensibly “European” religious and musical practices. Aracena’s study focuses on the Chilean Araucanians (who now call themselves Mapuche), who stoutly repulsed Spanish incursions into their realms for the duration of the colonial period, but she admits that her exploration of African musical cultures is rudimentary, given the paucity of sources (and interest) from the colonial period and the latter’s minimal influence in the area. According to Aracena, as their strategies for preserving their cultural heritage changed, Araucanians assimilated Hispano-Christian rituals and practices into their own, subverting prevailing hegemonic presentations of the “success” of their evangelization in the midst of apparently

\[38\] Ibid., 195.
Hispanic demonstrations of power and acculturation of native Chileans in the “unbounded performative space” of public religious festivals.

Aracena’s study is innovative for its provocative and layered post-colonial presentation of cultural *mestizaje* (or “hybridity” as she identifies it) that developed as a strategy for indigenous Chilean survival and subversion of Hispano-Christian models of “civilization” (while under the guise of Hispanic acculturation). Importantly, Aracena argues that this *mestizaje* was not unilateral: Araucanians influenced and altered “European” musical traditions. This presentation challenges prevailing narratives of omnipotent Spaniards and submissive natives and the unidirectional propagation of Hispano-Christian cultural and musical values.

Aracena’s dissertation is a welcome and long-overdue corrective, and my study also rests upon the frame of cultural hybridity as a fundamental basis of cultural processes in colonial society. In this dissertation, I more forcefully challenge the prevailing discourse of a dominant Spanish/subordinate non-Spanish binary. For example, I do not assume that colonial subalterns (or “minorities”) were exclusively of indigenous or African descent, and I consider the widely varying access to material and cultural resources (and, I predict, relationships with the colonial state) within these and “dominant” groups. Aracena also astutely notes the importance of public religious festivals as vectors where *conspicuous* subalterns could “negotiate, subvert, and make changes,” which I explore. While my study does not try to amplify the voices of the *hidden* Spanish subalterns, they were always in mind, even if the inherent nature of primary sources renders them invisible, and forgotten. Moreover, affluent “subalterns” whose access to material and cultural resources afforded them even greater potential to circumvent, innovatively transform, (or largely disregard) Hispano-Christian prescriptions, demand attention. Finally, Aracena frames her discussions of “hybridity” as necessarily *and consciously* subversive. On this point, I differ: while the maintenance of indigenous (or African) musical and cultural practices resulted in a subversion of Hispano-Christian models from the perspective of the Spanish authorities, such maintenance arose from a broad spectrum of practices ranging from culturally inherited, internalized and reproduced habits *that never, only obliquely, or strategically made reference to* the latter models, to (likely less frequent) deliberate and active repudiation of the same.
Bernardo Illari’s 2001 dissertation “Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680-1730”\(^{39}\) is an extensive and keen contribution to our grasp of the intersections of the Catholic Church, the Spanish Habsburg colonial state, fiestas, “caste” and power. In preserving the theme of music and social structure, I limit my discussion of his dissertation to his characterizations of colonial social structure and music. Illari frames the polychoral music of La Plata’s cathedral as a metaphor for the colonial enterprise under the Spanish elite:

The habitus of polychoralism seems to have functioned first in close association with baroque power. Polychoral music represented social hierarchy—compositions for smaller ensembles did not express the higher rank of a cathedral as well as polychoral compositions. Within the Spanish mentality of the late seventeenth century, it then was a matter of prestige for a metropolitan cathedral or archeepiscopal see to celebrate the services with the sonorous enhancement provided by polychoral music. When transferred from the Peninsula to the Indies, Baroque power became colonial, and polychoral desire became a token of colonialism.\(^{40}\)

The principal elements in Illari’s metaphor that are germane to this discussion are stratification among La Plata cathedral’s musicians, and musical depictions of Hispanic selfness and non-Hispanic otherness in villancicos. Musicians in the cathedral were regimented by prestige and salary; Spaniards enjoyed the positions of highest prestige and remuneration, while people of indigenous and African descent were relegated to positions perceived to be more menial and less lucrative. Hispanic discourses on “caste” and natural proclivities rationalized this regimentation. Villancicos performed in the cathedral and in processions during fiestas directly transmitted and reinforced peninsular discourses of non-Spanish Others, musically embodying prevailing justifications for Spanish rule over intellectually and developmentally “inferior” natives and Africans.

Illari’s dissertation frames polychoral culture as one filtered through elite Spanish colonialist lenses (elite cathedral musical culture), and properly qualifies musical characterizations of natives and people of African descent as distortions in these lenses (musical performances). Among Illari’s many insightful contributions are his arguments that fiestas

\(^{39}\) University of Chicago.

\(^{40}\) Ibid., 51-52.
should not be perceived as mere choreographies of colonial demonstrations of power since the ambiguity of meanings inherent in unfixed fiesta performances could both reinforce and transcend official orthodoxy. He warns against investigators deciphering indigenous and African musicality in the La Plata cathedral’s music precisely because the musical idioms associated with these groups are formulaic stereotypes that are subordinated to peninsular musical structures transplanted to the colonies; indeed according to Illari, these idioms suggest more about Spanish, than indigenous or African, identity.

Illari’s study represents a very substantial and formidable evolution in the erudition of Latin American musicology, but two issues are noteworthy. To begin, Illari does not consistently draw the critical boundaries between his interpretive frames (the Spanish self and the non-Spanish Other, for example) and those in elite colonial Hispanic discourses. According to whom is the Spaniard the normative “self,” while the non-Spanish is the qualified “other?” In my dissertation, I try to preserve a clear boundary between my interpretive frames and assumptions, and those of my sources. Although it is impossible to completely remove my personal bias from this study, I believe that it is crucial that I strive to maintain a constant awareness of when I have internalized the bias of my source(s), and then make necessary corrections. Otherwise, I lose interpretive authority because my presentation has internalized the bias of my source(s); it accumulates the very layers of partiality that I criticize and wish to peel away.

Also, racial essentialism (which I understand as the restrospective application and conflation of racial categories as they are currently understood to past populations whose ancestors broadly shared the geographical homelands associated with contemporary populations carrying the same racial categories)\textsuperscript{41} is a dissonant distraction in Illari’s study. For example, Illari frequently conflates the terms “Spanish,” “white,” “European” and “Caucasian,” but

\textsuperscript{41} This is analogous to describing the original speakers of Afroasiatic languages (which included ancient Egyptian and now include Arabic and Hebrew, and languages in Ethiopia and Somalia) as “white” or “black” in the sense that those terms are currently understood. Afroasiatic languages are believed to have originated in or near the area covering all or parts of the Levant, the eastern Sahara through the Red Sea, and the Horn of Africa. These regions have been conduits for gene flow between Africa and the Middle East for millennia, and some of the world’s most genetically diverse populations are in the Horn of Africa; these facts complicate racial labeling to past and contemporary populations that occupied or occupy the Afroasiatic Urheimat. My point is that because of gene flow, populations change through time, and apparent physical similarities between past and contemporary populations associated with any given geographical area are as skin deep as the racial categories applied to these populations.
colonials would not have made these conflations.\textsuperscript{42} This warrants an immediate discussion, not only because it is historically inappropriate,\textsuperscript{43} but also because it underlies mainstream Latin American colonial historiography without apparent reflection. Post-Enlightenment “whiteness” is hardly an unproblematic category, since the criteria of who is “white” (or “black,” “brown,” or “tan” for that matter) are culturally and temporally determined subjectivities; these subjectivities must be carefully considered before one can attempt to use the categories they define as dispassionate analytical tools. In any event, the salient identity of colonial-era people of actual or claimed European descent in the Spanish Indies was español (“Spanish”); the term blanco (“white”) began to be used regularly, but not prevalently, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century\textsuperscript{44} —outside of the temporal scope of Illari’s dissertation. The term “Caucasian” was simply not in the prevailing lexicon of colonial society, and while Spaniards certainly recognized their origins on the European continent, the transatlantic community in which they identified themselves as belonging was Spanish, not European.

As I discuss throughout this dissertation, colonial concepts of race operated as a fluid confluence of elements including physical features, cultural practices, genealogy, and socioeconomic, and legal status, and changed over time. Colonial “Spanishness” (or retrospectively essentialized “Europeaness”) was no different; it referenced phenotype, but given the high frequency of mixing in the Spanish colonies, one’s degree of affluence and Hispanic acculturation could be given greater weight, in contrast to the traditions of, for example, Anglophone countries whose constructions of race are mainly informed by beliefs of hypodescent and external physical traits, and in which levels of affluence or acculturation are not defining criteria.\textsuperscript{45} In fact, as noted above, during the colonial period in the Spanish Indies, since

\textsuperscript{42} In contrast, colonials did use the term “black” (negro) throughout the colonial period to denote people of fully or predominantly black African descent, and I preserve colonial usage in this dissertation. As a “marked” category in elite Hispanic orthodoxy, and a point of reference in constructions of “otherness” in that orthodoxy, it would have quickly developed as a category in discourses of what Spaniards were not.

\textsuperscript{43} If conscientious modern scholars acknowledge the names by which contemporary cultural groups self-identify (and qualify the use of names foreign to these groups), then there is no rational justification not to acknowledge the appellations of cultural groups of the past that also had their own names to self-identify (and qualify retroactive naming practices, excluding translations of the historically-appropriate names into scholars’ languages of work).


\textsuperscript{45} To be sure, historical stereotypes certainly inform informal discourses of “race” in these countries, but, as in the case of the United States, in the U.S. census (for our purposes, a codified racial discourse), the various racial (or cultural if Hispanic) categories are defined only by ancestry, not by these stereotypes, or levels of affluence or acculturation.
pervasive miscegenation affected all strata of colonial society, “racial” categories operated on a premise of mixture and degree of “civilized” behavior, so socioeconomic status informed one’s “racial” designation.

Even the Iberian motherland of Spaniards, ruled in various regions for over 700 years by North African and Arab Moors (both groups having various degrees of Sub-Saharan African admixture, who had both become “black” in European thinking by the eighteenth century, and in any event certainly a non-Spanish Other in elite Hispanic orthodoxy throughout the colonial period), was a melting pot of “racial” mixture for longer than the Kingdom of Spain has existed. Moreover, it was a center of thriving Jewish Sephardim until their expulsion near the end of the fifteenth century, and the regular presence of African slaves since the thirteenth century further enriched Spain’s melting pot. With the centuries-old rich diversity and inter-group interaction of the Iberian Spanish population, few, particularly those from the Andalusian region (the last Muslim region in Spain to be conquered by Christian forces, and the region from which the majority of Spanish colonists traced their Iberian origins), could unequivocably claim religious or biological “purity of blood,” even before they reached the American shores. The Iberian context provided the historical basis of “racial” categories that assumed mixture and referenced socioeconomic status in colonial Spanish realms. This is why, in the Spanish Indies, a Spaniard was indeed one of Iberian Spanish descent, but throughout the vast area, an affluent and acculturated cuarterón (“quarter,” the source of the English “quadroon”), or an individual who was three-quarters Spanish and one-quarter African or indigenous, could also be legally and socially recognized as Spanish. This certainly could also occur with acculturated (and not always so affluent) mestizos or mulattos. In fact, “when claims to Spanish status were investigated for racial purity, few held up to official scrutiny,” and rather than insult the honor of even elite Spaniards whose purity could be challenged on the basis of physiognomy alone, colonial officials accepted their claims, even with their own doubts. Acculturated natives

46 The meaning of the terms “mestizo” and “mulatto” implied, respectively, a mixture of Spanish and indigenous, and a sterile mule, further implying that gradual increasing admixtures of Spanish with indigenous could ultimately result in a “cleansed” Spaniard, but no such admixture of Spanish would ever result in a “cleansed” Spaniard when known African ancestry is concerned. As I discuss more fully in Chapter 4, certainly, individuals of partial African ancestry could circumvent these official, theoretical assertions of what constituted a Spaniard in practice, by altering baptismal records, by not divulging their African ancestries and “passing,” or by simply, having acquired the wealth, education, and social status normally associated with Spaniards, asserting that they were Spaniards and receiving public acceptance of this assertion.

47 Ibid., 43-45. The reactions of doubt among colonial officials subtly (if unintentionally) exposed the fluidity of the criteria of “Spanishness” (or other racial designations) during their era; if these criteria were truly rigid and
(including indigenous lords, *caciques* or *curacas*, who had the same legal status as Spaniards until near the very end of the colonial period) of no known non-indigenous ancestry could claim *mestizo* status, emphasizing cultural, rather than biological heritage in claiming a species of “Spanishness.”

During the colonial period, as in the present day, Latin American discourses of “race” shatter and transcend constructions that deny heterogeneity and overlap, and I rigorously try to preserve colonial discourses in my dissertation.

The central purpose of researchers of Latin American colonial music and society should not be to necessarily or invariably highlight the challenges to Hispano-Christian orthodoxies, but the tendency to rely exclusively on these orthodoxies as fundamental points of investigative departure inherently prevent balanced explorations of hegemony. Hegemonic-subaltern relationships are characterized by *sustained interaction, influence and distinction between and within hegemonic and subaltern strata.* Exclusive reliance on elite Hispano-Christian orthodoxy also ignores another side of Hispano-Christian (or any other) hegemony, that of unconscious, passive or deliberate resistance to the validity and centrality of colonialist orthodoxy, from those that had the cultural and material resources to project their counter-hegemonies (such as, to name the most visible, Túpac Amaru I and II, Guaman Poma, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Juan Santos de Atahualpa, and Túpac and Tomás Katari) to the masses that more subtly maintained core elements from their own traditions, or strategically chose or unconsciously enacted cultural mixing for their own survival.

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objectively sound, then they would not have been subject to such ready distortion and re-articulation. This distortion and re-articulation continues into the present day. For example, during the course of my research in Lima, I regularly encountered relatively affluent and acculturated individuals who self-identified as “criollo,” “Spanish,” or “white,” and who locally could go unchallenged in their self-identification, but I perceived “black,” “indigenous,” “mestizo,” or “mulatto” physical traits in them. I perceived these traits following the visual cues of my own conditioning as an American belonging to a “racial” group whose members represent virtually the full gamut of human variations in skin color, hair texture, nose shape and other “racial” features, and, even more personally, referencing my “tri-racial” maternal grandparents (themselves descendants of free-born and freed, racially-mixed “colored” settlers in 1820s through 1840s Indiana and Illinois). A perusal of photographs of their dead parents, aunts, uncles, siblings, and first cousins, confirms this rich history, with people whose phenotypes ranged from those associated with Europeans to Hispanics to Native Americans to “mulattos” (as a catch-all category for people of known African descent with racially ambiguous phenotypes)—this was the same assemblage of phenotypes I observed among the “white” Peruvians. I believe that my “racial” history is closer to the norm rather than the exception among other African Americans, and that many others could easily observe familial resemblances among “white” (and other) Peruvians. My point here is not to question or reject the “whiteness” of these Peruvians, or the “blackness” of my maternal ancestors, but to draw attention to the cultural relativism and fluidity of these terms and discourage the unexamined use of them in [“objective”] analysis.

48 Ibid., 33-34.
Finally, I have not detected a pervasive, explicit recognition among researchers of Latin American colonial music of an essential requirement of Spanish hegemony: the suppressed official acknowledgement of Spanish subalternity (read: “deficiency”); in fact, such researchers typically restrict subalterns to those of indigenous or African descent. Discussions of Hispanic presentations of the “deficiencies” of “ethnic” subalterns are therefore distorted, since hegemony also requires a suppression of the awareness of hegemonic “deficiencies,” in this case, Spanish subalterns—this suppression is evident by their omission from the central sources in mainstream Latin American musicology, but an explanatory theory would not only predict their exclusion from his central sources, but also anticipate their inclusion in other sources and suggest hypotheses when one encounters the invariable holes in the surviving documentary evidence. In any event, innumerable contradictions of official colonial orthodoxy in quotidian and remarkable life, rather than crystalline normative stasis, more truly reflect the essence of colonial Latin American music and societies. In the section that follows, I propose a preliminary model to explain these contradictions and flux inherent in hegemony and prepare us in our exploration of colonial music, confraternities, and power, which other researchers will hopefully revise when elements of my proposal are insufficient.

Towards Diachrony, Heterogeneity, and Multilateralism: A Preliminary Theoretical Model of Hegemonic Paradox and Alterity in the Spanish Colonies

Hegemonic Paradox: Doxa, Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy

In The Location of Culture, Homi K. Bhabha writes:

It is traditional academic wisdom that the presence of authority is properly exercised through the non-exercise of private judgement and the exclusion of reasons in conflict with authoritative reason. The recognition of authority, however, requires a validation of its sources that must be immediately, even intuitively, apparent—‘You have that in your countenance which I would fain call master’—and held in common (rules of recognition).
What is left unacknowledged is the paradox of such a demand for proof and the resulting ambivalence for positions of authority.\textsuperscript{49}

In this section, I begin with a theoretical exploration of the paradox of hegemonic authority: it rests on the premise that it is both acknowledged and taken for granted (which implies the lack of implicit acknowledgement). I propose that this paradox exists because hegemonic position is ultimately transient and defensive since the personnel of hegemonic and subaltern groups constantly changes, defying stasis and normativity, and since subaltern groups innately recognize and exploit for their advantage the innumerable instances in which the seams of nature and subordinate social position do not meet. The most compelling evidence of the instability of a position of power is the incessant demonstration of this position, and the jealous protection of contested enclaves of command; the security of authority corresponds inversely to the routine utterance and demonstration of its existence, but no hegemonic position is sustained without such routine utterance and demonstration.

Ultimately, hegemony is a composite of the myriad operations of power (in its fundamental sense, the ability of a subject to induce behaviors on another subject, independent of the latter’s will) in social formations. I follow Antonio Gramsci’s description of hegemony as a fluid process of “cultural, moral and ideological” leadership among the economically dominant over subordinate groups, characterized by various degrees of hegemonic influence or force, constant shifting of dominant/subordinate equilibrium, and active involvement of subordinate groups in their own subordination.\textsuperscript{50} This leadership occurs through doxa or orthodoxy.

According to Pierre Bourdieu, doxa occurs “when there is quasi-perfect correspondence between the objective order and the subjective principles of organization…[and when] the natural and social world appears as self-evident.” This self-evidence requires no verbal acknowledgement.\textsuperscript{51} In doxa, “schemes of thought and perception can produce the objectivity that they do produce only by misrecognition of the limits of the cognition that they make possible, thereby founding immediate adherence…to the world of tradition experienced as a ‘natural world’ and taken for granted.”\textsuperscript{52} Bourdieu’s says of doxa:

\textsuperscript{49} Bhabha, 112.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.
The truth of doxa is only ever fully revealed when negatively constituted by the constitution of a field of opinion, the locus of the confrontation of competing discourses—whose political truth may be overtly declared or may remain hidden, even from those engaged in it, under the guise of religious or philosophical oppositions.⁵³

According to Bourdieu, doxa is broken when its “common sense” logic ceases to correlate with reality, typically in moments of social crisis. Since hegemony is most secure in the doxic mode, and since hegemons actively sustain themselves through [essentially linked] orthodox ideology, the rupture of doxa undermines hegemonic security from both within and below; now questioned, the discursive latticework that sustains hegemonic position can be disentangled by subalterns and disenchanted (especially parvenue and déclassé) hegemons. Boudieu describes the rupture of doxa:

It is by reference to the universe of opinion that the complementary class is defined, the class of which is taken for granted, doxa, the sum total of the theses tacitly positioned on the hither side of all inquiry, which appear as such only retrospectively, when they come to be suspended practically. The practical questioning of the theses implied in a particular way of living that is brought about by “culture contact” or by the political and economic crises correlative with class division in not the purely intellectual operation which phenomenology designates by the term epoche, the deliberate, methodical suspension of naïve adherence to the world. The critique of which brings the undiscussed into discussion, the unformulated into formulation, has as the condition of its possibility objective crisis, which, in breaking the immediate fit between the subjective structures and the objective structures, destroys self-evidence practically. It is when the social world loses its character as a natural phenomenon that the question of the natural or conventional characters of social facts can be raised.⁵⁴

Here though, Bourdieu’s construction is too rigid, and does not recognize that the actual rupture of doxa often precedes social crises. Social crises can merely expose this rupture and allow for the ideological formulation and articulation of doubt about the self-evidence of doxic

⁵³ Ibid., 168.
⁵⁴ Ibid., 168-169.
habitus, not simply precipitate such a rupture; social crises may be only the tips of rumbling alternative icebergs of opinion that actually break the water. In social crises, the logic of hegemonic orthodoxy draws more conscious attention, is more readily challenged, and more vulnerable to being overcome by subversive action (and therefore becoming subaltern or, less frequently, extra-hegemonic). The necessary condition of subversion is heterodoxy, or alternative ideology that exposes the arbitrariness of hegemonic doxa or ideology (or simply does not reference the two in its independent operation). In response, (hegemonic) doxa, now consciously articulated in response to heterodoxy, becomes orthodoxy, conscious discourse whose ultimately unfulfilled purpose is to restore the self-evidence of doxa. Bourdieu writes:

Orthodoxy, straight, or rather, straightened, opinion, which aims, without ever entirely succeeding, at restoring the primal state of innocence of doxa, exists only in the objective relationship which opposes it to heterodoxy, that is, by reference to the choice made possible by the existence of competing possibles and to the explicit critique of the sum total of the alternatives not chosen that the established order implies.55

Bourdieu describes (orthodox) discourse as what is acceptable (“thinkable”), delimited by what is unacceptable (“unthinkable,” “blasphemy”), inherently shaped by the latter through the conscious censorship thereof, and ultimately as a "struggle for the definition of reality."56 Bourdieu’s description of discourse approximates Foucault’s description of “truth,” in that both are inextricably linked to power, are contested, are subjective (products of social formations, not objective conditions), and are subject to deliberate monitoring and restriction (of competing discourses/truths):

Truth isn’t outside power, or lacking in power: contrary to a myth whose history and functions would repay further study, truth isn’t the reward of free spirits, the child of protracted solitude, nor the privilege of those who have succeeded in liberating themselves: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its régime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the

55 Ibid., 169.
56 Ibid., 170.
mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts and true.\footnote{Michel Foucault, “Truth and Power” in \textit{Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977}, New York: Pantheon Books (1980), ed. Colin Gordon, 131.}

Foucault explicitly links truth, discourse, and power:

There can be no possible exercise of without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association...Power never ceases its interrogation, its inquisition, its registration of truth: it institutionalises, professionalises, and rewards its pursuit. In the last analysis, we must produce truth as we must produce wealth, indeed we must produce truth in order to produce wealth in the first place...In the end, we are judged, condemned, classified, determined in our undertakings, destined to a certain mode of living or dying, as a function of the true discourses which are the bearers of the specific effects of power.\footnote{Ibid., 93-94.}

Although Bourdieu assumes that orthodox discourse presupposes a deliberate ideology separate from self-evident doxa (“the boundary between the universe of (orthodox or heterodox) discourse and the universe of doxa”), the boundary between tacitly obvious doxa and formulated orthodox discourse (ideology) really isn’t so clear, since the self-evidence of their respective ideologies is what compels orthodox and heterodox agents to deliberately work to influence or force the conversion of participants in the field of opinion. My use of doxa and orthodox discourse, while informed by Bourdieu, holds that the difference between unspoken, unquestioned doxa and verbal, codified orthodox discourse (ideology) is one of mode rather than genre, since they are both essentially linked to the premise of incontrovertible truth and “common sense,” which, of course, governs both internalized behaviors and deliberate calculation. More importantly, in the face of (indeed in \textit{spite of}) discursive competition, doxic core values and behaviors rarely (or very slowly) change, since subjects typically remain convinced of the self-evidence of the “correctness” of their behavior, unmoved by verbal ideologies. This fundamental continuity of values and behaviors as one moves from doxa to
orthodox/heterodox ideology that is essential to both resists an easy separation of these into opposing binaries.

**Hegemons and Subalterns**

Hegemonic groups are cohorts that have achieved—through gaining relevant access to cultural and material resources to influence or force—the cooperation of other cohorts in behaving in ways that conform to their habits and ideologies. Since groups with the greatest access to the necessary means to influence or force their behaviors and ideologies on other groups are from elite social strata, and, more importantly, since elite strata have the highest degree of awareness of this access, then elite strata have the greatest hegemonic ability (the ability to sustain the projections of their habits and ideologies onto other groups). Hegemony typically operates in a top-down manner; hegemonic habits and ideologies are generally propagated most easily by (and frequently originate from) elite strata, that use their superior access to necessary cultural and material resources to influence or force the cooperation of non-elite strata (hegemonic AND subaltern), whose responses to hegemonic impulses and autonomous actions not subject to these impulses expand, inform and even merge with elite hegemonic habits and ideologies.

In the Spanish Indies, Iberian-born Spaniards typically occupied the highest rungs of the social hierarchy, and, through the influence of Hispano-Catholic modes of behavior or physical coercion (corporal punishment or dispatching of militias), worked to induce the compliance of non-Spaniards (and non-Iberian-born Spaniards) in maintaining the disproportionate control of wealth in the colonial enterprise. Spaniards in the ruling classes took their cues from Iberian-born aristocrats (headed by Spanish royal family) in the prescription of acceptable modes of behavior.

I want to avoid a homogeneous characterization of hegemonic groups, whose status and relation to their peers are determined by the degree of genealogical, cultural and material integration with them. In other words, hegemonic strata that can trace their genealogical lines the farthest (as hegemons), whose nonchalant performance of exclusive social rituals seems the most effortless (or least “studied”), and/or whose material resources emanate from the most “respectable” sources, have the greatest levels of prestige (and access to the most prestigious
social networks that reinforce or improve their position), and are generally less receptive to challenges to elitist discourses than their parvenu or déclassé peers. This is because the latter lack the pedigrees (as hegemons), fail to conceal the studied nature of their performance of exclusive social rituals, and/or procure their material resources from less prestigious (and newer) sources, and have an inherent interest in subverting the discourse of the most temporally, culturally and materially-entrenched elite, whose disdain for them could limit their sustained affluence and vertical movement. On the other hand, hegemonic elements that are deficient in one or more temporal, cultural or material resources will actively seek complimentary alliances with other parvenu/déclassé hegemons. This typically occurs when long-standing affluent hegemons that have maintained the prestige of their genealogical and cultural resources, but have lost the material basis of their position, ally with newly materially-affluent elements that lack the genealogical and cultural capital that would “legitimize” their new status.

In the Spanish Indies, Peninsular Spaniards (*peninsulares*) of the titled, landed aristocracy, headed by the Spanish crown, stood at the apex of colonial society, and formed the genealogically-, culturally-, and materially-entrenched elements of Spanish hegemonic strata. Spanish commoners—untitled landowners, merchants, and by far the largest group, artisans and laborers—formed the greatest bulk of the Iberian ancestors of Spanish Creoles (who always outnumbered Peninsular Spaniards and the conquests), and occupied the parvenue strata of Spanish hegemonic strata in the colonies. Impoverished Peninsular nobles and descendants of wealthy non-nobles who had lost their fortunes formed the déclassé echelons of Spanish hegemonic strata.

In the Spanish colonies, impoverished Spaniards, most non-noble natives and blacks, and most of those of mixed heritage not recognized as Spanish were subaltern groups which were cohorts that had not achieved, or had lost—by not having gained or by having lost relevant access to cultural and material resources to influence or force—the cooperation of other cohorts in behaving in ways that conform to their habits and ideologies. Since subaltern groups range in the level of access to these resources from high to minimal, then *subaltern strata are widely heterogeneous*; colonial subalterns had high to low hegemonic (or subversive) potential, and differed in their relations with Spanish groups in positions of authority based on their abilities to sustain their projections of heterodox (counter-hegemonic) habits and ideologies. The lowest subaltern strata, having the least access to cultural and material resources, and therefore the
lowest degree of investment in stratified social formations, were the most prone to becoming extra-hegemonic; they had the least to lose by doing so.

In the colonies, runaway slaves (cimarrones) and natives who broke away from their family groups (forasteros/yanaconas, and allyus respectively) fleeing corvée labor (mita) and taxation pressures formed extra-hegemonic groups, which existed beyond the regulatory influence of the Spanish colonial state as a result of escape, selective assimilation, or systemic repulsion of hegemonic influence and force. Since by definition extra-hegemonic groups resist hegemonic influences and force, they posed the greatest potential threat to the stability and security of the hegemonic system if they became subversive.

Subversive behaviors are extreme types of heterodox behavior that covertly or openly challenge the naturalness of hegemonic discourse, and exist in hegemonic, subaltern, and extra-hegemonic groups, but provoke counter-subversive action from hegemons only when the latter perceive them as a threat to their position. In fact, through carefully orchestrated and sign-rich presentations of subversive elements in performance, hegemons assuage feelings of insecurity by discursively domesticating these elements because they doxically assume that the domesticated performance is a metaphor for hegemonic control over the subversive subaltern. In Chapters 4 and 5, where I discuss native, black, and mulattos in colonial orthodoxy and repudiation of Hispano-Catholic orthodoxy, and public displays of power that required the participation of natives, blacks, mestizos, and mulattos, I discuss this in more detail.

**Inefficient Coercive Force**

While describing the change to eighteenth-century European enlightened absolutism, Foucault writes that violence was a cost-ineffective mode of the operation of power when compared to the results, since violence, or rather too much of it, merely enraged, rather than pacified, the targets of violence. He says:

> Power is only exercised at a cost. Obviously there is an economic cost...But there is also a specifically political cost. If you are too violent, you risk provoking revolts. Again, if you intervene in too discontinuous a manner, you risk allowing politically costly phenomena of resistance and disobedience to develop in the intersices. This is how monarchial power operated. For instance, the judiciary only arrested a derisory
proportion of criminals; this was made into the argument that punishment must be spectacular so as to frighten the others. Hence there was a violent form of power which tried to attain a continuous mode of operation through the virtue of examples. The new theorists of the eighteenth century objected to this: such as form of power was too costly in proportion to the results. A great expenditure of violence is made which ultimately only had the force of example. It even becomes necessary to multiply violence, but precisely by doing so one multiplies revolts.\(^{59}\)

In the spirit of Bourdieu, it may also be said that hegemony gained through physical force is the most vulnerable to capitulation because it has occurred abruptly, without the *legitimacy and authority* that incessant (and often covert), *habitual* repetition normalizes. Foucault seems to imply this when he describes oppression as the over-extension of power, which presupposes a tacit acknowledgement of acceptable social relations, including the use of power. In his contractual analysis of power, he says:

> The conception of power as an original right that is given up in the establishment of sovereignty, and the contract, as matrix of political power, provide its points of articulation. A power so constituted risks becoming oppression whenever it over-extends itself, whenever—that is—it goes beyond the terms of the contract. Thus we have contract-power, with oppression as its limit, or rather as the transgression of this limit.\(^{60}\)

Foucault’s alternative analysis of power, that of war-repression, does not recognize the theoretical limits of power, as “repression no longer occupies the place that oppression occupies in relation to the contract, that is, it is not abuse, but is, on the contrary, the mere effect and continuation of a relation of domination.”\(^{61}\) But as Foucault suggests, this is still a cost-ineffective mode of operation; the aggressive, overt nature of violence readily arouses the antipathy, and if excessive, the open aggression, of targeted subjects.

To be sure, the threat or anticipation of violence may be a potent mode of operation; in fact Foucault views the “inspecting gaze” of people in positions of authority as cost-effective, which also forces the targets of surveillance to self-correct potentially forbidden behavior:

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\(^{59}\) Ibid., 155.  
\(^{60}\) Ibid., 91-92.  
\(^{61}\) Ibid., 92.
The system of surveillance...involves very little expense. There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself. A superb formula: power exercised continuously and for what turns out to be minimal cost.\textsuperscript{62}

But surveillance cannot threaten that which it cannot surveil; intrepid, determined targets of surveillance will promptly conceal their illicit behaviors while convincingly dissimulating acceptable ones, neutralizing the threat of violence since, from the perspective of those who inspect, the targets of their surveillance are behaving according to the rules.

In the Spanish colonies, officials quickly realized that the use (and abuse) of force as the exclusive means to maintain order (or appearance thereof) would be no match for resisting subalterns, who, forming the laboring base to the triangular social shape of the colonial enterprise, outnumbered them and could quickly adapt their strategies to physically resist coercive force. Moreover, as I discuss in Chapter 5, and as seventeenth-century church inspectors (\textit{visitadores}) knew well, the threat of coercive force only encouraged heterodox natives in the highlands and countryside (or indeed in the viceregal capital of Lima itself) to conceal their traditions under the guise of Hispanic prescriptions, reinterpreting them in semiotics that defied church surveillance.

In the Spanish Catholic Church, the colonial audience encountered a powerful institution through which to receive, contribute to, and reinforce Hispano-Catholic prescriptions of morality and decorum. Through endless catechisms, inspections (\textit{visitas}), and quotidian and celebratory church rituals that marked the ecclesiastical calendar—with musical activity frequently embellishing the latter two—colonials could (ideally) doxically inherit, internalize, and reproduce these orthodoxies, and maintain order themselves far more profoundly than the secular militias’ cannons, muskets, or swords, or a public enforcer’s stock or whip, all of which required the use of resources upon which colonial social asymmetry rested.

\textbf{Efficient (Doxic) Habitus}

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 155.
The violent operation of power in the Spanish colonies required the sustained and cost-ineffective use of the material (monetary and armed) and ideological (Hispano-Catholic) resources that formed the basis of Spaniards’ hegemonic positions. This further eroded doxa (“common sense” compliance with Hispano-Catholic norms) when Spanish hegemons became orthodox ideologues by invoking Hispano-Catholic systems of morality and ethics in justifying their violence in acts such as the Lima Inquisition, the intense seventeenth-century extirpations of idolatry, and suppression of native rebellions during the 1780s.

This is why Spanish hegemony was the most stable when it occurred as doxic habitus, where a hegemonic position has been authorized and legitimized through history and unconscious (and unexamined) social practice. Spanish hegemony was the most secure in this state because when it operated through doxic habitus, it required no use of the very resources that supported the positions of Spaniards in positions of authority to induce subalterns to comply; the latter complied and actively supported their subalternity automatically and without resistance because repetition and habit had naturalized their subordination. Doxic habitus is the optimal state of hegemony, but since hegemony operates in perpetual disequilibrium, it is only transiently, if ever, achieved.

Here, it is useful to review Bourdieu’s description of habitus. In his *The Logic of Practice*, he describes habitus as:

Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively “regulated” and “regular” without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor.

In other words, social formations follow logics that provide and inform the choices in them without the participants’ awareness of them or the mechanisms through which they operate; the

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64 Ibid., 53.
logics and repetitive habits they mold constitute habitus. According to Bourdieu, while habitus does not exclude subjective agency (“strategic calculation”), the latter is circumscribed by the choices that socio-historical structures external (“objective”) to the agent made available:

The habitus, a product of history, produces individual and collective practices—more history—in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the “correctness” of practices and their own constancy over time, *more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms* [emphasis mine].

Repetition and second-nature internalization of habits through time submerges habitus beyond (or before) the awareness of individuals in social formations, and as internalized behavior, it operates automatically and redundantly through a social organism:

The habitus—embodied history, is internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history—is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product. As such, it is what gives practices their relative autonomy with respect to external determinations of the immediate present. This autonomy is that of the past, enacted and acting, which, functioning as accumulated capital, produces history on the basis of history and so ensures the permanence in change that makes the individual agent a world within a world. The habitus is a spontaneity without consciousness or will, opposed as much to the mechanical necessity of things without history in mechanistic theories as it is to the reflexive freedom of subjects “without inertia” in rationalist theories.

Finally, according to Bourdieu, the submergence of habitus into the preconscious mode precludes conscious control of behaviors:

These responses are first defined, without any calculation, in relation to objective potentialities, immediately inscribed in the present, things to do or not to do, things to say or not to say, in relation to a probable, “upcoming” future (un à venir), which—in

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65 Ibid., 54.
66 Ibid., 56.
contrast to the future seen as “absolute possibility”) (absolute Möglichkeit)...projected by
the pure object of a “negative freedom”—puts itself forward with an urgency and a claim
to existence that excludes all deliberation.67

Here, I modify Bourdieu’s notion of deterministic negative freedom with what I call a
punctuated passive mode, which retains the inarticulate, unconscious sense of habitus but more
rigorously acknowledges the punctuated influence of subjective innovation in social formations.
I propose that at any given moment, virtually all participants in social formations internalize and
reproduce the historically-layered structuring logics in an inert, habitual mode, but that these
logics change when a small minority of participants invent variations to structuring logics, or
introduce genuine innovations. Change occurs more abruptly (and more participants are jolted
into an more active appraisal and questioning of the prevalent social orders) during social crises,
when, according to Bourdieu, doxa is broken.

Unmarkedness, Markedness, Hybridity, Rhetorical Unmarkedness, and Rhetorical Markedness

Doxic habitus naturalized and authorized Spanish hegemonic status. When doxa was
invariably broken, however, Spaniards in positions of authority behaved in ways that legitimized
their status through self/other binaries in orthodoxy that ascribed “standard,” “natural” and
“desired” status to traits believed to be unique to their cohorts (Spaniards of purely Iberian
heritage and those of mixed heritage whose wealth, acculturation, and phenotype afforded them
recognition as Spaniards) and naturally linked to the leadership and affluence among them.
These became unmarked traits since, as standardized and naturalized, they did not attract
negative hegemonic attention, or more to the point, they went unnoticed because Spaniards
defined themselves not by what they were, but what they were not, and selectively “forgot” their
own deficiencies in discursive mirrors.

Hegemonic orthodoxy regularly conflates and presents the “achievements” of unmarked
individual participants and attributes them to all unmarked participants, even when those
achievements properly belong to an innovative minority, so that all unmarked participants may

67 Ibid.
enjoy the ascribed status that results from the activities of but a limited portion of their unmarked peers. This tends to minimize the resistance of unmarked subalterns who could resist hegemonic monopoly of cultural and economic resources by suppressing awareness of their own cultural and material subordination.

By implication, through alterity (the “othering”) of large proportions of impoverished Spaniards, black, native, and mixed subalterns, Spaniards defined themselves by rebuffing traits believed to be abnormal or deviant among their strata, namely the “substandard,” “unnatural” and “scorned,” such as, following colonial narratives, African savagery and hypersexuality, and native impotence and superstition. Hispano-Catholic orthodoxy ascribed these traits to marked subaltern strata. These traits had to be readily noticeable (i.e., “marked”), so it is no surprise that traits subject to “marked” designation typically included and continue to include external physical features (especially those that are associated with “race”), language (or sociolect, accent, or dialect if hegemons and subalterns speak the same language), socioeconomic status, biological sex, gender role, religion, or other readily identifiable cultural practices.

Spanish hegemonic position required marked categories to legitimize Spanish monopoly of cultural and material resources, since colonial orthodoxy argued that not only were marked traits unique to non-Spanish subalterns, but they are also naturally linked to their subordination. This linkage operated circularly: until marked subalterns neutralized and overcame hegemonic constraints to their access to pertinent material and cultural resources, successive generations of Spaniards would be socialized in such ways that encouraged behaviors to reinforce their access through strategic use of the same, but rationalized their disproportionate access through the unmarkedness that they linked to the latter. Thus, according to colonial orthodoxy, Spaniards acquired pertinent material and cultural resources because they were uniquely predisposed to do so, and the acquisition of such resources proved this unique, innate proclivity, not because of the intergenerational learned socialization that enabled them to maintain access to the material and cultural resources that supported their position.

Spanish colonial orthodoxy regularly presented and conflated the “deficiencies” of marked subaltern individuals so that all marked subalterns received negative ascription for the deficiencies of some of their peers, who were antonymous to their numerically small “achieving” Spanish counterparts. In Chapters 4 and 5, I discuss how Africanisms and indigenisms became conflating proxies for the intellectual, moral, and behavioral deficiencies of blacks and natives in
colonial orthodoxy. These distorting conflations, or stereotypes, focused attention on the “degenerate” natures of subaltern “Others.” In colonialist doxa, the veracity of these stereotypes was self-evident and therefore required no deliberate “reminder” of their truth, but in the face of invariable contradiction and fluidity of colonial social categories (resulting in heterodoxy), they were incessantly repeated through orthodoxy, for fear that their veracity be challenged and the self/other binary that supported Spanish positions of authority be undermined. Notably, any instance of a stereotypical element was sufficient to sustain the stereotype, even if its actual frequency among subalterns is similar to or no different from that among hegemons; for example, a single “barbaric” display in an African procession during a public celebration was sufficient to reaffirm a stereotype that Africans were barbaric. Bhabha’s description of the colonial stereotype is germane here, as he says:

An important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence of the concept of “fixity” in the ideological construction of otherness. Fixity, as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition. Likewise the stereotype, which is its major discursive strategy, is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always ‘in place’, already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated...It is the force of ambivalence that gives colonial stereotypes its currency: ensures its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures; informs its strategies of individuation and marginalization; produces that effect on probabilistic truth and predictability which, for the stereotype, must always be in excess of what can be empirically proved or logically construed.68

Importantly, Spaniards in positions of authority tended to maintain a position of relative advantage by exploiting pre-existing social divisions among marked subalterns by distorting them (another species of stereotype) and/or exaggerating heretofore qualitatively insignificant distinctions until they become strategic (i.e. useful maintaining the distinctions that underlie asymmetric access to material and cultural resources). For example, indigenous groups that had heavily assisted Spaniards during the conquest of Peru such as the Cañis (“indios amigos” or

68 Bhabha, 66.
“friendly Indians”) were granted exemptions from corvée labor and tribute from the Spanish crown, while those that resisted received no such exemptions; the Cañis guarded these privileges and reinforced their alliance with the Spanish crown throughout the colonial period. Through this divide and conquer, the Spanish enjoyed advantageous access to these resources, while natives struggled among themselves for diminished access as they focused on their differences rather than their shared subalternity and diminished access to these resources. This divide and conquer hegemony could also operate to slow or curtail the ascendance (and competition) of the rhetorically unmarked, and alliance between the marked and rhetorically marked, as I explain later.

Finally, negative ascription of marked subalterns could in theory operate temporally (i.e., Spanish thinkers and policy makers could argue that the pre-colonial ancestors of marked subalterns were intrinsically different [that is, of a higher, less marked order] from their marked colonial descendants), but when the cultural achievements of pre-colonials were known to have approached or rivaled those associated with Spaniards’ own cultural ancestors, the counter-hegemonic potential of knowing the cultural achievements of pre-colonial societies could be lessened by emphasizing the “deficiencies” of these societies, and by overlooking known similarities to the achievements of Greco-Roman antiquity, thus preserving even the temporal legitimacy of Spanish civilization. For example, in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, Spanish chroniclers typically emphasized, distorted or fabricated the “deficient” elements of civilizations such as the Aztec, Maya, and Inca (most often polytheism, human sacrifice and cannibalism) to justify Spanish conquest and colonialism, while they ignored Greco-Roman polytheism, coliseums throughout the Roman Empire, and the symbolic cannibalism of the Holy Eucharist, itself evolved in the rites of the spiritual successors of the Roman Empire; and Spanish authorities and thinkers typically overlooked, minimized, or concealed known homologies in achievement between their Greco-Roman forebearers and those of pre-colonial civilizations (such as writing (Maya) or “proto-writing” (Inca), achievements in architecture and astrology, and sophisticated political and social institutions that attended and reinforced imperial expansion of the state and ruling classes), even though such achievements were taken as intrinsic demonstrations of high intellectual capacity in Spanish thinking.

Here I want to vigorously discourage a monolithic characterization of marked and unmarked categories in the Spanish colonies, which, rather than crystalline genres of difference,
were discursive “averages” of an assortment of traits subject to differential and shifting social valuation. Thus, for example, the offspring of “marked” native nobles or the offspring of wealthy Spanish aristocrats, landowners, and merchants and their “marked” black or native wives, servants, or slaves, could, by the virtue of their social status, wealth, education, and acculturation, enjoy positions in the colonial hierarchy that rivaled those of Spaniards from elite strata, and well above those of Spaniards of the middle and lower social strata, regardless of the proportion of their Spanish extraction. Indeed, in the fluid discourse of what we now describe as race and class in colonial orthodoxy, poor, uneducated, unacculturated Spaniards with “suspicious” features could be identified as mestizo or mulatto, even if they were of purely Spanish ancestry, while affluent, acculturated mestizos or mulattos whose external indigenous or African features did not exceed a certain threshold could be recognized as Spanish.

This is why, to emphasize the point of marked/unmarked relativity, and introduce marked/unmarked overlap and ambiguity, I add that in colonial orthodoxy, the mestizo historian and writer Garcilaso de la Vega (“El Inca”), in theory “marked” by his mother’s indigenous heritage, in reality occupied the space of absolutely unmarked normativity (in colonial orthodoxy) because of his wealth, education, acculturation, his father’s aristocratic heritage, and his mother’s royal lineage (she was a patrilineal grand daughter of the Incan emperor Túpac Inca Yupanqui) when compared to, as an example, impoverished, illiterate Spaniards of pure Iberian extraction who lacked the resources to approach his level of wealth or acculturation. The latter were theoretically “unmarked” because their Spanish ancestry and Catholic religion, but in practice were completely overwhelmed by de la Vega’s wealth, education, acculturation, and aristocratic Spanish and royal Incan lineage, becoming rhetorically marked (I explain later), while de la Vega’s material and cultural affluence, acculturation to Hispano-Catholic modes of speech and behavior, and ready access to elite Hispanic institutions of power and learning, securely placed him within the domain discursively reserved for unmarked Spaniards. But de la Vega, a wealthy, educated, acculturated man of mixed heritage (generally a marker of extra-marital illegitimacy in colonial orthodoxy—de la Vega himself was born out of wedlock), occupied an ambiguous place in colonial orthodoxy of rhetorically unmarked space (I also explain later), since he could not be both marked and unmarked in this orthodoxy (even though the disposition discursively reserved for the unmarked is the one that he achieved). Of course, I am comparing two polar extremes for sake of a clear comparison, but innumerable, more
ambiguous (and more prevalent) instances of contradiction and overlap between the criteria of markedness and unmarkedness occupied the not infrequently yawning chasms separating colonial orthodoxy and everyday colonial reality.

Spaniards reinforced their assertions of subaltern deficiencies by recapitulating self/other binary splittings, and attempting to disrupt preexisting systems of belief among Africans and natives by calling attention to the deficiencies of their beliefs and attempting to replace subaltern doubt with hegemonic orthodoxy—superficially the cultural and religious conversion of the subaltern. Bhabha highlights this interpellation in his description of nineteenth-century British missionary activity in Bengal:

With the institution of what was termed the ‘intellectual system’ in 1829, in the mission schools of Bengal, there developed a mode of instruction which set up—on our model of the splitting of colonial discourse—contradictory and independent textualities of Christian piety and heathen idolatry in order to elicit, between them, in an uncanny doubling, undecidability. It was an uncertainty between truth and falsehood whose avowed aim was conversion, but whose discursive and political strategy was the production of doubt; not simply a doubt in the content of beliefs, but a doubt, or an uncertainty in the native place of enunciation.69

Hegemonic orthodoxy, however, does not operate unilaterally; it disrupts subaltern discourses through interpellation, but is also disrupted by conscious and passive challenges from subaltern heterodoxy. Within this interstitial, disruptive and contested space, hegemonic and subaltern modes merge as hybrids that become the discursive battleground for hegemonic and subaltern fields of opinion. Since hegemonic orthodoxy inherently asserts that hegemonic position is preferred, then hybridity places hegemonic discourse on the defensive (no one “struggles” to become subaltern, while cultural and material privileges associated with hegemonic position are coveted from below). According to Bhabha, hybridity results from the inability of colonial authority to unilaterally define and fix the power of the colonized, as the colonized exploit the limits of colonial authority, and in turn, push against these shifting limits. He writes:

69 Ibid., 133.
Hybridity is the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the ‘pure’ and original identity of authority). Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination. It unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but reimplicates its identifications in strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power. For the colonial hybrid is the articulation of the ambivalent space where the rite of power is enacted on the site of desire, making its objects at once disciplinary and disseminatory.  

Hybridity also subverts hegemonic authority because it overwhelms hegemonic surveillance; the latter does not understand the (occult?) signs and codes of the latter and therefore cannot properly control them. Bhabha writes:

If discriminatory effects enable the authorities to keep an eye on them, their proliferating difference evades that eye, escapes that surveillance. Those discriminated against may be instantly recognized, but they also force a re-cognition of the immediacy and articulacy of authority—a disturbing effect that is familiar in the repeated hesitancy afflicting the colonialist discourse when it contemplates its discriminated subjects: the inscrutability of the Chinese, the unspeakable rites of the Indians, the indescribable habits of the Hottentots. It is not that the voice of authority is at a loss of words. It is, rather, that the colonial discourse has reached that point when, faced with the hybridity of its objects, the presence of power is revealed as something other than what its rules of recognition assert.

Faced with this semiotic disadvantage, Spanish hegemons frantically attempted to learn and rationalize the signs and codes of hybrid subaltern behaviors. For example, regarding natives, the Spanish ruling strata attempted to neutralize their semiotic disadvantage by promoting bilingualism among the clergy, by codifying previously unwritten native languages through the

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70 Ibid., 112.
71 Ibid.
adoption of Roman script and bilingual dictionaries, and by dispatching inspectors (*visitadores*) to provincial areas to document native traditions. Bhabha describes the underlying process at work:

Hybridity represents that ambivalent ‘turn’ of the discriminated subject into the terrifying, exorbitant object of paranoid classification—a disturbing questioning of the images and presences of authority.\(^{72}\)

Invariably, Spanish authority failed to neutralize all hybrid heterodoxy, so its (right to?) existence had to be conceded, beyond the regulatory influence of the former, as Bhabha writes:

Hybridity is a problematic of colonial representation and individuation that reverses the effects of the colonial disavowal, so that other ‘denied’ knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of authority—its rules of recognition…what is irredediably estranging in the presence of the hybrid…is that the difference of cultures can no longer be identified or evaluated as objects of epistemological or moral contemplation: cultural differences are not simple *there* to be seen or appropriated.\(^{73}\)

Ultimately, the failure of Spanish authority to neutralize hybrid heterodoxy resulted in a transformation of social behaviors (‘culture’) influenced by the merge of those associated with Hispano-Catholicism and African and indigenous cultural and religious traditions, resulting in an erosion of self/other binaries (the foundation of hegemonic position). Bhabha describes this process and subsequent instability of a hegemonic position of authority:

Culture, as a colonial space of intervention and agonism…can be transformed by the unpredictable and partial desire of hybridity. Deprived of their full presence, the knowledges of cultural authority may be articulated with forms of ‘native’ knowledges or faced with those discriminated subjects that they must rule but can no longer represent. This may lead…to questions of authority that the authorities…cannot answer. Such as process is not the deconstruction of a cultural system from the margins of its own

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\(^{72}\) Ibid., 113.

\(^{73}\) Ibid., 114.
aporia…The display of hybridity…terrorizes authority with the ruse of recognition, its mimicry, its mockery.\textsuperscript{74}

The paranoid threat of from the hybrid is finally uncontainable because it breaks down the symmetry and duality of self/other, inside/outside. In the productivity of power, the boundaries of authority—its reality effects—are always besieged by ‘the other scene’ of fixations and phantoms.\textsuperscript{75}

Within the context of disruptive hybridity, discourses of marked and unmarked qualities, along with other discourses, must change through time as hegemonic orthodoxy changes in response to heterodox challenges, or they must quickly respond to these challenges during social crises when the arbitrariness of hegemonic doxa and orthodoxy is exposed and questioned. Indeed, hegemonic orthodoxy that does not neutralize, evolve or transform subaltern or subversive [counter-hegemonic] heterodoxies into hegemonic orthodoxy (or, rarely, re-submerge them into unconscious doxa) invariably fail to overcome discursive challenges from below, and undermine hegemonic monopoly of doxic aesthete and orthodox discourse (foundations of a secure hegemonic position) leading to erosion or eventual loss of hegemonic position. Although I want to resist class-based descriptions of heterodoxy, Bourdieu approximates my contention that:

The dominated classes have an interest in pushing back the limits of doxa and exposing the arbitrariness of the taken for granted; the dominant classes have an interest in defending the integrity of doxa, or short of this, of establishing in its place the necessarily imperfect substitute, orthodoxy.\textsuperscript{76}

Invariably, individuals and groups within the black, mulatto, \textit{mestizo}, and indigenous populations maintained or acquired access to cultural and material resources that equalled or surpassed those discursively reserved for the unmarked (including the insulated Hispanic elite if mulattos and \textit{mestizos} were the offspring of male Spanish aristocrats who had married black or indigenous women, or if they resulted from extra-marital relations, the Spanish aristocrats

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 115.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 116.
\textsuperscript{76} Bourdieu (1980), 169.
acknowledged their offspring), contradicting hegemonic orthodoxy, so they became *rhetorically unmarked* exceptions to this orthodoxy. They had overcome or resisted hegemonic constraints to their access to cultural and material resources or had become acculturated to hegemonic cultural models, but could not be orthodoxy categorically categorized as unmarked without challenging colonial criteria of marked and unmarkedness. Armed with their access to cultural and material resources (and awareness that Spaniards in positions of authority had neither the inherent right nor superior competence to gain more access than they), acquiescence to hegemonic monopoly of opinion and economy was inconceivable among the rhetorically unmarked. Conflict and counter-hegemony were inevitable; it is no coincidence, for example, that during the Peruvian Age of Insurrection of (1740s through 1780s), the principal ringleaders were disaffected members of the indigenous and mestizo aristocracy. This inevitable conflict is related to a process that Bourdieu describes:

> It is only when the dominated have the material and symbolic means of rejecting the definition of the real that is imposed on them through logical structures…and to lift the (institutionalized or internalized) censorships which it implies, i.e. when social classifications become the object and instrument of class struggle, that the arbitrary principles of the prevailing classification can appear as such and it therefore becomes necessary to undertake the work of conscious systematization and express rationalization which marks the passage from doxa to orthodoxy.\(^\text{77}\)

Here, though, I question Bourdieu’s unilateral construction of dominance, since even his own constructions suggest that “dominated” classes force a change in the behavior of “dominant” ones, which rightly implies a dialectical operation of dominance, and ultimately, hegemony. Moreover, the “dominated” need not “wait” to acquire material and symbolic means to contest hegemonic orthodoxy. The acquisition of pertinent material and symbolic resources merely facilitates the widespread propagation, methodology and focus of heterodoxy; alternative beliefs and behaviors anedate hegemonic doxa and orthodoxy, and are detected only through hegemonic failure to decipher heterodox (and unassimilated) systems of signification—there is no need to decipher or call attention to that which is already assumed to be understood.

In fact, the emergence of subaltern heterodoxy is inevitable—with or without the acquisition of pertinent cultural and material resources to mount systematic, rationalist

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\(^{77}\) Ibid.
challenges, since subalterns innately return the surveillance (and calculations) of hegemons. In his description of the colonialist “objectification” of colonial subjects, Bhabha writes:

In the objectification of the scopic drive there is always the threatened return of the look; in the identification of the Imaginary relation there is always the alienating other (or mirror) which crucially returns its image to the subject…To put it succinctly, the recognition and disavowal of ‘difference’ is always disturbed by the question of its representation or construction.\(^78\)

Spaniards in positions of authority encouraged acceptance of the legitimacy of Hispano-Catholic codes of morality and decorum (ostensibly evidenced by the conversion and acculturation of non-Spaniards) because such belief represented hegemonic “success,” yet they are also uncomfortable with non-Spanish assimilation of them because acculturated non-Spaniards invariably called attention to the arbitrariness of colonial social positions (because of the hypocrisy of Hispano-Catholic morality in its colonial applications).

Bhabha describes the phenomenon of colonial “mimicry,” in which “a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite” [his emphasis] occupies an ambiguous position in catholic colonialist moral discourse; “universal” moral codes seem to disintegrate when colonizers and the colonized interact, since these codes, formulated among colonizers, originally serve to reinforce the benefits they enjoy from colonial social asymmetry. Bhabha’s description of post-Enlightenment mimicry is appropriate to our discussion; “post-Enlightenment civility” is but one mode of hegemonic moral discourse:

The discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference. The authority of that mode of colonial discourse that I have called mimicry is therefore stricken by an indeterminacy: mimicry emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a disavowal. Mimicry is, thus the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which ‘appropriates’ the Other as it visualizes power. Mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance

\(^{78}\) Bhabha, 81.
which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an immanent threat to both ‘normalized’ knowledges and disciplinary power.

The effect of mimicry on the authority of colonial discourse is profound and disturbing. For in ‘normalizing’ the colonial state or subject, the dream of post-Enlightenment civility alienates its own language of liberty and produces another knowledge of its norms. The ambivalence which thus informs this strategy is discernible, for example, in Locke’s Second Treatise which *splits* to reveal the limitations of liberty in his double use of the word ‘slave’: first simply, descriptively as the locus of a legitimate form of ownership, then as the trope for an intolerable, illegitimate exercise of power…

It is from this area between mimicry and mockery, where the reforming, civilizing mission is threatened by the displacing gaze of its disciplinary double, that my instances of colonial limitation come. What they all share is a discursive process by which the excess or slippage produced by the *ambivalence* of mimicry (almost the same, *but not quite*) does not merely ‘rupture’ the discourse, but becomes transformed into an uncertainty which fixes the colonial subject as a ‘partial’ presence. By ‘partial’ I mean both ‘incomplete’ and ‘virtual.’ It is as if the very emergence of the ‘colonial’ is dependent for its representation upon some strategic limitation or prohibition within the authoritative discourse itself. The success of colonial appropriation depends on a proliferation of inappropriate objects that ensures its strategic failure, so that mimicry is at once resemblance and menace.  

Finally, in response to the projection of hegemonic orthodoxy, subalterns may break the paradigmatic/syntagmatic links that reinforce hegemonic position; while they can readily understand (and possibly accept) the language of hegemonic orthodoxy, they can also reject the asserted functional linkage of this orthodoxy with hegemonic position and thus undermine the discursive authority of hegemonic agents. Bhabha describes this paradigmatic/syntagmatic disarticulation in the use of the Bible among Indians in British India:

> In estranging the word of God from the English medium, the natives’ questions contest the logical order of the discourse of authority—‘These books…teach the religion of the

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79 Bhabha, 85-86.
European Sahibs. It is THEIR book; and they printed it in our language, for our use.’ The natives expel the copula, or middle term, of the Evangelical ‘power=knowledge’ equation, which then disarticulates the structure of God-Englishman equivalence. Such a crisis in the positionality and propositionality of colonialist authority destabilizes the sign of authority. On the one hand, its paradigmatic presence as the Word of God is assiduously preserved: it is only to the direct quotations from the Bible that the natives give their unquestioning approval—‘True!’ The expulsion of the copula, however, empties the presence of its syntagmatic supports—codes, connotations and cultural associations that give it contiguity and continuity—that make its presence culturally and politically authoritative.80

The culturally and materially affluent among Bhabha’s acculturated “reformed Others” became rhetorically unmarked in colonial orthodoxy. When they reached a critical mass and level of strategic unanimity (“strategic essentialism” is one mode of this), and more seriously challenged colonial orthodoxy (either passively by their very presence, or actively through heterodoxy), Spaniards in positions of authority became insecure of the potentially high to moderate counter-hegemonic or subversive abilities of the rhetorically unmarked—reinforced through connections with marked subalterns (which is precisely what took place during the Peruvian Age of Insurrection)—and worked to emphasize the distance between the rhetorically unmarked and marked subalterns. This occurred principally by propagating the ideology that the achievements of the rhetorically unmarked were exceptional or deviations among marked subalterns; this declaration of “exceptional” achievement served to enhance the prestige and access to resources that the rhetorically unmarked have already acquired, further encouraging alliance with unmarked hegemons, and transforming counter-hegemons into hegemons. As an example, the Spanish colonial state achieved this during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by recognizing the titles and wealth of native lords whose ancestors had assisted the Spanish crown in the Peruvian conquest, granting them privileges that were otherwise the exclusive domain of those recognized as Spanish, and recognizing them as inherently different from masses of laboring, tribute-paying natives.

If this failed, Spanish authorities [re]formulated ideologies to change the criteria of marked and unmarked categories so that the rate of rhetorically unmarked vertical movement did

80 Ibid., 119.
not outpace hegemonic ability to layer the discursive distinction between the marked and unmarked. The rhetorically unmarked could meanwhile strategically negotiate their relations with unmarked hegemons and marked subalterns, exploiting their ambiguous status as both marked and rhetorically unmarked by forcing concessions from unmarked hegemons, or exploiting their connections with marked subalterns (and therefore ability to bolster potential counter-hegemony) when the former fail to concede the dispositions appropriate to the affluence of the rhetorically unmarked.

On the other hand, when the rate of vertical movement and counter-hegemonic success of the rhetorically unmarked overcame hegemonic ability to layer the discursive and material distinction between the marked and unmarked, the rhetorically unmarked overcame hegemonic monopoly of material resources and opinion, and became culturally and materially indistinguishable from unmarked hegemons, becoming rhetorically unmarked hegemons, and thereby changing the personnel of hegemonic strata. This occurred through co-option from hegemons, and/or independent capture of hegemonic position from formerly rhetorically unmarked. For example, as the colonial period progressed and Spanish Creoles gained political and economic power and competed with native lords within the colonial ruling classes, old cleavages between Peninsular and Creole Spaniards significantly diminished as one’s status as a Peninsular or Creole lost relevance, and during the eighteenth century, the Creole descendants of Iberian subalterns who gradually became rhetorically unmarked, finally became the chief constituents in the new Hispanic American ruling strata, not coincidentally while the post-Age of Insurrection native lords, no longer reliable allies of the colonial state, lost their privileges and status.

In the following study, I explore the context of Hispano-Catholic orthodoxy, with confraternities and the music they cultivated as a window into the complexities, distortion, and contradictions of the colonial baroque. My study questions the analytical value of retrospective racial essentialism. It challenges a prevailing narrative of omnipotent Spaniards conquering impotent non-Spanish Others. It orients confraternities and musical cultivation as institutions and practices that cannot be said to have either categorically copied Hispano-Catholic norms, or to have served as a last retreat of the powerless and downtrodden. They, like the human beings who used them, defied neat, predictable, and linear narrations.
Chapter 2
Intersections of
Authority, Ritual, and Confraternities in
Lima’s Religious Festivals during the
Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Introduction

During the sixteenth century, the Spanish colonial enterprise was fragile, and the crown’s authority in the Viceroyalty of Peru was tenuous. Charles I’s first viceroy, installed in 1544, met his death less than two years later in a civil war. Similarly, all but one of the four Pizarro brothers met violent deaths, as other conquistadores of their generation fought among themselves for the spoils of war and against the crown’s efforts to assert its authority and officially safeguard the souls and persons of the indigenous population. The Spanish monarch, meanwhile, faced the daunting task of integrating newly ennobled military conquistadores—the vast majority of whom arose from subaltern strata of Iberian society or the impoverished, déclassé strata of the hidalgo classes—into an obedient, Catholic New World society that deferred to his authority. The Spanish crown maintained a truce with the unconquered black-and zambo-ruled Kingdom of Esmeraldas in modern-day Ecuador from the late sixteenth century through the early eighteenth century. Finally, although weakened, the Incan Empire survived the conquest, existing in Vilcabamba until Viceroy Francisco de Toledo ordered the assassination (without royal approval) of the last Incan sovereign Túpac Amaru I in 1572. Yet the Incan and non-Incan indigenous nobility remained largely intact, and the Spanish crown depended heavily on its members to maintain order, provide labor, and collect tribute from the indigenous population through the late eighteenth century. Within the context of this weakness—hegemony achieved through inefficient coercive force—Spanish authorities faced the critical need to preserve and reinforce hegemony through the establishment (and habitual repetition) of public displays of power according to the semiotics of Hispano-Christendom.

In this chapter, I discuss the tight connections, often converging in the Lima City Council (Cabildo or Ayuntamiento), between secular and ecclesiastic authority surrounding the city’s
major religious festivals as they developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the confraternity, within the context of regularly occurring rituals in the Catholic Church, as one of myriad strands in the web of Hispano-Catholic conformity as partially revealed in these festivals; conflict between the City Council and the Church during the seventeenth century over the performance of theatrical productions during Corpus Christi, in which members of confraternities regularly performed and which the confraternities occasionally sponsored; and the use of music in seventeenth-century theater to reinforce underlying messages of obedience to God and Crown.

As the legislative body of city government, the City Council regularly passed ordinances aimed at maintaining sanitation, law, and order. As an appendage of Spanish secular authority in the Viceroyalty of Peru, the City Council also enforced decrees from the Spanish king, and from the viceroy, the king’s representative, authorized with executive powers. Finally, as an institution conspicuously allied with Hispano-Christendom, the City Council publically reinforced the prestige and authority of high-ranking church officials, such as the archbishop of Lima, and regularly sent its members to attend the festivals of the city’s religious orders, parish churches, and confraternities, including those patronized by its own members, the viceroy, and other members of Lima’s elite. For example, on 27 March 1627, following tradition, the City Council delegated certain of its members to attend the locking and unlocking of the Blessed Sacrament in the city’s parishes during Corpus Christi. The minutes read:

Señalaronse para asistir en las parroquias desta ciudad a encerrar y desençerrar el santissimo sacramento como es costumbres a los regidores siguientes---
el dicho alguacil mayor a nuestra señora de atocha de los niños guerfanos---
digo a san sebastian---
gonzalo prieto de abreu a santa ana---
thomas de paredes a san marçelo---
pedro sanches graces a los niños guerfanos---
y con esto se acabo el cabildo---81

[Members of the City Council] indicated the following City Council members to attend the parishes of this city in locking and unlocking the Blessed Sacrament in the manner that is customary:

The chief constable to Our Lady of Atocha of the orphan children,
Digo to Saint Sebastian,

81 Juan Bromley (transcriber and annotator), Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Vigesimo, Años 1625-1627, Lima: Concejo Pronvicial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre) (1962), 512.
Gonzalo Prieto de Abreu to Saint Anne,
Thomas de Paredes to Saint Marcellus,
Pedro Sanches Graces to [Our Lady of Atocha of?] the orphan children,
And with this the City Council closed.

The minutes of the City Council are rich with discussions that reveal some of the closed-door exchanges that took place before carefully choreographed public displays of power during religious festivals. In virtually all major festivals, members of the City Council would have been present, along with the viceroy, members of the cathedral chapter, and members of the Spanish crown’s appellate court, the Royal Audience; and the careful choreography of rank and status of these people, along with other members of the city’s elite, religious orders, confraternities, and masses of the general population required constant clarification and ultimate ratification by the viceroy. As an example, on 22 June 1609, the City Council discussed the viceroy’s ordering of its members in Lima’s processions and public acts. The viceroy, Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marquess of Montesclaros, had responded to a request for clarification from the City Council regarding the position of its members in Lima’s processions and public acts (typically, festivals). In his response, the viceroy maintained that, in the processions in general, and the procession of the Blessed Sacrament in particular, the celebrant (usually the archbishop in major processions) was to lead the procession, flanked and followed by the *alcaldes*, whom other members of the City Council were to follow in order of decreasing seniority. Finally, if a judge or other official from the Royal Audience were present, he was to proceed from behind the celebrant between the *alcaldes*. The minutes from this discussion read:

En este cabildo el dicho tesorero don Juan manuel de anaya dixo como el Excelentisimo señor marques de montesclaros visorrey destos reynos le abia dado la respuesta cerca de lo que se le abia suplicado por parte deste cabildo de que se le mandasen guardar sus preminencias en darles lugar que an llebado siempre en las proçesiones y otros aconpañamientos que se le hacen el qual dixò y referido de palabra lo que el dicho señor visorrey le abia dicho diciendo el lugar que abian de llebar en las dichas proçesiones y otros actos publicos adonde consurriese este cabildo/ que es en las proçesiones del santisimo sacramento quando se le llebe palio an de yr començando los alcaldes desde los

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82 As with other titles in Spanish colonial administration, the title of *alcalde* could denote several functions; in this case a warden or municipal officer with administrative and judicial functions. Unless otherwise noted, my English translations of Spanish administrative titles are from Ophelia Marquez and Lillian Ramos Wold (compilers and editors), *Compilation of Colonial Spanish Terms and Document Related Phrases* (second edition), Midway City, CA: SHHAR [Society of Hispanic Historical and Ancestral Research] Press (1998). In cases where I am not aware of an approximate, idiomatic English translation, I preserve the original Spanish title in italics with a description thereof.
lados del preste un poquito mas adelante por que hasta el an de legar los fiscales prosiguiendo adelante por sus antigüidades los capitulares desde cabildo de manera que an de benir a quedar dentro del cuerpo de la guardia sin que entre ellos se ynterpole ni ponga otra persona de fuera del y en otras proçesiones an de comenzar los dichos alcaldes desde detrás del preste y si concurrriere en alguna dellas alguno de los señores oydores o alcalde de corte por que uno solo no haçe cuerpo de audiencia lo an de llebar en medio los dichos alcaldes/ y abriendolo oyro y entendido se acordó se besar las manos a su Exelençia de partes deste cabildo por la merced que se les haçe en alguna parte de lo que por el se le a pedido.83

In this assembly the treasurer don Juan Manuel de Anaya spoke about how the most excellent Marquess of Montesclaros, viceroy of these kingdoms, had given the reply to this assembly’s request that he order that members preserve their rankings in their order in the processions and other accompaniments that take place. He spoke and referred word-for-word what the viceroy had said, indicating the place where members were to take on the processions and other public acts, to which this assembly concurred:

In the processions of the Blessed Sacrament when the banner is carried and beginning with the alcaldes on both sides of the celebrant,84 somewhat ahead of the latter because up to that point the fiscales85 will be proceeding according to seniority; the senior officers of this assembly conforming to the manner that they are to come and remain inside the body of the guard, without which [no one is to] introduce nor put another person on the outside, and in the other processions, the alcaldes are to begin from behind the celebrant. And it having been agreed that only this assembly is to proceed behind the alcaldes in any procession, the other senior officers making choirs in such a way that the junior [most current?] come to arrive after the others from behind the celebrant, and if there is agreement in one of those processions, one of the judges or a court officer, because only one does not represent the Royal Audience; those in procession are to bring him in the middle of the alcaldes. And the viceroy having heard and understood, it was agreed that members of this assembly kiss the hands of his Excellency for the grace he shows them in any part for which his permission has been requested.

In his Diario de Lima,86 the chronicler Josephe de Mugaburu (1601-1686) describes a wide variety of events that took place in Lima from 1640 through 1686, and he gives us a more detailed image of religious festivals that took place in Lima during that period. His descriptions

83 Juan Bromley (transcriber and annotator), Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Decimo quinto, Años 1606-1609, Lima: Concejo Pronvicial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre) (1947), 848.
84 In the Diccionario General Etimológico de la Lengua Española (volume 4), the preste is described as the priest who leads the sung mass, with assistance from the deacon and subdeacon, or who presides publically over divine offices wearing a cope; both descriptions correspond to “celebrant” in English. (El sacerdote que celebra la misa cantada, asistido del diácono y subdiácono, ó el que preside en función pública de oficios divinos con capa pluvial). Diccionario General Etimológico de la Lengua Española (volume 4), José María Faquineto (ed.), Madrid: Álvare Hermanos (1889), 988.
85 A royal attorney (civil cases) or city prosecutor (criminal cases).
86 Josephe and Francisco de Mugaburu, Diario de Lima (1640-1694), volume II, Lima: Imp. C. Vásquez (1935). Josephe de Mugaburu’s entries are those from 1 September 1640 to 2 October 1686; those of his son, Francisco de Mugaburu, continue through 1694, Josephe de Mugaburu having died on 12 November 1686.
corroborate and enliven the more perfunctory details gleaned from minutes of the City Council, as they include discussions of bull fights, fireworks, lavish floats and images, music, as well as the full gamut of colonial society that participated in these festivals. During the 1656 festivals of the Immaculate Conception, for example, Mugaburu observed that during the night of Saturday, 14 October, they began with “great fireworks.” On Sunday the 15th, archbishop Pedro de Villagomez led the pontifical mass in the cathedral, after which fray Bartolomé Badillo gave a sermon on the order of Saint Augustine, followed by a large procession during the afternoon around the plaza, where large altars had been constructed, with the viceroy (García Sarmiento de Sotomayor, Count of Salvatierra) and judges of the Royal Audience in attendance. On the following Saturday, the trade guilds (comercios), which would have been represented by confraternities formed from various trades, began their festivals. Beginning at 5 p.m., they had “the largest fireworks that had been put on in the city,” commencing from the street that connected to the bridge [over the Rimac?]. They included a seven-headed serpent on a float with two mules and four blacks, all carrying additional fireworks, in livery; Adam and Eve with a serpent with the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil (el árbol de la manzana); and a cart with the image of the Immaculate Conception. Trumpets (clarines) and drums (cajas) accompanied all of these firework displays. The next day, there was another pontifical mass, which the viceroy and judges from the Royal Audience attended, and a “great sermon and procession around the cathedral, for which worshippers took out the image of the Holiest Virgin of the Immaculate Conception.\footnote{Ibid., 25.}

On 8 December 1662, observing the beginning of a festival of Saint Francis, Mugaburu wrote that there were five “richly embellished” altars dedicated to the Immaculate Conception constructed between the bridge and the convent of Saint Francis. In the procession, there was an image of Saint Francis in front, with a banner that read “Mary conceived without the stain of original sin” (María concebida sín macula de pecado original), followed by twelve highly decorated saints, and behind all of them an image of Saint Dominic. Behind the image of Saint Dominic were twelve maidens, who had gone out for the goodwill of the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception, accompanied by their sponsors. The image of the Immaculate Conception followed, in turn followed by the image of the Blessed Sacrament, which the provincial father of the Franciscan order, fray Diego de Adrada, accompanied, along with the
viceroy (the Count of Santiesteban), the Royal Audience, the City Council, all members of religious communities, and the general population.88

Here, I should note that even where Mugaburu does not explicitly mention confraternities, we may reasonably imagine that confraternities would have been present in the main festivals dedicated to the same religious personages or themes that their own members venerated and upon which members founded the confraternities in the first place. The case for this is strengthened when we have descriptions of the religious orders having festivals and processions; attendance and participation would have almost certainly been mandatory for confraternities that the religious orders sponsored. The case is also strengthened when we have descriptions of great multitudes of people attending and participating in processions, which invariably featured various musical performances; as I discuss in Chapter 3, confraternities provided a large portion of the musical forces present in Lima festivals and processions. The City Council and religious orders seem to have provided most of the remainder of the musical forces present in the city’s main festivals and processions.

Mugaburu recorded that on 22 December 1662, there was a festival of the Immaculate Conception. It began with a spirited sermon at the church of Saint Dominic on the topic of Mary’s being born without the taint of original sin, followed by a procession from the church’s altar of the True Cross (Veracruz), with secular clerics singing “without original sin.” At 8 that evening, some boys from the school at Saint Dominic carried four or six rag dolls [monigotes] and two candles, singing “The Virgin was conceived without original sin” (La Virgen fue concebida sin pecado original) through the streets. Shortly thereafter, they took an image of the Immaculate Conception painted on canvas from an indigenous delivery man, and turned it in to a Dr. Reyes, who had arrived on his mule. Within thirty minutes of this exchange, the boys joined the larger procession, illuminated with over 4,000 of “every type of person,” each holding one candle, and singing in a loud voice “The Virgin was conceived without original sin.” The procession soon grew to more than 10,000, entered the main plaza, and peeled off at the front of the cathedral (and later at other churches as the procession traveled throughout Lima through dawn the next day). At dawn, worshippers put the image of the Immaculate Conception in the convent of Saint Francis. Later that afternoon, the image once again left Saint Francis in procession under banners, around the main plaza, and entered the cathedral where the

88 Ibid., 54.
ecclesiastical City Council waited and gave litanies. After that, the image went to the Jesuit church, with a “large multitude of people” singing “without original sin.”

On 25 October 1682, there was a festival in honor of the Virgin Mary. It began that morning in the church of Saint Dominic, where “this festival [had] always been given.” There, the archbishop-viceroy, Melchor Liñán y Cisneros, judges from the Royal Audience, members of the City Council, and “all of the city’s nobility” attended a mass and sermon that the Jesuits gave. Some time after that, during the afternoon, four squadrons and “many poised people” gathered, along with eight calvary companies of natives and free mulattos and blacks. At five p.m., the procession passed through the main plaza, and the float of the Holiest Mother of God received three very loud salutes from the arquebuse and musket companies. Meanwhile, the Jesuits had been presiding over the public rites during the procession, and later joined the Dominicans in the same. Later, the viceroy arrived with his entourage behind the image of the Virgin “as [was] customary,” while the vicereine, her mother, son, and the rest of her family watched from the corner balconies of the viceregal palace. Still later, Mugaburu wrote that there was “much to see and great delight” during the festival of the “Blessed Mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ and patron of all humanity and Catholics.”

On 18 January 1687, a four-day procession began, with the archbishop (Melchor Liñán y Cisneros), viceroy (Melchor de Navarra y Rocafull, Duke of la Palata), and Royal Audience in attendance, carrying the float of Our Lady of the Rosary from the church of Saint Dominic. It traveled through the streets of Pozuelo and las Mantas before entering the main plaza, where a squadron saluted it before it returned to Saint Dominic through the street of Correo. The Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary had opulently fitted the float on which the image of Our Lady rested with new silver plating, and had the procession for the purpose of showing the new altarpiece of Our Lady, and retrival of the image that had been placed in the main altar.

Members of the indigenous, black, and mulatto populations also actively contributed to the city’s festivals. For example, on 7 August 1683, the day before the main feast day, the mayordomos of the mulatto confraternity of carpenters from the church of Saint Anne paid for particularly wild bulls during the third of three bull fights (the first two were on 8 July and 5

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89 Ibid., 54-55.
90 Ibid., 223.
91 Ibid., 262.
August) given during celebrations for Saint John the Baptist. On 23 November 1686, in preparation for the lobby for his beatification, the documents pertaining to the services and miracles of the Dominican fray Martín de Porres (1579-1639), who would become the first saint of known African descent in the Americas, were sealed. The Dominicans, along with the alguacil mayor of Lima, and “many illustrious people,” accompanied a procession carrying those documents from the cathedral to the convent of Saint Dominic. Many mulatta women joined the procession with banners, “dancing, with much delight” on the sides.

2.1 The City Council and Patronage of Confraternities

Confraternity of the Blessed True Cross
(Santa Veracruz)

On 27 March 1627, the City Council discussed the Archconfraternity of the Blessed True Cross (Santa Veracruz), then suffering from neglect, although it had been founded some eighty years before by Francisco Pizarro and Jerónimo de Loaysa, the first archbishop of Lima, was patronized by later viceroy’s of Peru, and claimed as members the City Council and high clergy. The confraternity had recently suffered from lackluster attendance by the City Council and other high-ranking members of Lima society. Since members of the City Council would normally donate and replenish the confraternity’s stores of expensive wax used for a variety of functions, their diminished attendance negatively affected these donations. Moreover, the City Council’s neglect of the confraternity lowered the latter’s dignity and prestige, and the brothers implored the viceroy to remind the former City Councilors of their customary obligations, and to order them to resume them:

En este cabildo leyo el memorial y decreto del exelentisimo señor marques de guadalcazar birrey destos rreynos del tenor siguiente/ los mayordomos y procurador general de la cofradia de la santa beracruz dizien que a mas de ochenta años que el señor birrey (sic) don francisco pizarro y el señor geronimo de loaysa primer arzobispo desta çudad fundaron la dicha cofradia que es la primera deste rreyno la qual fundación se a continuado fomentandola y anparandola todos los señores birreyes que le an susçedido

92 Ibid., 226.
93 Beatified by Pope Gregory XVI in 1837, and canonized by Pope John XXIII in 1962.
94 Ibid., 257.
como patrones della y siendo hermanos della el cabildo justicia y regimiento desta ciudad y el eclesiástico y todos los cavalleros della ylustrandose con muy grandes jubilees y conçediendose a la dicha ciudad por probision del gobierno distribuya çera a sus capitulares para que aconpañen el juebes santo la procession que hase la dicha cofradia en la qual de hordenário sacaban el estandarte y guion los cavalleros de mayor luster desta ciudad pretendiendo el hazerlo con afecto y deboçion particular y ansi que de poco años a esta parte assi el dicho cabildo justicia y regimiento como los dichos cavalleros an dexado la dicha obligacion de todo punto escusandose de aconpañar y sacar el dicho estandarte y guion quedando tan excluyda de la auturidad que tenia que causa general sentimiento del ber tan postrada su deboçion y la antigua memoria desta piedad con que los señores birreyes la fundaron y fomentaron y para que en tiempo que principe tan catolico y deboto como vuestra Exelençia y que a faboreçido y faboreze las obras publicas y pide no decaezca y se aniqule la de la dicha cofradia que resulta no solo en deboçion sino en autoridad de la nobleza deste reyno/ a vuestra Exelençia piden y suplican se sirba de encargar a el dicho cabildo justicia y regimiento y cavalleros desta ciudad no dexen la dicha cofradia y acudan a las obligaciones della como antes lo an hecho rresçibiendiola vuestra Exelençia con protection y anparo para que a su exenplo rrenovan la memoria de los señores birreyes sus antecessors se alienten los demas a serbirla en que vuestra Exelençia hara un gran seruiciio a nuestro señor y ellas merced francisco hernandez fernando de sotomayor/ En los reyes veinti y seis de marzo de mill y seisçientos y veinti y siete vuestra Exelençia encarga a los alcaldes hordinarios y cabildo desta ciudad que acudan con particular ciudado a alentar y aconpañar la antigua y debota fundación de esta cofradia y procession y que uno de los del dicho cabildo llebe el estandarte y conbiden los demas caballeros que les paresçiere para que salga con el lucimiento y autoridad que tubo en tiempo de sus mayors y primeros pobladores desta ciudad don josephe de cazeres.95

In this City Council the memorial and decree of the most excellent Marqués de Guadalcazar, viceroy of these kingdoms, was read, having the following tone:

The mayordomos and procurador general of the confraternity of the Holy True Cross say that more than 80 years ago the viceroy don Francisco Pizarro and Gerónimo de Loaysa, the first archbishop of this city, founded said confraternity, the first in this kingdom, and whose foundation has continued to excite and harbor all of the subsequent viceroyos as patrons thereof and being brothers therein the secular and ecclesiastical City Councils and all gentlemen of this city illuminating it with very grand celebrations and bestowing itself to the city, through a governmental provision it distributes wax to its members so that they accompany the Maundy Thursday procession, which the confraternity does, and in which the ordinary would carry the standard and banner, the most illustrious gentlemen of this city attempting to do it with particular affect and devotion; given that for a few years up until now, the secular City Council, like all of the gentlemen, have neglected said obligation on all points, excusing themselves from accompanying and carrying the standard and banner, ending up so beyond the authority that once was, which results in a general feeling of one seeing their devotion and the ancient memory of their piety with which the viceroyos founded and encourage the confraternity so diminished; moreover [in keeping with] the time during which a ruler as Catholic and devoted as your Excellency has favored public acts, [the confraternity] requests that this [the distribution of wax] does not cease and be depleted from the confraternity, which benefits not only from devotion but also the authority of the nobles of this kingdom. The confraternity begs

95 Bromley (1962), 510-511.
your excellency to order the City Council and gentlemen of this city not to abandon the confraternity, and to attend to the obligations thereto, as has been done before, receiving your excellency with protection and aid, in order that, following your example, redeeming the memory of the viceroy's; their predecessors encouraging the others to serve the confraternity, in which your Excellency would do a great service to our Lord and their graces [?].

[signed] Francisco Hernandez de Sotomayor

In the city of kings, 26 March 1627, his excellency orders the judges and City Council of this city to attend with particular care to encourage and accompany the ancient devotion to this confraternity and procession, and that one of the men from the City Council is to carry the standard and provide the other gentlemen with suitable articles so that one may go in the procession out with the illumination and authority that he held during the time of his ancestors and first settlers of this city.

[signed] Don Josephe de Cazeres

Later, the City Council confirmed the viceroy’s decree that its members were to resume their customary donations of wax to and attendance of the confraternity’s festivals. The City Council, considering the confraternity’s prestige and association with Lima’s elite, reminded its members of their obligation to carry its standard during processions, according to rank and seniority, while holding candlelight.96

96 Ibid., 511-512, 519-520, 524. (“Y abiendo bisto y leydo el dicho memorial y decreto de su Exelençia y tratado y conferido sobre lo contenido en el se acordo que atendiendo a la estimaçion que siemprev a tenido la cofradia de la santa beracruz y que la fundación della en esta ciudad es tan antigua y este cabildo tan ynteressado y que en el tienpo presente a descaesçido de manera que conbien e tartar de su remedio se a Juzgado por el mejor que pues siemprev a estado en las personas mas ylustres desta ciudad el cabildo della tome a su cargo y obligacion el sacar el estandarte de la dicha cofradia concurriendo para esto todo el cabildo y comenzando del alcalde mas antiguo hasta el ultimo capitular por sus antiguedades y divisiones de quadra llebandole cada uno lo que enpiere y aconpañañandole los demas con sus bastones y hachas encendidas y atento a que para este efecto y occasion tan preçissa es nesçessario que demas de la hacha que cada capitular a de llebar en la dicha procession llebe un criado con otra q que le baya alunbrando se libren dos para cada uno el baston que se les a acostumbrado dar con lo qual se acude al remedio que paresçe mas conbienente y a cumplir con lo que se Exelençia por su decreto manda;” “En este cabildo el dicho alguacil mayor propuso como Juan Fernandez rramirez mayordomo de la santa beracruz dixò que supuesto que ya este cabildo por orden de su Exelençia abia començado a autoriçar la dicha cofradia y que el dia de la santa cruz de mayo fue quando salio la real armada con el tesoro de su magestad y particulares del puerto del callao para tierra firme y se escapo del enemigo que surgio en el dicho puerto del callao estaba determinado de hacer una muy gran fiesta ansi por esto como por el gusto que tenia de que este cabildo honrrase la dicha cofradia como abia enpeçado y le pidio suplicase a este cabildo suplicase a su Exelençia señor virrey destos reynos se halle en la dicha fiesta/ y abiendo tratado y conferido sobre ello se acordo y determino se conbide a su Exelençia y bayan a ello el dicho alcalde don Juan de la cueba y gonçalo prieto de abreü regidor a quien se nonbraron por comisarios;” “En este cabildo el procurador general presento una probisio n del Exelentisimo señor marques de guadaleçar en que confirma lo probeydo por este cabildo cerca de sacar este cabildo el estandarte de la cofradia de la santa beracruz y se mando se asiente un tanto della en este libro o en el de probisiones y el original se ponga en el archibo de los papeles deste cabildo.”)
Information from an appended transcription of an unedited, unidentified document from the Historical Archives of the Municipality of Lima (ML) from the year 1775 provides additional details about this confraternity’s activities during festivals as they were by that time. During the festival of the Blessed True Cross, which began on 3 May, the mayordomo invited men and women members “of the highest quality,” including the viceroy and archbishop, to the procession.

During the festival of Exaltation of the Most Blessed Cross (beginning on 14 September), the City Council, already obligated to attend the festival of the Lord of Miracles (Santo Cristo de los Milagros) in the convent of Las Nazarenas, did not have to attend, but the confraternity’s mayordomos, other officers, and members did so. There were forty hours of “full celebration” for Pope Urban VIII, with “a full pardon and remission of sins” through Pope Julius III. On the Sundays during Lent, the City Council and its officers attended the celebrations given in the church of Las Nazarenas or Saint Sebastian during the afternoon. The celebrations in the church were followed by a procession of a holy relic, in which the participants would process through the cemetery to the church’s chapel, holding candles supplied by the mayordomos and other officers, while one of the magistrates from the City Council carried the banner.

On the morning of Maundy Thursday, the mayordomos of the confraternity would meet the viceroy and invite him to go to balcony of the viceregal palace to view the procession as it passed by the corner, which the archbishop also viewed as the procession passed in front of the balcony of the archbishop’s palace. Female ushers would guide the viceroy and archbishop to the pass of the float of Our Lady of Solitude (Nuestra Señora de la Soledad) behind the holy relic, closing the procession. During the night of Good Friday, various female ushers assembled in the chapel to receive invited women of the confraternity, whose function was, following that of various vicereines (and in the most recent case, that of the Countess of Monclova), to guide people to their place in the procession.

97 This is possibly a copy of a document written during the tenure of the viceroy Melchor Portocarrero Lasso de la Vega, Count of Monclova (1689-1705), since the transcription, written in a more or less present narrative tense, mentions a practice (which I describe later) that “follows the example of various vicereines, recently that of the Countess of Monclova” (siguiendo en esto el ejemplo de varias Virreinas y últimamente de la Condesa de la Monclova).
99 The transcription does not specify which church; it simply reads “en la iglesia grande.”
100 Ibid., 670-671.
101 “camareras”
102 Ibid., 671-672.
Confraternity of the Visitation of Our Lady to Saint Elizabeth of the Earthquakes
(Visitación de Nuestra Señora a Santa Isabel de los Tenblores)

On 14 August 1586, the City Council instituted a festival of the Visitation of the Virgin to Saint Elizabeth, in memory of the earthquake that had occurred on 9 July of that year. On 12 June 1596, the City Council agreed to make a yearly donation of 100 pesos from its properties in order to “help with the oil used in the lamp that burns perpetually in front of the image of Our Lady of the Visitation” in the cathedral of Lima. But official declarations of patronage did not necessarily mean that patrons would comply. For example, less than seven years later, the City Council received the choirmaster of the cathedral, who complained of the City Council’s neglect over the preceding two years. It had not been making its yearly donation of 100 pesos for the expensive wax used in the confraternity’s various functions. In response, the City Council once again promised a yearly donation of 100 pesos to the confraternity, in continuation of custom. Minutes from the 25 January 1602 meeting of the the City Council read:

En este ayuntamiento entro el chantre de la catedral desta ciudad y en el hiço rrelaçion diciendo como los años atras este cabildo abia tenido de costumbres y dibuçion de dar de Limosna de los proios y rentas desta dicha ciudad çien pesos para açeyte a la lanpara del altar de la bisitaçion de nuestra señora a santa ysabel questa ciudad abia tomado por abogada de los tenblores y que de dos años a esta parte no se abia dado la dicha Limosna y que la dicha cofradia y hermandad de que hera patron este dicho cabildo tenia mucha neçesidad y que no hera justo se cayese y perdiese tan buena obra y ansi pedia por amor de nuestro señor no desanparasen la dicha buena obra mandando se diese cada año los dichos çien pesos de los dichos propios y cada uno de los dichos capitulares en particular diese su Limosna como lo suelen hacer e abiendo se conferido y tratado sobre ello se acordo e probeyo por todos los dichos capitulares estando unanimes y conformes que se den los dichos çien pesos en cada año siempre perpetuamente que durare la dicha cofradia

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104 Bromley (1962), 639-640.
y hermandad trayendo aprobação y probission para ello del Exelentísimo señor visorrey destos reynos.105

In this assembly the choirmaster from this city’s cathedral entered and gave a relation describing how in years past this City Council had had the the custom and devotion of giving offerings from the properties and rents of this city of 100 pesos for oil for the lamp at the altar of the church of the Visitation of Our Lady to Saint Elizabeth, whom this city had taken as the guardian of earthquakes, that for the past two years, there has been no offering, and that the confraternity and brotherhood of which this City Council was patron, was in dire need and that it was not fair that it should decline and lose such a good deed; whereupon [the cantor] pleaded that for the love of our Lord the City Council not dispense with that good deed, mandated that the 100 pesos of said properties be given yearly by the members of the City Council, and in particular the City Council’s offering in the manner that is usually done; and having conferred and discussed the matter, it was agreed and provided by all members, being unanimous and in agreement, that the 100 pesos be given every year in perpetuity for as long as the confraternity and brotherhood shall exist, receiving approval and provision for such from the most Excellent viceroy of these kingdoms.

Four years later, however, the confraternity complained that the treasurer of City Council had still ignored repeated requests for the customary delivery of 100 pesos for candle wax as the viceroy had reaffirmed in 1602. The City Council responded by ordering the treasurer to comply. The 10 July 1606 minutes read:

En este cabildo el doctor francesco de leon como mayordomo ques de la cofradia de la bisitacion de nuestra señora questa ciudad tiene por abogada de los tenblores pidio se le mandasen dar y librar los cien pesos queste cabildo suele dar de sus propios de Limosna en cada un año para la celebraçion de su fiesta questa confirmado y aprobado por el señor don lus y belasco visorrey que fue destos reynos en un cabildo que en su presencia sehizo en treynta y un dias de mayo del año de mill y seys cientos y dos/ por este presente año de mill y seys cientos e seys y ansi mismo dixò que aunque a pedido muchas bezes al presente scriuanole de libramiento de los cien pesos del año pasado de mill y seys cientos y cinso no se lo abia dado aunque estaba decretado se le diëse pidio ansi mismo se le manden pagar y library por que la dicha cofradia tiene mucha necesidad delos para ayuda a pagar lo que se debe del gasto se a hecho en la celebraçion de las fiestas que se an

105 Juan Bromley (transcriber and annotator), Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Decimo cuatro, Años 1602-1605, Lima: Concejo Pronvncial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre) (1945), 34-35.
hecho de la dicha adhogaçion y abiendo tratado y conferido sobre ello se acordo que se le de el libramiento que pide para que se le paguen de los priopios desta çiudad los çien pesos deste año y ansi mismo los del año pasado de seys çientos e çinco si no se le ubieren dado y pagado hasta aora.\textsuperscript{106}

In this assembly Doctor Francisco de León, as \textit{mayordomo} of the confraternity of the Visitation of Our Lady, whom our city has as guardian of earthquakes, requested that the 100 pesos in offering that our City Council usually gives from its members every year for the confraternity’s festival be given and delivered; it was confirmed and approved by don Luis de Velasco, who was viceroy of these kingdoms in a City Council in his presence given on 31 May 1602.

For the present year of 1606 in the same manner [de León] said that even though he has asked the treasurer many times for the 100 pesos from last year, nothing had been given, although it had been decreed that it be given; he asks again that [the City Council] order him to pay and deliver because the confraternity is in dire need of those [100 pesos] in order to help to pay what it owes from the expenses incurred for the celebration of festivals that they [confraternity members] have had in honor of said guardian; and having discussed and conferred on the subject, it was agreed that he be given what he requests from the treasury so that he is paid 100 pesos from the city’s properties from year and the previous year if they had not paid him up to now.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the procession of the Visitation of Saint Elizabeth had been well established, and had apparently overcome earlier years of inconsistent assistance from the City Council. Josephe de Mugaburu wrote of the processions, including that of the Visitation of Saint Elizabeth, which were given after the Lima earthquake of 1655 that had destroyed most of the city. Mugaburu wrote that this 13 November earthquake, “so large that it had never been seen before in the city of Lima,” had caused the collapse of the chapel and arches of Callao’s main Jesuit church, where all of the port’s inhabitants slept in the plazas and streets for fear of more fallen structures. In Lima, all of the houses were damaged after more than one hundred aftershocks pulverized the city over the course of three days, and all but a handful of the residents left the city. Even the viceroy, Luis Enríquez de Guzmán, Count of Alba de Aliste, slept in his garden, while the former viceroy, the Count of Salvatierra, his wife, his secretary, and his secretary’s family all slept in the gardens of the convent of Saint Francis. In Lima’s main plaza, preachers spoke on three pulpits day and night (“as one stepped down, another took his place”); in that plaza alone, Mugaburu observed twenty sermons on some days, and was hard pressed to imagine how many sermons there were in the city’s other plazas and churches. On 27 November, a procession carrying the float of Saint Elizabeth commenced from the cathedral

\textsuperscript{106} Bromley (1947), 173-174.
around the plaza, with “over one thousand people of every type; men, women, children, Indians, blacks, and mulattos” all joined in penitence.\footnote{Mugaburu, 22-23.}

**Confraternity of Saint Roch (San Roque)**

Throughout the seventeenth century, plagues racked Lima, and the authorities held festivals and processions to Saint Roch for protection against these scourges. During the first year of the century, the City Council named deputies to help organize the festival of Saint Roch, the patron saint of the eponymous confraternity, which the City Council also sponsored. On 14 September 1601, the City Council met:

En este ayuntamiento se trato como este cabildo era patron de la cofradia del señor san roque abogado de la peste y que para la fiesta queste presente año se abia de hacer abra necesidad de nonbrar disputados y abiendo conferido sobre ello se acuerdo de nonbrar por tales diputados al alcalde don francisco de la cueva y a francisco çeberino de torres alguacil mayor.\footnote{Juan Bromley (transcriber and annotator), *Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Decimo tercero, Años 1598-1601*. Lima: Concejo Pronvicial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre) (1944), 715.}

In this assembly it was discussed how this City Council was the patron of the confraternity of Saint Roch, guardian against plague, and that for this year’s festival it was going to be necessary to name deputies, and having conferred about the subject, it was agreed that the official don Francisco de la Cueva and the *alguacil mayor* Francisco Severino be named as these deputies.

Processions to Saint Roch were expectedly solemn, owing to the gravity of his invocation, and, as with other processions, followed a mass and sermon. Minutes from 22 August 1631 confirm this, and also give us a hint of other resources that the city used as it dealt with disasters. During the plague of 1631, the City Council requested that the convents have nine days of processions to Saint Roch and rogations to Christ as an effective remedy. The City Council also gathered the city’s doctors in order to ascertain the cause of the city’s general illness:
En este cauldillo el dicho capitán don Pedro de Vedoya alcalde ordinario propuso como esta ciudad estaua muy enferma y auia muerto mucha gente y que su pareçer es se trate de rremedio eficaz de rrogatiuas a dios nuestro señor pidiendo este cauldillo pidiendo a los conuentos las hagan nueue dias y al fin delos se haga una procession general trayendo al glorioso san roque a la yglesia catedral donde se diga missa con mucha solemnidad y aya sermon para todo lo qual se ocurra a su Exelenç ia dandole quenta de lo que se determinare/ y oyda la dicha propusicion todos conformes acordaron se hiziese assi y se dio commission para que se haga lo referido a los dichos alcaldes ordinarios y que lo comuniquen a su Exelençia y que se haga junta de medicos para que declaren en razon de la dicha enfermedad general.109

In this City Council Captain don Pedro de Vedoya, alcalde ordinario, proposed that given that this city was very ill and that many people had perished, it seemed to him that an effective remedy would be rogations to our Lord, with our City Council requesting that the convents have them them for nine days, and at the end of that, that there be a general procession carrying the glorious float of Saint Roch to the cathedral where a mass would be said with much solemnity and a sermon, all of which would occur with his excellency setting the stipulations.

And having heard the proposal, all agreed that it be done that way, and a commission was set up so that the alcaldes ordinarios would do everything mentioned. [It would] communicate with his excellency, and there was be a gathering of doctors so that they ascertain the cause of the general illness.

I located records of the City Council’s arrangements for and naming of officers to organize processions to the Lima cathedral and nine-day rogations to Saint Roch in response to plagues running through Lima for 6 March 1663,110 27 February 1670,111 and 18 April 1673.112

Accounts from the 1660s and 1670s from the confraternity of Saint Roch provide a glimpse of the musical and non-musical forces that contributed to the yearly, non-rogative festival of Saint Roch, and are representative of other confraternities’ activities when they

109 Juan Bromley (transcriber and annotator), Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Vigesimo segundo, Años 1631-1633, Lima: Concejo Provincial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre) (1963), 68.
110 Libro 27 (1660-1664) (ML) (Libros de Cabildo), fol. 255.
111 Libro 29 (1670-1675) (ML) (Libros de Cabildo), fol. 18.
112 Ibid., fol. 167.
participated in festivals celebrated with other confraternities throughout the city, and individually. In 1663 during an unnamed festival (but probably the festival of Saint Roch), the confraternity spent two pesos for a trumpeter, three pesos for drummers, and ten pesos for shawm players. The following year during the festival of Saint Roch, the confraternity spent eight pesos, six reales for the trumpet on the main feast day; four pesos for the organist; and during three days of festivities, six pesos for a drummer; fifteen pesos, four reales for singers (discantes); and twenty-eight pesos for shawms and another drummer; as well as thirty-five pesos paid to a Luis Rico for music, which apparently he had been providing for some time (como es costumbre). In 1665, the confraternity spent a total of 435 pesos for an unnamed festival (again, probably that of Saint Roch), of which it spent forty-one pesos for shawm players, a trumpeter, drummers, incense, and food (presumably for the musicians), and ten pesos, two reales for the meals of the singer.\textsuperscript{113}

In 1666 during the festival of Saint Roch, the confraternity spent six pesos for a trumpeter; eleven pesos that included the meals of the singer who performed for three days; ten pesos for twenty-four large candles used during the procession of Saint Roch; twenty-five pesos that included shawm players, a drummer, and the meals of the black musicians; thirteen pesos, four reales for a sung mass (presumably on the main feast day); and thirty-five pesos paid to Juan Martínez de Mendoza, who arranged for music, the services of an organist, a master of ceremonies, and a staff pounder and bell ringer announcing the arrival of the procession of the dean and governing assembly of the Lima cathedral. In 1667, the confraternity spent twenty-five pesos for the music performed over three days during the same festival, and fourteen pesos for the singers. The following year, during an unnamed festival (probably that of Saint Roch), the confraternity spent twenty-five pesos for music; twenty-five pesos for the meals of the shawm players over three days; five pesos, five reales for the meals of the trumpeter over the same period of time; four pesos, seven reales for the drummer and his meals; nine pesos for the singer; twenty-six pesos for blacks who performed unspecified tasks (but most likely in this context

\textsuperscript{113} Leg. 22:13 (1666) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías). In my citations of original documents, I indicate the foliation written on those documents. Where there are no such indications, they were not written on the original documents. Considerations of limited time and the vast amount of material (often through document bundles [legajos] of several hundred folios) through which to sift influenced my decision to not manually determine the foliation. In most cases, these bundles were brief, and the researcher will immediately find the materials I cite; in other cases, notably in account books, I record the subject headings listed in the original documents in order to more precisely direct the research to those materials.
music-making and/or float bearing); and three pesos for the organist. Another entry that lists expenses between 1668 and 1669 is summarized in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Expenses that have been incurred in the confraternity of the brothers of Saint Roch between 1668 and 1669”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Festival of Saint Roch</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 pesos for the memorial mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 pesos for the music during this mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 pesos for 8 recited masses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 pesos for the shroud and tomb during the memorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 pesos for the image and adornment of the float of Saint Roch during the procession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 pesos, 4 reales for the candles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 pesos for the organist and music used in the sung mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pesos for the singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pesos for the drummer and trumpeter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Festival of Rose [of Lima]?</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 pesos paid to the black float bearers during the procession of the image of Rose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 pesos, 6 reales for 10 pounds of wax for candles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1670, during the festival of Saint Roch, the confraternity spent fifteen pesos, four reales for the music and organist during two sung masses; an additional twenty pesos for those sung masses for unspecified services; three pesos for the singer; and three pesos for the trumpeter and drummer. For the memorial mass, the confraternity spent thirty-six pesos for the singer, harpist, and guitarist. The following year during the same festival, the confraternity spent seventeen pesos for shawm players, trumpeters, and drummers; thirty-five pesos for music from the cathedral; nineteen pesos, four reales for two sung masses; three pesos for the music and harpist associated with these masses; twenty-four pesos, four reales for the sung memorial mass; and thirty-four pesos, four reales during the procession and adornment of the float of Saint Roch, the music for which included shawm players, a bajón player, and a soprano singer.

In 1673 or 1674, the confraternity spent fifteen pesos, seven reales for the shawm players, drummer, and trumpeter, who played from vespers through the procession of Saint Roch. In

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114 Leg. 22:15 (1669) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 7-9, and an unnumbered folio that lists expenses from the period between 26 August 1667 and 26 August 1668.
115 (Memoria de los Gastos que a auido en esta cof. de los hermanos del SrS. Roque de el año de 1668 asta este presente de sesenta y nueve), Ibid.
1675, the confraternity spent nineteen pesos, seven reales for the shawm players, drummer, and trumpeter, who played from vespers during the same festival, as well as nine pesos for the singer who performed throughout the festival.\textsuperscript{118}

By the eighteenth century, the confraternity preserved the patterns of musical activities associated with festivals that I discussed above. For example, in 1757, the confraternity spent sixty-nine pesos, six reales for the memorial mass, and during the nine-day festival of Saint Roque (\textit{Fiesta y Nobena del Glorioso Sr. S\textsuperscript{r}. Roque}), the confraternity spent ten pesos, six reales for the drummer and trumpeter; twenty-six pesos for the music; and fifty-six pesos, two reales for the sung masses performed throughout the novena at a rate of four pesos, four reales each.\textsuperscript{119} The following year during the same festival, the confraternity spent three pesos for music performed during the memorial mass; and ten pesos, six reales for the drummer and trumpeter (presumably during the processions).\textsuperscript{120}

\section*{2.2 The City Council, Festivals, and Lima’s Confraternities}

\textbf{Holy Week and Easter}

Since at least as early as 1579, the city’s confraternities had been already enthusiastically celebrating Holy Week. For example, On 13 April 1579, the City Council agreed to notify the \textit{mayordomos} of the city’s confraternities to combine and reduce their participation in the processions of the Holy Blood (\textit{de sangre}) during Maundy Thursday so that soldiers could better guard them, all of this was in response to the presence of the English in the southern waters of the viceroyalty:\textsuperscript{121}

\begin{quote}
Eneste ayuntamiento se acuerdo que seria bien por este año que las procesiones de sangre se juntassen y andubiesen las estaçiones Juntas e asi serian mejor guardadas e que asi
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{118} Leg. 22:20 (1676-1677) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\textsuperscript{119} Leg. 23:1 (1758) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\textsuperscript{120} Leg. 23:2 (1759) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\textsuperscript{121} The minutes immediately before those I cite here mention the presence of the English (pirates) in the southern waters of the viceroyalty; the royal militia therefore had to be mobilized in preparation for a possible seige.
mismo si fuese possible no andubiessen tanto como andan otros años sobre lo qual se
determino que se trate con los mayordomos de las cofradías.\textsuperscript{122}

In this City Council it was agreed that it would be better this year if the processions of the Holy Blood gather and go through the stations together, and that way they would better guarded; and that likewise if possible that the processions do not go out as much as they went out in other years, whereupon it was determined that this who should be discussed with the \textit{mayordomos} of the confraternities.

The City Council also routinely sent its members to the cathedral and parish churches to participate in the festivals and processions during Holy Week. For example, on 12 April 1604, the City Council ordered that officials be present in the cathedral of Lima, and churches of Saint Sebastian (San Sebastian), Saint Anne (Santa Ana), Saint Marcellus (San Marcelo), and Saint Francis (San Francisco) through the procession taking the Blessed Sacrament to the Altar of Repose during Holy Thursday:

\begin{quote}
En este cabildo se hordeno y mando que los rregidores deste cabildo se rrepartan por las yglesias desta ciudad el Juebes santo para que se hallen presentes al encerrar el santissimo sacramento y que el capitán diego de aguero baya a san sebastian luys Rodriguez de la serna o don françisco de balencuela el que no estubiere ynpedido a santa ana simon luys de luçio a san marçelo y los demas se rrrepartan y bayan a la yglesia mayor y con el señor visorrey a san Francisco donde suele yr para que lleben las baras de los palios.\textsuperscript{123}
\end{quote}

In this assembly it was ordered that the magistrates therein leave and go to the churches of this city on Maundy Thursday so that they can be present during the locking of the Blessed Sacrament; that capitain Diego de Aguero go to the church of San Sebastian, Luis Rodriguez de la Serna or don Francisco de Valenzuela, whoever is not prevented from doing so, to Sana Ana, Simon Luis de Lucio to San Marcelo, and the rest are to leave and go to the cathedral and with the viceroy to San Francisco where he normally goes in order to carry the staffs of the banners.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{122} Bertram T. Lee (transcriber and annotator), \textit{Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Noveno, Años 1579-1583}, Lima: Concejo Provincial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre, Sanmarti y Compañía) (1937), 45.  
\textsuperscript{123} Bromley (1947), 713.
\end{flushright}
A series of excerpts from the minutes of the City Council give us a glimpse of the degree to which its members discussed and organized participation in select confraternities during Holy Week (and other major festivals). On 12 April 1604, the City Council read a petition from the *mayordomos* from the Confraternity of Solitude (Soledad), addressed to its senior officers. In this petition, the *mayordomos* requested that City Council members, following custom, honor the *mayordomos* and brothers of the confraternity by attending the festival and procession of Maundy Thursday. It reads:

En este cabildo se leyó una petición que dieron los *mayordomos* de la cofradía de la soledad que ahora de nuevo se ha instituido en el convento del señor san francisco en que piden acudan a ello los capitulares deste cabildo a regir y gobernar como lo suelen hacer en las demás procesiones la cual y lo a ella probeydo es del tenor siguiente---

Los *mayordomos* y hermanos de la cofradía de la soledad questa fundada en los monasteries de san francisco desta ciudad dizan que el Viernes santo en la noche a de salir la dicha cofradía en procesión con la solenidad y horden que conviene y en semejantes actos y ocasiones vuestra señoría acostumbra honrar a los dichos *mayordomos* y hermanos y para que se haga como es razon/ a vuestra señoría suplicamos que para el dicho dia en la noche vuestra señoría como lo continua hazer acuda a la dicha cofradía y prosession para que se haga como conbenga y para ello etcetera francesco martin de reyna hernan sanchez/ que se hará ansi como lo piden se haçe en las demas procesiones.124

In this assembly a petition was read in which the *mayordomos* of the Confraternity of Solitude said again that today the convent of San Francisco has established, which the members of this assembly are requested to honor, the rule and governance as are customarily done in the processions; the petition had the following tone:

The *mayordomos* and brothers of the Confraternity of Solitude, which was founded in the monasteries of San Francisco of this city, say that during the night of Maundy Thursday, one is to leave from the confraternity in the procession with the appropriate solemnity and order, and in related acts and occasions your honor customarily honors the *mayordomos* and brothers, and in order that this is done correctly, we request to your honor that during the night of Maundy Thursday, your honor, as you continue to do so, attend to the confraternity and procession so that everything is done appropriately, and in this vein, that Francisco Martin de Reina [and] Hernan Sanchez shall do what is necessary to do what is requested in the other processions.

The City Council granted this request, committing its members to “attend, lead, and oversee” all of the processions during Holy Week, according to custom, and carrying candle sticks and banners:

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124 Ibid., 713-714.
In this assembly it was decided that all the present and absent members of this assembly be committed and be told to attend, lead, and oversee all of the processions that go out, and they are to go out this holy week as is normally done, and which has been customarily done every year since it is obligatory, and through doing so one serves God our Lord; for this effect, they are ordered to give candle sticks and banners.

Later that day, the City Council voted on who was to attend the processions.126

**Corpus Christi**

The City Council devoted considerable attention to seeing that Corpus Christi celebrations proceed in an orderly fashion, and to ordering its members to conspicuously participate in the festivities. Barely ten years after Lima’s foundation, for example, on 15 June 1549, during preparations for the festival of Corpus Christi, in addition to issuing an order to have the streets tidy and lined with palms, the City Council ordered its deputies to inform themselves about what music would be in the procession, and to encourage participation:

125 Ibid., 714.
126 Ibid., 715.
Ribera y al señor veedor y juan cortes Regidores e que ellos mismos como diputados se ynformen de la musica que ay e los hagan salir a la dicha procession.\textsuperscript{127}

In this City Council it was discussed and ordered that, given that the festival of Corupus Christi is on the first coming Thursday, that a pronouncement be made publically so that all have their belongings and palm blanketing tidy, and laid out in the thoroughfares where the float of the Blessed Sacrament is to pass for that day, under penalty of five pesos to each who does not have his or her belongings tidy (to pay for the candle wax for the Blessed Sacrament); also that on behalf of the city the orders be discussed, that members of the City Council request from the public[?] that they perform their duties tomorrow and arrive in time for the procession; and the City Council members selected Nicolas de Ribera, the overseer Juan Cortes, City Councilmen, to inform themselves as deputies about the music there will be, and to encourage members of the public[?] to go out in the procession.

The order that the secular and ecclesiastical authorities sought in Lima’s major festivals rested upon the premise that “order” conformed to customs that originated in Spain (or more generally in Western Europe). As with other members of the governing and ecclesiastical elite, the City Council sought to reproduce cultural models from Spain as closely as possible. During festivals and other activities of the Church, models from Seville carried particularly high prestige practically from the beginning of the city’s foundation. For example, on 8 June 1550, the City Council ordered that the offices of the Holy Eucharist follow those in Seville, under “grave penalties and incarceration” as municipal offers saw appropriate:

\begin{quote}
Eneste cabildo los dichos señores Justiçia e Regimiento cometieron a los señores alcalde y diputados desta cibdad que se ynformen por la horden que an de yr oficios mas cerca al santisimo sacramento e que aquellos se ynformaren que suelen yr en españa en sevilla e que por aquella mysma horden vayan y les conpelan con graves penas e prision a ello como les paresçiere.\textsuperscript{128}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{127} Bertram T. Lee (transcriber and annotator), \textit{Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Cuarto, Años 1548-1553}, Lima: Concejo Pronvincial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre, Sanmarti y Compañía) (1935), 131.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid., 570-571.
In this City Council the judiciary and executors therein ordered the municipal officers and deputies of this city to inform themselves about the order in which the duties closest to the Blessed Sacrament are to be followed, to inform themselves of what normally occurs in Spain in Seville, and go by the same order, and compelled them to do so with grave penalties and incarceration as they saw fit.

Other considerations included the use of fireworks, dances, and banners, as the 28 April 1553 minutes illustrate:

En este cabildo se platico que por que la fiesta de corpus xpi cerca que se hordene para que salga a la procession como se acostumbre con la dicha fiesta e acordose de cometer y cometieron al señor pedro de çarate acalde para que juntamente con los señores diputados desta ciudad o con qual quier delos hagan hordenar la dicha fiesta de juegos danças ynbençiones e pendones entrellos como se acostumbra.\textsuperscript{129}

In this City Council it was discussed how, because the festival of Corpus Christi is approaching, there should be an order to go out in the procession as is customarily done in the festival, and it was agreed to charge Pedro de Zarate (municipal officer) with making arrangements with the deputies of this city for the festival: fireworks, dances, inventions, and banners as in the manner customarily done.

Since festivals such as Corpus Christi were important opportunities for the display of power and status, another important reason for the City Council’s investment in the order and activities in these festivals was to display its symbolic control of the viceregal capital to royal representatives. The viceroy represented the apex of royal authority in the viceroyalty, and the City Council undoubtedly desired favorable reports of its control of the city when the viceroy communicated with the Spanish king. Thus, it is not surprising that the City Council took particular care to present a baroque display of pomp and circumstance when incoming viceroys observed and participated in their first festivities in Lima. For example, on 10 May 1561, the City Council reiterated its call for pomp and solemnity during Corpus Christi, particularly in

\textsuperscript{129} Bertram T. Lee (transcriber and annotator), \textit{Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Quinto, Años 1553-1557}, Lima: Concejo Pronvincial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre, Sanmarti y Compañía) (1935), 11.
light of it being the incoming viceroy’s (Diego López de Zuñiga y Velasco, Count of Nieva) first in Lima, accompanied by officials from the Royal Audience:

Eneste cabildo se trato sobre que el dia de corpus xpi se acerca y conviene proveer que la costumbres que esta cibdad tiene de hazer la fiesta con la pompa que se Requiere y conviene a semejantes fiestas y a estar y Residir enesta cibdad el señor visoRey y los señores del consejo e audiençia atento lo cual y la costumbres que esta cibdad a tenido se dio cuenta al señor visoRey y siendo ynformado mando que hiziese con la costumbres antigua que esta cibdad a tenido.  

In this assembly it was discussed how the festival of Corpus Christi is approaching, and that it is important to make sure that the customs that this city has in putting on similar festivals with the pomp that is required and appropriate [are carried out]; also the City Council noted that the viceroy and officials from the Royal Audiencia are in this city and observing the customs that this city has had; and being thus informed, the City Council ordered [the appropriate officers] to proceed with the ancient customs that this city has had.

Given the importance of Corpus Christi and the significance of procession order (since it denoted status and rank), the City Council sought to maintain tight control over the sequencing of those who participated in Lima’s processions. As I discuss more fully later in this dissertation, festivals provided confraternities with opportunities to enhance their prestige, and confraternities fought jealously by secular and ecclesiastical means to maintain their position in processions. For example, on 28 April 1553, members of the tailor guilds (which, along with other professional organizations, often formed confraternities based on their profession) went to the City Council seeking clarification of the order of the trade organizations’ officials following the elevation of the Blessed Sacrament in order to avoid disorder and jealousy among them:

Eneste cabildo entraron graviel de rribera y Juan Rodriguez sastres pidieron que sus mercedes declaren y den horden a donde a de yr los oficiales y pendones de los oficios y

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In this City Council Gravel [Gabriel?] de Ribera and Juan Rodriguez, tailors, requested that their graces declare and give the order to where the officials and banners of the professional organizations should go and which of them should go closest to the Blessed Sacrament because one expects there to be differences of opinion and anger among them.

Their graces considered this and ordered deputies to give the officials the order that they request in the manner customarily done in this city; the deputies are to act following the order, and if having been informed that there is a better way, they are to follow that, comply, and give it in such a way that there is no difference of opinion.

Minutes from 10 May 1557 show that the City Council discussed the necessity of clarifying the city’s professional organizations’ contribution to the customary pomp during Corpus Christi in regard to their dances and music. The City Council then decided to delegate a Jeronimo de Silva to give the order that the city’s professional organizations make these contributions for the sake of the grandeur of the now well-established choreography of status in the festival of Corpus Christi:

Eneste cabildo se trato que la fiesta de corpus xpi se acerca e sera de oy en un mes poco mas o menos y es nesçesario dar orden luego en la manera que se da tener en la fiesta que siempre se acostumba hazer e porque se tiene notiçia que enesta cibdad ay copia de todos oficios e para que se haga como combiene se a de cometer a una persona deste cabildo que de la orden que los oficiiales de todos los oficios an de tener en sacar ynbençiones para solenyçar la dicha fiesta e por que esta cibdad se ba ennobleçiendo e la dicha fiesta se perpetue e la orden que agora se dicere se tenga e cumpla syempre dixeron
que cometian todo lo suso dicho al señor Jeronimo de silba alcalde para que de la dicha orden e se haga e cumpla lo mandare e ordenare.\textsuperscript{132}

In this City Council it was discussed how the festival of Corpus Christi is approaching, and it will be more or less a month from now; later, it is necessary to give order to the manner in which the festival normally takes place; also, it is noted that in this city there is a list of all the professions, and in order that the procession takes place in an appropriate manner, a person from this City Council is to be dispatched to give the order that the officials from all of the professional organizations have to provide music and dances to add pomp to the festival; and because the city continues to add grandeur to the festival and the festival maintains the order that is now given, the City Council does and has always complied, saying that it delegated all above mentioned to Jeronimo de Silva, municipal officer, so that he give the order to be done and followed, the City Council so ordering.

On 26 April 1562, the City Council reiterated that Corpus Christi celebrations should conform to Spanish customs and that the city professional organizations would contribute their music and dance to the festivities:

La fiesta de corpus xpi se acerca y conviene proveer por este cabildo la horden que se a de tener enella ara que se haga con la solenidad que se Requiere e fuere possible atento lo qual e que esta cibdad al presente esta gastada y no tiene propios de que lo poder hazer la dicha fiesta e se tiene costumbres en los Reynos de españa que todos los oficios saque cada uno su ynvençion e dança e al presente enesta cibdad ay numero de ofiçiales de cada ofiçio para lo poder hazer se proveyo e mando se compel an a los dichos oficios e a cada uno delos que saquen sus ynvenções e danças en el dicho dia de corpus xpi primero que verna [sic, “viene”? ] e hordinariamente en cada un año de aqui adelante por la horden y por la forma que los fieles ejecutores que fueren desta cibdad dieren eneste años y en los de adelante e con las penas que se les pusieren por ellos lo qual se apregona publicamente.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid., 604.
The festival of Corpus Christi is approaching and the order therein that is to be observed is agreed and decided by this City Council; it shall be done with all the solemnity required and possible; being attentive to this and that this city has presently spent but has no assets in order to put on the festival, that there are customs among the Spanish realms where all of the professional organizations each have their own music and dance, that presently in this city there is a number of officials for each professional organization to do it, it was decided and ordered that the officials comply with having each of them have their music and dance on the next festival day Corpus Christi, and that through custom every year from henceforth through the order and form that the faithful executors who should be from this city these years and those to come, with penalties that they shall mete out, which is to be posted publically.

Through the last third of the seventeenth century, confraternities had regularly participated in citywide Corpus Christi celebrations. Josephe de Mugaburu noted this while describing the procession of the Immaculate Conception, in which confraternities similarly participated. For example, on 8 December 1664, he wrote that “all of the confraternities from all over the city went out with their saints, as on the festival day of Corpus Christi, with members of the religious orders and clergy.”

2. 3 The City Council, Theatrical Performances with Music, and Confraternities during Corpus Christi and other Important Events

Discussing the City Council’s resistance to efforts by Church authorities to suppress the performance of plays during Corpus Christi celebrations during the 1640s, Guillermo Lohmann Villena notes the exponentially greater attraction that the public had to these plays, which, far more than other customary elements in those celebrations, such as fireworks, bull fights, and candlelight vigils, induced them to participate. In fact, several months after the archbishop had proposed that theatrical performances such as these plays be “excused” during Corpus Christi,
The City Council commissioned Francisco Hurtado to produce two unnamed plays for the Corpus Christi celebrations of 1646.135

Theatrical performances in Lima took place as early as 1546, during the entrance of Francisco Pizarro’s younger half-brother, Gonzalo Pizarro, after the latter’s rebellious forces killed and decapitated the first viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela, in battle. For “many nights,” they put on skits and performed music, singing “coplas [villancicos?], motets, and romances,” recounting what they had done.136 Gonzalo’s conceit, which included attempts to crown himself king, however, was short-lived, as his forces capitulated to the second viceroy, Pedro de la Gasca, whose forces killed and decapitated Gonzalo in battle. With royal authority thus re-established in Lima, the Church wasted no time in reinforcing the ecclesiastical pillar of the Spanish colonial enterprise. During the First Council of Lima (begun in 1552), for example, the Church established controls to monitor and influence the piety and devotion of its Christian and New Christian (indigenous and newly Christianized African slave) charges.

Because the Catholic Church monopolized theatrical performances during the early generations after the establishment of the viceroyalty, and since these performances attracted broad swaths of society to various churches, ecclesiastical authorities were keen to set strict guidelines about the content and style of these performances. During the First Council of Lima, church authorities forbade dramatic performances in churches because they were said to cause “disturbances” and “scandal,” and prevent understanding of the faith, particularly among New Christians.137 As I discuss later though, this prohibition did not last long, because the atrium of the Lima cathedral itself became one of a number of venues (mainly the Plaza de Armas) for the performance of sacred plays throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Beginning around 1560, and established in custom by 1574, professional guilds (gremios) put on skits (invenciones or autos) during Corpus Christi,138 beginning over a century of the participation of professional guilds, often represented by confraternities, in theatrical performances during Corpus Christi. This participation could take place in the form of skits and dances that professional guilds and confraternities performed during loas (short introductions.

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137 Lohmann Villena, 8-9.
138 Ibid., 17, 25.
usually of praise and establishing affect), plays, or *entremeses* (short, comical pieces), or as plays that these organizations sponsored. The City Council, however, sponsored the vast majority of secular (*comedias a lo humano*) and sacred plays (*comedias a lo divino* and *autos sacramentales* (allegorical plays of the Eucharist), which I discuss below).

**Comedias a lo humano and comedias a lo divino**

During Corpus Christi and other important public events, such as entrances of new viceroyds into Lima, or royal births and birthdays, secular and sacred plays also enjoyed widespread popularity. Their popularity derived from their reputation to stretch, if not break from, prevailing conventions of religious and social decency (which I discuss later), or, such as in the 1614 performance of Vélez Guevara’s play *La creación del mundo*, performed on the main feast day of Corpus Christi, to present special effects (as in *comedias de ruido* or *comedias de cuerpo*). In addition, by the 1630s, exhibitions or shows of dolls (and/or puppets?) (*títeres* or *muñecos*) representing various secular and sacred characters (presumably those portrayed in the performance) took place alongside theatrical presentations, which further increased the popularity of the latter.

By the turn of the seventeenth century, theater companies typically produced two plays performed in the Plaza de Armas during Corpus Christi, the first on the main feast day of Corpus Christi, followed by the second on the Octave of Corpus Christi. The City Council sponsored these performances, as well as those of the *autos sacramentales* that replaced them in 1670, or granted licenses to companies that would perform them without cost to the City Council. The popularity of plays during the Octave of Corpus Christi in Lima differed from customs at the Spanish court, where two *autos sacramentales*, rather than plays, were performed during the Octave. Moreover, Peninsular authorities frowned upon Peruvian plays, considering them to be less “cleansed” of secular influences than *autos sacramentales* in Spain.

Plays, whether secular or sacred in nature, were immensely popularity in all sectors of colonial society through the second half of the seventeenth century. For example, a description

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140 Lohmann Villena, 130.
141 Ibid., 203.
142 Ibid., 290.
143 Ibid., 107-108.
from 1606 of the Corral of Saint Andrew mentions a very large number of people in attendance, filling the corral (playhouse) to capacity. People of all racial designations were present; mulattos, blacks, natives, mestizos, zambo (mixed black and indigenous), and Spaniards had crowded in the galleries at every play (the Spaniards having run out of room below), strongly suggesting the attraction that plays had across racial designation and socioeconomic status.\footnote{agi [archivo general de india, seville]: escribanía de cámara, 503 b, fols. 29 v. - 32, op. cit., 112.} By the 1630s, Spaniards of the upper classes displayed their status, “as a flattering sign of their education and wealth,” by being seen in attendance of plays.\footnote{lohmanna villena, 169.} Josephe de Mugaburu described a 9 November 1662 performance of a play that the viceroy (the Count of Alba de Liste) went to view at a corral de comedias that was filled beyond capacity. There were “a great many people” in attendance, and many who had gathered in the balconies to see the plays were falling out of them.\footnote{mugaburu, 53.} One confraternity even used the popularity of plays for charitable ends. The Brotherhood of the Royal Hospital of Saint Andrew (Hermdad del hospital real de San Andrés), following the pattern of the Confraternity of the Sacred Passion (Cofradía de la Sagrada Passión) in Madrid, had established the Corral of Saint Andrew in 1611 in order to secure sufficient revenue from rents so that the hospital could treat all of the needy sick that entered its doors.\footnote{lohmanna villena, 91-93.}

Although confraternities did not generally commission or sponsor plays, they did regularly perform skits and dances during these theatrical presentations. The City Council actively promoted these productions, which also had musical accompaniment (provided by the musicians of the theater company producing the play, or the viceroy’s personal chapel),\footnote{for example, the chapel of the viceroy diego lópez de Zúñiga, count of nieva (1561-1564) contributed to early theatrical performances associated with the eucharist, and in 1603, the theater company of Juan de Linares used both its own musicians, and those of the chapel of former viceroy, García Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquess of Cañete, to perform the music of the company’s plays for that year (Ibid., 16, 97).} and also encouraged greater participation by the multitudes in festivals. This is important, because comedias a lo divino had a complementary function to that of autos sacramentales in that they attracted the masses to rituals performed in the Catholic Church through the incorporation of elements popular among broad swaths of society, which also approximated the functions and activities of confraternities; in this vein, I view the comedia a lo divino, the auto sacramental, and the confraternity as different institutional modes of the same underlying efforts of colonial authorities to attract and reinforce the allegiance of the masses to Hispano-Christendom.
Given the considerable rewards and distinction of winning, professional guilds competed for the recognition of having the best skits or dances in support of a play. As an example of this competition and prestige gained from public recognition, and an implicit example of the City Council judging the “best” (according to Spanish norms) performances in events such as plays, on 7 May 1563, the City Council arranged for a quantity of highly coveted and imported crimson velvet and satin to be given to the professional organizations that presented the best skits or dances, respectively, performed during Corpus Christi:

En este cabildo se trato sobre que se a mandado a los oficios desta cibdad que saquen demas de los que a acustombrado un auto o dança e porque conviene se animen a hazerlo con mayor cuydado en voluntad se mando que el oficio que sacare mejor auto se le den seis varas de terçiópelo carmesi e al que sacare mejor dança seis de Raso carmesi.\(^{149}\)

In this assembly it was discussed how it has been ordered that the professional guilds of this city provide an auto or dance in addition to what they usually provide, and because it is better when they are encouraged to do it voluntarily with the greatest care, it was ordered that the professional organization that presents the best auto be given six varas\(^{150}\) of crimson velvet, and six varas of crimson satin to the one who puts on the best dance.

On 18 June 1563, the City Council discussed the three winners, who had put on two dances, and a skit:

En este cabildo se trato sobre las joyas que esta cibdad mando para las mejores ynvençiones e aviendo tratado e comunicado se proveyo que las seis varas de terçiópelo se den las tres dellas a la dança que se saco por esta cibdad que la hizo alonso gonaçales espadero e las otras tres a hernando de silua que saco la dança de los muchachos e las seis varas de Raso den a alonso Hurtado que saco el auto del aguila.\(^{151}\)

In this assembly the jewels that the city has ordered for the best dances was discussed, and having discussed and communicated, it was agreed that of the six varas of velvet to

\(^{149}\) Lee (1935), 125.
\(^{150}\) A vara is unit of length, slightly more than 0.8 meter.
\(^{151}\) Ibid., 129.
be given, three be given for the dance that Alonso Gonzalez Espadero presented that was performed through the city, and the other three given to Hernando de Silva, who presented the boys’ dance, and also that six varas of satin be given to Alonso Hurtado, who presented the skit of the eagle.

Professional guilds and confraternities occasionally contributed to the expenses of producing plays, or commissioned them outright. For example, in 1581, the storekeepers’ guilds (gremios de pulperos) raised 400 pesos de a 9 reales for the production of a play related to the Sacred Scripture, which ultimately resulted in the production of the play *Vn coloquio en exelencia del santísimo sacramento del Juego de la primera con Las figuras Xpo. mundo Vicio Digna eva San pablo e maria madalena*, by Marcos de Ontañón Alvarado. The musical forces that supported this play, performed twice during the octave of Corpus Christi, included music for shawms (chirimías) and guitars, and dancers performed during three “jocular” entremeses. During the following year, the storekeepers’, taverners’, and merchants’ guilds raised 400 pesos de a 9 reales for the salaries of the actors in the unnamed play or plays for that year’s Corpus Christi festivities. On 4 October 1602 the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary (Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario) commissioned the play *San Luis, Rey de Francia* (anonymous), to be performed twice (once in the morning, once at night) in the atrium of the church of Saint Dominic (Santo Domingo).

As the seventeenth century drew near, Corpus Christi celebrations continued to include performances of plays, for on 4 May 1584, the City Council discussed this custom:

> En este ayuntamiento se trato como la fiesta del santisimo sacramento se llegaba e que conbenia que guardando la costumbres que se a tenido de muchos años atras se hagan fiestas rrepresentaciones y lo demás que se acosumba ha hazer.

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152 No known modern edition of this play exists.
153 Lohmann Villena, 51.
154 Ibid., 56.
155 No known modern edition of this play exists.
156 Ibid., 96.
In this assembly was discussed how the festival of the Blessed Sacrament had arrived, and it was agreed that in preserving the customs that have been observed for many years of having theatrical performances during festivals and everything else that is customarily done.

On the other hand, by this time, the City Council was finding the degree of participation among professional guilds unsatisfactory, and this is important, because it is a warning for us to avoid rigid generalizations about the degree to which various sectors of Lima society invested in the details and expected devotion in the city’s main festivals; as in all societies, patterns of devotion and enthusiasm in colonial Lima waxed and waned among all strata of society. This could also suggest that confraternities formed by professional guilds, rather by particularly devout members, were less receptive to invest in these details and devotion. Although the custom of their assistance with the “theatrical performances, dances, and other music” during Corpus Christi had been established, professional guilds had been neglecting their contributions enough to vex the City Council. In order to remedy this, the City Council sent some of its members to remind the professional guilds of their responsibilities to contribute to the procession beyond the expected floats, candle wax, and banners. They were also to provide music or dances to accompany the theatrical performances. The 15 May 1584 minutes read:

In este ayuntamiento se trato como aun que se habia tratado con los beedores y esaminadores de los oficios que ay en esta ciudat que como lo an y tienen de costumbres ayudar para las representaçiones danças y otras inbençiones que se acostumbran sacar el dia del santisimo sacramento en ornato de la proçesion que se haze el dicho dia no acuden a ello como son obligados e para que lo suso dicho se haga con mas deboçion mandaban e mandaron que se notifique a los dichos beedores que saquen en acompañamiento de la dicha proçesion demas de la ymagen perdon y çera que sacan una inbençion de representaçion o dança e que para esto los señores fieles executores junten los officials que le parescan y hordenen luego para que se ponga por obra e para lo suso dicho dieron comision en forma a los dichos señores fieles executores.158

In this assembly it was discussed how although there had already been a discussion with the overseers and examiners of the professional guilds in this city—how they have and what they maintain as customs in assisting with the theatrical performances, dances, and other music that are customarily presented on the festival day of the Blessed Sacrament as embellishments in the procession that occurs on the same day—they do not attend thereto as they are required, and in order that they do so with more devotion, members of the City Council ordered that the overseers [and examiners] be notified that in addition to

158 Ibid., 79.
According to Josephe de Mugaburu, dramatic representations had been given in the atrium of the cathedral and other churches for some time until 1602, when the viceroy Luis de Velasco, Marquess of Salina, banned performances in those locations. Beginning in 1604, they were given at the corner of San Bartolomé and Sacramento de Santa Ana, which was called the “playhouse” (corral de las comedias). If this is true, then the City Council drew a distinction between comedias [a lo humano] and comedias a lo divino appropriate for ecclesiastical purposes, because on 15 July 1604, the City Council ordered that there be a play in the cathedral during the festival of Corpus Christi, and invoked tradition to justify its actions, emphasizing that this did not contradict earlier decisions by another City Council, presumably under orders of the viceroy:

En este ayuntamiento se determino y mando que aya comedia y se represente a lo diuino el día de corpus xpi deste año en la iglesia mayor como se a hecho otras vezes por que asi conuiene se haga no engargante que se aya decretado y mandado en otro cabildo que no la huuiese y se pague a los Reçitantes y a gabriel del rrio su autor por ellos duzientos y cinqenta pesos corrientes en que esta concertado con ellos la dicha reprezentacion.

In this assembly it was determined and ordered that there be a play and that it portray the divine on the festival day of Corpus Christi of this year in the cathedral, as it has been done other times, because that way it is appropriate that it be done, not contradicting what has been decreed and ordered in another City Council that there not be [a play], and that the performers and Gabriel del Río the author be paid 250 pesos contracted with them for the performance.

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159 Mugaburu, 53.
160 Bromley (1944), 780-781.
161 Very little is known of Gabriel del Río (d. 1625) apart from his importance in producing Spanish plays during the early seventeenth century (see Lohmann Villena, 74-76). Teresa Gisbert also briefly mentions Gabriel del Río in association with a troupe that performed in Lima and Potosí (in present-day Bolivia), disseminating the works of Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, and Jiménez del Enciso during the early seventeenth century (Teresa Gisbert, Esquema de literatura virreinal en Bolivia, La Paz: Universidad Mayor de San Andrés (1968), 62; Teresa Gisbert,
The viceroy, through the City Council, also granted licenses to impresarios who offered to put on productions at a minimal cost to the city. For example, on 20 March 1614, the City Council read a petition from Juan Bautista Villalobos to have his company perform during Corpus Christi, and granted him the license because he offered to do it free of charge:

En este cabildo se leyo la petición del tenor siguiente Juan bautista villalobos autor de las comedias de mi compañía digo que yo he determinado quedarme en esta ciudad con mi compañía casa y familia y ofrezco servir a la ciudad en las dos comedias que se hacen el día de corpus cristi y otaba de gracia dandoseme lo neçesario para las aparençias con que se me haga merced etcetera Juan bautista de villalo bos/ que se admite el ofreçimiento que hace atento que la ciudad tiene neçesidad al presente y que los comisarios que an de ser para la celebraçion de la fiesta del corpus cristi den quenta a su Exelençia señor Virrey destos reynos deste ofreçimiento y se le suplique de parte desta ciudad de la liçençia que pide el dicho Juan bautista para que consiga el efecto deste ofreçimiento de rrepresentar sin que se le de premio ninguno/ con lo qual se acabo el dicho cabildo.162

In this City Council a petition was read with the following tone: [I,] Juan Bautista Villalobos,163 author of the plays of my company say that I have determined to stay in this city with my company, house, and family, and offer to serve the city in the two plays that are performed on the festival day and octave of Corpus Christi for free, giving myself what is necessary for the shows with which I am given grace et cetera, Juan Bautista de Villalobos.

“Art and Resistance in the Andean World,” in René Jara and Nicholas Spadaccini, eds., Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Columbus, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota (1992), 647). He is not known to have authored any of the religious plays performed in Lima during the late sixteenth or seventeenth century. This leads me to believe that the scribe used the term “author” in the sense of what we now describe as “producer” or “director;” in fact, none of the “authors” explicitly named in the minutes I consulted were known to have written any of the religious plays described in those minutes, but they were directors of troupes active during the time of contract with the City Council. In any event, during the Corpus Christi celebrations of 1604, del Río and his troupe performed Lope de Vega’s Los locos por el cielo (Lohmann Villena, 108-109), for which no modern edition exists (I briefly discuss musical elements in this work later).162 Bromley (1950), 548-549.

163 As in the case of Gabriel del Río, Juan Bautista Villalobos (also associated with Lope de Vega while in Spain) is not known to have written any of the religious plays performed in Lima during the seventeenth century. Aside from Lohmann Villena’s published information, little is known of Villalobos. In 1614, Vélez de Guevara’s La creación del mundo was performed on the main feast day of Corpus Christi, followed by an unnamed play on the Octave (Lohmann Villena, 130). Henryk Ziomek and Robert White have authored a modern edition of this play (La Creación del Mundo, Athens: The University of Georgia Press (1974)), but there is no modern edition of the music currently available.
[The City Council orders] that the offer be accepted, given that the city has present need, that the commission that has to to attend to the celebration of the festival of Corpus Christi give notice of this offering to his excellency the viceroy of these kingdoms, and request from him on the part of the city the license for which Juan Bautista asks so the effect of this offering of putting on a performance without any remuneration be committed, with which the City Council ended.

Minutes from 1624 provide more details on the exchanges between the City Council and the impresario as they made arrangements for the performance of plays during Corpus Christi. On 15 January 1624, the City Council read a petition from Antonio de Morales to have his company perform during Corpus Christi. Morales approached the City Council requesting a provision and license from the viceroy, offering to lower the price of the tickets as he had done before, to produce plays free of charge, and to lower the fee charged inside his corral de comedias. He proposed that he and his company be favored should another impresario make an equal offer, naming himself and his wife “guarantors of the contents of this record,” and depositing 8,000 pesos as security. Furthermore, he argued that his large company, which included dancers and musicians, was more than prepared to perform the plays:

Antonio de morales autor de comedias digo que yo me ofréci a serbie a esta ciudad haciendo como hice baxa en el preçio y entradas de las comedias queriendo solo para mi tres rreales de la entradas y el un rreal que haxe al preçio hordenário dixe lo daria a esta ciudad poniendo en ella persona que a la segunda puerta lo cobrase como lo tengo ofrecido y mas me ofréci a hacer las fiestas del corpus y su otaba de graçia y sin premio alguno y hice baxa ansí mismo en los aposentos y ofréci a darlos a patacon cada uno negocio tan considerable y de tanta ynportancia a la ciudad rrepublica y pobres della como es notorio y pedi que en este arbitrio yo fuese preferido y mi corral en casso que ubiese otro hiçiese la misma o otra mexor baxa y para que se entienda y conste a esta ciudad que el dicho contrato le cunplire puntualmen me obligare con mi muxer a su obserbançia y dare por fiadores a los contenidos en esta memoria que presento en cantidad de ocho mill pesos/ a vuestra señoria pido y suplico admita las dichas fianças y se sirba de sacar probision y liçençia de su Excelencia para que luego se ponga en execuçion este contrato que para ello tengo muy suficiente y bastante compañia cassa y todos los aderentes necesarios como es notorio a toda esta ciudad a quien largamente consta de mi puntualidad en las representaçiones y la compañia que tengo al presente que abia de sacar para las partes de arriba en conformidad del titulo de autor que el Excelentismo señor marques de guadalcaçar birrey destos reynos son las personas siguientes/ françisco cuebas y su hixa/ antonio del castillo y maria de balberde su muxer/ juan cortes y su muger la mexor rrepresentanta que aqui ay que bino de potosi/ hernando de llanos y la niña que bayla y su muxer/ doña ana liston musica y baylarina/ pantaleon.
de piña music/ françisco de lecanco representante y music/ juan hortiz de menses/ Bernardino de perea/ françisco de ochoa/ domingo de sosa vaylarin, diez hombres y çinco muxeres que tengo oy todos por escripturas.\textsuperscript{164}

[I.] Antonio de Morales,\textsuperscript{165} author of plays, say that I offer to serve this city doing as I did before, by lowering the price and tickets of the plays, wanting for me only three reales from the tickets, and one real, which will be the normal price; I said I would give it to this city, dispatching someone to charge at the second door what I have offered; moreover, I offered to put on performances during the festivals of Corpus Christi and its octave free of charge, without any fee; I have also lowered the fee in the chambers, and offered to have them at one\textit{ patacón}\textsuperscript{166} each, such a considerable and important arrangement to the city, republic, and the poor therein as is well known; I also requested that in this arrangement I be preferred along with my corral in case someone else does the same or offers a lower price so that this city understands and be on record that I will comply with the contract punctually; I will obligate myself along with my wife with her compliance, and as guarantors of the contents of this record that I am presenting in the amount of eight thousand pesos.

I request and plead that his honor allow the [verbal and monetary] securities, and that they suffice in gaining a provision and license from his excellency so that this contract is executed later, for which I have a very sufficient and large company, house, and all support staff necessary; this is well known in this city, which has for a long time known of my punctuality in the performances and the company I have at present, which had to give a performance for the sections mentioned above in agreement with the author’s title that the Most Excellent Marquess of Guadalcazar, viceroy of these kingdoms [approved]; these are the following people [in my company]:

Francisco Cuevas and his daughter; Antonio del Castillo and María de Valverde his wife; Juan Cortes and his wife, the best actress here who came from Potosí; Hernando de Llanos, the girl who dances, and his wife; doña Ana Listón, musician and dancer; Pantaleón de Piña, musicians; Francisco de Lecanco, actor and musician; Juan Ortiz de Menses; Bernardino de Perea; Francisco de Ochoa; Domingo de Sosa, dancer; ten men and five women that I have today, all in writing.

The City Council later sent the petition to the viceroy for approval and subsequent execution through the assembly.\textsuperscript{167}

Already by the first decade of the seventeenth century, sacred plays had been losing their connection to the religious contexts in which they were performed, becoming increasingly

\textsuperscript{164} Juan Bromley (transcriber and annotator), \textit{Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Decimo nono, Años 1621-1624}, Lima: Concejo Pronvicial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre) (1961?), 779-780.

\textsuperscript{165} It is not known if Antonio de Morales (fl. 1620s) wrote any of the religious plays in seventeenth-century Lima, and beyond Lohmann Villena’s published information, little is known of Antonio de Morales. The titles of the plays mentioned in the City Council minutes are so far unknown.

\textsuperscript{166} \textit{A patacón} was an alternative name for a peso.

\textsuperscript{167} (los comisarios nonbrados en la primera petición den así mismo noticia a su Exelencia de lo contenido en esta para que por su Exelencia bistó se probea lo que fuere serbido/probeido por el cabildo Justicia y reyimiento desta ciudad de los reyes) (Ibid., page 780).
secular in style and content. They scandalized Church authorities, as actors appeared in scenes “nude or scantily dressed” or covered with “translucent veils,” and actresses appeared with uncovered knees, all condemned for demonstrating a “lack of shame and gravity.” In any event, the distinction between “secular” and “sacred” plays might have been nominal during the first decades of the seventeenth century, particularly in the corrales de comedias, because in addition to featuring the same content in secular plays that scandalized Church authorities, when theater companies designated comedias a lo divino as “sacred,” they did so “with neither ecclesiastical approval nor license,” resulting in the “scorn and loss of devotion among the faithful.”

By the 1640s, incensed because of the obscenities that had been increasingly inserting themselves in Corpus Christi celebrations, Church authorities led a campaign against such plays. In 1645, Archbishop Pedro de Villagómez Vivanco (who also launched particularly zealous anti-idolatry campaigns among natives, which I discuss in Chapter 5) began his assault on these plays, determined to restore the “ancient and sober customs” associated with the city’s religious festivals in general, and Corpus Christi in particular. The following year, however, the City Council approved the customary two plays to be performed during Corpus Christi, even though thereafter there would be only one in “other festivals of delight.” But these plays (identified as comedias a lo divino in the 1648 minutes of the City Council) so infuriated the archbishop that he continued his efforts that year to suppress them because “many offenses had been seen and discovered,” only to have the City Council vote to preserve them again the same year. The viceroy (Pedro de Toledo, Marquess of Mancera) supported the archbishop’s campaign to remove these plays, considered “dangerous to the service of God for the many offenses that had been seen” (Perjuicio al servicio De Dios por las muchas ofensas que abisto). The City Council, however, resisted their efforts, citing the ancient tradition of having them in Spain and Lima, and it confirmed its intention to preserve the performances of two plays during Corpus Christi. This certainly speaks to the tension between the secular and ecclesiastical pillars of

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168 Lohmann Villena, 107, 125.
169 Ibid., 125-126.
170 Ibid., 230.
171 Libro 24 (1644-1649) (ML) (Libros de Cabildo), fol. 78. The heading of the minutes reads “Sobre que las dos comedias quese Represantan el dia De Corpus y su otuau se comutan en otras fiestas de rregosixo.”
172 Ibid., fol. 260.
173 Ibid.
Spanish colonialism, and serves as another warning to resist monolithic narratives of the Spanish colonial enterprise.

During the 1640s though, despite the City Council’s resistance to efforts to suppress theatrical performances during Corpus Christi and other festivals, the archbishop did succeed in prohibiting them through 1651, and Lima’s theater companies had meanwhile been considerably reducing their productions in the toxic environment. Although the performance of plays during Corpus Christi resumed after 1651, the Church grew impatient with the still growing obscenities in these plays as the second half of the century progressed. In 1670, one year after Lima received news of the beatification of Rose of Lima, actors performed in the first known productions of *autos sacramentales* in Lima during Corpus Christi celebrations.\(^{174}\) This genre, which Church authorities considered to be devoid of the obscenities of *comedias a lo divino*, would soon supplant the former during Corpus Christi for most of the remainder of the century.

**Autos Sacramentales**

*Autos sacramentales* (“sacramental acts”), often allegorical in nature, were plays that focused on the Eucharist, and were presented outdoors, following a solemn procession through the main streets. According to Ventura Fuentes, along the route of the procession, houses would be decorated, and priests would appear carrying the Host under an ornate canopy, followed by multitudes of devout worshippers, undifferentiated by social status. Behind these multitudes, actors from the public theaters who were to participate in the dramatic representations rode on richly decorated carts. The procession usually stopped in front of the homes of high-ranking officials, while priests performed various rites and the masses knelt. Finally, the actors performed the *autos sacramentales* with musical accompaniment, all in a procession given “with great splendor, and great expense, being limited only by the resources of the particular town in which they took place.”\(^{175}\)

In 1670, partially due to his strong piety, and in part in reaction to the “grave excesses” and what authorities considered to be “exceedingly licentious dances of mulattos and blacks” in

\(^{174}\) Lohmann Villena, 233-234, 237, 249, 265.

the nearby town of Lurín during the festival of Saint Michael (San Miguel), Viceroy Pedro Antonio Fernández de Castro, Count of Lemos, moved to prohibit the continued performance of plays there.\textsuperscript{176} The same year in Lima, the City Council had agreed to the performance of two sacred plays, \textit{San Antonio Abad} and \textit{El brujo de Babilonia}, during Corpus Christi, but the viceroy moved to prohibit their performance, ordering that two \textit{autos sacramentales}, \textit{La humildad coronada} and \textit{El gran teatro del Mundo}, both by Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681), the major playwright of the Spanish Golden Age after Lope de Vega, be performed instead.\textsuperscript{177} These \textit{autos sacramentales} were to each have a \textit{loa} and two \textit{entremeses}, the last with singing and dancing.\textsuperscript{178} The viceroy, as well as Church authorities with whom he closely aligned himself, promoted the introduction of \textit{autos sacramentales} because they were seen to be free of the “passions and conflicts of love” in plays, could be framed well (as theatrical presentations) during Corpus Christi, and were “poetically dressed with the dogmas and religious ideas.”\textsuperscript{179} A source from 28 November 1673 confirms earlier descriptions of some elements in festivals in which \textit{autos sacramentales} existed. In a account recording expenses for the festivals of Corpus Christi and Rose of Lima, the City Council paid 624 pesos for \textit{autos sacramentales}, “with their dances and entremeses” (\textit{En las comedias con sus bayles y entremeses}), as well as 300 pesos paid to Francisco Navarro for candles and other unspecified items, and 240 pesos for fireworks and scaffolding for them. The City Council also paid four pesos for the rental of taffetas (\textit{tafetanes}) worn during the plays, fifty pesos to the painter who painted the \textit{gigantes}, and forty pesos for the carpenter for his work on the floats of giants (\textit{gigantes}).\textsuperscript{180}

\textit{Autos sacramentales}, though, did not have the effect on the public that Church officials desired; in fact they were performed in the very theaters where actors had scandalized Church officials since the beginning of the century. It is highly unlikely that the underlying music and texts contradicted the Church’s desires, but they could not apparently compete with the distractions of lewd acting that tainted the messages of other sacred plays before the introduction of \textit{autos sacramentales}. For example, in 1679, the archbishop-viceroy, Melchor Liñán y Cisneros, complained of a custom that had been taking place for “some years through the present”: on the main feast day and Octave of Corpus Christi, the Blessed Sacrament had been

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Lohmann Villena, 269.
\item Ibid., 269-270.
\item ANP [Archivo Nacional del Perú], Sebastián de Carbajal, 1667-1673, fol. 84, op. cit., 270.
\item Lohmann Vilenna, 270.
\item Libro 29 (1670-1675) (ML) (Libros de Cabildo), fols. 192-193.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
placed on an altar of the cemetery of the Lima cathedral after the procession, whereupon actors performed an auto sacramental at a playhouse, causing “disturbances” and “irreverence that could result from profane acting.” In order to remedy this, Liñán y Cisneros ordered that the Blessed Sacrament not be placed in said altar, but at a location that the city had chosen in the Plaza de Armas (where the performance of the auto sacramental, the expenses for which the City Council was to cover, was to presumably also take place), after the procession on the main feast day and before the Octave, during the time during which theaters normally staged plays.\textsuperscript{181}

The cultivation of autos sacramentales began to decline in Lima soon after their introduction. According to Lohmann Villena, the festival of Corpus Christi had been losing its “splendor and importance” during the final decades of the seventeenth century. Moreover, perhaps as a symptom of the chronic economic difficulties of the Spanish Empire during the second half of the seventeenth century (resulting from such factors as the drastically dwindling quality and supply of easily-mined ores of precious metals in the Spanish Indies, disastrous foreign policies of the Spanish Habsburgs in Europe, and increasing military and economic competition from the emerging Western European colonial powers), and faced with dwindling public and municipal patronage, theater companies found it increasingly difficult to effectively produce autos sacramentales with the ostentatious opulence they required.\textsuperscript{182}

The catastrophic earthquake of 1687 further worsened economic conditions in Lima; actors, for example were reduced to beggary, and there were no performances of autos sacramentales during Corpus Christi for the next three years. The City Council, breaking tradition, agreed that it would not release funds for theatrical performances during Corpus Christi for 1690.\textsuperscript{183} In 1691, the autos sacramentales El divino Orfeo and La viña del Señor (both by Calderón de la Barca) were the last known of their genre that the City Council sponsored for Corpus Christi celebrations.\textsuperscript{184}

\textbf{Seventeenth-Century Spanish Plays and Music and Possible Practices in Lima}

\textsuperscript{181} Lohmann Villena, 290.  
\textsuperscript{182} Ibid., 275, 289, 305.  
\textsuperscript{183} Ibid., 306-307.  
\textsuperscript{184} Ibid., 307-308.
In 1609, Lope de la Vega described and defended new plays (comedias nuevas) in his poetic essay *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*, and strongly influenced the “conventional inclusion of music” in Spanish theater through his use of music as a “vital and supportive adjunct to the text.” By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Spanish plays typically contained three acts “in polymetric verse, in which tragedy and comedy were to be mixed and balanced in order to recreate, with verisimilitude and artistic discretion, the natural balance of human existence.” Two important functions of Spanish theater were those of social criticism and political hegemony, and toward those ends, it emphasized contemporary matters and customs of society, using popular elements such as “popular sayings, stock character-types from different social strata, popular songs, and idealized or didactic references to current events.”

Louise Stein notes that permanent, enclosed structures in public theaters in Spain had begun to foster singing and dancing during the later sixteenth century.

In Lope de Vega’s plays, vocal music (very few extant examples of which remain) had a “structural use”: it could define a scene or its subsection; link with the thematic material of those scenes (thus contributing to plot development); “provoke contrasts to, or changes in, the prevailing mood;” and support the underlying affect of a scene. Formulaic song genres and devices could also reinforce character types essential to the scenes: the songs of peasants normally made references to popular verse; servants and others of lower social rank sang; and off-stage “angelic voices” supported religious scenes, for example.

Although we know that autochthonous poetic and musical genres such as romances and villancicos dominated Spanish theatrical music during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, securely identifying the music used (and, consequently, generalizations about musical styles) in the theatrical performances in Spain during the first half of the seventeenth century is almost impossible. This mainly results from the pervasive practice of borrowing and adapting tunes (especially for polyphonic settings), and Louise Stein suggests that the “carefully copied musical settings preserved today are probably one step removed from the performance of tunes and texts in the public theaters, especially the settings ascribed to court composers or included in

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186 Ibid., 16, 20.
187 Ibid., 27.
188 Ibid., 23-24, 45.
189 Ibid., 46-50.
manuscripts that were undoubtedly copied at court.”\textsuperscript{190} The virtual omission of lesser-known composers compounds this difficulty, since composers associated with theatrical performances given outside of the Spanish court are virtually invisible in documentary sources, and court composers were generally only mentioned in court performances.\textsuperscript{191} Very little is known of the music used in theatrical performances during the second half of the seventeenth century, since no known anthologies of music for those performances are extant, although sources from the early eighteenth century may hint at the music used.\textsuperscript{192}

The lack of contemporary sources for the musical styles used in Lima’s theatrical performances during the seventeenth century makes unequivocal assertions thereof impossible. For example, none of the minutes of the City Council that I consulted during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mention composers (to say nothing of music genres or performance practices) during preparations for Corpus Christi or other important public events, during which times the City Council sponsored the vast majority of religious plays. So far, I have encountered no anecdotal information from seventeenth-century observers that would suggest musical genres or styles. We are therefore left with the same near impossibility of securely identifying musical genres and performance practices, and musical styles associated with theatrical performances in seventeenth-century Lima as we have in Spain. Perhaps a closer inspection of surviving archival sources (such as those in Lohmann Villena’s densely documented book) will shed more light on this subject. In the meantime, extant Spanish sources, even if two or more steps removed from their original performances, provide the closest approximation of the musical forces that supported Lima’s theatrical performances (especially during the latter half of the seventeenth century) since the city’s cultural life (at least that of the Hispanic elite) often looked to and imitated that of the Spanish court, to which Madrid’s theatrical life shifted after the 1650s.\textsuperscript{193}

For example, the musical stage directions for productions in Spain (taken from Louise Stein’s compilation) at least suggest the structural function of music in two of Lope de Vega’s plays performed in Lima during Corpus Christi. In the play \textit{Los locos por el cielo} (1598-1603,

\textsuperscript{190} Such as the “Cancionero de Sablonara” (1625) and “Libro de tonos humanos” (1656) (Ibid., 44.)
\textsuperscript{191} Ibid., 34.
\textsuperscript{192} Ibid., 50-51, 54.. The anthology “Tomo de música vocal antigua” has some songs dated 1701, 1702, 1703, and 1705 (Ibid., 359) and the “Novena Manuscript” was probably compiled in 1710, and contains music from the Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681) period, particularly 1650-1670 (Ibid., 54).
\textsuperscript{193} Ibid., 49.
performed in Lima in 1604\textsuperscript{194}, angel musicians were to sing on-stage during a religious scene in Act I, and in Act III, musicians were to sing an ensemble song on-stage, three celestial voices were to sing responses, and an angel was to sing from above the stage.\textsuperscript{195} In San Isidro Labrador de Madrid (1604-1606, performed in Lima in 1609\textsuperscript{196}), there was to be an ensemble song for shepherds or peasants on-stage, a dance of the villano as a sung dance on-stage, and a wedding song and dancing on-stage during Act I; solo songs (romances) off-stage during Act II; and in Act II shepherds were to sing on-stage with instruments.\textsuperscript{197}

Around the middle of the seventeenth century, Calderón de la Barca ushered in Spanish semi-opera, which “emphasized integrated spectacle,” as these new plays emphasized “drama of a high moral tone, increased symbolism, and clear political messages,” in which music achieved unprecedented “metaphysical and dramatic significance.”\textsuperscript{198} Calderonian semi-opera, which combined influences from comedias, court masques and spectacle plays, and Italian opera, served to “glorify the Spanish Habsburg monarchy, and, in some cases, to emphasize that institution’s role as the general leader and protector of the Catholic faith.”\textsuperscript{199} Concerning the use of musical metaphor in Calderonian semi-opera, Stein notes the strict dichotomy of song and speech-song (recitative) to distinguish between common/mortal and royal/godlike, which further serves as a metaphor of a strict Habsburg hierarchy in which subjects dutifully served their king without having to understand him. She writes:

The characters with the least power, those separated from the heavens and from supernatural powers, the mortals, sing earthly songs of everyday, popular currency in Calderón’s Madrid. The most powerful characters, the mythological gods, converse in a special speech-song, a recitative incomprehensible to the mortals, a musical genre that was decidedly not cultivated in Madrid. Hence, the verisimilitude of the comedia tradition affected the disposition of musical genres in the semi-opera. The juxtaposition of different types of music for different levels of theatrical discourse was not only essential to the new experience of semi-opera, but useful to the improved utility of the

\textsuperscript{194} Lohmann Villena, 75. Marcelino Menendez Pelayo has a modern edition of this play in Obras de Lope de Vega, volume 9, Madrid: Ediciones Atlas (1964).
\textsuperscript{195} Stein, 337.
\textsuperscript{196} Lohmann Villena, 118. Pelayo also has a modern edition of this play in Obras de Lope de Vega, volume 10, Madrid: Ediciones Atlas (1964).
\textsuperscript{197} Stein, 339.
\textsuperscript{198} Ibid., 130.
\textsuperscript{199} Ibid., 130-131.
plays as political art. The audience, focused at once on the king and queen at the centre of the theatre and viewing stage through them, would draw the proper correlation between the royal couple and deities represented on stage. Moreover, the strict association of musical types and characters in relation to absolute power effected an important metaphor. The language of power is not to be understood by the common man or the dutiful courtier, but serves only for communication between the powerful. And the citizen who serves his monarch may not always understand his duty, or his submission to power, but he should trust in the wisdom of the concordant hierarchy.200

With this in mind, and following highlights of Stein’s analysis of Calderón’s semi-opera Las Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo (1653),201 we may uncover the general stylistic and metaphorical context of his autos sacramentales, performances of which the Lima City Council sponsored during between 1670 and 1691. In Act 1, Calderón introduces the personages and motivations of the play. The gods Mercurio and Palas seek to inform their half-brother, Perseo of his orgins “without causing him shock or grief” (his father, Jupiter, had raped his noble mortal mother, Danae). Perseo’s ignorance of his ancestry, and an “innate feeling of superiority,” cause turmoil in his life. Discordia, bitter that she has not been recognized as a goddess, seeks to “ruin the beneficent plans of Mercurio and Palas,” and finds an ally in the goddess Juno, jealous of her spouse’s infidelity and Perseo’s birthright. In Las Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo, deities use recitative exclusively while communicating with each other, but use song when condescending to mortals.

Stein devotes special attention to distinguishing Spanish recitado from Italian recitative. The characteristic recitative dialogue between Palas and Mercurio in Act 1 in a heavenly scene (Example 23 in her text) is clearly distinct from typical Italian recitative. It uses triple meter rather than duple meter, features fewer melodic inflections, uses larger note values, and less closely approximates changes in human speech corresponding to different emotional states than those normally observed in Italian recitative. The melodic line generally features repeated notes of the triad, avoids leaps except “for points of poetic punctuation or structural division,” and simple melodic or rhythmic devices highlight important words. Musical phrases are generally

200 Ibid., 143-144.
201 Unless explicitly stated otherwise, my discussion of Las Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo adapts that of Stein, 144-169.
elided; after important points of resolution, new phrases begin in the same tonality as preceding cadences. Melodic “homogeneity” dominates this recitative; there is no significant tension or climax, no “expressive, expansive melodic writing,” or “dissonant melodic twists or harmonic surprises.” Finally, Stein suggests that the triple meter recitative functions as a metaphor for divine perfection (“perfect time”), a musical depiction of the speech of “the pagan gods [that] were at once representative of the monarchy and of the power of the Christian divinity, the triune God.”

In Act 2, the plot takes place on earth, the realm of mortals; Palas and Mercurio execute their plan to inform Perseo of the circumstances of his birth. Here, lyrical sections, airs, and air-like music dominate. Importantly, the gods communicate to mortals with “beautiful, sensual music,” in contrast to the emotionless recitative used with other deities: the gods reach mortals through “affect, not necessarily through intellect.”

*Las Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* also features two main types of ensemble songs, which “reinforce the larger metaphysics of the use of solo song.” The first type is “sung by supernatural or divine figures” in order to depict forces of the universe. The second type is sung by mortals “within the tradition of musical verisimilitude typical of the comedia” (i.e., popular songs, stock character reinforcement, etc.). An example of the first type may be seen in in Act 1, while the tormented Perseo asks if he will ever find comfort in his life, celestial, off-stage voices answer “yes” in a single A minor chord, whereupon he asks himself if he is hallucinating, to which the voices reply “no” in a E-major chord. An example of the second type may be found in Example 28 of Stein’s text. In this example (from Act 2), “Ya no les pienso pedir,” Morfeo reveals Perseo’s conception in a dream. As Stein argues, this scene is “real,” not celestial, since it reveals Danae’s “‘real’ past misfortunes.” She argues that the music, likely based on a well-known song of the same title by Juan Blas in the “Cancionero de Sablonara” composed some thirty years earlier, demonstrates a “sort of heightened verisimilitude” that governed Calderón’s choice of pre-existent song.

In Act 3, Calderón “brings together all the musical and social strata for the first time.” In this act, Perseo has rescued Andrómeda, and Discordia and Juno have been thwarted. Although the gods still float aloofly in the clouds above the mortals, they no longer communicate with

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each other in esoteric recitative, but sing (albeit preserving “divine” triple meter). Mortals dance a *sarao* to music provided by celestial voices, and rejoice in the “wondrous effects of divine intervention.” Here, the music supports the central importance of theater as a “mirror” to the world. Stein writes:

> This final scene presented an important social message. The audience saw and heard a powerful, elevated élite whose guidance had effected a happy outcome for the mortals. Through mysterious means, often unintelligible to the mortals, the powerful gods administered justice, provided security, and the material and spiritual means for effective social interaction among men. Musical distinctions have reinforced the separation and interaction of characters throughout the play, so that intangibles such as power, influence, revelation, and social structure have been made obvious through music. This simple, reassuring musical analogue for the organization of society in the absolute monarchy is indeed carried through to its logical conclusions in the final scene. In the apotheosis, both the powerful and the humble partake of the ultimate good, a social, even universal, harmony that is explicit in the audible concord of musical harmony and the final participation of both gods and men in the musical fabric of the scene.\footnote{Stein, 167.}

Stein notes the generally “imprecise” designations of seventeenth-century printed editions of Calderón’s plays; stage directions may not specify which parts of the text were to be sung, or if solo passages were songs or recitatives,\footnote{Ibid., 145.} so this complicates conjectures about the musical forces at work in the *auto sacramental* I will now discuss. During the 1683 festival of Corpus Christi, the City Council sponsored Calderón de la Barca’s *Andrómeda y Perseo* (different, as I discuss below, from his *Las Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*), along with his *El Segundo blasón del Austria*, with a “*loa*, *entremés*, and dance.”\footnote{Lohmann Villena, 296.} Given the context and subject matter, this *auto sacramental* was probably the same one originally performed in Madrid during the Corpus Christi celebrations of 1680.\footnote{Ignacio Arellano and Ángel L. Cilveti, eds., *Andrómeda y Perseo: Edición crítica*, Kassel: Edition Reichenberger (1995), 9.} Although there is no modern edition of the music for this *auto sacramental*, the structure and text suggest places of possible musical content and style following Stein’s analysis of *Las Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*. Here, the myth of
Andromeda and Perseus is metaphorically adapted to the narrative of Christ (Perseo), temptation (Medusa=serpent/Demonio), and Eve/redeemed humanity (Andrómeda). Just as the royal audience would have made the proper connections between deities and themselves in *Las Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, it is highly unlikely that audiences in Lima, with the help of scenery that referenced well-known stories from the Bible, would not have also made the proper connections between mythological characters and those of the Bible.

In Scene 1 (verses 1-305), Andromeda is in her Eden-like state. After Grace, Water, Science, and Air sing and dance during the prologue, Andrómeda is introduced in the Garden of Eden, along with her servants: Albedrío (the comedian or lunatic of the play), the four Virtues (Grace, Science, Innocence, and Will), and the four Elements (Water, Earth, Fire, and Air). The scene momentarily moves to the sea (as Andrómeda sings, verses 199-221), after which an earthquake occurs, revealing a sea monster (a dragoon), whereupon Andrómeda and her servants become terrified and run back to Eden. Andrómeda, however, stumbles and falls into the center of the Earth.

In Scene 2 (verses 306-824), the Demon and Medusa plan the fall of Andromeda, and Perseus warns Andromeda of the impending danger. In this scene, the Demonio enters, leaving the mouth of the dragon. The Demonio enters into soliloquoy, and shortly thereafter Medusa enters. The Demonio explains to Medusa how he envies Human Nature (Andrómeda) for “having usurped his position before God,” and wants Human Nature to become seduced by him, and become “incapable of falling in love with another.” Medusa agrees to help him, using venom. She tries to contaminate the water in Eden, but fails, since this water, which will “be that of baptism,” already contains an antidote. She then tries to poison the flowers, but fails again, since one of them, a lily, is a symbol of the Virgin Mary, intercessor of Human Nature. Then, she tries to pour venom over grapevines and grains (symbols of the Eucharist), and finally in the air (where the Holy Spirit resides), but fails in all of this. She is left with a tree, on whose fruit (apples) she throws her venom. Later, Medusa hides in the tree, while the Demonio tries to trap Albedrío, attracted to the apples. Albedrío screams for help, whereupon Perseo appears with a veil over his face, riding a white horse, carrying a dagger. Fearing Perseo’s dagger, the Demonio flees, returning to the dragon’s mouth. Hearing Albedrío’s screams, Andrómeda

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207 Ibid., 30.
208 Suggested scene structure taken from op. cit., 31.
209 Ibid., 32-37.
returns with the rest of her servants. Meanwhile, Perseo remains mounted upon his horse, and enters into a long monologue (a possible recitative?), maintaining a position superior to those of the other characters. He then speaks to Andrómeda (who wishes to know the identity of he who saved Albedrío), and gives her cryptic warnings (again, using recitative?), and making an allusion the story of Ezequiel and the Apocalypse, and of the danger eating the fruit that Medusa has poisoned.\footnote{Ibid., 38-43.}

In Scene 3 (verses 825-1166), Andromeda is tempted and sins. Here, Andrómeda tries in vain to understand what Perseo has told her, but his “cold and intellectual” words defy comprehension. Hungry, she allows Albedrío to lead her to the fruit, but not before her servants try in vain to prevent this (and leave thereafter). Albedrío then gives her the fruit, and she consumes it, as Medusa leaves the scene exactly at this instance, but not before cursing Andrómeda. Andrómeda’s former servants, the Elements, now oppose her, while the Virtues have abandoned her. At the end of this scene Mercurio appears like an angel and sings (verses 1163-1166), informing Andrómeda of the nature of her punishment because of her disobedience.\footnote{Ibid., 43-45.}

In Scene 4 (verses 1167-1505), Andromeda is punished. In this scene, Mercurio delivers an extended recitative (verses 1167-1236) in the same vein as his earlier song. Medusa looks for the Demonio in hopes of pursuing and killing Andrómeda (who has left in a vain attempt to climb mountains as escape), but Perseo pursues and slays her off-stage. Andrómeda later sings, lamenting her sin and punishment (verses 1410-1433), while the two choruses alternate:

- Chorus 1 (below stage, accusing) sings (verses 1398-1403)
- Chorus 2 (above stage, sympathetic and forgiving) sings (verses 1404-1409)
- Chorus 1 sings (verses 1434-1435)
- Chorus 2 sings (verses 1438-1439)
- Chorus 1 sings (verses 1442-1443)
- Chorus 2 sings (verses 1446-1447)
- Chorus 1 sings (verse 1450)
Chorus 2 sings (verse 1453)\textsuperscript{212}

In Scene 5 (verses 1506-1795), Andromeda repents, Perseus intervenes and sacrifices himself, and the play ends with a final eucharistic apotheosis. In this scene, “almost all [text] is sung by Andrómeda and two choirs, and witnessed by the Elements and virtues” [Andrómeda with Chorus 1; Chorus 2 singing in alternation (verses 1506-1553); “Two choirs” (“Music and all),” Center, Science, Grace, Will, Innocence, Water, Fire) (verses 1764-1782)]. All characters, save Perseo, the slain Medusa, and the Demonio, who appears at the end (mounted on the sea dragon), are present. After a battle, the Demonio slays Perseo with a lance, and thus achieves vengeance, but not before the latter saves Andrómeda. Some time after this, or through the last moments of the auto sacramental, the protagonists dance.\textsuperscript{213}

**Conclusion**

In summary, in this chapter I chronicled the tight connections between secular and ecclesiastical authority in Lima’s major religious festivals during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the City Council as an essential nexus of these connections as they became institutionalized. Also, within the context of cyclical religious observances, I have explored the confraternity as one of myriad links in the web of Hispano-Catholic conformity in these festivals. Finally, I considered the conflict between the City Council and the Church over plays performed during Corpus Christi (in which confraternities formed a important performative institution). The City Council, as the legislative appendage of royal authority in the viceregal capital, concerned itself with the security and order of the city while it promoted activities that reproduced and reinforced cultural models from Spain. Within this context, it inserted itself in the city’s main religious festivals through the selection of committees and delegates to organize activities in these festivals and reinforce the message of conformity to Spanish models. It also encouraged the city’s confraternities and professional organizations (often organized as confraternities) to contribute music, dances, to religious plays for the greater theme of splendor and pomp.

\textsuperscript{212} Ibid., 45-48.
\textsuperscript{213} Ibid., 48-52.
Through its obligations towards patronage of certain confraternities, even though compliance was inconsistent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the City Council reinforced the prestige and cohesion of the city’s political, religious, and socio-economic elite. It also reinforced this prestige and cohesion through strict enforcement, often with the viceroy’s assistance, of the order of participants (and as a corollary, status) in processions during religious festivals, as well as through the patronage of extravagant elements, including music and dance, in the same. The City Council’s patronage of the Confraternity of the Visitation of Saint Elizabeth and the Confraternity of Saint Roch was consistent with its obligation to minimize the suffering of Lima’s inhabitants when earthquakes and plagues periodically pulverized and ravaged the city.

Since Corpus Christi festivals marked the zenith of baroque Christian opulence, which reinforced the authority of those such as the City Council that sponsored the events therein, and ideally positively stimulated the affects of the public, including members of confraternities, toward obedience and conformity, it behooved colonial authorities to influence and control the performance of all sectors during displays of Christian and royal power. The conflict between the City Council and the Church fundamentally derived from the City Council’s understanding of the importance of attracting, and encouraging the participation of, the public during the city’s Corpus Christi celebrations, which clashed with the Church’s position that festivals, including those of Corpus Christi, should emphasize Church doctrine with gravity and decorum, from which comical and risqué performers were a dangerous distraction.

Finally, Spanish theater formed the likely context of the performance of religious plays, in particular Calderonian *autos sacramentales* during important festivals such as Corpus Christi. The mythologies could be altered to suit the political ends of the Spanish crown, and the religious ends of the Catholic Church.

The confraternity was but one part of a web of institutions in colonial Lima that promoted cohesion and conformity (according to Spanish models), with the public festival a nexus of disparate social groups converging for cyclical observances of the Catholic Church. As I discuss in the following chapters, the confraternity provided an opportunity to enhance one’s social status, and can be viewed, with musical activities, as a sign of one’s cultural and religious proclivities, as a microcosm of the allied, but also adverserial secular and religious institutions that competed for status and power in the colonial social hierarchy.
Chapter 3
Confraternities and Music as
Nexus of Hispano-Catholic Orthodoxy:
Confraternities in the Cathedral

Introduction

While describing the means through which the colonial elite of the Viceroyalty of New Granada (separated from the Viceroyalty of Peru first in 1717, permanently in 1739), Santiago Castro-Gómez writes that defining and maintaining the ethos of whiteness was a central means of preserving Spanish Creole privilege. Although his focus was New Granada, and as I discuss later, I view this ethos as an emergent rather than firmly established cultural development, the cultural processes at work there were also characteristic of most areas of Spanish America, including Lima, where Hispanic cultural traditions held sway. Castro-Gómez writes:

La construcción de una entramada red de parentescos y la adquisición de títulos de nobleza o su transmission hereditaria, fueron las dos estrategias fundamentales que utilizó la elite colonial para perpetuar su linaje y poder. No obstante, estas dos estrategias compartían un mismo presupuesto: la necesidad de mantenerse a salvo de cualquiera sospecha de “mancha de la tierra,” es decir, de trazar una frontera étnico que impidiera la mezcla de sangre con indios, negros, mulattos o mestizos. Me referiré a la construcción de un imaginario de blancura frente al cual todos los demás grupos raciales pudieran ser definidos, por carencia, como “pardos.”

The construction of an interwoven web of relationships, and the purchase of titles of nobility or hereditary transmission, were two fundamental strategies that the colonial elite used to perpetuate its line and power. These two strategies however shared the same presumption: the necessity of maintaining oneself safely from any suspicion of the “taint of the land,” that is, of drawing an ethnic frontier that could impede the mixing of blood with Indians, blacks, mulattos or mestizos. I will refer to the construction of an ethos of

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whiteness against which all other racial groups could be defined, for their deficiency, as “pardos.”

Since biological heritage alone could not sustain it, a combination of external physical appearance, genealogy, and behavior constituted the nascent late-colonial ethos of whiteness. The most important institution in this ethos was the Catholic family, the model for which was “institutionally sanctioned by the Church and State,” and which functioned as the most important social institution to distinguish between “legitimate and illegitimate families” (i.e., those formed from Catholic matrimony or not). The Catholic family established the habitus that formed the bedrock of all social interaction and behaviors that constituted capital in the ethos of whiteness. In this chapter, I discuss the place of confraternities in the dual evangelizing and Hispanicizing (or, among retrospective scholars of colonial Latin American societies, “whitening”) efforts of the Church. I then consider the convergence of confraternities in the Lima cathedral and the emerging discourse of whiteness. Last, I discuss and analyze the types of music that confraternities in the Lima cathedral (an essential ally in the process of Hispano-Christianization) likely cultivated while confirming their participation in European culture and Catholic orthodoxy, which, during the eighteenth century, increasingly meant “whiteness” or a permutation thereof.

3.1 From Hispano-Catholic Orthodoxy to a Late Colonial Emergent Creole Ethos of Whiteness and Redefinitions

In his Voyage de la mer du sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou, after describing the skin color of caciques (indigenous lords) in the audiencia of Chile, Amédée François Frézier (1682-1773) discusses the “infinite” skin colors and combinations thereof among people in Peru, revealing an incipient awareness of genes in the transmission of physical traits, and noting the “quality of the blood” of Chilean Spanish Creoles (whose skin color had darkened from the

215 Ibid., 81-82.
“rosy” white of their Peninsular ancestors to “grayish” [“off?”] white. Frézier believed that the Creoles’ complexions resulted not from racial mixture, the quality of air, or type of food (the latter two were prevalent explanations in contemporary European thinking), but a changed, “fresher” quality of blood, although he seems to suggest that this might have resulted from their having been nourished by indigenous wet nurses. Moreover, although he observed that racial mixture was “common in the Spanish colonies, exceedingly in Chile, particularly so in Peru,” Frézier did not associate this widespread phenomenon with the “grayish” whiteness of the Chilean Creoles, possibly because he did not take into account the high prevalence of pre- and extra-marital births among all strata in the Spanish colonies. This omission would have reinforced colonial orthodoxy that associated mestizos and mulattos, not Iberian or Creole Spaniards, with illegitimacy (which would theoretically preclude their inclusion in the Spanish aristocracy in elite Hispanic orthodoxy). Or perhaps Frézier simply took the crystallizing colonial reinterpretation of medieval Iberian limpieza de sangre at face value, not fully appreciating the formulations of race in the Spanish colonies in general and in the Viceroyalty of Peru in particular. Frézier vividly wrote:

Leur couleur naturelle est basanée, tirant à celle du cuivre rouge, en cela différence de celle des mulâtres que qui provident de mélange d’un blanc et d’une négresse. Cette couleur est générale dans tout le continent de l’Amerique tant méridionale que septentrionale su quoi il faut remarquer que ce n’est point un effet de la qualité de l’air qu’on y respire ou des aliments dont les habitants se nourrissent, mais une affection particulière du sang: car les descendants des Espagnols que s’y sont établis et mariés avec des Européennes, et conservés sans mélange avec les Chilennes, sont d’un blanc et d’un sang encore plus beau et plus frais que ceux d’Europe, quoique nés dans le Chili, nourris à peu près de même manière et ordinairement du lait des naturelles du pays.

Il n’en est pas de même de l’air du Brésil et de nos îles: les créoles, quoique nés d’un sang pur, y perdent cette blancheur vermeille des Européens et prennent une couleur plombée. Ici l’on ne s’aperçoit d’autre changement que de celui que cause le mélange des différentes espèces, fort commun dans les colonies espagnoles, beaucoup au Chili, mais particulièrement au Pérou où de trente visages à peine en trouve-t-on deux de la même couleur: les uns viennent du noir au blanc, comme les mulâtres; les autres retombent du blanc au noir, comme les zambos, fils de mulâtres et de noirs; les un viennent de l’Indien au blanc, comme les métis, et les autres retombent du métis à l’Indien, et ensuite chacun de ces mélanges en forme d’autres à l’infinit.

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217 Ibid.
Their [caciques] natural color is tanned, tending to copper red; this [the redness] is different from the color of mulattos who are a mixture of a white man and a black woman. This color is common throughout all of the continent of America (as much in the south as in the north), about which it is appropriate to point out that it is not an effect of the quality of air that one breathes or the foods that the inhabitants eat, but a particular quality of the blood: because the descendants of the Spaniards that are established and marry Europeans and preserved without mixing with the [native] Chileans, are of a whiteness and blood more beautiful and fresher than that in Europe, although born in Chile, [they are] nourished in more or less the same manner and generally from the milk of the natives of the country.

It is different from Brazil and the [Caribbean] islands: the Creoles, although born of pure blood, lose the rosy white of Europeans and take on a leaden color. Here one notices a change other than that caused by the mixture of different types [“races”], very common in the Spanish colonies, exceedingly in Chile, and particularly so in Peru, where out of twenty faces, one finds two of the same color with difficulty: one comes from a black to white [union], like the mulatto; one comes from a white to black [union], like the zambos, children of mulattos and blacks; one comes from an Indian to white [union], such as the mestizo, and the others come from a mestizo to Indian [union], and immediately each of the mixtures form infinite mixtures with others.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, Habsburg Hispano-Catholic orthodoxy had begun to evolve into Enlightenment-Bourbon scientific discourses of race, and by the turn of the next century, the term “white” had begun to replace “Spanish” as the salient demonym to identify people of predominantly Peninsular or Creole Spanish ancestry in the Spanish colonies. During the eighteenth century, the underlying conceptions of Habsburg normality and alterity (Spanish Christians opposing “savage” or “pagan” non-Spanish, non-Christian Others) gradually

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218 The present-day Chilean population is overwhelmingly mestizo, somewhat “whitened” by European admixture since late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century heavy European immigration (the latter phenomenon has repeated itself in all Latin American countries), and during the colonial period, indigenous admixture among the Spanish Creole population was especially strong, even by the standards of the day. Before Spanish women immigrated to the Spanish colonies in numbers sufficient to sustain natural increases in the Spanish population during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and the Church began to discourage such unions as dangerous to the integrity of Spanish blood, the Spanish crown promoted intermarriage between Spanish conquistadores and indigenous women, and their mestizo children had the same legal status as Spaniards. Moreover, impoverished Spanish men frequently married indigenous, black, mulatta, zamba, and mestiza women, and, as I discuss later, their descendants could be recognized as Spanish. Thus, virtually none of the Spanish Creoles who emphasized their lineage from the conquistadores or other original Spanish settlers (and as a corollary, their legitimate membership in the Creole aristocracy, where interracial marriage could undermine declarations of Spanishness or “whiteness”) could securely assert that they were of pure Spanish, or later, “white” lineage.

219 In Brazil and the Caribbean, where decimated indigenous populations were largely replaced by black populations, which overwhelmingly outnumbered Spanish, Portuguese, and Creole populations, racial miscegenation reached its apex among the Latin American colonies, allied with a bewildering system of racial, interracial, and infra-racial hierarchical categories that referenced phenotype, claimed ancestry, and social class, even more complex (and suspicious to the outside observer judging phenotype alone) than those in the continental Spanish colonies.

220 A zambos was the offspring of an indigenous/black union, not a black/mulatto one.
gave way to Enlightened Bourbon scientific systems of normality and alterity (“whites’ opposing biologically, intellectually, and culturally “deficient” non-white Others) and the concept of “purity of blood” (limpieza de sangre), inherited from “old” Peninsular Christians to distinguish themselves from recently converted former Muslims and Jews during the reconquista of the eighth through fifteenth centuries, began to evolve from its original medieval meaning into one claiming the racial purity of Spanish Creoles, particularly those of the elite strata for whom the capital of whiteness was the most important.221

Here, it is important to note that, in elite orthodoxy, given the profound stigma of African slavery, the “taint” of African ancestry was considered “irredeemable” (indeed a colonial Latin American variant of the “one-drop rule” in the United States); in this orthodoxy, no person of known African ancestry could ever become “clean” (i.e. recognized as Spanish) in theory. In practice, however, this was hardly the case, and the de facto threshold of colonial Spanishness (or later, whiteness) was often much lower than the seven eighths required for “pure” blood (regardless of the nature of the nature of non-European admixture). By the turn of the nineteenth century, for example, it was not uncommon for affluent mulattos and mestizos to literally buy their whiteness by paying to have the racial designations on their baptismal records changed from mulatto or mestizo to white, or for them to pursue legal avenues for the same end. And beginning during the late eighteenth century, some people of publically known African descent received royal decrees recognizing their “‘official’ Spanish status.”222 When their external physical features allowed some with inclinations to do so, mulattos and mestizos could simply avoid formal declarations and socially “pass” as Spanish or white, their Creole cohorts—and potential spouses and in-laws—none the wiser (or, as I suspect, allowing certain conditions to remain unspoken, since many already lived in metaphorical glass houses themselves). In any event, as I try to bring to the foreground throughout this dissertation, particularly in Chapters 4 and 5, elite orthodoxies are subject to subaltern challenges and redefinitions, and all forces are transformed in the process. In my exploration of hegemony, I am interested in these challenges, redefinitions, and transformation, and I regard elite orthodoxies as just that: orthodoxies, not the starting and endpoints of my inquiries.

221 Castro-Gómez, 15-17.
Given the miscegenation that affected all strata of colonial society, since the foundation of the earliest Spanish settlements, the “purity” of Spanish ancestry existed only in myth for virtually all Spanish Creoles, and one’s “Spanishness,” and later, “whiteness” (with all its shades, distortions, and permutations) was more an assertion of socio-economic status than a strict reflection of biological heritage. Indeed, a substantial portion of Spanish Creoles had African and/or indigenous admixture that placed them below the threshold of whiteness in the formulations of hypodescent underlying the same Western European Enlightenment conceptions of race that influenced the emerging late colonial ethos of whiteness. A Spanish Creole of one-eighth or less *publically acknowledged* indigenous ancestry could securely assert the “purity” of his or her blood, while those with sufficient economic, social and/or cultural capital to neutralize most disadvantages from having “suspicious” features that could suggest more than one eighth non-white ancestry could still assert their whiteness, however darkened his or her complexion. The ethos of whiteness could not operate literally, but metaphorically, and it is certain that the inherent internalized insecurity of Spanish Creoles vis-à-vis the cultural, political, and economic hegemony of Western Europe, belief in the racial purity of Europeans whose status they aspired, the biological and social “contamination” resulting from their American birth and socialization from the perspective of the same, as well as *mestizo* and mulatto challenges to the criteria of whiteness, directly influenced Spanish Creoles’ obsession with drawing the boundaries and preserving the integrity of Creole whiteness.\(^{223}\) Spanish Creoles could not control their ancestries and genetic constitutions, but they had (as a result of their near monopoly on education) more intellectual and institutionalizing control over the ethos of whiteness, which, as I discuss later, they performed as conspicuously as possible.

I should also note that Castro-Gómez retroactively conflates “whiteness” with “Spanishness,” and although his work is quite helpful to my discussion of late-colonial Creole orthodoxy of “whiteness,” I want to avoid the developmental essentialism and frequent anachronisms (e.g., describing colonial society as one that existed under Apartheid) that pervades his work. I understand developmental essentialism to mean the attribution of a full evolutionary state of development, in *ex post* definitions and descriptions of historical phenomena, to the earliest instances that appear, in historical hindsight, to be linear precursors to those phenomena. The “ethos of whiteness” as a coherent discourse therefore properly belongs

\(^{223}\) Ibid., 70-72.
to the very late eighteenth century and later, since, as I noted in Chapter 1, “white” did not enter the prevailing colonial lexicon to describe Peninsulars and Spanish Creoles until much later in the eighteenth century (possibly later still). For that reason, I understand the “ethos of whiteness” as an emergent phenomenon, rather than a fully developed discourse in the sense that Castro-Gómez uses it.

The inverse relationship between the relative “purity of blood” among Spanish Creoles and their conspicuous display of what became “whiteness” demands attention, particularly when considered in connection with the contemporaneous appropriation and redefinition of whiteness by acculturated and affluent mulattos and mestizos. It is no coincidence that the Creole ethos of whiteness emerged precisely as mestizo and mulatto affluence emerged as a legitimate threat to the exclusivity of Creole cultural and economic hegemony—the model I proposed in Chapter 1 anticipated the change in the criteria of markedness and unmarkedness among hegemonic strata as the rhetorically unmarked weakened the boundaries of these distinctions, upon which social hierarchies and resulting asymmetric distribution of resources are based. According to Castro-Gómez, the symbolic capital of whiteness was so important that Creole elites coveted it more than wealth itself, and zealously displayed it so that all could note their whiteness:

La regal general era que las elites criollas buscaban algo mucho más deseado que la riqueza misma: la posesión del imaginario de blanca como criterio de distinción social. El capital simbólico de la blanca se hacía patente mediante la ostentación de signos exteriors que debían ser exhibidos públicamente que “demostraban” públicamente la categoría social y étnica de quien los llevaba.224

The general rule was that the Creole elites searched for something much more desired than wealth itself: the possession of ethos of whiteness as a criterion of social distinction. The symbolic capital of whiteness became patent through the affectation of exterior signals that had to be publically displayed and that publically “demonstrated” the social and ethnic category of the one that possessed it.

The elements that contributed to the symbolic capital of whiteness all imitated the modes of behavior cultivated among the Iberian Spanish high nobility, including styles of clothing of the

224 Ibid., 84.
finest, most luxuriant materials, and personal adornment with expensive jewelry. Creole elites spared no expense or sacrifice in order to “obtain the visible signals that assured the exhibition of their whiteness,” including being the clientele of a contraband market of luxury clothing imported from Europe.\textsuperscript{225}

The emerging ethos of whiteness also delimited occupational categories, with manual labor the domain of blacks and natives, while “noble” occupations such as those of a mayor, military officer, judge, attorney, scribe, or notary were the domain of whites. Professions such as these required a “good surname” whose “purity” was preserved, and contributed more to the ethos of whiteness than wealth;\textsuperscript{226} while Spanish law would require a wealthy Spanish man to divide his wealth equally between his legitimate mulatto or mestizo offspring if he married a black or indigenous woman, there was no such protection in the “noble” professions, which legally excluded those who could not certify the “purity” of their white ancestry.\textsuperscript{227}

Perhaps the most important demonstration of an elite Spanish Creole’s social status and capital of whiteness was the possession of black slaves, which served as more than mere workers, but also as property to be conspicuously displayed as any other adornment of luxury. Importantly to us, members and students of the clergy, mainly from elite Creole backgrounds, fully participated in this mode of white ethos. As Castro-Gómez writes of Bogotá’s clergy:

Los seminaristas, presbíteros, monjas, y estudiantes, casi todos pertenecientes a la aristocracia criolla, eran dueños de esclavos y los exhibían públicamente como propiedad privada.\textsuperscript{228}

\textsuperscript{225} Ibid, 84-85.
\textsuperscript{226} Ibid., 86-87.
\textsuperscript{227} Even this “certification” was hardly foolproof though, because, for example, in colonial universities (the bastion of the educated Creole elite, and admittance to which signaled “the public recognition of their condition as ‘whites’” among Creoles), faculty members had to prove the “purity” of their whiteness, and admittance to universities was almost exclusively limited to those recognized as “white.” But faculty members, their positions proof of already having passed strict purity of blood investigations, could have their teaching credentials challenged on the grounds that they had recent (i.e. a parent or grandparent) African, mulatto, mestizo, and/or indigenous ancestry (Ibid., 119-122). Recalling the practice among some wealthy mestizos and mulattos of paying to have their records falsified so that they could be legally recognized as “white,” and that the ethos of whiteness did not rely exclusively on actual biological heritage, then one cannot simply dismiss such challenges as spurious accusations.
\textsuperscript{228} Ibid., 88.
The seminarians, presbyters, nuns, and students, almost all belonging to the Creole aristocracy, were owners of slaves and they displayed them publically as private property.

Castro-Gómez, borrowing from Michel de Certeau, draws a distinction between “strategy” and “tactics,” wherein strategy involves a “manipulation of the relations of force” made from a position of “will and power.” Castro-Gómez extrapolates Certeau’s conception of strategy to refer to conscious, calculated actions made from a position of power that define the range of appropriate actions of the subaltern. The subaltern, seeking to improve his or her position, may resist, but does so by “playing by the same rules established by the hegemonic power.”

According to Castro-Gómez, tactics occur from a position of subordination, do not sustain themselves, and operate “within the field of vision of the enemy.”

Here though, I must interject that while Castro-Gómez rightly draws attention to the subaltern as a non-passive agent in hegemony, I want to vigorously challenge rigid, unilateral, homogeneous formulations of Creole hegemony such as his. The distinction between “strategy” and “tactics” as Castro-Gómez frames it (i.e., that of operating from a position of power or subordination) is really a false one. To be sure, short-term, improvised actions from a position of disadvantage certainly characterize some tactics, but tactics are not limited to the short-term, ad hoc actions of subordinates, just as hegemons do not monopolize long-term, calculated strategy; and indeed, tactics may be incremental means toward overarching objectives, all realized by the application of calculated strategy. To take well-known examples from American history, American rebels ultimately prevailed against the British because of a long-term strategy that included guerilla warfare tactics adopted from Native Americans, conventional warfare tactics and strategy inherited from Europe, and strategic alliances with European powers such as France and Spain. During the American Civil War, the leadership of the economically and industrially disadvantaged Confederacy certainly matched the tactical and strategic acumen of their Northern foes, but ultimately could not overcome the superior economic and industrial resources of the Union. More recently, the leadership of the 1960s American Civil Rights Movement in the vein

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230 Castro-Gómez, 89.

231 Ibid., 90.
of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (college educated, middle class, Christian) ultimately won important legislative and cultural battles because of tactics and strategies that included non-violent open protest, civil disobedience, boycotts, moral engagement of the white majority, and later, legislation. In the dialectical conception of hegemony that I maintain, the strategies of hegemons are more often successful because they have the critical material and cultural resources to realize them, not because they result from an inherently different plane of operation as Castro-Gómez suggests.

Having said that, although Castro-Gómez’s unilateral, homogeneous framework is problematic, his description of adopting the cultural practices of hegemonic culture (that coincidentally looked to Europe for cultural leadership) as a strategy of gaining advantageous social positions in the colonial hierarchy among blacks, mulattos, natives, and mestizos approximates the descriptions of subaltern appropriation that I proposed in Chapter 1. In any event, within his framework and regarding the ethos of whiteness, Castro-Gómez asserts that subalterns had no choice but to aspire to the same ethos of whiteness and Europeanization as elite Creoles, and that their tactics had to occupy an advantageous position in the colonial hierarchy that operated under the presumption of this aspiration. He writes:

El imaginario hegemónico de la blancura se formó al calor de la batalla entablada en contra de otros grupos por la posesión de privilegios sociales, utilizando para ello un conjunto de estrategias de distanciamiento cultural. Sin embargo, esta idea de una batalla cultural no quedaría completa si omitiera mencionar el modo en que los dominados “canibalizaron,” por así decirlo, las estrategias del dominador y las convirtieron en tácticas de resistencia. Las comunidades sometidas no fueron jamás elementos pasivos, funcionales al sistema colonial de Apartheid, sino que utilizaron el imaginario hegemónico de la blancura para posicionarse de forma ventajosa en el espacio social. Siendo la blancura capital cultural más apreciado, no resulta extraño que los miembros de las castas intentaron “blanquearse” paulatinamente como medio para luchar por la hegemonía. Diré entonces, siguiendo Quijano, que la cultura del dominador se convirtió en una “seducción que daba acceso al poder” y que los grupos subalternos intentaron apropiarse del capital cultural de la blancura y utilizarlo como instrumento de movilización social. La europeización cultural se convirtió en una aspiración compartida por todos, pero utilizando de diferentes maneras según la posición ocupada por los agentes en el espacio social.232

The ethos of whiteness was formed from the heat of battle initiated against other groups for the possession of social privileges, using for it a combination of strategies for cultural distinction. This idea of a cultural battle, however, would not be complete if I did not mention the mode in which the dominated “cannibalized,” for lack of a better word, the

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232 Ibid., 89-90.
strategies of the dominator and converted them into tactics of resistance. The subjected were never passive, functional elements in the colonial system of Apartheid, but they used the ethos of whiteness in order to better position themselves in social space. Since the cultural capital of whiteness was the most valued, it is not odd that the members of the [non-white] castas tried to “whiten” themselves as a means of fighting for hegemony. I shall say then, following Quijano, that the dominant culture became a “seduction that gave access to power” and that the subaltern groups attempted to appropriate the cultural capital of whiteness and use it as an instrument of social mobility. The Cultural Europeanization became an aspiration shared by all, but used in different ways according to the position occupied by agents in social space.

Castro-Gómez writes that the high incidence of miscegenation continually blurred the boundaries between whiteness and non-whiteness. In particular, this process made it “increasingly difficult to distinguish between whites and mestizos on the basis of their external physical characteristics.” Moreover, economic gains among mestizo and mulatto merchants and property owners during the eighteenth century made them increasingly competitive with their Creole counterparts in accumulating wealth and improving their position within the colonial hierarchy. As many of these wealthy and newly wealthy mulatto and mestizo men (the rhetorically unmarked) married women from impoverished white families (the rhetorically marked), they attempted to “distance themselves from the debasement of their Indian and black ancestors and reclaim the symbolic credentials that would legitimate their economic power,” and ultimately move them and their offspring to the category of white.

Castro-Gómez has addressed a crucial point here, but I want to address it further, and make a critical connection. In an earlier discussion of pictorial depictions of racial categories in

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234 Ignoring his conflation of “white” with “Spanish,” which I addressed earlier, and his anachronistic use of “apartheid,” while Castro-Gómez rightly addresses the issue of subaltern appropriation of the cultural lexicons of hegemonic strata as a means of maximizing social advantage, it is inappropriate to interpret this as an aspiration to “whiteness,” to say nothing of describing this as a universal aspiration; this interpretation too easily reduces social operations to metaphors of race, which forms part of my critique in Chapter 1. Moreover, as I discuss later in this dissertation, it is inaccurate to describe cultural practices in terms of one social group once other social groups independently inherit, enact, and reproduce the same cultural practices; they cease to be the “property” of the originating social group. To use a contemporary analogy in the United States: I seriously doubt that middle and upper class Hispanic Americans move to and live in affluent, predominantly white suburbs because they universally (or at least generally) aspire to “whiteness,” or even because they desire to live around whites. I suspect that the vast majority move to such places to enjoy the same access to educational, economic, cultural, and political institutions that most other middle and upper class Americans enjoy; the association with and presence of whites in these suburbs is coincidental, likely not the primary motivation for living there for the vast majority. This is not an aspiration to whiteness, and if it is among some, it certainly isn’t universal. Of course, one might apply this analogy to a wide variety of social groups distinguished by cultural practices, and time.

235 Castro-Gómez, 91.
late eighteenth-century New Spain, Castro-Gómez concludes that the absence of a category that recognizes a gradual “whitening,” until Spanish status is reached, of those of African ancestry as successive generations of their descendants marry Spaniards (in contrast to those of indigenous ancestry, for example indigenous→mestizo→castizo→Spanish) implies that African ancestry rendered the blood of one’s descendants incapable of ever being “clean” enough to be white in elite Hispanic orthodoxy. I have already addressed the issue of, despite Castro-Gómez’s contention, the de facto possibility of the generational transformation of mulatto to Spanish. While he is right to address mestizo and mulatto redefining of whiteness, Castro-Gómez leaves the discussion there, adhering to a unilateralist interpretation of Spanish hegemony: in this interpretation, mestizo and mulatto “subalternt” redefinition of whiteness has not altered the elite Creole ethos of whiteness. But Castro-Gómez’s entire discussion focuses on Creole obsession with the capital and conspicuous display of whiteness precisely because (1) as he recognizes, the “purity” of Creole blood was illusory, and (2) mixed non-Creoles, including mulattos, mounted an increasingly successful redefinition of this ethos by the late eighteenth century, that is, by emphasizing wealth and status over racial ancestry in claims of unmarked whiteness (not simply Hispanicized “whitenedness”), which directly affected Creole obsession with the ethos of whiteness.

Moreover, affluent mestizos and mulattos adopted strategies that would signal their participation in the emerging Creole ethos of whiteness, including securing for their offspring occupations that were restricted to whites, and admittance to seminaries, convents, and universities, as well as owning and displaying black slaves. This closely approximates the phenomena of parvenue/déclassé unions among hegemonic strata, and the burgeoning material and cultural capital of the rhetorically unmarked that I described in Chapter 1. Indeed, as Castro-Gómez acknowledges, the “ethnic frontier” promulgated among Creoles was not impenetrable; for example, among those with a university education—one of the most durably “white” institutions during the colonial period—people of mixed parentage overcame countless obstacles to enjoy very favorable socioeconomic positions in colonial society. Moreover, as another example, Bourbon reforms during the latter third of the eighteenth century that aimed to


\[237\] Ibid., 94.

\[238\] Ibid., 133.
transform the university from a private, ecclesiastical institution oriented toward the elite, to a public one “directed fundamentally to the scientific formation of the most economically dynamic strata of society,” which included non-Spaniards and non-elites, led to an increase in the proportion of those of acknowledged African and indigenous ancestry.\(^\text{239}\) As would be expected, the increased presence of such people threatened the capital of whiteness and the hegemonic position which required this orthodoxy, and when those of acknowledged African and indigenous ancestry became over represented in professions such as medicine, Creole elites tended to spurn them, and heretofore “noble” (i.e. “white”) professions lost prestige and very few children of “good [Spanish] families” would enter them.\(^\text{240}\)

Finally, in his discussion of Salvador Rizo, a free black botanist held in the highest esteem for his exceptional intelligence and skills, named *mayordomo general* of the botanical expedition of Mompox, and entrusted with “managing all of the funds of the institution” (but virtually ignored by history), Castro-Gómez suggests that “exceptional” blacks also rose to positions of prominence and respect, enjoying a lifestyle normally reserved for affluent Spaniards. At the same time, “exceptional” blacks (and certainly natives) such as Salvador Rizo might have been generously recognized and rewarded as individuals and rhetorically “whitened” in the ethos of whiteness, but their achievements did not change prevailing stereotypes of the intellectual or cultural capacities of their “unexceptional” black (and indigenous) peers (as we recall my discussion of negative attribution of marked subalterns in Chapter 1). In fact, according to Castro-Gómez, two of Rizo’s colleagues, the “learned Creoles” Francisco José de Caldas and Jorge Tadeo Lozano (whom history has *not* ignored), “did not hide their profound skepticism regarding the moral and intellectual capacity of blacks.”\(^\text{241}\)

### 3.2 Confraternities and Music in the Cathedral

After her discussion of the economic life of confraternities, Egovil identifies the difficulties in separating social, political, and economic forces when discussing social processes

\(^{239}\) Ibid., 134.  
\(^{240}\) Ibid., 176-177.  
\(^{241}\) Ibid., 94-95.
in the Viceroyalty of Peru. This difficulty extends to any discussion of confraternities, especially because of their capacity to join the majority of segments of the population interacting in the same colonial context. She writes:

En el análisis de cualquiera aspecto de proceso social del Virreynato, es difícil separar la concurrencia de fuerzas políticas, económicas y religiosas; al tratar las cofradías dentro del marco global de la economía, no parece estar completa la imagen sin tener en cuenta su papel en la vida política y social. Desde esta perspectiva, por haber sido instituciones capaces de reunir a la mayoría de los sectores sociales en sus distintos estratos pero participando de un mismo ideal y bajo las misma leyes desde tiempo de la fundación del Virreynato.\(^{242}\)

In the analysis of any aspect of social process of the Viceroyalty, it is difficult to separate the concurrence of political, economic, and religious forces; having treated confraternities within the overall frame of the economy, the image does not seem complete without taking into account its place in political and social life—from this perspective, by having been institutions capable of joining the majority of segments of the population in their distinct strata but participating from a same ideal and under the same laws since the foundation of the Viceroyalty.

The dual evangelizing and Hispanicizing purpose of confraternities affected a wide range of quotidian and celebratory events. Musical performance was one of these events, in which confraternities in the Archdiocese of Lima generally displayed a high degree of conformity regardless of the racial category with which confraternities were associated—at least in public rituals that colonial authorities, monitored; as I discuss in the following chapters, this apparent conformity must be qualified. Spanish authorities very early recognized the efficacy of Church music in spreading Hispano-Catholic values, and it is well known in Latin American musicology that music from the Catholic Church became an indispensable pillar of evangelization and (I argue) Hispanicization. This is because musical performance, unparalleled by other media as regards its density and rapid succession of visual, aural and tactile signs, could quickly communicate and reinforce the intended messages of Hispano-Catholic orthodoxy, assuming that

\(^{242}\) Ibid., 73.
the audience understood the messages (which I discuss later). Music and dance, because of their abilities to readily provoke different affective states among listeners, and to generate associations of personal and group identity, can be a powerful means of communicating social order and status to all members of colonial society.

For most of the colonial period, members of all echelons of colonial society converged during indoor and outdoor public religious celebrations, and confraternities contributed overwhelmingly to the dances and music (as well as most other elements) associated with these celebrations. Ultimately, musical activity involving two or more individuals, as with all other social activities, is communicative; whether the activity takes place in order to coordinate a multiplayer performance, or to present (individually or as part of a group) to a non-performing audience, it is contingent upon a successful reception and interpretation of linguistic and musical signs, ultimately forming the basis of communication-in-performance.\footnote{For a cogent discussion of Peircean semiotics, for example, in the process of emotive interpretation of musical signs, see Thomas Turino’s article “Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Peircean Semiotic Theory for Music,” in \textit{Ethnomusicology} (Spring/Summer 1999) 43:2. According to Turino, Peircean semiotics entail three classes of interpretants: emotional (“direct, unreflected-upon”), energetic (physical response), and sign (linguistic response), which underlie the three trichotomies “of concepts for analyzing different aspects of a sign and distinct types of relationships between the three basic components of semiosis.” Trichotomy I (the sign itself) consists of the qualisign (“a pure quality embedded in a sign”), the sinsign (“the actual specific instance of a sign”), and a legisign (“the sign as a general type”, whose recognition requires abstract thought (mediation that is independent of the quality or temporal occurrence of the sign)). The components of trichotomy II (relations between the sign and object) are the icon (a sign of resemblance to the object), the index (“related to the object through co-occurrence in actual experience”), and the symbol (“a sign that is related to its object through the use of language rather than being fully dependent on iconicity or indexicality”). The third trichotomy (how the sign is interpreted) consists of the rheme (“a sign that is interpreted as representing its object as a qualitative possibility”), the dicent (“understood to represent its object in respect to actual existence”), and argument (“symbolic propositions as well as language-based premises upon which the propositions can be interpreted and assessed”).}
required the participation of all of these groups. Yet, the message of power could have been completely lost in translation, partially misinterpreted, or, if properly interpreted (i.e. following Hispano-Christian semiotics), subverted during the performance, disregarded outside of the same, or, worst of all for Spanish Creoles from the elite strata, simply not observed (or obliquely rejected) when lower ranking hegemons and subalterns did not support the performative parameters in the first place. For this reason, Spanish Creoles from the elite strata sought to maintain control of the message and to ensure its proper interpretation and projection beyond the performance, while lower-ranking members of colonial society could react in ways that reinforced, challenged, or disregarded the message, depending on the perceived strength of elite Creoles’ and lower-ranking hegemons’ and subalterns’ own degrees of integration into colonial society.

**Archival Sources I: Constitutions**

The constitutions of the Lima cathedral’s confraternities reflected elements of official, codified Hispano-Catholic orthodoxy instituted in the archdiocese of Lima, and served the dual Hispanicizing and evangelizing purposes of confraternities. As expected, they show a high degree of conformity (officially and publically at least). Although only eighteenth-century constitutions from the Lima cathedral are presently available, we find a number of elements common in the seventeenth- and early nineteenth-century constitutions of confraternities outside of the cathedral’s sponsorship. In virtually all activities but the confession, music punctuated and reinforced essential elements and Hispano-Catholic doctrine in the daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly rituals in which confraternities participated. The three most common stipulations in constitutions (beyond mandatory the titular festivals they were to have) were that members confess and take communion during the main festival, that they provide funeral services for members, and that they have yearly memorial services for dead members.

Since behavior was a defining criterion of colonial racial categories, then “civilized” behaviors (according to Hispanic orthodoxy) contributed to one’s designation as Spanish or Hispanicized. This rested on the premise of Spain or Europe as the model of civilization, and, as a corollary, the Spaniard, European, or later, the “white,” as the model of a civilized person. This meant that while Spaniards could be generally assumed to be “civilized” (gente con razón),
rhetorically unmarked natives, blacks, and people of mixed ancestry, while not recognized as Spanish, gained status as “civilized,” Hispanicized non-Spaniards who spoke Spanish and broadly conformed to Hispano-Christian modes of behavior. This meant that confraternity constitutions, drawn up by those who wanted to form confraternities (and approved in the archbishop’s office), in establishing the rules regarding proper behaviors, Catholic rituals, and the use of music to support those rituals, also established some of the rules that denoted members of confraternities as members of “civilized” Hispano-Catholic society; in other words, as Hispanic or Hispanicized. Or course, one may argue about the degree to which members of confraternities really accepted the terms of entrance into these institutions (and, it follows, their membership in Hispano-Catholic society), or how often membership in confraternities was a means to an end of gaining advantages in colonial society.

In Catholic doctrine, the Holy Eucharist commemorates the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ embodied in the consecrated host, which is the transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Yet, if we recognize the central position of the Catholic Church in Hispanic hegemony in the Spanish colonies, then we may also recognize the importance of communion as a symbolic act of passive acquiescence to, or active support of, the orthodoxy of Hispano-Christendom, and brother- and sisterhood with other Hispano-Catholics. To take communion inherently identified the parishioner as a faithful Catholic, which also identified him or her, in the context of the colony and in colonial orthodoxy, as a faithful, civilized subject of the Spanish colonial state. It is no coincidence that rebels during the 1740s-1780s, the Age of Insurrection in the Viceroyalty of Peru, made haste in emphasizing their civilized Catholic piety, since their legitimacy rested upon a pious repudiation of un-Catholic (and uncivilized) corruption and abuse among Spanish officials and colonists.

No one may doubt that confraternity members were genuinely preoccupied with the fate of their souls after death. Having assurances that the confraternity would provide a proper Catholic rite of passage for them (and in many cases for their children and spouses) in the form of burial rituals and services must have certainly assuaged their anxiety in this regard. Yet trusting the Catholic Church, embodied in the officiating priest, to act as intermediary between God and the soul, was perhaps the ultimate sacrifice and demonstration of faith in Church and, in the context of the colonial enterprise, it follows, Hispano-Catholic doctrine. A demonstration of faith in the Church’s guardianship of the soul after death required implicit faith in the Church’s
(and State’s) guardianship of the living colonial subject, an example of *doxic habitus*. On the other hand, as will be seen when I discuss provincial indigenous confraternities in Chapter 5, apparent Catholic piety could also form part of syncretic practices, or be a dissimulation to cover pre-colonial practices and beliefs.

In the following discussion of confraternity constitutions, I frame them as examples of codified expressions of Hispano-Catholic models of behavior for participants in Roman Catholic rituals (independent of their degree of belief). Elements from these rituals, notably the sequence of events, the actions during these events, and members of the clergy who oversaw these events, all formed part of the Hispano-Catholic conformity that colonial authorities desired and encouraged. I argue that elements such as these would, in elite Hispanic orthodoxy, denote members as civilized members of Hispano-Christendom, and in the context of colonial racial categories, Spanish (eventually, “white”) or Hispanicized. For example, a 1739 copy of the constitution of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Exile (Nuestra Señora del Destierro) stipulated that members of both sexes could enter the confraternity and that, on the first day of their having entered, they were to take communion and confess. During the main feast day’s principal festival, on the Sunday of the Octave of the Assumption of Our Lady (or during any of the festivals of the Visitation, Nativity, or Conception of Our Lady), members were to receive full pardon and remission of their sins, and, after having given contrite confessions and having taken communion, were to visit the chapel of the cathedral sanctuary and beseech God for the harmony between Christian princes, the extirpation of the idolatry of heretics, and the exaltation of the cathedral. This was to take place from vespers to sunrise on the main feast day. There was to be a sung mass in the cathedral’s chapel for living and dead members on the feast days of the Purification, Visitation, Assumption, Nativity, Presentation, and Conception of Our Lady; as well during celebrations of the Betrothal and Suffering of Mary following Jesus’ crucifixion; and during the Christmas Novena. After the principal festival, there was to be a memorial for dead members with a vigil and sung mass, the deacon and sub deacon officiating. To fund this, members were to offer one real every week. For individual funerals, there was also to be a sung mass and vigil.

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244 Leg. 42:13 (1739) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
The printed 1750 version of the constitution from the Confraternity of the Souls of Purgatory (Animas de Purgatorio)\(^{245}\) called for a sung mass to the Holy Guardian Angel (Santo Angel de la Guarda) for members to die peacefully and to free them from temptation from the devil. On the main feast day of Saint Jerome (San Geronimo), after having taken communion and confessing, members were to visit the chapel of Souls and perform pious rogations to God, for the exaltation of the cathedral, for the extirpation of heretics, for the conversion of the unbelievers, for the peace and agreement between the Christian princes, and for the health of the pope. Members were also required to give one real every week as an offering for priestly services (\textit{una limonsa del cargo de Dios}). These services would include a burial vault\(^{246}\) and music from the cathedral (in the form of Gregorian chant) during the vigil for a member’s funeral; a sung mass, 100 recited masses for the souls of the dead, vigil, and sermon officiated by the dean and ecclesiastical council during the yearly memorial for dead members; and for members’ children who died before their tenth birthday, there would be music, a burial vault from the cathedral’s chapel, six pall bearers and standard bearers, as well as six pesos for burial elsewhere if they were not buried in the cathedral.

A printed copy of the 1750 constitution of Confraternity of Our Lady of Blessed Souls (Nuestra Señora de las Benditas Animas)\(^{247}\) stipulated that there should be a sung mass to the Holy Guardian Angel (Santo Angel de la Guarda) every Monday “for peaceful rest to the dead members and deliverance from the temptations of the devil” (\textit{porque dé buena muerte à los hermanos, y los libre de las tentaciones del demonio}). The confraternity would provide dead members with a burial vault and plainchant with organ from the cathedral for the vigil. After having confessed and taken communion on the day of the festival of Saint Jerome, brothers were to visit the chapel of Souls and piously supplicate to God for the exaltation of the Catholic Church, extirpation of heresy, conversion of non-Christians, and peace and harmony between Christian princes, and health of the pope.\(^{248}\) The constitution continued with a list of what it offered members who joined it (and paid the mandatory weekly fee of one real), including memorial services with a sung mass, vigil, and sermon for the souls of the dead members,

\(^{245}\) Leg. 12:40 (1759) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\(^{246}\) “la Bóveda” (bóveda).
\(^{247}\) Leg. 12:40 (1759) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\(^{248}\) (\textit{el dia de S. Geronimo haviendo confessado, y comulgado, y visitaren la capilla de las Animas, y allí iñieren à Dios piadosas rogativas por la Exaltacion de la Santa Madre Yglesia, por la Exirpacion de las heregias, por la conversion de lo Infeles, y por la paz y Concordia entre los Principes Christianos, y por la salud del Pontifice Romano}).
officiated by the cathedral dean and chapel (who would recite 100 masses during the memorial octave or shortly thereafter). Finally, for funerals, boys under the age of ten would assist the confraternity with the music and burial in the chapel, six pallbearers and the standard, and if the dead member were buried outside of the jurisdiction of the cathedral, the confraternity would give survivors six pesos for burial elsewhere.  

A 1760 revision of the constitution of the confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament for Spaniards (Santísimo Sacramento, de Españoles), which also applied to confraternities of Saint Anne (Santa Ana) and the indigenous Our Lady of Loreto (Nuestra Señora de Loreto) in the church of Saint Anne, required its fifty members to be present for the solemn festivals of Corpus Christi and its Octave, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and the remaining festivals that were celebrated in the cathedral and the convent of Saint Dominic, and two general gatherings (Cavildos Generales) every year. When a member or his wife or widow died, members were to accompany the body to its burial with twenty candles (twelve for the wife or widow), and to donate one peso to the mayordomo on the day after the funeral, so that he could pay for a sung mass and vigil over the tomb and twenty recited masses the day after at the main altar of the convent of Saint Dominic (Santo Domingo), using any extra funds from the funeral for wax that should be used in the funeral or mass or for the burial of a member’s child aged ten or older. Every year there were to be two memorials for dead members (one in the cathedral, one in the convent of Saint Dominic), for which members were to be present for vigils the day before and for mass under pain of one pound of wax. For the festival of the Circumcision of the Lord, the confraternity was to have a Jubilee and mass at the convent of Saint Dominic and put the float of the Eucharist in the procession (el día de la Circuncicion del Señor se gana Jubileo en Santo Domingo, y se saca en procession el santissimo sacramento), which members were obligated to attend (as with the other fiestas of the confraternity) after taking Holy Communion in the main altar of Saint Dominic. Every first Sunday of the month there was to be a sung mass at Saint Dominic, as well as a sermon and procession, and a sung mass on the third Sunday of April, August and December at Saint Dominic. For the feast of Saint Thomas Aquinas, members were

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249 (á los hijos, como no passen diez años, les acudirá la Cofradía con la Musica, y Bobeda de dicha capilla, seis Pobres, y el Estandarte. Y si no lo enterrase en dicha Iglesia, se la daràn seis pesos).
250 Leg. 42:26 (1761) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
to carry his image in procession with twenty candles given at Saint Dominic under pain of four reales.\textsuperscript{251}

**Archival Sources II: Account books**

If the constitutions of confraternities suggest official acceptance of the terms of archiepiscopal approval, and, in the colonial context, the terms of membership in civilized Hispanic society, the account books suggest material investment in—and a decidedly more concrete demonstration of members’ assent to—those terms. As I discussed earlier, when confraternities financed the pomp and circumstance to embellish their festivals, or to decorate the quotidian rites of the Church, they also incurred considerable financial burdens. Thus, when they paid for the musical resources required to successfully embellish Catholic rituals, confraternities provided tangible, material demonstration of their willing participation in Hispano-Christendom as the Hispanic elite imagined it, even at potentially great economic cost and sacrifice. In cases where account books shed no light on the musical life of confraternities, as I discuss below, we must infer, given the centrality of musical embellishment in Catholic rituals, as well as competition among confraternities, that confraternities found other ways to contribute to the musical forces in these rituals, and enhance their prestige and status.

There has been no large-scale study of music and confraternities in colonial Latin American since Francisco Curt Lange’s work, and we have only a glimpse into the musical manifestations of colonial society in these institutions from his work. Even though confraternities contributed a great portion of musical activities in the yearly cycle of religious rituals, I found that the references to musical activities in documents that record these rituals were typically far too vague to satisfy our requirements for consistency and thoroughness. Moreover, in account books recording expenses for these events, it is not rare not to find a single musical expense. Given the centrality of music in Catholic rituals, this means that in cases where we see no musical expenses, musicians must have been paid in kind, or provided their services free of charge as clerics, or as members or friends of a confraternity. Finally, few accounts books from

\textsuperscript{251} According to the constitution, Saint Thomas Aquinas authored the unknown composition (there is a tear in the original document where the name should be) that musicians from the cathedral sang during festivals of Corpus Christi (\textit{Ytem por quanto el Angelico} [tear] \textit{[San]t[o Thomas de Aquino fue el que compuso el O\textit{ssana?} que la Santa Yglesia canta en las festividades del Santissimo Sacramento}).
confraternities that the cathedral sponsored remain in the archiepiscopal archives, and they are scattered chronologically. One therefore sketches an image of the musical life of the cathedral’s confraternities through a composite, holistic interpretation of the scattered, typically incomplete, and vague extant records. Only a careful, future study of documents in the churches, monasteries, convents, and hospitals in which confraternities were formed will significantly expand and deepen our current understanding of colonial confraternities and the musical activities therein.

From the available documentary evidence contained in confraternities outside of the cathedral however, we may deduce that musical activities in these confraternities (at least those in Lima and nearby environs) also followed Hispano-Catholic formulas, accompanied most of the religious rituals in confraternities, and that the patterns of musical patronage did not differ substantially between confraternities of different racial designations.\(^\text{252}\) Masses were ubiquitous, but sung masses (*misas cantadas*), probably ranging from those of simple monophony to fully orchestrated works—none of the sources describe the musical settings of the sung masses—typically occurred only during burial ceremonies for recently deceased members, their spouses, or children, during one or two memorial services for all deceased confraternity members (typically during the principal festival or another yearly ceremony), and during other festivals. The greatest concentration of musical activities occurred around the main feast day of one or more of the principal Catholic festivals (most frequently Christmas, Lent, and Corpus Christi), or of the principal festival (*fiesta principal* or *fiesta titular*) of a saint, the Virgin Mary, or a Christian contemplation (such as that of the rosary or the cross) beginning with vespers the night before, followed by the sung main mass on the feast day, and finally the procession with the sacred image of the festival’s patron resting upon a float, typically borne by paid indigenous or black laborers.

During the vespers and procession, the most prominent instrumentalists were those who played the shawm (*chirimía*), trumpet (*clarín* or *trompeta*), and drum (*caja*, *atabal*, or *tambor*), all appropriate to outdoor performances, and, to encourage interest and participation from non-specialist musicians, likely of a readily accessible, repetitive nature. In Lima, when account books record the racial category of the musician, woodwind and brass performers were typically

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\(^{252}\) The confraternities of African slaves, as I will discuss in Chapter 4, were exceptional in the strong presence of African musico-cultural traditions imposed over a veneer of Hispano-Catholic imagery and symbolism, analogous to the syncretic indigenous confraternities in the *doctrinas de indios*, which I discuss in Chapter 5.
identified as black or less often as indigenous, while the drummers were typically black. Aside from notated orchestral scores (which I discuss later, and the use of which seems to have been the exception rather than the rule in most of the records of the confraternities I consulted), none of the sources I consulted even suggest performance practice, and very few indicate instrumentation in colonial confraternities beyond the existence of various instruments, but we may reasonably imagine that performance practice and instrumentation depended on the social and spatial contexts.

Musicians using instruments of European origin in Catholic rituals would have preserved the practices associated with Western Europe in general, and Spain in particular, and in the colonial context, this would have reinforced the perception that the members of the confraternities using these instruments participated in “civilized” traditions. Since the Catholic Church promoted the heterogeneous presence and participation of all racial categories and the musical practices associated with them in cyclical festivals (and members of these communities would have preserved ancestral practices independently of official Church approval or encouragement), then musicians using instruments associated with Africans and natives would have likely either preserved or referenced those groups, or amalgamated European-derived practices—those of the hegemonic group—with those associated with their communities. In the colonial contexts, members of the Hispanic elite could interpret more apparently “indigenous” or “African” instruments and particularly performance practices as “uncivilized,” and therefore as authorization to preserve Hispanic ascendancy. As I discuss later in this dissertation, we may observe all of these tendencies.

The chirimía quickly became diffused in the Spanish colonies from the sixteenth century (preserving its European courtly and civic associations), and integrated well into the woodwind traditions established well before the colonial era in the Andean region. In most of Europe, over the course of the seventeenth century, the shawm gradually fell into disuse as the oboe proved better at blending with other woodwind and brass instruments in consort. In the Spanish colonies, however, the use of the shawm persisted well beyond the colonial period, becoming assimilated into later indigenous and mestizo musical traditions that continue into contemporary times.  

During the sixteenth century, the *clarín* denoted a short, straight trumpet, while during the Baroque and Classical periods, it denoted the folded trumpet used in European music. Since European trumpet playing developed into two general styles during the seventeenth century (loud, outdoor trumpet corps and softer, *clarino* playing in courtly chambers), then both styles likely continued in the Spanish colonies, with both performed according to context and venue. Trumpets of low registers (*tromba*), mainly for support, are also present in some of the sources.  

In the tables that follow this discussion are snapshots of the musical life of confraternities that give us only a glancing view of the financial and bodily investment that *mayordomos*, delegates, and other confraternity members made in order to ensure successful quotidian and extraordinary activities in the yearly cycle of Catholic rituals. Few of the account books of confraternities that the cathedral housed are extant or currently available, and those that are closely follow general patterns of religious cycles and musical activities elsewhere in the city and archdiocese. For example, even though documentary evidence is scant, we know that during the 1680s, the Spanish Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament paid an organist to perform during funerals, most likely during sung masses, a typical practice throughout the archdiocese. Also, unspecified musicians performed during various festivals and the processions therein such as Pentecost and Corpus Christi. During the 1690s, the Confraternity of Saint Joseph recorded payment to the shawmer, trumpeter, and drummer during the titular festival of Saint Joseph. These instruments show up more often than any other instruments in the account books I have consulted.

In 1758, the Confraternity of Our Lady of Blessed Souls recorded payment to the organist and choirboy during the yearly Novena (probably for Christmas), and in 1763, payment to the organist during the same event. This suggests that the possible musical genres performed include a sung mass and *villancicos*. In 1763 during opening ceremonies for the Lima cathedral’s sanctuary, the Spanish Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament paid the *maestro de

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The sources are found in the citations for information in tables.
capilla Cristóbal Romero\textsuperscript{256} fifty pesos for music during the procession and fiesta—this music would have certainly been notated and orchestrated, and twenty-seven pesos, four reales for the shawms used in the procession and festival. Between November 1788 and 16 July 1791,\textsuperscript{257} the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception spent 665 pesos for 140 sung Saturday masses and four masses for a Cristóbal Romero, probably the same maestro de capilla that the Confraternity of Our Lady of Blessed Souls had paid nearly three decades before.\textsuperscript{258}

**Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament (Spanish) (Santísimo Sacramento, de españoles)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notable expense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1681</td>
<td>Funerals</td>
<td>28 pesos, 1 real (organist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Procesions of Our Lord”\textsuperscript{260}</td>
<td>112 pesos (musicians)\textsuperscript{261}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1682</td>
<td>Holy Thursday</td>
<td>No musical expenses listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pentecost\textsuperscript{263}</td>
<td>No musical expenses listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corpus Christi (see below)</td>
<td>101 pesos (various);\textsuperscript{264} 112 pesos (musicians)\textsuperscript{265}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Processions to Our Lord</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notable expenses for Corpus Christi in 1682**

- 12 peso paid to the officiant, Juan Mateos, presumably sung
- 13 pesos for 16 hatchets (Achas [hachas]) rented and used during the vespers, the main feast day, and octave
- 20 pesos for palm and kindling sticks (Ramos y mayas) used to adorn the chapel and festivals during the Octave
- 22 pesos for the peones who transported the adornments and carpets during the Octave

1683 and 1684\textsuperscript{266}

Unspecified

437 pesos, 2 reales (musicians);\textsuperscript{267} 127 pesos (organist);\textsuperscript{268} 80 pesos, 2 reales (4 masses)\textsuperscript{269}

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\textsuperscript{256} Cristóbal Romero (served as the maestro de capilla of the Lima Cathedral between 1765 and 1776.

\textsuperscript{257} Leg. 64:36 (1788-1791) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).

\textsuperscript{258} From November through June 1791.

\textsuperscript{259} Leg. 48:20 (1682-1688) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 8-15.

\textsuperscript{260} Salidas de n° amo.

\textsuperscript{261} Paid to a Don Luis de Aguilar for six months of service completed by the end of 1681.

\textsuperscript{262} For 6 months of service completed by the end of 1681.

\textsuperscript{263} (dia de Casimodo).

\textsuperscript{264} Salidas, twenty-five pesos, twenty-three pesos, twenty pesos, nine pesos, twenty pesos, and eighteen pesos paid for unspecified purposes on 18 June, 15 July, 6 August, an undated event, 27 September, and 20 October, respectively.

\textsuperscript{265} For six months of service through the end of 1682.

\textsuperscript{266} Leg. 48:24 (1685) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
Masses and other expenses for festivals in 1685:\textsuperscript{270}
3,952 pesos total spent for Corpus Christi, the octave of Corpus Christi, processions, masses, Pentecost “and other expenses pertinent to festivals of Divine Worship”:
156 pesos for the festival, procession, and octave of Corpus Christi (1684)
156 pesos for the festival, procession, and octave of Corpus Christi (1689)
168 pesos for the festival, procession (\textit{?}), and octave of Corpus Christi (1689)
156 pesos for the festival, procession (\textit{?}), and octave of Corpus Christi (1690)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notable expense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1760-1762</td>
<td>1760 through 1762, 1763\textsuperscript{271}</td>
<td>298 pesos (music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td>Opening of the cathedral’s sanctuary\textsuperscript{272} (see below)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Notable expenses for the festivities of the opening of the cathedral’s sanctuary in 1763</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27 pesos, 4 reales for the shawms used in the procession and festival</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75 pesos for the fireworks used in the 3 gatherings of unnamed confraternities during the procession and festival \textit{(por los tres cavildos para la noche del 23 y demas Fuegos dela Procesion, y fiesta)}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50 pesos to the chapel master \textit{(maestro de capilla)} Cristobal Romero for music during the procession and fiesta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{Confraternity of Our Lady of Blessed Souls (Nuestra Señora de las Benditas Animas)}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notable expense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1758\textsuperscript{273}</td>
<td>(Christmas?) Novena</td>
<td>2 pesos (singing chaplains); 4 reales (each; sub cantor and organist); 1 peso, 2 reales (choir boy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1762\textsuperscript{274}</td>
<td>(Christmas?) Novena</td>
<td>3 pesos, 4 reales (organist)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{Confraternity of Saint Joseph (San José)}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notable expense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\textsuperscript{267} Unspecified service between the end of June 1682 and the end of December 1684.
\textsuperscript{268} Paid to a Don Luis de Aguilar.
\textsuperscript{269} Paid to the dean and ecclesiastical council (\textit{Benerable dean y Cauildo}) for two masses during memorials for dead members, and two during the octave of Corpus Christi.
\textsuperscript{270} Leg. 48:25 (1690-1693) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 79-82 \textit{(Datta de misas y otras gastos que se han hecho para la celebracion delas fiestas del Señor)}.
\textsuperscript{271} Leg. 48:36 (1672) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías). The records from 1763 appear to have been retroactively appended to the document bundle.
\textsuperscript{272} \textit{(Estreno del sagrario)}.
\textsuperscript{273} Leg. 12:44 (1760/1761) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\textsuperscript{274} Leg. 12:45 (1763) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (1692-1699)</th>
<th>Festival Dates</th>
<th>Festival</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1692&lt;sup&gt;275&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>5 April 1693 through 5 April 1696&lt;sup&gt;277&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Principal festival&lt;sup&gt;278&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>10 pesos (illumination and ringing)&lt;sup&gt;276&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Saint Elizabeth (Santa Ysabel)</td>
<td>No musical expenses listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Saint Rose (Santa Rossa)</td>
<td>No musical expenses listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>No musical expenses listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Conception of Mary (La Concepcion)</td>
<td>No musical expenses listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 April 1693 through 5 April 1694</td>
<td>12 pesos (shawmer, drummer, and trumpeter)&lt;sup&gt;279&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 April 1694 through 5 April 1695</td>
<td>12 pesos (shawmer, drummer, and trumpeter)</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 April 1695 through 5 April 1696</td>
<td>12 pesos (shawmer, drummer, and trumpeter)</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>6 pesos (sacristan)&lt;sup&gt;280&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 April 1696 through 5 April 1697</td>
<td>16 pesos (shawmer, drummer, and trumpeter)</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>10 pesos (sacristan)&lt;sup&gt;282&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 April 1697 through 5 April 1698</td>
<td>16 pesos (shawmer, drummer, and trumpeter)</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>10 pesos (sacristan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 April 1698 through 5 April 1699</td>
<td>16 pesos (shawmer, drummer, and trumpeter)</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>10 pesos (sacristan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 April 1699 through 5 April 1700&lt;sup&gt;283&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>16 pesos (shawmer, drummer, and trumpeter)</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>10 pesos (sacristan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Archival Sources III: Concerted Music from the Cathedral**

<sup>275</sup> Leg. 35:15 (1692-93) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 28, 37.

<sup>276</sup> This was a retroactive payment for the 1691 candle illumination of the Cathedral and ringing of the bells (Luminarias y Repique de Campanas), likely during Vespers (see the entry for 5 April 1695 through 5 April 1696).

<sup>277</sup> Leg. 35:18 (1696-1697) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 6, 9, 10.

<sup>278</sup> (Ssro, Santísimo Santo, or Saint Joseph); the same abbreviations were used in 1694 and 1695.

<sup>279</sup> Paid to a father Sebastián (Seuastian) de Bustamente for music during Vespers; these instruments were also used during the Vespers for the same festival in 1694 and 1695, and the fees was presumably paid to the same person.

<sup>280</sup> During the ringing of the Cathedral bells during Vespers.

<sup>281</sup> Leg. 35:19 (1699-1700) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 7, 8, 10, 11, 13.

<sup>282</sup> During the ringing of the Cathedral bells.

<sup>283</sup> Leg. 35:20 (1701) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fol. 7.
The performance of concerted music from the cathedral, closely following the styles and contexts of European concert music and concerted vocal music, and requiring a specialized pool of musicians and frequently imported instruments, was rare, and limited to the most affluent confraternities or especially important events such as titular and main festivals, and yearly memorials. This rarity, coupled with the overt adherence to European styles, and requirement of specialized musicians to perform it, resulted in its high degree of cultural capital among those acculturated to Hispanic modes of behavior, and benefited the confraternities that were able to bear the financial burden of patronizing orchestrated music in the European tradition (in addition to the already heavy financial burdens of festivals if performed in those contexts).

According to Juan Carlos Estenssoro, author of the most recent catalogue of the cathedral’s musical archives, the extant sources from Lima give us a distorted image of the city’s past repertory (with a heavy presence of the works of Spanish composers), since copies of works used extensively would have deteriorated and been lost. Moreover, most of the musical sources from before the 1746 earthquake that destroyed much of Lima were lost. Also, almost nothing is known of seventeenth-century sources of concerted music in the Archdiocese of Lima since Andrés Bolognesi, maestro de capilla of the cathedral at the turn of the nineteenth century, discarded “almost the entire musical repertory” in 1809 as “useless paper” for having been used so much, and there is no major inventory of other potential sources of seventeenth-century orchestrated music in the Archdiocese. Most of the music composed after the 1758 completion of the new cathedral survives, and is currently housed in the Archivo Arzobispal.

There is, however, secondary information that suggests the nature of seventeenth-century music in the cathedral, which closely followed cathedrals in Spain (especially that of Seville). In 1612, the choir was obligated to regularly sing works in three to six voices, “in plainchant or counterpoint, with or without accompaniment,” which “required a considerable repertory (masses, motets, canzonettas, villancicos, passions, and so forth) that could not be supplied solely by resident composers in the Capital” during mass and other religious functions. As with other seventeenth-century Baroque music, there was certain blurring of the boundaries

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284 Catálogo de la Sección de Música (typescript), Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (1999).
286 Andrés Sas Orchassal, La Música en la Catedral de Lima, Lima: Casa de la Cultura (1971), 183.
288 Sas, 184.
between sacred and secular music, which did not escape the notice of Church authorities preoccupied with the influences of the profane. In 1675, for example, Archbishop Juan de Almoguera y Ramírez (1674-1676) ordered that during Holy Week and “other solemn festivals,” worshippers were to sing in plainchant only, prohibiting “romances, villancicos, and chanzonetas,” as well as stringed instruments, but his successor, Melchor de Liñan y Cisneros (1677-1708) overturned these prohibitions.\footnote{289}

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, under the direction of Roque Ceruti (1683-1760), arriving as part of the incoming viceroy’s entourage (Manuel de Oms y Santa Pau, the Marquess of Castelldosríus [1707-1710]), Italian influences entered the repertory, and the cathedral’s singers and musicians began to perform at concerts that the marquess and later viceroys patronized in the viceregal palace.\footnote{290} The composers whose works were performed according to an account from 1739 describing the music of the cathedral included Corelli, Bononcini, Fago, and Leo.\footnote{291} Most of the cathedral’s extant sources are from the latter half of the eighteenth century, and preserve the traditions of eighteenth-century religious Spanish music. Since the cathedral was the seat of the archbishop, then, as Estenssoro writes, “the repertory of the cathedral is, in spite of conflicts between the chapel masters and the authorities, an official repertory,” but also reflected the musical tastes of the city (if in distilled form).\footnote{292} Through these official media, in turn, the cathedral’s repertory was spread throughout the city, and the cathedral musicians found patronage from beyond the cathedral,\footnote{293} as my research confirms. This diffusion of music is also consistent with a dialectical framework of hegemony, as archbishops complaining of the influence of secularisms (often a proxy for popular culture, in which habits associated with subaltem strata flourished) in church music appreciated. For instance, in 1754, Archbishop Pedro de Barroeta y Angel (1748-1757) issued an edict prohibiting the use of “Sonatas, Minuets and other Toccatas” in Lima’s churches, since he considered them to be “more suitable for theaters and vulgar feasts.” However, Barroeta y Angel’s edict went unheeded, for the very next year, the dedication of the new Lima cathedral (destroyed in the 1746 earthquake) featured the music of composers such as Corelli, Lully, Galuppi, and

\footnote{289} Ibid., 185.  
\footnote{290} Ibid., 186.  
\footnote{291} Ibid., 187. Sas Orchassal listed a “Nicolás Pago [1674-1745],” but he is most likely Nicola Fago (1677-1745).  
\footnote{292} Estenssoro, 123.  
\footnote{293} Ibid.
Mondonville, whose works featured the very style that was the object of de Barroeta y Angel’s ire.294

Some Works Preserved in the Cathedral’s Musical Archive That May Have Served in the Celebrations of Its Confraternities

In the following analyses of the five compositions I will discuss,295 I draw attention to characteristic musical elements that conformed to the conventions of eighteenth-century European concert and concerted vocal music and contributed to the underlying message of the text. Through careful pre-compositional decisions (inherited from Baroque “commonplaces”), a composer of European concert and concerted vocal music deployed strategies inherited from Europe to reinforce the message of the text. In the context of Hispano-Christendom-come-ethos of whiteness, this means two things. First, as we recall that “unmarked” hegemonic identity requires a stable discourse of what it is not, the presence of musical instruments, performance practices, and compositional devices associated with European concert and concerted vocal music would have immediately contrasted with traits associated (in reality, or in stereotype) with “marked” African and indigenous music (both of which I discuss in Chapters 4 and 5). In prevailing colonial orthodoxy, the cultivation of European music identified patrons and members of the audience as “civilized” or gente de razón, which, in the same orthodoxy, meant Iberian and Creole Spaniards or Hispanicized natives, blacks, and people of mixed ancestry. Secondly, the musical results of the composer’s decisions as he set texts, preserving conventions that arose in European concert and concerted vocal music, reinforced the tenets of Roman Catholic orthodoxy, which, as I discussed earlier, constituted an element intimately linked with the emergent ethos of whiteness. For members of the audience, the ability to receive and correctly interpret the message of the text, and then react affectively (even if they did could not identify the musical devices used to reinforce the text), confirmed their condition as civilized people with reason; they commonly assumed that these abilities, conditions, and reactions (as we recall negative ascription) were exceptional among, not characteristic of, Africans and natives.

294 Sas Orchassal, 187.
295 Please view the appendix containing the edited scores I made from vocal and instrumental parts from the AAL’s musical sources.
I do not claim that confraternities in the cathedral necessarily used the specific works mentioned in this subchapter. In fact, none of the sources I consulted explicitly linked any musical work with any individual confraternity. But some of the works preserved in the cathedral’s musical archive seem more likely than others to have served in the celebrations of the cathedral’s confraternities because of correspondence in genre and context, dating, and to the cathedral’s musical resources, including concerted music. For example, the aria “Al mar” (Roque Ceruti), and the cantada “Aunque arrogante” (Antonio Ripa y Blaque), were all composed in commemoration of the Conception of the Virgin Mary, and were very plausibly performed during the festival of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady. Since this was the principal festival of the confraternity of the same name, during whose period of existence these works were composed, and since this confraternity had access to the cathedral’s musical sources, it is not difficult to imagine that these works would have been performed during the confraternity’s principal festival. Other works, such as the antiphon “Regina coeli” (Antonio Ripa y Blaque) cantada “De amor es encanto” (al Santísimo Sacramento, Juan Manuel González Gaytán y Arteaga), and the villancico “De un cazadorcito” (Antonio Ripa y Blaque), which were both likely performed during Corpus Christi, cannot as specifically be linked to individual confraternities, but represent the type of orchestrally-accompanied music common during the late eighteenth century and accessible to the confraternities that the cathedral sponsored.

* * * * *

Item 1: “Regina coeli” (duo, Antonio Ripa y Blaque [1721-1795], 1760s?), likely performed between Easter Sunday through the Friday after Pentecost,\textsuperscript{296} scored for 2 horns in C, 2 violins, 2 sopranos, and basso continuo.

**Text:**

Regina coeli letare, Alleluia
quia quem meruisti portare, Alleluia
resurrexit sicut dixit, Alleluia
Ora pro nobis deum,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Queen of Heaven, rejoice, Alleluia.</td>
<td>for He whom you did merit to bear, Alleluia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>has risen, as he said, Alleluia.</td>
<td>Pray for us to God,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{296} Leg. 28:14 (AAL, Serie: Partituras de música).

\textsuperscript{297} For this antiphon, these are not my translations, but standard translations; otherwise, all translations of the musical text are mine.
Alleluia. 

Analysis:

This short Marian antiphon seems to begin as a *Liedtypus* ritornello, but abandons this form after the first vocal period, and retains a through-composed form for the remainder. The text ("letare," "Alleluia," "meruisti," and "resurrecxit"), predomination of major modes (I and V), running sixteenth notes, and eighth-note figuration in the bass all support a jubilant affect reflecting the joy of Mary’s immaculate conception of Christ through most of the second vocal period, but slightly before the third vocal period, modal interchange to the dominant minor anticipates a change in mood. This is confirmed at the beginning of third vocal period, where the text ("Ora pro nobis deum"), prolongation of v, meter change (from 2/4 to 3/4), and longer note values support a severe, serious emotional state of supplication. The jubilant affect returns at “Alleluia,” which the animated violin writing, meter change (to a faster 3/8), and return to I reinforce. The careful correspondence of affect, meter, modality, and rhythm are all characteristic of eighteenth-century European concert music. Moreover, the florid writing of the violins, which frequently occurs as diminutions of the vocal writing, reflects the conventions of eighteenth-century European writing for concerted vocal music. Melismatic embellishment and epizeuxis (emphatic repetition) on the word “Alleluia” also reflects eighteenth-century conventions of concerted vocal music. Finally, the convergence of contrasting melody, harmony, and text as I have highlighted would have all strongly indexed the aesthetic conventions of a Euro-centric musical culture, in turn reflecting an audience already firmly oriented toward European social aesthetics.

* * * * *

Item 2: *Cantada*: “De amor es encanto” (al Santísimo Sacramento, Juan Manuel González Gaytán y Arteaga [1710-1785], 1762), performed during Corpus Christi,298 scored for 2 violins, soprano, violon, contrabass, and harp (basso continuo).

Text: 

Recitado

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298 Leg. 27:5 (AAL, Serie: Partituras de música).
Enigma del amor, sagrado hechizo inexplicable encanto,
Que el más sabio poder en el pan hizo la admiración embargan y el espanto.
¡que alumbre el sol cubierto de una nube!
¡que cuando baxa Dios, el hombre sube!
¡que en seno limitado quepa un Dios infinito en un bocado!
Imposibles son todos a que solo el amor halló los modos.

(Enigma of love, holy magic, inexplicable enchantment,
That the most wise power in the bread invoked, they seized admiration and fright.
How it illuminates the sun, covered by a cloud!
How when God descends, man rises!
How with limited hay, an infinite God fits in a bundle!
All are impossible, for which only love found the ways.)

De Amor es encanto, que el Pan sacrosanto a quien bien le pruebe con visos de nieve teñirá en carmín.

De Dios es hechizo que en pan contra hizo el mostrar amante brillos de diamante, fondos de rubi.

Cantada
From love is enchantment, that the sacrosanct Bread which brings good to he who takes of it With visions of snow to be stained in carmine.

From love is enchantment, that the sacrosanct Bread which brings good to he who takes of it With visions of snow to be stained in carmine.

From God is magic that in bread made against loving display of brilliant diamonds, backs of ruby.

Analysis:

As in other conventional European concerted vocal music of the eighteenth century, this piece demonstrates a tight correspondence between affect and rhetorical figures (in this case, antithesis) and deliberate use of musical devices to support the affect and rhetorical figures evident in the text. The text, through vivid and ironic metaphor, and perfectly germane to the festival of the Blessed Sacrament, juxtaposes Christian reflection of the redemption that humankind gains through Christ’s crucifixion with sorrow resulting from visions of morbid images of profuse bleeding from wounds to his flesh resulting from flogging. This juxtaposition begins in the recitado, with contradicting pairs of “que alumbre el sol, cubierto toda una nube;”
and “quando baxa Dios, el hombre sube.” In verses 1 and 2 of the cantada, the love of God and Christ (“amor”) stupefies the Christian into frightful enchantment (“encanto”) resulting from the redemption from sin gained through taking Holy Communion (“el pan sacrosancto a quien le pruebe”), and profound melancholy as the Christian reflects upon the physical agony that Christ experienced (“visos de nieve teñirá en carmín”). Verse 3 preserves the antithesis between God and His love and stupefying melancholic enchantment (“hechizo”), and redemption through Holy Communion (“pan”) juxtaposed with Christ’s torture, in this case, the loving sacrifice he endured as metal spikes dug into his back, causing profuse bleeding (“mostrar amante brillos de diamante, fondos de rubi”).

The melodic writing reinforces the antithesis between love/redemption and sorrow/agony in the cantada. Verse 1 begins with an ascending leap to “amor,” which contrasts with a descending, “sighing” acciaccatura that interrupts an échappée resolution on the word “encanto.” The “sighing” acciaccatura musical figure is a conventional motive that could suggest sadness in eighteenth-century European concert music, and occurs throughout this piece on the words that constitute the antitheses: “sacrosancto,” “bien,” “pruebe,” “visos,” “teñirá,” and “carmín” in verses 1 and 2, and more intensely on “es hechizo,” “contra hizo,” “de diamante,” and “fondos de rubi” in verse 3. In verse 2, musical antithesis is evident in the abrupt, descending leap to “amor,” contrasted with a staggered, conjunct ascent to “encanto,” which is further accentuated with a Neapolitan chord, while in verse 3, an abrupt, ascending leap to “Dios” contrasts with a staggered, conjunct, and sighing descent to “hechizo.”

The harmonic language also broadly reflects the conflicting emotional states of this piece. In each verse, the text first depicts God’s love, and ends with a depiction of the painful reflection of Christ’s pain. Musically, the support occurs through modulation; verse 1 begins in i, but ends in III, while verse 2 begins in III, but ends in i (thus forming a chiastic harmonic symmetry, another conventional musical device used to depict the Cross (in Johann Sebastian Bach’s sacred music, for example), with verse 1), and verse 3 begins in VI, but ends in III. A sudden move to i after verse 3 ends preserves the major/minor dualities observed in verses 1 and 2.

* * * * *
**Item 3:** Villancico: “De un cazadorcito” (a 4 al Santísimo Sacramento “para la Procesion,” (Antonio Ripa y Blaque [1719-1785], 1760s?), performed during Corpus Christi,\(^{299}\) scored for 2 violins, 2 sopranos, alto, tenor, and basso continuo.

**Text:**

**Estribillo**

De un cazadorcito siguiendo las huellas
Por montes, por ríos, por prados, por selvas
su amor y su gracia perdidos nos lleva.

(From a little hunter following footprints
through mountains, through meadows, through jungles
his lost love and grace and carry us.)

**Mudanza**

del monte amansando su gracia las fieras,
del risco venciendo su amor la aspereza,
del Prado alegrando su gracias las fieras,
del bosque a llamando su amor la maleza,
si alguno le viere las señas son estas.

(From the mountain his grace taming beasts,
from the crag his love smoothing roughness,
from the meadow his grace spreading joy to beasts,
from the forest his love summoning the underbrush,
should someone see the signs, these are they)

**Estribillo**

De un cazadorcito siguiendo las huellas
Por montes, por ríos, por prados, por selvas
si alguno le viere las señas son estas.

(From a little hunter following footprints
through mountains, through meadows, through jungles
should one see the signs, these are they.)

**Coplas 1**

Lleva en su aljava Plumas ligeras
Puntas doradas, volantes flechas,
Aves del viento le ves centellas
que al pecho tiran,
y al alma aciertan.
Si alguno le viere las señas son estas.

He carries in his quiver light feathers,
Gilded points, flying arrows,
Fluttering, you see birds of the wind
shot down in the breast,
and their soul perfectly struck.
Should one see the signs, these are they.

\(^{299}\) Leg. 28:30 (AAL, Serie: Partituras de música).
Los corazones vuelve en pavezas
solas las almas guarda en su percha,
y las estima tanto que entrega

Por sola una alma su cuerpo en prendas,
Si alguno le viere las señas son estas.

Coplas 2
He leaves hearts glowing,
He guards lost souls from his watch,
And praises them as much as he delivers them
For just one soul he pledges his body,
Should one see the signs, these are they.

Rinde con fuerte dulce violencia,
Pero aunque vence cautivo queda,
Sigue dispara rinde la fuerza
pero al rendido se da por presa,
Si alguno le viere las señas son estas.

Coplas 3
He conquers with strength sweet violence,
But although he triumphs, he remains captive
He continues shooting, vanquishing with force
but having conquered, he is himself captured,
Should one see the signs, these are they.

Analysis:

Musically, this villancico exhibits features common in seventeenth-century villancicos, such as triple meter, some hemiola (especially at cadences), mainly syllabic declamation, homorhythmic textures, and asymmetry between the estribillos and vueltas, and through-composed music not corresponding to cyclical repetitions of the text. This villancico amalgamates these features with eighteenth-century Fortspinnung procedures. The formal structure is that of the first estribillo, followed by the mudanza, which ends with a connecting vuelta (corresponding to the words “si alguno le viere las señas son estas”) to the second estribillo, which differs musically from the first estribillo (this textual and musical asymmetry falls within the conventions of villancico structures, and occurs throughout the piece). The first coplas follows the vuelta of the second estribillo, and after another connecting vuelta, begins the cycle again until the third coplas had been presented.

As the title suggests, this villancico depicts Christ as a boy hunter (“cazadorcito”), and the affect seems to be that of the inherent anxiety that the hunter experiences, through difficult terrain (“por montes, por ríos, por prados, por selvas,” in the estribillo, or refrain), while pursuing dangerous prey that could easily become the predator. The mudanza, as the term suggests, changes focus from Christ the hunter to Christ the redeemer of the prey (metaphors of
human sin and imperfection) he pursues. The *vuelta* (“return”) reminds the observant Christian that should one witness a figurative hunter in mountains, crags, meadows, and forests, taming beasts, smoothing roughness, spreading joy, and summoning the most alienated, one will have witnessed miracles of Christ. The three *coplas* (couplets) each depict a different stage of Christ’s hunt, and end with a reminder (the *vuelta*) to the observant Christian to recognize Christ when he or she observes the actions described in the text. The first *coplas* depicts Christ vanquishing sin through the metaphor of a fallen bird, while the second pair presents Christ delivering the souls of sinners to redemption. The third pair of *coplas*, however, reminds the Christian that through redeeming the soul, he has sacrificed himself.

The musical language supports the underlying pictorialism and emotional states of the text. The “plodding” bass line seems to suggest a tiptoeing hunter in search of his quarry, while the profusion of repeated two-bar motives with momentary caesuras on V contributes to a feeling of anxiety and anticipation. Melodic sequences (and the sense of forward momentum they provoke in the listener) occur at crucial points in the text. For example, in the first *estribillo*, a sequence begins at the words “por montes, por ríos, por prados, por selvas,” and reinforces the image of the hunt occurring across different locations. Also, melodic sequences occur during the *vueltas* of the *coplas*, which both create anticipation (to the repeated *estribillo*) and reinforce the message that Christian should remember Christ’s salvation and sacrifice through his crucifixion.

* * * * *

**Item 4:** Aria: “Al mar” (duo a la Concepción de Nuestra Señora, Roque Ceruti [c.1683/4-1760]), likely performed during the festival of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, to scored for 2 violins, 2 sopranos, and basso continuo.

**Text:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al mar al centro</td>
<td>To the sea, to the center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de las cristalinas aguas</td>
<td>of crystalline waters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dos precipitadas fuentes</td>
<td>two swift springs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se apresuran y no paran</td>
<td>rush without end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buscando aquella pureza</td>
<td>searching for that purity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[300\] Leg. 7:6 (AAL, Serie: Partituras de música).
espejo de luzes claras  mirror of clear lights
y entre verente armonía  and with awe-filled harmony
cantan las glorias del Alba.  they sing the glories of Dawn.

Recitado

Y al ver la celestial Albas más pura
orlada de esplendor y de hermosura
celebran de su alvor, el claro oriente, con vos de plata, y lira más cadente.

(And having seen the purest heavenly Dawn
trimmed with splendor and beauty
they celebrate her dawn, the bright east, with a silver voice, and most the most resonant lyre.)

Aria

Claro, brillar  Bright, shining
se mira encender  one sees her igniting
y en tal rosicler  and in such twilight
es gloria cantar  it is glorious to sing
del Alba el alvor  of the Dawn, of sunrise
por que hoy su candor  because today her innocence
se advierte que es mar.  announces that it is the sea.

Analysis:

The aria “Al mar” depicts the figurative marriage between God and the Virgin Mary, and the subsequent Immaculate Conception of Christ. God first searches for pure, crystalline waters (“cristianlinas aguas”), a metaphor for the womb of a virgin, and a pure, feminine reflection of his glory (“espejo de luzes claras” and “aquella pureza”) in the person of the Virgin Mary. After their figurative union, God and Mary “sing in the glories of Dawn” (“cantan las glorias del Alba”), or the Immaculate Conception of Christ. The recitado that follows elaborates on the divine conception (“celestial Alba más pura”), and the presence of a lyre suggests the love between the divine couple. The concluding aria intensifies the imagery of this union, with a bright aura surrounding Mary in the twilight as she conceives Christ (“se mira encender”), and confirms that Mary is the “sea” for whom God has searched. The use of “cristalinas aguas,” “precipitadas fuentes,” “pureza,” “armonía,” “celestial,” “vos de plata,” and “lira más cadente” contribute to a strong affect of unqualified tranquility and purity.

While the music does not seem to strongly support the predominant affective state as we have seen in previous examples, it supports the text at critical points as a reinforcement of
underlying messages. For example, the opening angular, assertive *Fortspinning* phrase of the ritornello that precedes and anticipates “Al mar, al centro de cristalinas aguas,” seems to suggest the search of a powerful, determined God (“precipitadas fuentes”). At these words, and a rare example of musical pictorialism in this piece, the two sopranos imitate each other in counterpoint with descending sixteenth-note figures on “precipitadas,” supporting an image of two swiftly flowing springs. Also, at the word “paran,” the sopranos’ lines (still in imitative counterpoint) momentarily pause at a caesura before they present the remainder of the phrase. Upon the words “entre verente armonía,” the second soprano begins a brief solo, followed immediately by a chordal presentation of this text with the first soprano, all of which reinforces an image of the Marian and Divine consort. At the appearance of the words “cantando las glorias del Alba,” the two sopranos enter a series of antiphonal and chordal passages repeating this text, highlighting the message that God and Mary rejoice in the Immaculate Conception.

The *recitado* follows the concluding ritornello of the preceding aria, and after further commenting on the beauty of the Immaculate Conception, it leads the listener to the *siciliana*. In eighteenth-century European opera, composers could use the *siciliana* in scenes to depict a tender, intimate, and romantic relationship, usually in a rustic setting, and as a duet. The musical reinforcements of the amorous emotions in this relationship could occur in the slow meters, low dynamic levels, and woodwind pairings. In sacred settings, composers could transfer this operatic convention for sacred purposes, namely to depict the marriage between God and the Virgin Mary, as in this example. As with other conventional *sicilianas* of the eighteenth century, this one features mainly conjunct melodic lines, minimal modulation, and the characteristic dotted eighth note-sixteenth note-eighth note patterns in 12/8 meter. The music also calls attention to important words in the text. For example, surrounding the first appearance of the word “brillar,” there is an ascending, imitative interjection of the violins. The two sopranos then alternate in solo presentations of the words “encender,” “y en tal rosicler,” and “es gloria cantar del Alba el alvor,” directing attention to the imagery of Mary’s aural glow at the moment of conception in the darkness of night, whereupon God and she rejoice.

Given the strong patriarchal nature of colonial Hispanic culture in general and the Roman Catholic Church in particular, I believe that a subtext of enthusiastic devotion to the Virgin Mary throughout the Spanish Empire was control over women. In this vein, pieces such as this, beyond the expected, ostensibly neutral narrative of the Immaculate Conception, could have also
served to reinforce colonial orthodoxy that presented the ideal Spanish woman as submissive, polite, and sexually repressed (in stark contrast to prevailing stereotypes of non-Spanish women, particularly mulattas, as overly assertive, vulgar, and licentious).

Another subtext could be the worship of women, but I hold that the *idealized woman* (from the perspective of elite Hispanic orthodoxy) would have been the object of this worship. In this context, Spanish women would have been “worshipped,” and deemed worthy of respect, while non-Spanish women, especially mulatta women (often stereotyped as seductresses whom Spanish men could hardly resist), could be argued to be less worthy of this elevation and therefore more appropriate objects of Spanish men’s sexual desire. This discursive dichotomy of the quasi-goddess Spanish woman as “safe” from unwanted sexual advances of Spanish men on the one hand, and on the other, less worthy non-Spanish woman (whose personal choice regarding the sexual advances of Spanish men could be even more disregarded than those of the Spanish woman) would have served elite patriarchal orthodoxy well. By dividing the unmarked Spanish from the marked non-Spanish Other, this orthodoxy would serve to “conquer” the female gender and preserve Hispano-Catholic patriarchy—the reader will recall my discussion of divide-and-conquer strategies of hegemons in Chapter 1.

Indeed, this orthodoxy affirmed the male gender as the aggressive one possessing the exclusive prerogative to seek that which satisfies him, choose the objects of his satisfaction, and then use these objects accordingly. In this piece (and typical narratives of the Immaculate Conception in the Church), God (a male) seeks a female he deems worthy of his satisfaction (basing his assessment on the singular criterion of her chastity), finds her, figuratively marries her, and makes her conceive his child. Mary, on the other hand, simply acquiesces to and even rejoices in God’s unilateralism, despite never having been given the opportunity to search for herself, select, and then decide what to do with her selection.  

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301 This immediately calls to mind the history of the antebellum southern United States. In aristocratic slave-holding society, white women were idealized as quasi-goddesses, and free from the sexual exploits of their husbands, while black and mulatto slave women (regardless of their marital status or personal choice) were considered to be appropriate objects of the sexual desire of slave-holding white men. As in the Spanish colonies, the female gender was discursively divided and conquered in elite patriarchal orthodoxy; in this orthodoxy, a woman’s status as white or non-white did not alter her subordinate status to men, while underlying premises of masculine of prerogative and feminine acquiescense were preserved.
**Item 5:** Cantada: “Aunque arrogante” (a la Pura y Limpia Concepción de María, Antonio Ripa y Blaque [1721-1795]), likely performed during the festival of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady,\(^2\) scored for 2 violins, tenor, and basso continuo.

**Text:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aunque arrogante,</td>
<td>Although arrogant,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>el dragon fiero quiera</td>
<td>the wild dragon would</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>severo, pretenda,</td>
<td>desire,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>errante, su luz, atlante</td>
<td>severe, conceited,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>travar violento,</td>
<td>errant, His light, Atlas,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo gran su intento nunca podrá.</td>
<td>to violently impede,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aunque arrogante, Although arrogant,
el dragon fiero quiera, the wild dragon would desire,
severo, pretenda, severe, conceited,
errante, su luz, atlante errant, His light, Atlas,
travar violento, to violently impede,
lo gran su intento nunca podrá Against the greatness of His will none shall prevail.

Pues, preserva Because, He protects
desde ave eterno, through the eternal phoenix,
Siempre esta armada He is always armed,
contra el infierno, against Hell,
y todo el cielo, and all of heaven,
su luz le da. give Him light.

**Analysis:**

In this *cantada*, the text depicts the devil, the wild dragon, desperately and vainly attempting to prevent the birth of Christ (“dar la luz”). The title “aunque arrogante” happens to be dependent clause, which seems to hint at later resolution. As the title implies, the text suggests an affective state of violent, but disoriented arrogance as the enraged devil resists and seeks to subvert the will of God. Words such as “severo,” “pretenda,” “errante,” and “violento” contribute to this state, while the use of brachylogia (the disjunction of those words), with apocope and aposiopesis (Christ, like an Atlas, bearing the burden of human sin, and God, realizing his will, both interrupt and finally supercede reflection over the devil’s rage) heightens the sense of the devil’s disorientation that his blind fury causes. The devil though, for all of his

\(^2\) Leg. 28:16 (AAL, Serie: Partituras de música).
anger and arrogance, cannot match the power and greatness of God’s will ("lo gran su intento nunca podrá"). Finally, the text confirms the omnipotence of the Godhead, whose resurrection and immortality (through the Son) forever arm the Son against Hell, and ultimately realize the Son’s conception and birth, thus forming a possible type of procatascene (delayed resolution of the opening dependent clause) on the macrolevel.

The music strongly supports the affect and messages of the text. The especially long, florid vocal passages, wide leaps, profusion of rapid sixteenth notes, and quick tempo immediately reveal the influence of the European *aria di bravura*, commonly used in eighteenth-century opera seria to portray rage. The wide leaps, rapid tempo, and flurry of rapid sixteenth notes of the opening orchestral period anticipate the entrance of the tenor, who immediately begins a florid display on the word “arrogante.” This arrogance, however, falters upon the words “severo,” “pretenda,” and “errante,” corresponding to the brachylogia in the text, and is further interrupted with longer note values upon the words “su luz, atlante,” corresponding to apocope in the text, which inserted the thoughts of the conception of Christ, the Atlas of human sin, within the staggered, arrogant display of the devil. The tenor once again attempts to return to consider the devil’s intention to forcibly prevent (“travar violento”) the conception and then birth of Christ, but reflections of God’s will firmly supersede all efforts against it (“lo gran su intento nunca podrá”) as the tenor engages in a substantially more elaborate, taxing display of bravura than that observed in the devil’s pompous, yet inconsequential conceit. After a brief orchestral statement recalling material from the first orchestral period, the second vocal period exactly preserves all of the textual imagery and musical support observed in the first vocal period (with brachylogia reinforced in an even more starkly inflected melodic line), and once again confirms the supremacy of God’s will. As if the listener did not sufficiently receive the message, the third vocal period fortifies the underlying message of the supremacy of God the Father and Son, who through immortality and omnipotence, forever neutralize the devil’s insurrection and actuate God’s will that Mary conceive and give birth to Christ. Musically, this occurs through a stark modal interchange to the minor subdominant and “martial” rhythms. Finally, although the orchestra has a caesura on F major, the key region that introduced the arrogant display of the devil, the tenor repeats the text “da la luz” one final time, ending on the first scale degree of the subdominant, and irrevocably asserts the finality of God’s will. This would also confirm the possible macrolevel procatascene of the text.
In summary, in this chapter, I discussed how confraternities served in the Church’s dual Christianizing and Hispanicizing efforts in the archdiocese, the place of confraternities in the emerging ethos of whiteness during the late colonial period, and how confraternities and the music they cultivated demonstrated investment in this ethos. From the outset of the Spanish colonial project, orthodoxies of what we now describe as race reinforced Spanish hegemony through efforts to normalize the doctrines of the Catholic Church and assumed unmarkedness of Iberian and Creole Spaniards.

In the context of racial miscegenation in colonial society, the conspicuous display of wealth and refinement constituted important elements in jealously guarded and contested criteria of Spanishess (and later, “whiteness”) among Spaniards and non-Spaniards aspiring to improve their social status. It could reinforce or enhance one’s social position, and ambitious individuals could improve their status (read: “Spanishness” in the colonial context) through the ambitious, but potentially economically disastrous position as a confraternity’s *mayordomo*.

The constitutions of confraternities sponsored by the cathedral (a bastion of Hispano-Christendom) reflected official Church doctrine and codified aspects of members’ expected behaviors in civilized society. Account books from the cathedral, while sparse and incomplete, suggest the types of music that the Church deemed appropriate, and documented material investment in the terms of colonial discourses of civilization. This appropriateness reflected prevailing orthodoxies that privileged Catholic tenets and other cultural activities associated with Europeans.

Finally, through analyses of representative musical compositions that confraternities likely cultivated, I framed the cultivation of concerted European music as one that confirmed one’s status as a person of civilization and reason in Hispanic colonial orthodoxy. In this orthodoxy, people of Spanish descent (and to a lesser extent, Hispanicized natives, blacks, and people of mixed ancestry), through positive ascription, were believed to possess the civilization and reason required to occupy privileged strata. Conversely, in this orthodoxy, the masses of blacks and natives, through negative ascription, were believed to normally lack these traits, and therefore naturally occupied the lower echelons of colonial society.
As I discuss in the following chapters, however, natives, and black and mulattos did not passively acquiesce to prevailing attitudes of what we now describe as race. On the contrary, I will show that natives, blacks, and mulattos responded to the conditions of colonial society in complex, often contradictory ways, and the confraternities and musical life in these confraternities defy homogeneous interpretations of subalternity.
Chapter 4
Indigenous, Black, and Mulatto
Confraternities in Lima and Nearby Vicinities
(Cofradías de indios, de naturales, de negros, de negros bozales, de morenos, de mulatos, de pardos)

Introduction

In this chapter, I return to the difficulties of reconstructing the musical life of confraternities in general and those of natives, blacks, and mulattos in particular given the scattered, incomplete, and inconsistent nature of available sources. Although presently available sources suggest broad (public) conformity with other confraternities throughout the archdiocese, they are notably sparse for black and mulatto confraternities. I also consider natives in colonial orthodoxy. The vibrant musical lifewithin confraternities (particularly that in the Confraternity of Our Lady of Copacabana) in Lima and beyond resoundingly contradict the stereotypes in this orthodoxy, as I show when I discuss indigenous confraternities in Lima and nearby vicinities and the archival records for these confraternities. Later, I discuss blacks and mulattos in colonial orthodoxy, the Hispanic elite’s perpetual fear of their rebellion, and attempts to monitor and control their music as a means to prevent rebellion. I then consider natives, blacks, and mulattos in public displays of power as symbolic control over these populations. Finally, I discuss black and mulatto confraternities in Lima and the archival records for these confraternities.

Teresa Egovil writes that confraternities had a “tight relationship with the Church,” with the prior and chaplain presiding over the assemblies or councils (cabildos) of confraternities, strongly influencing the administrative and economic operation of the institution, and ensuring that the confraternity functioned in conformity with Church doctrine. The confraternity also “put itself in all social sectors, constituting a direct link between the public and the cleric.” Confraternity members became recognized and gained prestige within and beyond their social groups, particularly through their participation in the principal festivals. Meanwhile, the cleric acquired “not only economic security for the maintenance of the rites,” but also invested heavily in the conversion of natives to the Catholic faith. The confraternities of black slaves allowed
temporary escape from their masters, and also provided them cover to practice rituals rooted in black African traditions that they could not safely practice in public.  

Egovil also writes that originally, confraternities of Spaniards accepted natives who had converted to Christianity, mainly in guilds, but that natives soon began to form their own confraternities, whose pious nature was evident in their written constitutions. Spanish priests assisted these natives in going before ecclesiastical authorities to request permission to form confraternities. Each convent in general, would form at least one indigenous confraternity, which provided manual labor, particularly for the construction, improvement, and maintenance of Church properties. Most constitutions for indigenous confraternities strictly limited membership to natives, specifically excluding mestizos, zambos, and others not of purely indigenous ancestry.

I should note here that confraternities associated with particular racial designations did not invariably restrict membership on this basis, but all executive decisions (including those involving the planning for religious festivals) and voting power remained the exclusive privilege of the confraternity’s defining group. In essence, even in multiracial confraternities, the activities effectively represented those of the groups associated with them. Indigenous confraternities seem to have been unique in excluding those of non-pure indigenous ancestry from their rosters, even as subordinate members. This might have at least partially been a protection against rampant exploitation of natives by non-natives. For example, in 1642, the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Candelaria (Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria) in the Convent of Saint Francis (San Francisco) filed a petition to the archbishop against a Doña Petronilla de la Cuba, a Spanish woman, for the return of the clothing and image of the infant Jesus that she had stolen by breaking the lock of the chapel where the image was guarded, to have her cease interfering in the affairs of the confraternity and its mayordomos, and to have her stop trying to enter as a member, since “she [was] a Spaniard and this confraternity [was] only for Indians” (ella es española y esta cofradía es solo para indios).

Confraternities were quickly formed in Lima; by 1541, fewer than five years after the city’s foundation, the Convent of Saint Dominic (Santo Domingo) already had four

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304 In historical documents, the term convento could donate either a convent, or a monastery.
305 Ibid., 79.
306 Leg. 6:14 (1642) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
confraternities under the patronage of Our Lady of the Rosary (Nuestra Señora del Rosario), one each for Spaniards, natives, blacks, and mulattos. By 1585, there were twenty-three confraternities in the city. Seven were indigenous: Our Lady of the Rosary (Nuestra Señora del Rosario), Child Jesus (Niño Jesús), Saint James of Surco (Santiago de Surco), Our Lady of Copacabana (Nuestra Señora de Copacabana), Saint Anne (Santa Ana), Our Lady of Rest (Nuestra Señora del Reposo), and Saint James of El Cercado (Santiago del Cercado). Ten were for blacks or mulattos: Our Lady of Antiquity (Nuestra Señora de la Antigua), The Virgin of the Kings (La Virgen de los Reyes), Saint Francis (San Francisco), The Mercies (Las Mercedes), Saint Sebastian (San Sebastián), Saint Anthony (San Antonio), Saint Bartholomew (San Bartolomé), Saint Dominic (Santo Domingo), Saint Paul (San Pablo), and Our Lady of Holy Water (Nuestra Señora de Agua Santa).\footnote{Olinda Celestino and Albert Meyers, \textit{Las cofradías en el Perú, región central}, Frankfurt: K.D. Vervürt (1981), 119.}

The number of confraternities in Lima multiplied rapidly until ecclesiastical authorities began to limit the formation of new ones. By 1619, there were sixty in the city and nearby vicinities. In this year, of Lima’s 24,902 residents registered in the cathedral and the parishes of Saint Anne (Santa Ana), Saint Sebastian (San Sebastián), and Saint Marcellus (San Marcelo), 11,997 were blacks, 10,323 were Spaniards, 1,406 were natives, and 1,176 were mulattos.\footnote{“Religious Sodalities in Latin America: A Sketch of Two Peruvian Case Studies,” by Albert Meyers in \textit{Manipulating the Saints: Religious Brotherhoods and Social Integration in Postconquest Latin America} (Albert Meyers and Diane Elizabeth Hopkins, eds.), Hamburg: Wayasbah (1988). 9.} The tables below show the population of each racial designation present in the cathedral and the parishes, and the number of confraternities associated with each racial category in 1619 in the cathedral, parishes, monasteries and convents, and reductions: \footnote{Figure 19 in Celestino and Meyers, adapted and cited in Meyers and Hopkins, 9.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial category</th>
<th>Cathedral</th>
<th>Santa Ana</th>
<th>San Sebastián</th>
<th>San Marcelo</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>7864</td>
<td>2024</td>
<td>1163</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>11997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaniards</td>
<td>6253</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>1357</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>10323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natives</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulattos</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15643</td>
<td>4483</td>
<td>2892</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>24902</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Confraternity and racial category affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial category</th>
<th>Cathedral</th>
<th>Santa Ana</th>
<th>San Sebastián</th>
<th>San Marcelo</th>
<th>Monasteries and Convents</th>
<th>Reductions</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spaniards</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not indicated</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulattos</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table shows a combined list of the indigenous confraternities present in the Cofradias catalogue from the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL) during the sixteenth through early nineteenth centuries, as well as those listed from primary and secondary sources:

**Indigenous confraternities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church, monastery, convent, or hospital</th>
<th>Confraternity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catedral</td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de Copacabana&lt;sup&gt;310&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compañía de Jesús</td>
<td>Santo Nombre de Jesús Niño Jesús&lt;sup&gt;311&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Merced</td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de la Consolación de Utrera Nuestra Señora de la Consolación&lt;sup&gt;312&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Agustín</td>
<td>San Miguel&lt;sup&gt;313&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria&lt;sup&gt;314&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Jerónimo</td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de Copacabana Nuestro Amo (de indios y españoles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Lázaro</td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de Copacabana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Pablo</td>
<td>Niño Jesús</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Pedro</td>
<td>Niño Jesús</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>310</sup> Celestino and Meyers, Cuadro No. 8 (1619).
<sup>311</sup> Ibid., Cuadro No. 16 (1619).
<sup>312</sup> Ibid., Cuadro No. 15 (1619).
<sup>313</sup> Ibid., Cuadro No. 14 (1619).
<sup>314</sup> Ibid., Cuadro No. 13 (1619).
The following table shows a combined list of the black and mulatto confraternities represented in the *Cofradías* catalogue from the AAL during the sixteenth through early nineteenth centuries, as well as those listed from primary and secondary sources:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Confraternity</th>
<th>Confraternity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Santa Ana</td>
<td>San Joaquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuestra Señora de Loreto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo Domingo</td>
<td>Nuestra Señora del Rosario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Cercado de Lima</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copacabana</td>
<td>Esclavitud de la Majestad Sacramentada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de Copacabana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Agatón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Marcelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Santa Rosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús</td>
<td>Benditas Animas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Pedro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Merced</td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de la Piedad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Agustín</td>
<td>Santo Cristo de Burgos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Santo Crucifijo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santiago del Cercado</td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora del Pilar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Ignacio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San José</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Marcelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Santiago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlisted</td>
<td>Animas y Candelaria (Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de Zaragosa (Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús?)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Santísimo Sacramento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Apóstol Santiago (Santiago del Cercado?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Marcelo (Copacabana or Santiago del Cercado?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Joseph (Santiago del Cercado?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

315 Ibid., Cuadro No. 9 (1619).
316 Ibid., Cuadro No. 12 (1619).
317 Ibid., Cuadro No. 17 (1619).
318 Ibid.
319 Ibid.
320 Ibid.
321 Ibid.
### Black and mulatto confraternities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church, monastery, convent, or hospital</th>
<th>Confraternity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cathedral</td>
<td>Nuestra Señora del Rosario (de morenos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de la Antigua (de morenos y negros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compañía de Jesús</td>
<td>Santa Lucia (de negros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Salvador (de negros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Merced</td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de Agua Santa [Aguas Santas] (de negros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de los Remedios y Angel de la Guarda (de esclavos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de Loreto (de negros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de los Angeles (de negros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Salvador (de negros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Santa Justa y Rufina (de negros y mulatos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Santa Justa y Rufina (de mulatos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Agustín</td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (de negros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Bartolomé</td>
<td>San Bartolomé (de negros libres)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Felipe Mártir (de morenos libres [carretoneros])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>Fray Buenaventura (de negros jolofos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora del Rosario (de morenos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Santa Ursula (“de morenos, ““pardos,” negros criollos”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de los Reyes (de negros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Juan de la Ventura (de negros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Lázaro</td>
<td>Purísima Concepción (de morenos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Purísima Concepción (de negros criollos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Marcelo</td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (de negros y mulatos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Antón (de negros y mulatos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Pablo</td>
<td>Purísima Concepción (de morenos libres)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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322 Celestino and Meyers, Cuadro No. 8 (1619).
323 Ibid., Cuadro No. 16 (1619).
324 Ibid., Cuadro No. 15 (1619).
325 Ibid.
326 Ibid.
327 Ibid.
328 Ibid., Cuadro No. 14 (1619).
329 Ibid., Cuadro No. 13 (1619).
330 Ibid.
331 Ibid., Cuadro No. 11 (1619).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>San Sebastián</th>
<th>Nuestra Señora de la Victoria (de negros y mulatos)³³²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Santa Ana</td>
<td>Señor de la Antigua (de negros y mulatos)³³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Bartolomé (de negros criollos)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Bartolomé (de negros y mulatos)³³⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Juan Bautista (de mulatos)³³⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo Domingo</td>
<td>Jesús Nazareno (de negros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora del Rosario (de morenos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora del Rosario (de mulatos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora del Rosario (de negros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Antón (de negros y mulatos)³³⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (de negros y mulatos)³³⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora del Rosario (de negros)³³⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuestra Señora del Rosario (de mulatos)³³⁹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>El Cercado de Lima</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Copacabana</td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de los Angeles (de negros)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Natives in Colonial Orthodoxy**

The unprecedented speed with which European and African disease, the savage efficiency of Spanish weaponry, warfare among indigenous cultural groups, and post-conquest deterioration of the indigenous agricultural infrastructure, all combined to cut down and severely disrupt the pre-colonial societies of Peru. This led to a century-long collapse of the indigenous population, and devastated indigenous societies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Within the context of this devastation, the demoralization of the masses, which descended from peasants accustomed to forming the servile, agriculturally-producing base of labor for a

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³³² Ibid., Cuadro No. 10 (1619).
³³³ Ibid., Cuadro No. 8 (1619).
³³⁴ Ibid., Cuadro No. 9 (1619).
³³⁵ Ibid.
³³⁶ Ibid., Cuadro No. 11 (1619).
³³⁷ Ibid.
³³⁸ Ibid., Cuadro No. 12 (1619).
³³⁹ Ibid.
succession of rulers in centralized societies, contributed to colonial stereotypes of non-threatening, subservient, impotent natives. Amédée François Frézier (1682-1773), through personal observation (and likely conversation with local residents), articulated some of these stereotypes in his *Voyage de la mer du sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou*, which, as a military spy posing as a merchant, he undertook from 1712 through 1714 while studying Peruvian and Chilean defense fortifications. In one excerpt, he distinguishes the war-like Araucanians of Chile, who repulsed Spanish invasions into their territories for the duration of the colonial period, and passive natives of Peru, whom he described as “timid” and “limited in their own inventions”:

After having spoken about the creole Spaniards of Peru, it is fitting to say something here about the natives of the country, whom one distinguishes by the name Indians, whose ways are very different from those of the natives of Chile, about which we spoke earlier. Like the former, they are no less prone to drunkenness and the charms of women, and are equally without ambition for riches. But they are completely different when one considers bravery and boldness: they [the Peruvians] are timid and without courage; or remain clever, dissimulating, and sly. They have a spirit for the arts; great imitators of what they see, but more limited in their own inventions.

Stereotypes in this vein had directly influenced crown laws that established, since the sixteenth century, the status of the indigenous population as a dependent ward of the Church and state (excluding members of the indigenous hereditary nobility, *caciques* or *curacas*, who had the

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same legal status as Spanish members of the elite until the late eighteenth century, when their allegiance to the Spanish crown became seriously questioned during the “Age of Insurrection” from the 1740s through the 1780s in Lower and Upper Peru).

The Spanish crown’s revenue (in the form of a portion of all extracted wealth, the “Royal fifth” or quinto real) from the Viceroyalty of Peru and other American colonies derived overwhelmingly from silver mining, the over mining of which contributed to inflation and economic crisis in Western Europe between the mid sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Silver mining depended upon the mita from indigenous workers (who, with black slaves, also built the physical infrastructure of the Spanish colonies throughout the Americas), so that the Spanish crown’s financial solvency depended on an indigenous population available for mine labor.\footnote{Exports from plantation slave labor did not successfully compete with English, French, Dutch, or Portuguese plantation exports in North America, the Caribbean, and Brazil, so it was relatively marginal as a source of crown revenue, and the market for various agricultural products was largely confined to these colonies and developed with the commerce associated with the extraction of gold and silver until the late eighteenth century.} In order to concentrate widely dispersed natives, whose populations had been steeply declining, into manageable colonial villages, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, Count of Oropesa (who served from 1569 through 1581), instituted reductions (reducciones), or colonial indigenous towns. From these reductions, colonial officials, ranchers, and estate owners (encomenderos, later, hacenderos) drew a steady, dependable supply of indigenous labor, and ecclesiastics found a population to convert and acculturate to Hispano-Catholicism, which, in the colonial context, meant their subalternity and function as a servile labor force.

Of course, as we will see later, particularly in Chapter 5, natives did not invariably accept this arrangement and often used the rituals and semiotics of Hispano-Catholicism to refashion their own pre-colonial traditions and beliefs, as well as to refuse to become an accessible labor force by repositioning themselves as forasteros, joining the ranks of natives that maintained cultural and familial links outside of the reductions and beyond the ready scrutiny of secular and ecclesiastic officials. Regarding the syncretization of Christian rituals over pre-colonial traditions, Frézier writes:

La religion chrétienne, qu'on leur a fait embrasser, n’a pas encore bien pris racine dans le cœur de la plupart d’entre eux. Ils y conservent une forte inclination pour leur ancienne idolâtre: on en découvre souvent que adorent encore la divinité de leurs pères, je veux dire la Soleil. Néanmoins ils sont naturellement dociles et capable de prendre de bonnes impressions pour les mœurs et la
The Christian religion, which they were made to embrace, has not yet taken root for the majority of them. In it they conserve a strong inclination for their ancient idolatry; in it one often discovers that they still adore the divinity of their fathers, which I want to say is the Sun. Nevertheless they are docile and capable of giving good impressions through their ways and religion; indeed they are good examples before the eyes of observers, but since they are poorly instructed, and moreover since they normally show that that which they are taught is contradicted by their actions, which they keep from women, and do in duos or trios, they must draw from this natural proclivity, not believe what is said [regarding the tenets of Christianity], or [consider what they do] to be a harmless infraction.

### 4.1 Indigenous Confraternities in Lima and Nearby Vicinities

**The Reduction (Reducción) of**

**Saint James of El Cercado (Santiago del Cercado)**

From its beginning, the local magistrate (*corregidor*) administered El Cercado as a village outside of Lima. Later it was ruled by Bourbon subintendents between 1785 and 1821. And after independence, local administrators managed it as a district of Lima. Indigenous *forasteros*, fleeing the colonial state’s increasingly excessive demands of the *mita*, allotments of native labor (*encomienda*) and tribute, sought the refuge of relative urban anonymity, opportunities for remuneration, and access to Hispanic cultural and material resources present in the viceregal capital to a far greater degree than in other parts of the viceroyalty. The constant flow of scattered and unmonitored indigenous immigrants to the city and the attending problems

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342 Eguía and Michéa, 253.
associated with their neglect, worried officials.\textsuperscript{344} On 11 January 1568, the City Council ordered that a place near Lima be selected so that its growing indigenous population could be gathered and housed. Work on the new village began with the construction of a hospital, a church, and one house each for the ecclesiastical chapter and curate.\textsuperscript{345} On 26 July 1571, the church opened and the village was named Santiago (Saint James) in honor of the apostle’s feast day. But from an early date it was known as El Cercado (“The Surrounded”) because it was surrounded by high walls apart from two gates (closed at night to prevent non-resident natives from entering and allegedly menacing the populace) that allowed access to Lima and the surrounding countryside.

After the original parochial church of Saint James (Santiago) was destroyed in the catastrophic 1746 earthquake, which leveled much of Lima, the Jesuits served its parishioners until their 1767 expulsion from the Spanish colonies. During this time, parishioners recruited instrumentalists and singers from the Jesuit college, who were also recruited to provide “sumptuousness and glamour” (\textit{suntuosidad y realce}) to Lima’s religious functions.\textsuperscript{346} The village of Santiago del Cercado was divided into thirty-five blocks, and the properties therein were subdivided into \textit{encomiendas}.\textsuperscript{347}

Viceroy Francisco de Toledo had organized the \textit{mita} labor of other natives required to build Lima’s infrastructure and had determined the allotment of indigenous labor to each grantee (the \textit{encomendero}), requiring natives to remain in Lima under the service of their \textit{encomenderos}, and to perform domestic duties when not involved in building Lima’s infrastructure. But many natives disregarded the laws requiring them to live El Cercado, because by the 1590s many had property in the Lima district of Saint Lazarus (San Lázaro, a parish populated “mainly by poor people, Indians, blacks, and Spaniards, neglected with respect to religion”\textsuperscript{348}), ignoring royal regulations that they live in El Cercado, as well as direct orders to that effect from Viceroy Fernando Torres y Portugal, Count of Villar Dompardo. The Count of Villar Dompardo’s successor, Viceroy García Hurtado de Mendoza y Manríquez, Marquess of Cañete, executed the count’s orders through Juan Ortiz de Zárate, magistrate of El Cercado on 28 August 1590.\textsuperscript{348} An excerpt from the Lima City Council minutes of 18 January 1585, recording a visit from a Jesuit

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{344} Ibid., 203.
\item \textsuperscript{345} Torres Saldamando, 211.
\item \textsuperscript{346} Ibid., page 203-204.
\item \textsuperscript{347} (\textit{en su mayoría gente pobre, indios, negros, y españoles, desatendidos en el aspecto religioso}) in Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, \textit{Espacios de exclusion, espacios de poder: El Cercado de Lima colonial (1568-1606)}, Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP) (2006), 202.
\item \textsuperscript{348} Torres Saldamando, 205.
\end{itemize}
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priest, confirms the continued interest in concentrating Lima’s natives in El Cercado and indoctrinating them:

En este ayuntamiento entro el padre aguilar de la compañía de Jesus tratando de que se diese horden de que se reduxiessen todos los yndios desta ciudad al cercado pues allí se les da doctrina y enseña otras cossas de pulezia y se cometio a los señores martin de ampuero y luis rrodriguez de la serna para que traten dello u bean los medios que sera bien que se tome y con lo que se acordare se acuda a este ayuntamiento para que se bea lo que mas conbenga que sea tambien con el señor francisco ortíz.349

The Jesuit priest Aguilar entered this assembly asking it to order that all of the Indians of Lima be gathered in El Cercado to be indoctrinated and be taught restraint. The gentlemen Martín de Ampuero and Luís Rodríguez de la Serna, with the assistance of the gentleman Francisco Ortíz, agreed to attempt this or see what other means are available, after which they would return to this assembly so that it could see what actions would be suitable.

Two important buildings in the village, the jail and the Jesuit college for the sons of caciques, were emblems of Hispanic hegemony. Viceroy Francisco de Borja y Aragón, Prince of Esquilache, established the Holy Cross jail (cárcel de Santa Cruz) in 1619, to “correct the idolatrous customs that were still conserved among the Indians” (para corregir en ella las costumbres idólatras que aun se conserva entre los indios). He also founded the college of indigenous nobles (named “College of the Prince” in his honor), under the administration of the Jesuits since 1621, to instruct the sons of caciques in the Catholic faith and to wipe away the beliefs and “superstitions” of their elders.350

In 1630, Bernabé Cobo wrote that the natives in El Cercado were so well instructed in self-control and Christianity that they distinguished themselves among natives in the realm with renowned advantage (tan bien instruídos en policía y cristianidad estos indios que se señalan entre los demás de este reino con conocido ventaja). Moreover, both men and women fluently spoke Spanish and adopted the manners of Spaniards to such a degree that some also owned

350 Ibid., 211-212.
black slaves. Also, according to Cobo, El Cercado was an invaluable asset to Lima, since many natives sold their goods (including vegetables, fruits, poultry, eggs, and other agricultural products) in its main plaza. Finally, and particularly noteworthy to us, many were exceptional vocal and instrumental musicians “and perform[ed] a mass well in the same manner as in the chapel of any cathedral” (y ofician tan bien una misa como en la capilla de cualquiera iglesia catedral) and in the public streets of the village.351

In 1629, litigation between two indigenous confraternities appears to support Cobo’s assessment of native acculturation to Spanish cultural traditions. In that year, the confraternity of Saint Marcellus (San Marcelo) sued the confraternity of Saint Ignatius (San Ignacio) (both founded in the main church) to ensure that the latter would not put its sacred image in front during processions, because Saint Marcellus had the right to process first, as it was older than Saint Ignatius.352 This litigation certainly suggested the degree of investment and cooperation among confraternities in official displays of power during processions, and, likely witnessing the routine performance of these displays, Cobo must have felt secure in his positive appraisal of the triumph of Hispanic Christendom over paganism in the village, conflating compliance with Catholic and Hispanic practices with compliance in other realms of life.

But Cobo’s assessment of invariable indigenous compliance and assimilation was overly simplistic, since the jail for “idolatrous” natives was formed merely eleven years before his writings, and, eleven years thereafter, Hernando Julen, an indigenous man from the doctrina of Cajamarca, was publically lashed for having used fetishes (guacas), and having practiced and taught “witchcraft” “in the manner that was conserved in his town” (como tal guardaba en su pueblo) in El Cercado. Officials carried out Hernando Julen’s sentence of one hundred lashes “at the hour of the main mass” (a ora de missa mayor); and it was followed by six months of seclusion at the Jesuit College of Saint Paul (San Pablo) in Lima, where he was to perform domestic services, receive instruction in the “holy Catholic faith” (nuestra Santa fe catholica), have his idolatry extirpated, and beg the “Very Reverend Father Rector” of the college for “such pious things and service.”353 Many natives before and after Hernando Julen certainly met similar fates when officials became aware of their activities, but many also found subtle ways to subvert

351 Historia de la fundación de Lima (Lima: Imprenta liberal, 1882), referenced in op. cit. as Historia de Lima, page 206.
352 Leg. 47:4 (1629) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
353 Leg. 2:1 (1641) (AAL, Serie: Hechicerías e Idolatrías).
and reinterpret the Hispano-Christians’ cultural models present in Lima and nearby environs, in contrast to the pacific compliance and assimilation that Cobo described. They did this under the noses of colonial authorities and without having to flee to the highlands in order to escape “unilateral” Hispano-Christian hegemony.

When available, the records of confraternity members’ musical patronage seem to suggest a high degree of material investment in Hispanic society, since primary and secondary sources describing pre-colonialisms in indigenous musical activities in El Cercado, in Lima, and in other nearby vicinities, are scarce. This means that records of confraternity members’ musical patronage, particularly in the church and confraternity of Our Lady of Copocabana (Nuestra Señora de Copacabana) perhaps give us a distorted view of indigenous acculturation to Hispano-Catholic modes of ritual. I discuss more apparently “indigenous” elements in religious and secular ceremonies and festivals in somewhat more detail later, when I discuss these activities as symbolic modes of control of natives, blacks, and mulattos in Lima; and in Chapter 5, I discuss the indigenous musico-cultural traditions present in religious festivals in the outlying indigenous parishes (doctrinas de indios) in the Archdiocese. These musico-cultural traditions formed the context of the pre-colonialisms present in indigenous musical practices.

Archival Records of Indigenous Confraternities in El Cercado

Church of Our Lady of Copacabana
(Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana)

The nearby hamlet church of Our Lady of Copacabana was founded approximately contemporaneously with the village of Santiago del Cercado. The veneration of Our Lady of Copacabana began with don Francisco Tito Yupanqui, an indigenous noble of Incan lineage from the village of Santa Ana de Copacabana in Upper Peru (present-day Bolivia) near Lake Titicaca, who “burned with desire” to construct an image of Mary for a confraternity that residents in the annex (parcialidad) of Hananansaya had wanted to found in honor of Our Lady of the

354 According to Téresa Egovil, during titular festivals for indigenous confraternities in Lima, there were dances with people with costumes and masks before and after the procession, but she does not indicated whether or not these dances suggested indigenisms (Egovil, 60).
Candelaria (Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria). This image “would later serve to make followers forget the idolatrous cult that had been celebrated there during the time of the Inca, and integrate their descendents in the new religion of the ruling class.” Moreover, followers prayed to Mary, through the image, for protection against epidemics and hunger. Eventually, after having apprenticed himself for a number of months to the Spaniard master sculptor don Diego Ortiz, and meanwhile working with don Alonso Viracocha Inca, another indigenous noble, and the latter’s son, don Pablo, to construct the image, on 2 February 1583, the “venerable effigy” of Mary was accompanied in a devout procession in Copacabana. Soon thereafter, “the miracles began to take place,” attracting “the crippled, the lame, the blind, and the wandering sick” from throughout the Viceroyalty to the image of the Virgin, “dispenser of miracles.” Alexandre Coello de la Rosa explains the syncretic importance of Our Lady of Copacabana among the natives in the Viceroyalty, describing how natives reinterpreted and refashioned Christian imagery and rituals associated with the Virgin to conform to fundamental, pre-colonial practices, as well as to pious engagement with the new religious system, defying a static interpretation of either passive accommodation of Christianity or clandestine resistance to the same. He writes:

Desde el santuario agustino de Copacabana empezaron a dispersarse numerosas imagines copiadas del original para el culto privado y público. La fama de la Reina y Señora de Copacabana se extendió por todos los rincones del Virreinato, como si se tratara de un antiguo culto adaptado a los nuevos tiempos. Y en realidad debió ser así. De acuerdo con Thomas Abercrombie, la memoria social de los pueblos andinos no debe ser considerada únicamente de un sistema de símbolos y significados compartidos, sino como producto de la interacción y de las acciones comunicativas de sus miembros. Son ellos los que, más que heredar un pasado cultural y reproducirlo de manera fiel, lo reconstruyeron, contestan y revisa permanentemente a partir de una relación dialéctica que se establece entre colonizadores y colonizados. Para Abercrombie, las culturas andinas no eran sistemas semióticos cerrados, víctimas de la depredación colonial, sino sistemas culturales abiertos. En efecto, frente a la ortodoxia tridentina, los indios adoptaron sus rituals a las formas cristianas, sustituyendo las antiguas wak’as por los

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355 “Dicha imagen serviría para hacer olvidar el culto idolátrico que allí se celebraba en tiempos de los incas e integrar a sus descendientes en la nueva religion de la clase dirigente,” in Coello de la Rosa, 183.

356 Ibid., 183-185.
nuevos dioses cristianas a través de una acomodación a las estructuras del poder colonial.  

From the Augustinian sanctuary of Copacabana, numerous images copied from the original began to be dispersed for public and private ritual. The Queen and Lady of Copacabana’s fame extended to all corners of the Viceroyalty, as if it were treated like an ancient rite adapted to new times. In reality, it should have been that way. In agreement with Thomas Abercrombie, the social memory of the Andean populations should not be considered solely as a system of shared symbols and meanings, but as a product of interaction and communicative acts of their members. They are ones who, more than inheriting a cultural past and reproducing it in a faithful manner, reconstructed it, permanently challenging and revising it from the beginning of a dialectical relationship that is established between colonizers and the colonized. For Abercrombie, Andean cultures were not closed semiotic systems, victims of colonial depravity, but open cultural systems. In effect, facing Tridentine orthodoxy, the Indians adopted their rituals to Christian forms, substituting the ancient wak’as for the new Christian gods through an accommodation of the colonial power structures.

By 1590, “this accommodation also arrived in Lima,” with the veneration of Our Lady already taking place in the hamlet of Copacabana in El Cercado. Originally the image, which Diego Rodríguez had sculpted from Nicaraguan cedar around 1589, was an object of veneration among natives in the district of Saint Lazarus, but it soon was moved to Copacabana through a royal mandate. On 28 December 1591, on the feast day of the Innocent Saints (Santos Innocents), the “the upper part of the main altar in the improvised church that [Archbishop] Toribio de Mogrovejo had ordered to be constructed in El Cercado was deliberately uncovered.” The archbishop responded by ordering that the image of Mary be transplanted to the cathedral, but around 10:00 a.m., moments before it was to be transported, it suddenly became “copiously dirty.” The account of this miracle spread rapidly throughout Lima, and “Spaniards and natives from all corners of Lima congregated in front of the doors of the church to venerate the image of the Virgin.”

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358 Ibid., 187.
returned to the district of Saint Lazarus in 1617, later becoming the object of devotion in the confraternity of Saint Lazarus in 1741, founded by prominent citizens of Lima.359

Of the indigenous confraternities whose records I consulted, the Confraternity of Our Lady of Copacabana is extraordinary for the richness of its musical life, representing the virtual gamut of the genres and degrees of investment in musicians and other resources used in the yearly cycle of Catholic rituals. It is also extraordinary for its level of affluence and high degree of access to the elite of colonial society. The documentary evidence that I will discuss, recalling my musical analyses in Chapter 3, strongly suggests that this confraternity was affluent, and, given the colonial context, aligned with Hispanic modes of behavior. Although the available documentary evidence suggests a vibrant cultivation of especially extravagant music and pomp, even this evidence is scattered, incomplete, and inconsistent, and it provides us with but a hint of this extravagance and pomp.360

From a holistic interpretation of the sources that I consulted throughout my research, and given the conformity that the archdiocese of Lima and other ruling ecclesiastical bodies encouraged, I regard the musical life (and accounting thereof) of the Confraternity of Our Lady of Copacabana as representative of other affluent (indigenous and non-indigenous) confraternities in Lima and nearby environs in its cultivation of European concerted and concerted vocal music, but also representative of other confraternities in its public musical activities. The reader should interpret the following discussion of the Confraternity of Our Lady of Copacabana as a general description of practices typical of other affluent (in the patronage of European-derived music) and less affluent confraternities in and around Lima, as well as illustrative of the interpretive issues that arise from the scattered, incomplete, and inconsistent nature of documents concerning the musical activities of confraternities. The tables and constitutions that follow immediately after this discussion (and later in the chapter when I discuss black and mulatto confraternities) are individual snapshots that must be considered collectively in order for one to construct an image of the musical life of confraternities as they celebrated important Catholic rituals throughout the year and as the colonial period progressed.

One issue that consistently emerges is that, although the confraternity was founded in reverence of the Virgin Mary, musical expenses for the principal festival to her are not listed in

359 Torres Saldamando, 213.
360 Please view the appendix for a table of the confraternity’s accounting that I reference during this discussion.
all of the account books I consulted. We cannot assume that there were no musical activities, since the constitutions of numerous other confraternities stipulate that members celebrate the principal festival with as much splendor possible, yet in records related to the principal festival, the account books of these confraternities often do not mention the musical expenses, expenses for the central elements in this splendor. I found this gap between stipulations in the constitution and mentioning of musical expenses (or any mention at all of these festivals) in account books with any number of other festivals such as Corpus Christi, Easter, and Christmas. Since these and other celebrations took place with musical activities forming central elements, despite their frequent absence in account books, then, aside from evidence of substandard accounting, music must have been performed free of charge or paid in kind by members of the clergy, by confraternity members, or others entrusted with the coordination of musical events required for successful celebrations. Geoffrey Baker, for example, has documented where members joined confraternities as musicians and paid their membership fees through their musical services, and he suggests that “some confraternities were partially self-sufficient” in their musical resources. Moreover, as he documents, confraternities, sometimes paid their musicians “in forms other than cash” such as food and drink, and finally, he notes that “many mayordomos would have provided food and drink for their musicians at important functions without the need to enter details in the confraternity record.”

As I discussed in Chapter 3, when they mention music, virtually none of the documents that I consulted shed any light on performance practice or instrumentation, so we must infer that practice and instrumentation depended on context. For example, for the principal festival of 1606, the Confraternity of Our Lady of Copacabana paid ten pesos, six reales to a man named Simon, “master trumpeter” (maestro de trompeta) for playing during the vespers, masses and night of the feast during the illumination of the church (las Luminarias), and thirteen pesos, four reales to Juan de Caravasal (Caravasal), master shawm player (maestro de chirimia) for playing during the main mass and night of the feast day. For the festival of the Massacre of Holy Innocents (Santos Inocentes?, bien abenturados ynossentes) on 28 December it paid twenty-four pesos, eight reales to Juan Martín for the cathedral musicians who played during the vespers and

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Two years later, the confraternity recorded payment of twenty-five pesos for a sung mass on the [presumably principal] feast day, and six pesos, six reales for a sung mass, probably during the same festival. While this account is unusually detailed in comparison to those of other confraternities, there is no indication of the musical genre, or if the musicians performed solo or in ensembles. For example, although the master shawm player performed during the main mass, there is no way of telling during which part(s) of the mass he performed, which would more specifically suggest the genre of music.

In Our Lady of Copacabana, the use of instruments associated with conventional European concerted and concerted vocal music would have most likely directly followed the norms of performance and instrumentation in aristocratic European musical culture. Other instruments that show up in the confraternity’s account books, such as shawms, (corps) trumpets, and drums, suggest that, at least in public settings, musical activities also overlapped considerably with those of other confraternities throughout the city and outlying areas of the archdiocese. When Our Lady of Copacabana hired musicians to perform in musical events, they drew from a variety of sources. These sources were principally large numbers of musicians of unknown affiliation, musicians from the cathedral, and musicians from an unnamed (Copacabana?) girl’s orphanage (beaterio) by the middle of the eighteenth century. An earlier source mentioned above suggested that the Jesuits provided a large number of musicians to the confraternity, even though none of the sources I consulted explicitly mentions them.

Accounting from 1690 and 1691 is relatively detailed, but it still omits events mentioned for years preceding and following this period, further frustrating the researcher’s desire to consult thorough and consistent sources. During this time, the confraternity documented celebrations of Saturday masses and antiphons, the yearly memorial for dead confraternity members, the Christmas Novena, and the principal festival. Since the individual festivals differed little in the overall assemblage of musicians and non-musical elements contributing to

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362 Leg. 11:1 (1608-1615) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fol. 54.
363 Leg. 11:3 (1609-1616) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 25, 26.
364 Since colonial convents excluded women who were not publically recognized as Spanish from becoming nuns of the black veil after a brief practice of admitting mestizas from high-ranking families during the sixteenth century, beaterios were an alternative outlet for the piety of women and girls (as nuns of the white veil) from Hispanic-acculturated and affluent indigenous and mestizo families (see, for example, Kathryn Burns, Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru, Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), for an excellent discussion of this).
365 Although none of my sources explicitly mention Jesuits in regard to musical activities, this could have been understood.
the festivities, the expenses for the principal festival give us an indication of the investment of these resources in other festivals during the rest of the year. In 1690, the confraternity hired a drummer, trumpeter, and shawmer on the main feast day, most likely for the procession. On the other hand, the harpist, violinist, and clavichord player, who played “extravagant music” could have performed compositions from any number of genres of sacred and secular European concerted music. The expenses for the taffetas, 120 roses adorning the main altar, twenty-four roses placed in the niche devoted to Mary, four containers of powder, six cornucopias, candle wax for illuminating the church’s façade, fireworks and scaffolding, and two bouquets of roses given to the viceroy and archbishop all suggest an elaborate, sumptuous succession of events attended by members of Lima’s colonial elite. The expenses during 1691 reinforce this suggestion, for in that year the confraternity hired an organist, shawmers, a drummer, a trumpeter, a harpist, and a guitarist, and paid for fireworks and scaffolding, candle wax for illuminating the church, a cross held during the procession, pins to dress the image of Mary, and the candelabra that the viceroy held, presumably during the procession.

Records from 1728 through 1730 indicate a far greater range of celebrations than those from earlier and later sources, again pressing the issue of inconsistency in confraternities’ accounting: during this period, we see that Our Lady of Copacabana also celebrated the festivals of Easter, Saint Joseph, Saint Christopher (of Burgos?), Saint Anne Saint Rose (of Lima), Saint Marcellus, Lord of Help, and the pre-Lenten Godmother’s Thursday. In all likelihood, there were more. As in the seventeenth-century records, the confraternity typically hired a drummer and trumpeter during the festivities (likely for outdoor performances), and other, non-musical elements included fireworks and an ample supply of candles to illuminate the church façade.

Accounting from 1748 through 1754 shows a preservation of practices from earlier periods: in all records from this period, the confraternity held Saturday masses and antiphons, the yearly memorial for dead confraternity members, the Christmas Novena, and the principal festival. During the principal festival, the confraternity hired, as it did during previous periods, a drummer and trumpeter, and also recorded payment to shawm and/or oboe trios between 1750 and 1752. In addition, during each year during this period, the confraternity patronized music from an unnamed beaterio (headed by the unnamed Mother Vicar of the Choir) during Holy Week. The account books also record payments for music from the beaterio for

\[366\] Except for 1753 and 1754, when there was no principal festival.
most of the years during this period for the Saturday masses and antiphons, the yearly memorial for dead confraternity members, the Christmas Novena, and the principal festival.

The confraternity also retained its access to prominent members of Lima society, for in 1749, the confraternity recorded payment to an unnamed man who had delivered an ornament sent from the viceroy for the worship of the Holiest Virgin—the confraternity had also recorded expenses associated with the participation of viceroy and archbishop in their celebrations in 1714, but these were likely not isolated events.

Archival Records of Other Indigenous Confraternities in Lima

Constitutions confirm official support of Hispano-Catholic orthodoxy, and provide information on the types of music that embellished rituals of the Church. For example, the constitution of the Confraternity of Saint Agatho (San Agatón) in Huachipa (El Cercado) from 1679 called for the principal festival of Saint Agatho, during which there was to be a feast, solemn vespers, on the next day a solemn mass “with as much music and extravagance as one can perform it” (*con musica y mayor ornato que pudiere decir*), followed by a solemn procession, in which all members, including officers, were to be present. On the feast day, there was to be a memorial and vigil for dead members, and an offering of a goat (a remarkable, pre-colonial practice), bread, and wine. During the festival, members were to confess and receive communion. Shortly after the festival, members were to elect the prior, *mayordomos*, deputies, solicitors (*procuradores*), and other officers. Finally, probably sometime around the elections, two assemblies or councils (*cabildos*) were to be formed (one on two consecutive days): the first one to elect two ensign standard bearers (*alféreces*) in the celebration of Saint Agatho, and the second one to devise a plan to pay for the mass, sermon and music during the festival.367

A constitution dated from 1740 for the Confraternity of the Holy Cross (Santa Cruz), in the Church of Saint Lazarus (San Lázaro), written because the confraternity had been founded without one approved by the ecclesiastical prelate (*hordenário eclesiástico*), called for a solemn procession with the holy cross the night before the principal feast day on 3 May, which was to include a sung mass, a sermon, adornment of the church, chapel, and altar, “with as much

367 Leg. 10A:18 (1679) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
splendor as possible “ (con todo el lucimiento, que se pueda) (and for which all members were to be present). On 15 November, or for unforeseen circumstances on 23 November, there was to be a memorial for dead members, which was to include a sung requiem mass, responsories, vigil, and several recited masses at the altar of the Holy Cross. Although non-natives could become members, they could not be present during the councils or take over any of the expenses that the confraternity incurred. The confraternity was to have three councils during the year so that the mayordomos could prepare two months before the festivals of Corpus Christi, the memorial for dead members, and the principal festival.\textsuperscript{368}

A revised constitution from 1760 applying to the confraternities of Our Lady of Loreto and Blessed Souls (Nuestra Señora de Loreto and Benditas Animas, both in the church of Saint Anne) and of the Blessed Sacrament (Santísimo Sacramento, in the cathedral) stipulates that its fifty members were to be present for the solemn festivals of Corpus Christi and its Octave, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and the remaining festivals that were celebrated in the cathedral and the convent of Saint Dominic, and two general gatherings (cavildos generales) every year. When a member or his wife or widow died, members were to accompany the body to its burial with twenty candles (twelve for the wife or widow), donate one peso to the mayordomo on the day after the funeral, so that he could pay for a sung mass and vigil over the tomb and twenty recited masses the day after in the main altar of the convent of Saint Dominic (Santo Domingo), using any extra funds from the funeral for wax that should be used in the funeral or mass or for the burial of a member’s child aged ten or older. Every year there were to be two memorials for dead members (one in the cathedral, one in the convent of Saint Dominic), for which members were to be present for vigils the day before and after mass under pain of one pound of wax. For the festival of the Circumcision of the Lord, the confraternity was to have a Jubilee and mass at the convent of Saint Dominic and put the float of the Eucharist in the procession (el día de la Circuncisión del Señor se gana Jubileo en Santo Domingo, y se saca en processión el santíssimo sacramento), which members were obligated to attend (as with the other fiestas of the confraternity) after taking Holy Communion in the main altar of Saint Dominic. Every first Sunday of the month there was to be a sung mass at Saint Dominic, as well as a sermon and procession, and a sung mass on the third Sunday of April, August and December at Saint

\textsuperscript{368} Leg. 42:15 (1740-1741) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías)
Dominic. For the feast of Saint Thomas Aquinas, members were to carry his image in procession with twenty candles given at Saint Dominic under pain of four reales.\(^\text{369}\)

Account books\(^\text{370}\) from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries confirm the nearly ubiquitous use of shawms, trumpets, and drums in festivals and processions, most often the principal festivals and Corpus Christi. Several seventeenth-century highlights from these books, however, reinforce earlier points I made, and hint at other aspects of confraternities and their musical life that I have not previously discussed. For example, in 1653, the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Church of Saint Dominic paid one peso, four reales each to the drummer and fife (pifano) player for performing during the vespers and feast day during the festival of Our Lady of the Rosary (Nuestra Señora dela Nabal).\(^\text{371}\) In 1654, the confraternity spent three pesos for the shawm players, two pesos, four reales for the trumpeter, and one peso for the fife player and drummer for performing during an unnamed festival (either Corpus Christi, or Our Lady of the Rosary).\(^\text{372}\) The use of fife players in consort with shawmers, trumpeters, and drummers clarifies one of the contexts in which these musicians performed, and marching outdoors during processions in this case.

Between 7 April 1656 and March 1657, the same confraternity paid two pesos, four reales to a trio of black shawm players for playing in the convent during the octave of Corpus Christi, and for the festival of the Rosary, it spent five pesos for the trumpeter and drummer, and one peso, four reales for a trio of shawm players.\(^\text{373}\) This is one of the rare cases where account books suggest instrumentation, in this case a trio consort. Account books typically list a series of musicians paid for the performing during the same event, but we cannot assume that they invariably performed in the same ensemble or for the same specific parts of events (even though such performances do seem more likely).

In 1658, during the principal festival, one of the expenses of the Confraternity of Our Lady of Loreto, in the Church of Saint Anne, was one peso paid the organist who played from the vespers through the feast day (including during the sung mass, performed during the vespers and feast day).\(^\text{374}\) Another account book from the same year records a payment of ten pesos to

\(^{369}\) Leg. 42:26 (1761) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\(^{370}\) Please see the appendix for the account books of other indigenous confraternities in Lima.
\(^{371}\) Leg. 39A:2 (1654) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 4, 21-22.
\(^{372}\) Leg. 39A:4 (1657) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fol. 11.
\(^{373}\) Leg. 39A:6 (1658) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 4-5.
\(^{374}\) Leg. 30:12 (1659) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 8-9.
the organist Juan de Vergara ("Bergara"), who played during the sung masses and antiphons to Mary. This is one of the rare cases where we have information that explicitly names the musical genre which musicians performed.

Between 25 March 1667 and 25 March 1668, some of the expenses of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Church of Saint Dominic were nine pesos paid to the black shawm players, trumpeter, and drummer who performed from vespers through the feast day, and two pesos to feed the dancers. I have already noted that when account books recorded the racial category of musicians, shawm players, trumpeters and drummers were usually black. Judging from the context of this account, the dancers were also probably black, and this possibility would also corroborate anecdotal accounts of the strong presence of black dancers in Lima’s festivals, which I shall discuss below.

Blacks and Mulattos in Colonial Orthodoxy

An anonymous article appeared in the 16 June 1791 issue of Lima’s El Mercurio Peruano, concerning the confraternities of newly arrived black slaves (negros bozales). Despite the author’s relative degree of cultural sensitivity, unusual for his time, the article naturalizes native and black subalternity through Hispanic Christendom. He suggests that natives and blacks accepted the God of their Spanish conquerors as the only consolation that they could enjoy in their defeat and subordination. Finally, he implicitly rejects indigenous or black religions as effective and legitimate traditions equipped to ameliorate the pains of life (conquered or not), and reinforces the prevailing stereotype of the passive native, and African slave resigned to serve his divine mandate. But as I will discuss, evidence does not support this unilateral, triumphalist characterization of indigenous and black conversion to Catholicism; instead it strongly suggests a far more complex, varied relationship between natives, blacks, and mulattos and Hispano-Catholicism. In any event, the author writes:

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375 Leg. 30:20 (1662-1664) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías)
376 Leg. 39A:10 (1667-1668) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 11-12.
377 “Idea de las congregaciones publicas de los negros bozales” (“Idea about the public congregations of new black slaves”) (N.B.: “bozal” literally means “muzzle”).
La Religion es el consuelo de los infelices. Á ella se acogen los mortals abrumados con la carga de sus miseries, buscando aquel alivio que les niegan los placers, las riqueza, y los honores mundanos. El Evangelio beatifica los padecimientos de los hombres, mientras la humana sabiduría no sabe hacer mas que exagerarlos, ó eludirlos. Aun las Naciones mas bárbaras en las épocas de sus infelicidades han recurrido á este mismo principio, y no han tenido otro consuelo que el de figurarse que la Divinidad Suprema se hallaba interesada de ante mano en la verificacion de sus infortunios. Los Mexicanos acometidos de los Españoles, llenos de terror por la novedad de sus armas y por el exceso de su Valencia, creyeron ser destinados á la sujecion desde muchos años antes por unos vaticinios sagrados. Los Peruanos miraban á sus Conquistadores como á unos Semi-Dioses enviados del Cielo, en esta inteligencia les guardaban fidelidad, les servían gustosos, y sufrían su dominio. Los Negros de Guinea, juzgan que la esclavitud es afecta á los de especie por un mandato espresso de Dios. Con respeto á semejantes ideas, que los elementos de su discurso, no es extrañar que todas las recreaciones de nuestros Bozales tengan una relación inmediata con la Religion: Lo primero que ellos hacen es unirse en Cofradias: estas los reúnen para el culto, y para la recepción de los Sacramentos: mantienen los enlaces sociales de sus respectivas comunidades; y les proporcionan la participación en general de sus recreos.378

Religion is the solace of the miserable. Oppressed mortals unload the burden of their misery in it, searching for the relief it provides from the everyday pleasures, riches and honors denied them. The Gospel blesses the suffering of men, while human wisdom doesn’t know how to do anything other than exaggerate it or evade it. Even the most barbarous nations have come across this same principle during their unhappiness, and have not had any solace other than to assume that Divine Supremacy is more interested in the proof of their misfortunes [than in helping them]. The Mexicans, attacked by the Spanish, and full of terror because of the novelty of Spanish weapons and for the excess of their power, had believed themselves to be destined to be their subjects for many years before [the Conquest] because of some sacred predictions. The Peruvians looked at the conquerors as if they were semi-gods sent from heaven, and, in this belief which they faithfully maintained, they joyously served them and suffered their control. The Africans from Guinea judge slavery to be a kind of purpose mandated by God. With respect to these ideas, as well as elements from their discourse, it is not puzzling that all of the recreations of our Bozals have an immediate relationship with religion: The first thing they do is to gather in confraternities, in which they join for worship, and to receive the sacraments. They also maintain the social links of their respective communities, and generally share in the participation of their amusement.

In contrast to the natives of the Americas, over whom the Spanish could claim the right of conquest,379 the initial capture of Africans primarily occurred not at Spanish hands or of those of other colonial Western European kingdoms, but at the hands of other Africans. Then Spaniards, rather than being able to assert the triumph of “conquest” over them, instead bought

378 Ibid., 114-115.
379 This is in overstatement of course, possible only through selective amnesia regarding the determining factors of Old World disease, military alliances with various indigenous groups, and African assistants present since Cortez’s conquest of Mexico during the pivotal stages of the conquests, in allowing Spaniards to overcome the disadvantage of their impossibly outnumbered forces.
and traded for these human spoils of wars and raids mainly under the initial control of African middlemen. Moreover, tropical diseases such as malaria, yellow fever, and sleeping sickness, oppressive heat, as well as the bellicose hinterland populations, combined to largely restrict colonies of Western European nations (and the earlier Arab merchants and slave traders) to trading posts and forts along the coast (except for the milder, less populated areas south and east of the Kalahari), until the medical advances of later centuries allowed for treatment and management of tropical disease vectors, and Industrial Revolution transportation and military technologies allowed for the late nineteenth-century “Scramble for Africa.” And even then, the conquering armies had predominantly African personnel. These conditions certainly spoke to their miraculous resilience. The ancestors of, or the newly captured among African slaves in Lima, had survived the African hinterland-to-slave-post march in chains, and the filthy, claustrophobic, and oppressively hot conditions mainly beneath the decks of slave ships during Middle Passage. Finally, the Middle Passage could last up to four months, followed by a possible stop in the Caribbean or Brazil to pick up more African slaves for which to trade and replace the ones that had perished en route, a trek overland through the jungles of Panama with newly enslaved Africans in chains, a re-boarding on Pacific Ocean ships headed for the port of Callao, the Lima slave market, and finally inferior accommodations in the district of Saint Lazarus. And yet most survived. The bellicosity of Africans and their resilience during their path to slavery, and the prevailing Spanish view of their Hispanicized descendants, who were widely considered to be intransigent and crafty, contributed to a colonial stereotype of blacks as difficult to control, and predisposed to endure inhumanly harsh physical existence, treatment, and labor. These factors were also used to justify the enslavement of blacks and the necessity to convert, “civilize” (pacify), and naturalize their bondage in colonial Hispano-Catholic orthodoxy. Frézier, for example, observed that natives were assigned to mine labor because it would have been more lethal to black slaves (which, unlike natives, cost money), despite their physical superiority over “gentler” (read: of “good” birth and breeding) Spaniards, who spurned manual labor, according to colonial orthodoxy, because the latter were both physically ill-suited and intellectually more predisposed to non-laboring pursuits. He writes:

Il ne faut pas trouver étrange que les Indiens gardent si exactement le secret sur les minières dont ils ont connaissance, puisque ce sont eux qui ont la peine d’en tirer les
métaux et n’en ont du tout point de profit. Il faut avouer qu’eux seuls sont propres à cet ouvrage, où l’on ne peut employer les noirs, parce qu’ils y meurent tous; ceux-ci sont robustes et infiniment plus durs au travail que les Espagnols, que regardent les travaux du corps comme quelque chose de honteux à un homme blanc: être homme de cara blanca est une dignité que dispense les Européens du travail des mains; mais en recompense ils peuvent sans rougir être petits merciers et porter la balle dans les rues.380

One should not consider it strange that the Indians so painstakingly guard the secret of the mines they know, because it is they who have the obligation of extracting metals from them, without any profit for themselves. It must be acknowledged that only they are suitable for this work, in which one cannot employ blacks, because they would all die; [even though] the latter are robust and infinitely stronger for work than Spaniards, who regard physical work as something shameful for a white man: to be a man with a white face is a dignity that releases Europeans from manual labor. But on the other hand, they may be petty merchants and carry packets through the streets without embarrassment.

Incidentally, pretension such as this did not escape Frézier’s notice. As I discussed in Chapter 1, Spanish subalterns probably did not generally ally themselves with other subalterns, because colonial orthodoxy, under the leadership of elite Peninsular Spaniards, held that all Spaniards in the Spanish Indies, regardless of socioeconomic status, could improve their conditions because of the privileges associated with Spanish heritage, and those who allied with other subalterns carried the distinct risk of being culturally and racially associated with them. One such privilege was facilitated by (frequently exclusive) access to occupations that avoided manual labor, but this also directly contributed to rampant Spanish vagabondage, since Spaniards typically avoided occupations that required manual labor, and even in this indigent condition, the symbolic (but not material) honor of Spanish heritage assuaged the psychological distress of occupying the material and cultural space that was the discursive domain of non-Spanish subalterns. More prosperous sectors of the Spanish population shared this disdain for manual labor, and proudly (or as overcompensation, in light of elite Peninsular disdain) emphasized the distinction of their Spanish forebears and elitist modes of behaviors, even if most of their forebears belonged to the same laboring subaltern strata constituting the realm of the majority

380 Frézier, 257.
of browns and blacks in the colonies. Frézier, a landed aristocrat (and equal-opportunist in his depictions of others), almost certainly regarded *parvenus* disdainfully, particularly when they, lacking the genealogical and cultural capital of the landed, titled aristocracy, mimicked their behaviors and pretensions. In this regard, Frézier described Peninsular and Spanish Creole colonists (the vast majority of whom were the descendants of people from the manually laboring strata of Spanish society) in caustic terms. While describing the Spanish Creoles in the Puna (the wide *Altiplano* plateau in the central Andes) as an exemplar of other Spanish Creoles, Frézier destroys any myth of nobility among those whose ancestors generally occupied the lowest rungs of European society with searing criticism:

If we then examine the character and inclinations of the secular Creoles, we find, as among other nations, a mixture of good and bad. One says that the inhabitants of the Puna, that is, the mountains of Peru, are very good in their social intercourse and that one finds very honest people among them, generous, and ready to render service, particularly if it serves their vanity and makes the grandeur of their soul burst through, which one calls in the country the *punto*, or the point of honor, which the majority regards as a quality that puts them above other peoples, which is proof of the purity of their Spanish blood and the nobility of which all of the whites boast. It is not until these miserable European beggars see themselves transplanted among Indians, blacks, mulattos, *mestizos*,

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381 Ibid, 239.
and other mixed-bloods, that they become gentlemen. This imaginary nobility motivates
the vast majority of their good deeds.

Returning to my main point regarding African slaves, many new slaves (whom Spanish
slave owners regarded as more docile and controllable than those blacks and mulattos already
acquainted with and acculturated to Spanish modes of behavior) internalized the prevailing
scornful attitude among their new masters toward natives. They did this without challenging
their own bondage, and effectively reinforced both the subalternity of themselves and natives.
Broad sections of the black and mulatto populations repeated these patterns of scorn and self-
subordination, reinforcing elite Spanish hegemony through divide-and-conquer. Frézier
describes this contempt and later mutual antipathy, and even suggests that, by contrast to African
slaves in other colonies who hated whites, those in Peru were allies with their masters in the
subjugation of natives. But within this tenuous “alliance,” African slaves were prohibited from
carrying weapons, out of fear that they would prove themselves to be less loyal than assumed:

D’ailleurs le parti des Espagnols se trouve encore en peu renforcé par la grande quantité
de noirs esclaves qu’ils font venir tous les ans de Guinée et d’Angola par Portobelo et
Panamá, où sont les bureaux de la compagnie de l’Asiento. En voici la raison: comme il
ne leur est pas permis d’avoir les Indiens pour esclaves, ils ont moins d’égard pour eux
que pour les noirs, qui leur coûtent beaucoup d’argent, et dont le nombre fait la plus
grande partie de leur richesse et de leur magnificence. Ceux-ci, prévenus de l’affectation
de leurs maîtres, imitent leur conduite à l’égard des Indiens et prennent sur eux un
ascendant qui nourrit une haine implacable entre ces deux nations. Les lois de royaume
ont encore pris des precautions pour empêcher qu’il ne se fit quelque liaison des uns aux
autres, car il est expressément défendu aux noirs et aux négresses d’être rigoureusement
fustigées. Ainsi les noirs esclaves que dans les autres colonies sont les ennemis des
blancs, sont ici les partisans de leurs maîtres. Cependant il ne leur est pas permis de
porter des armes, parce qu’ils pourraient en abuser, comme on a vu quelquefois.382

382 Frézier, 255-256. In the passage preceding this one, Frézier discusses methods of Spanish pacification of “non-
courageous” natives (“ils sont de peu courage”), a combination of armed coercion and empty promises (“les
Espagnols savent les apaiser par menaces et les amuser par de belles promesses”).
Moreover, the Spaniards find themselves again reinforced by the great number of black slaves whom they have brought every year from Guinea and Angola through Portobelo and Panama, where the offices of the Slave Registry are. Here is the reason: since they cannot have Indians as slaves, Spaniards hold them in lower regard than blacks, who cost them much money, and their numbers give them [the Spaniards] the greater portion of their wealth and magnificence. The latter, informed by their masters’ treatment, imitate their behavior regarding the Indians and assume superiority over them, which fosters an implacable hatred between the two groups. The royal laws are made as a precaution to prevent any liaison between the two. Because of this, black men and women are explicitly forbidden from such under pain of harsh reprimands.\textsuperscript{383} In this way, black slaves who are enemies of whites in the other colonies, are allies with their masters here. However, no one among them is permitted to carry arms, because they can abuse this permission, as one has seen sometimes.

In any event, the more intrepid among newly captured African slaves (to the extent that they could recover from the unimaginable physical and psychological trauma of their capture and exhausting journey to American slavery) certainly must have been deeply resentful after having been traded to slaveholders. Moreover, recalling and retelling the histories of their origins from broad strata of societies (in reality from princes to peasants) must have deepened the resentment. Finally, one cannot imagine the profound insult they felt while bearing the indignities of American slavery (dehumanizing chattel bondage, in contrast to slavery on the African continent, where slaves were more socially integrated and mobile) and laboring for people whose status they would have equalled or exceeded in their natal societies. The ever-flowing rivers of runaway slaves (cimarrones, the source of “maroon”) who chose to abandon the relative security and predictability (however brutal) of slave life for the even harsher uncertainties of life in a society with virtually no collective desire to accommodate either their freedom or their inherent impulse to survive, as well as innumerable acts of resistance and sabotage among slaves,

\textsuperscript{383}In colonial orthodoxy, zambos, the offspring of natives and blacks, represented the worst results of interracial mixing. On one hand, zambos were believed to have inherited the worst traits from both groups, but another possible subtext was that they represented the most intimate, humanly possible mode of indigenous and black [sexual] “alliance.” I have only briefly touched upon sexual intercourse (through gender) as a potential mode of hegemony, but ultimately, sexual intercourse between natives and blacks that resulted in offspring reduced the potential indigenous population for the mita and taxation. It would have also induced some indigenous communities to harbor black runaway slaves and servants who would have married or had other intimate relationships with some of their own. In all cases, Spaniards would have diminished access to potential sources of cheap labor.
certainly suggest that chattel slavery did not invariably break slaves’ resilience and pride. The “dangerous” mixture of resilience and pride, in a population that mainstream colonial society viewed simply as property, would form one of the fundamental threads of black/Spanish conflict that would weave itself into the fabric of all Spanish and other American slaveholding societies.\textsuperscript{384}

During the sixteenth century, Spanish authorities were particularly obsessed with implementing measures to monitor and control the activities of unaccommodating African runaways and insubordinate slaves, and of other slave and freeborn blacks and mulattos accused of being a danger to the realm because of their alleged proclivities to rob and antagonize natives and Spaniards. The same officials showed less vigilance in containing the scores of indigent Spaniards, also despised for their robberies, vagrancy, and abuse of natives. As a few representative excerpts show, the minutes of the Lima City Council throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries abound with discussions reflecting these obsessions, as well as ordinances and royal decrees designed to contain the perpetual actual or perceived black and mulatto menace. On 14 September 1535, for example, within nine months of Lima’s foundation, minutes from the Lima City Council already reveal the insecurity of colonial officials concerned with unruly, criminal blacks that menaced the nearby town, natives, indigenous lords, and haciendas of Jauja:

\textit{En la cibdad de los Reis catorze dias del mes de setiembre del dicho año estando en su cabildo e ayuntamiento…dixeran que por quanto en la cibdad de xauxa se fizieron ciertas hordenanças sobre los negros que en esta governación se metian e trayan de la cibdad de panama segund que mas largamente por largamente por ellas paresçe e agora paresçe y es...}

\textsuperscript{384} Runaway slave communities dotted the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, ranging from improvised, perpetually transient communities, to stable, centralized kingdoms that rebuffed repeated invasions from royal militias, such as the Kingdom of Esmeraldas in the northern Audiencia of Quito (present-day Ecuador) in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Black and \textit{zambo} chiefs, descendants of shipwrecked slaves from the 1570s that had conquered the local indigenous population, ruled the Kingdom of Esmeraldas, which became a magnet for generations of runaway slaves until the Viceroyalty of Peru finally absorbed it in 1738. Regarding the difficulty of maintaining control over African slaves in Lima, while searching through archival catalogues in the AAL and Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), I found numerous sources that referenced slaves who had turned on their masters (sometimes murdering them), and masters using the courts to induce their slaves to obey them, since the command of their personalities and corporal punishment proved to be ineffectual.
publico que los dichos negros fazen mucho daño e perjuicio en los caciques e yndios de esta cibdad tomandoles sus comydas e faziendas e faziendo otros malos tratamientos.  

In the City of Kings, 14 September of said year [1535], being in its assembly and town council...[members of the City Council] spoke about how in the city of Jauja certain ordinances were made about the blacks that in that governate that come in the city from Panama City and stayed for longer periods of time, and it is well known that these blacks do much damage to the indigenous nobles and commoners from Jauja, taking their food and overtaking their haciendas and mistreating them in other ways.

Colonial officials faced the perpetual threat (actual or perceived) of black and mulatto rebellion, which directly influenced the official measures devised to control them during the sixteenth century before the process of Hispano-Catholic indoctrination had taken hold. The contemptuous nature and bewildering profusion of these measures suggest that they produced unsatisfactory results. Noting the potential danger of armed blacks in the city, on 3 January 1539, less than four years after Lima’s foundation, the city Council passed an ordinance prohibiting individuals of African descent from bearing arms:

Estedia sus mercedes dixerón q. e por escusar latrocinos e Robose otras cosas endaño dela Republica q. e cabsan los negros q. e ayenesta cibdad por andar con capas y espadas e esta proyvido los negros q. e no traygan espadas e agora queriendo proveer enello mandaron que nyngun negro es clavo no ande por lacibdad ni fueradella sino fuese yendo consuno con capa ni espada sopena q. le puedan quitar la capa e espada [sic] qualquiera persona q. le hallare conello elo hecho tres dias enel çepo o le den cien açotes loqual man dan q. e se guarde encunpla por via dehordenança o como mas de derecho aya lugar emandaron q. e se pregone publicamente q. e venga anoticia detodos.

Today their graces spoke about how excusing the larceny and robbery and other things [increases the] damage to the republic that the blacks cause in this city when they go around with cloaks and swords. Blacks were prohibited from carrying swords, and

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knowing that some wanted to supply the latter [with arms], their graces ordered that no black slave go through either the city or outside environs wearing a cloak or swords unless accompanying their master, or their cloak and swords would be confiscated. Any person found with such a person would be put in the stocks for three days or lashed one hundred times. Their graces ordered that this ordinance be carried out and publically posted so that all would be informed.

Runaway slaves, the most despised elements of the black and mulatto population of Lima, were objects of open aversion among colonial officials, and the Lima City Council routinely dispatched royal militiamen (Spanish and black) to find and execute them. By 1548, runaway slaves had already become such a threat to stability that Lima officials authorized slaves and emancipated slaves to bear arms (in addition to the black royal militiamen, normally the only blacks that could legally do so) to execute them. Minutes from the Lima City Council on 26 October of that year foreshadow a regularly enacted policy of colonial officials to employ blacks to pursue and execute their runaway slave brethren:

En este cabildo se platico que por quanto andan muchos negros çimarrones Robando los camynos e las estançias e a los naturales e fazen otros daños por habitarlos, cometieron a los señores geronimo de silva alcalde/e Francisco de anpuero Regidor para que ambos o qualsquier dellos tomen y escojan hasta quatro o seys hombres que sigan los dichos negros e les señalen el salario que les pareciere por año…

Otro sy dixeron que por quanto los dichos negros çimarrones tiene atrevimiento de entrar en el pueblo de noche y de dia de yr a las estançias e fazen otros muchos daños para ebitarlos e para que sean hexenplo para los demas hordenaron e mandaron que qualsquier negro horro o escalvo que mate o prendiere a cualquyer negro çimaRon en el campo como en esta çibdad le dara liçenais que trayga Cap a y armas sin pena alguna e si los tales negros o esclavos mataren algun negro o esclavo que ande absentado de su amo de esys meses aRiba que demas de lo dicho…

In this assembly there was a discussion about the many runaway black slaves robbing along the roads, from the ranches, and from the natives, and how much damage they do when left alone. The gentlemen Jerónimo de Silva (alcalde) and Francisco de Ampuero (regidor) promised that both or either of them would find four or six men to pursue the said blacks and would pay them an appropriate salary for one year…

Another said that because the said blacks have the audacity to enter the town night and day, going to the ranches and doing much damage when left alone, and in order that they serve as an example to others, they will order any free blacks or slaves to kill or apprehend any runaway slave in the country or city, and that they will be given license to carry a cloak and arms without any punishment and that if they kill any black that is absent from his master for six or more month.

More affluent sections of Lima’s black and mulatto population also attracted the attention of colonial authorities. On 26 September 1622, the city revisited a sumptuary ordinance prohibiting black and mulatto women from adorning themselves with silk, gold or silver. These luxury items were beyond the means of the vast majority of members of colonial society and apparently in such noticeable use among the more affluent sections of the black and mulatto population that it disconcerted members of the Spanish elite who felt that such a proud display of wealth was a privilege that only they should enjoy:

En este cabildo se acordó probeyo y mando que el procurador general desta ciudad pida y suplique en nombre della al Exelentísimo señor virrey destos reynos se sirba de mandar confirmar los autos y hordenanzas que ay para que las negras y mulatas no puedan traer ni traygan seda ni oro ni plata para el adorno de sus personas y que as las que se permite traer mantos por ser casadas con españoles se mande que no sean de seda sino de anascote y otra cosa de lana y que no puedan llebar a las yglesia tapetas ni cogenes en que se asienten ni tengan estrados en sus casa con grabes penas con lo qual se acabo este cabildo.  

[388] Juan Bromley (transcriber and annotator), Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Decimo nono, Años 1621-1624, Lima: Concejo Provincial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre) (1962?), 401. I inadvertently did not record the year of this source’s publication. Similar conditions in Mexico City in the Viceroyalty of New Spain compelled the Royal Audience to pass an edict (unlikely enforced) forbidding black and mulatta women from wearing “gold or silver jewelry, pearls or clothes of Castillan silk, silk mantels, or sleeve with gold or silver borders, on pain of 100 lashes and the confiscation of their clothes, jewelry, pearls and the rest.” In Richard Konetzke, Colección de documentos
In this assembly it was agreed, secured, and ordered that the promagistrate of this city request in the name of the most excellent lord viceroy of these realms to order and serve the existing acts and ordinances that prohibit black and mulatto women from wearing silk, gold, or silver for the adornment of their persons, and that those who are permitted because of their marriage to Spanish men wear not silk, but anascote and another woolen article. Neither may they carry rugs or cushions to sit on them in church, or have platforms in their houses, or face grave punishments, with which this assembly finished.

From the first generation during the establishment of Lima, authorities were obsessed with unmonitored gatherings of blacks and their music, which colonial officials suspected blacks used in order to conceal their subversive activities. On 3 January 1549, the Lima City Council passed an ordinance prohibiting more than four blacks at a time from congregating for dances or any other reason. Members also reiterated a previous order prohibiting blacks from wearing cloaks and carrying weapons. Interestingly, council members suspected that they had formed an unnamed confraternity in the cathedral (of the Rosary?) in order to get drunk, but approved [monitored] congregations of blacks there on Sundays and festivals, possibly suspecting, considering the context of this ordinance, that blacks might have attended these gatherings in order to transport and distribute concealed weapons, which, in their drunken and musically-entranced state, they would more likely use. An excerpt from the minutes of the Lima City Council reads:

En este cabildo se platico que por quanto por esperiencia se a visto que de juntarse los negros en bayles o por otras vias esta cibdad e los naturales della Resçiben muy gran daño e conçiertan otros Robos e hurtos asi a sus amos como a otras personas e se enboRachan en especial agora so color de una cofradia que an hecho por tanto que Mandan que de oy en adelante por ninguna via se junten ny anden quatro negros ny dende aRiba en bayle ny andando por esta cibdad ny fuera della ny en la dicha cofradia sino fuere estando juntos enella y no por otra via en la santa yglesia desta cibdad los domyngos e fiestas de guardar desde por communion a hasta la mysa mayor e no dende
aRiba en ninguna parte del día ny de la noche so pena de ciento azotes a cada negro o negra e so la dicha pena les Mandan que no traygan ningún género de armas ny daga ny cuchillos ny tan poco puedan traer ny tener capas sino fuere andando con sus amos que en esta las puedan traer capas y no armas.³⁸⁹

In this assembly it was discussed how experience has shown that when blacks get together in dances or for other reasons in this city, the natives are greatly harmed and the blacks commit other robberies and damages as much to their masters as to other people. In addition, they become drunk under the guise of a confraternity that they have formed for this end. [The council] orders that from this day forth, no more than four blacks may go out to assemble, dance, or for any other reason either in or out of this city, or in said confraternity unless they congregate there on Sundays and festivals under the sponsorship of the cathedral of this city from communion to the main mass. [Otherwise, the blacks] are not to congregate under pain of one hundred lashes to each black man or woman. In addition, under the same pain, they are ordered not to carry any kind of weapons, neither dagger nor knife, nor may they wear cloaks unless they are walking with their masters, in which case they may wear cloaks, but carry no weapons.

“The Pacifier” (El Pacificador), Pedro de la Gasca, proposed this ordinance, with additional “severe penalties” for infractions including genital mutilation and death, which the Spanish crown approved, and which was “in force for many years.”³⁹⁰ On 13 August 1563, another excerpt from the Lima City Council details an ordinance prohibiting blacks from dancing in the public streets of Lima:

En este cabildo se trato sobre que los negros hazen bayles con atambores en las calles publicas desta çibdad donde Resulta que no se puede pasar por ellas e las cavalgaduras se espantan e suçeden otros daños e ynconvenientes e conviene se Recojan en partes publicas plaças atento lo qual se mando apregone publicamente que de oy adelante no bayle ni toquen atambores ni otros ynstrumentos para baylar sino fuere en la plaça.³⁹¹

³⁸⁹ Bertram T. Lee (transcriber and annotator), Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Cuarto, Años 1548-1553, Lima: Concejo Pronvincial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre, Sanmarti y Compañía) (1935), 55-56.
³⁹¹ Bertram T. Lee (transcriber and annotator), Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Sexto, Años 1557-1568, Lima: Concejo Pronvincial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre, Sanmarti y Compañía) (1935), 144-145.
In this assembly there was a discussion about blacks dancing with drums in the public streets of the city, where it turns out that no one can pass, the horses are startled, and other dangers and inconveniences occur. The assembly agreed to gather [representatives?] in public places [such as] plazas publically to proclaim that from this day forth, [blacks] were not to dance or play neither drums nor other instruments to accompany dance unless in the plaza.

The penalties for disobeying this ordinance were 200 public lashes and the burning of the blacks that made the drums, and the drums themselves.\(^{392}\)

**Natives, Blacks, and Mulattos in Public Displays of Power**

On the other hand, as a few representative examples below show, colonial officials acquiesced to and even encouraged music and dances that blacks, mulattos, mestizos, and natives performed, provided that they occurred during official public displays where authorities could view and monitor them. Superficially, the presence of blacks, mulattos, mestizos, and natives contributed to a highly desirable degree of “exoticism” (from the perspective of outsiders, of course) to these displays, and might have even suggested an incipient appreciation for multiculturalism, but more fundamentally, they were, from the perspective of Spanish officials, performances that communicated official orthodoxy of colonial rank and symbolic command over brown and black subalterns. In official orthodoxy, the public choreography of rank and status served as a visual and corporeal metaphor of colonial social hierarchies that placed Spaniards above non-Spaniards. As I described in Chapter 1, symbolic command over Spanish subalterns occurred more subtly, as “unmarked” Creole, sub-elite, middling, or impoverished vassals to the crown, rather than “conquered” persons perceived to be of “marked” indigenous or African extraction or countenance). Importantly, Spaniards could argue that indigenisms and Africanisms, which they perceived as “uncivilized” or “unrestrained,” proved the degeneracy, deviance, and abandon produced, according to their orthodoxy, by the less developed indigenous and African intellects, which further authorized Spanish hegemony. Certainly, brown and black

\(^{392}\) Ibid., 145.
subalterns consistently challenged and subverted these orthodoxies in quotidian and public life, but one could not easily dismiss the psychological effect when it was believed that they accepted the terms of their inclusion and participated in their own symbolic subordination in public ceremonies.

On 31 August 1551, the Lima City Council arranged to have costume materials delivered to the shawm players and black kettledrum makers (the kettledrummers were most likely black as well) as it prepared for the welcoming ceremonies for the interim viceroy Melchor Bravo de Saravia (deacon Oidor of the Royal Audience of Lima). In colonial society, to reinforce the performed message of their symbolic subordination, blacks, mulattos, mestizos, and natives would have typically performed in public ceremonies such as these in ways that clearly and markedly referenced their social group, which would have included costumes, styles of music, instruments, and dancing. An excerpt from the minutes on this date read:

En este cabildo se acordó por los dichos señores e mando que se den a cada uno de las chirimías que an de yr con la ciudad al dicho Rescibimiento a quatro varas de Raso carmesí y a los negros que tañern los atabales y para afoRo de los dichos atabales de paño colorado...  

In this assembly the said gentlemen [Jerónimo de Silva, Martín Yañez, Bernaldino de Romany, and Hernando de Mena] agreed and ordered that each of the shawm players that are to accompany the city to the said Reception [of the viceroy], as well as the blacks that make the kettledrums, be given four staffs of crimson satin, an additional red cloth for all of said kettledrums...

On 26 October 1564, the Lima City Council arranged for the costumes of the black and native trumpeters and kettledrummers during the welcoming ceremonies for the interim viceroy Lope García de Castro (deacon Oidor of the Royal Audience of Lima):

En este cabildo se mando que atento esta ciudad hace fiesta e Regocijo como es Razon por la venida del señor presidente e an de sacar al Regocijo trompetas y atabales y para

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393 Bertram T. Lee (transcriber and annotator), Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Cuarto, Años 1548-1553, Lima: Concejo Provincial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre, Sanmarti y Compañía) (1935), Bertram T. Lee, 434.
In this assembly it was ordered that, since this city is having a festival and celebration because of the arrival of the gentleman president, and that since there will be trumpets and kettledrums at this celebration, those who will play the trumpets and kettledrums should be dressed [in costumes]. [The assembly] ordered that the mayor of this city should give a shawm and taffeta hood to each of the blacks that play the kettledrums, and the same taffeta hood to the Indians that play the trumpets, to be paid for with the properties and rents of this city with the lowest cost possible. Everything was so done, provided, and ordered.

On 3 October 1608, the Lima City Council arranged for new cords (attached to horse blankets) that hung the kettledrums that blacks played during the festivals since the old cords had become old and useless. An excerpt from the minutes on this date reads:

In this assembly it was agreed and ordered that the administrator of the properties and rents of this city order corded, colored blankets for the horses on which the kettledrums hang during the festivals of this city, as well as costumes for the blacks that play them, because they [the present cords used to hold the kettledrums] are old and useless.

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Participation in these public displays did not mean that brown and black subalterns invariably followed official protocols even while this implied acceptance of the terms of the inclusion, and, as I discuss later, Lima’s black and mulatto confraternities gained a reputation for not participating in these public displays, and denied Spanish onlookers the opportunity to scrutinize them. Some subverted the symbolism of the public procession even as they superficially performed their symbolic subordination, or manipulated ecclesiastical orders to suit their own purposes. In 1574, for example, the black Confraternity of Our Lady of Antiquity (Nuestra Señora de la Antigua) filed a petition to the archdiocese against the black Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary (Nuestra Señora del Rosario) from the convent of San Francisco so that the latter would not precede it in processions, since it was formed earlier. According to the mayordomos of Our Lady of Antiquity, the confraternity had been honored and distinguished because of its age, and took precedence over younger confraternities in the procession of Corpus Christi. The Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary knew of the latter’s status, but had disregarded the archdiocese’s protocol for confirming Our Lady of Antiquity’s status by preceding it in the procession.396

On 2 May 1585, in preparation for the festival of Corpus Christi, the Lima City Council ordered that one of its delegates advise the magistrate of Ica to warn the mayordomos of the black, mulatto, and indigenous confraternities (which apparently participated in Lima’s festivities) that their members should follow official protocol, avoiding the deviations that they had been performing lately:

Tratose en este ayuntamiento como conbenia que se adereçasse lo neçesario para la fiesta del santísimo sacramento por llegarse el día y se acordó que los señores fieles executors entiendan en ello y hagan las diligençias que conbengan y que se haga con el mayor adorno que ser pueda y si pudiere sser sea mas de lo que se a fecho otros años e que se de horden para traher a esta ciudad a morales que esta en yca y que sobre ello se escriua al corregidor de aquel partido e que se aperçiba a los mayordomos de las cofradas de los

396 Leg. 64:1 (1574) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
negros y Mulattos e yndios que saquen sus danças como lo acostumbrado hazar otras bezes.\textsuperscript{397}

It was discussed in this assembly how it was fitting to address what was necessary for the festival of the Blessed Sacrament since the day had come [to do so]. It was agreed that the faithful gentleman delegates understand that and perform the appropriate formalities with as much adornment possible, and that it [the adornment] could be more than that done in previous years. They were also ordered to recall Morales, who is in Ica, to write the magistrate there to warn the \textit{mayordomos} of the black, mulatto, and Indian confraternities to do their dances in the manner to which they have been accustomed previous times.

\section*{4.2 Black and Mulatto Confraternities in Lima}

By the seventeenth century, Lima’s black and mulatto population was heavily creolized, and the threat of the numerically less significant newly arrived African and runaway slaves seems to have diminished, as evidenced by a decline in their mention in the minutes of the Lima City Council. On the other hand, this could also suggest the greater importance of religious authorities in facing resisting blacks and mulattos by the seventeenth century, as secular officials focused on the increasing challenges and requirements of administering the growing viceregal capital, the nexus of innumerable webs of commerce and government. In any event, as they internalized the orthodoxy of Hispano-Catholic hegemony to a greater extent, the lower sectors of the population generally resisted their condition in colonial society less openly (or colonial officials no longer took special note of their resistance, accepting all but the most virulent disturbances as a chronic state of affairs). As we will observe later, Lima’s black and mulatto confraternities, associated with more affluent segments of the population, developed a reputation for not attending the religious festival processions that colonial officials considered the most important, participation in which they had mandated in a number of archiepiscopal and viceregal decrees. These confraternities vexed colonial officials by not performing their place in official displays of power, and as corollaries, effectively undermined official prescriptions for the

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{397} Juan Bromley (transcriber and annotator), \textit{Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Decimo, Años 1583-1588}, Lima: Concejo Provincial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre) (1942), 343.
performance of their official colonial rank, and denied officials and others the opportunity to scrutinize and interpret their music as a metaphor for prevailing stereotypes in the most public and widely witnessed of contexts.\textsuperscript{398}

Precious little is known about the musical life of black and mulatto confraternities (in particular those that did not enroll newly arrived African slaves), partially because of the smaller number of them, and because the archival sources I consulted that shed light on the musical activities of Spanish and indigenous confraternities are noticeably muffled regarding those of black and mulatto confraternities. The necessity of studying the records from the churches, monasteries, convents, and hospital in Lima is especially acute when one considers the musical life of black and mulatto confraternities. I also propose that, given the high degree of integrating musical performance and creation in the everyday life among African and African-diasporic populations, many of the members of black and mulatto confraternities could have performed musical activities for free; this practice would not appear in the account books. Closer inspection of primary sources would substantiate or repudiate my hypothesis. In the meantime, primary and secondary sources describing black and mulatto musical presences in religious festivals give us an idea of the musical life of their confraternities, since confraternities contributed the greater portion of musical activities in these festivals.

In his \textit{Musica y sociedad coloniales: Lima 1680-1830},\textsuperscript{399} Juan Carlos Estenssoro writes of an especially strong black (he implicitly subsumes \textit{mulato} under \textit{negro}) presence in the processions for Peruvian saints (namely the Dominican \textit{criolla} Saint Rose [1586-1617] and her colleague the \textit{mulato} Saint Martin de Porres [1579-1639]) during the octave of Corpus Christi, processions which operated “within the rules of the colonial festival; that is, exterior luxury, music, and candles” (\textit{dentro de las reglas de la fiesta colonial; es decir, lujo exterior, música y luz}), contributing “burlesque elements.”\textsuperscript{400} He also suggests that many dressed in costumes in apparent parody of the elite, displayed “obscene” but skillful” dances (\textit{de obscenas pero también

\textsuperscript{398} From my research, black and mulatto confraternities were not unique in irregular attendance of religious festival processions, but considering the small number of them in the Archdiocese, as well as the number of sources documenting reactions from the \textit{mayordomos} of Spanish confraternities and the archbishop’s office, either they received unfair and disproportionate attention for this, or did in fact chronically underrate the religious festival processions, arousing the ire of Spaniards. In either case, the latter would have had a keen interest in preserving the integrity of public Hispano-Catholic rites, which would have included public displays of power, especially ones that required the orderly, hierarchical choreography of the “marked” and “unmarked” in Hispano-Catholic discourse.


\textsuperscript{400} Ibid., 71.
At the end of his brief discussion of black music in colonial Lima, Estenssoro makes the following key observation, noting the importance of elite Spanish control of the musical and “other festive” activities of blacks in festivals as a symbolic mode of controlling the black population in general—of course, this logic also applies to the symbolic mode of control of other marked and rhetorically marked (Spanish) subalterns:

Spaniards interpret music and other festive elements for their “effectiveness” (that is, for their inherent qualities), but evidently they acquire a special significance being linked to a specific social group, and it is this aspect that can lead to their rejection. The prohibition of music and certain attitudes is almost always directed, in colonial society, at the group associated with them, and not at the behavior itself.

**Recently Arrived African Slaves (*Negros bozales*)**

On 18 November 1630, the Lima City Council arranged for members to inspect the last stages of construction of new housing for newly arrived black slaves in the district of Saint Lazarus:

La música y demás elementos festivos son valorados como equivalente a los españoles en cuanto a su “efectividad” (es decir, por sus cualidades inherentes), pero evidentemente adquieren un significado especial al estar vinculados a un grupo social específico, y es este el aspecto que pueder servir para rechazarlos. La prohibición de la música y ciertas actitudes están dirigidas casi siempre, en la sociedad colonial, al grupo que las efectúa, y no al comportamiento mismo.\(^{402}\)

Spaniards interpret music and other festive elements for their “effectiveness” (that is, for their inherent qualities), but evidently they acquire a special significance being linked to a specific social group, and it is this aspect that can lead to their rejection. The prohibition of music and certain attitudes is almost always directed, in colonial society, at the group associated with them, and not at the behavior itself.

\(^{401}\) Ibid., 71-72.

\(^{402}\) Ibid., 72.

In this assembly it was agreed and ordered that on the coming Monday, 17th of the present month, the construction begin for the housing that is ordered in the district of Saint Lazarus for the newly arrived African slaves that were brought to this city.

But less than three years later, the housing was still insufficient, prompting the council to order additional plots to house the growing black slave population in Lima:

En este cabildo se trato que conbenia mucho se acabasen las dos casas que rrestan de hacer cumplimiento las quatro que esta acordado y mandado se hagan en el barrio de san lacaro para el alojamiento de los negros boçales que se trayn [sic] a esta çiudad por que no heran sufiçientes ni bastantes las dos estan hechas para que esten los negros que al presente an benido de tierra firme y los dueños dellos dan priesa se les den casas en que tenerlos y su Exelençia señor virrey destos reynos lo tiene mandado ansi por decretos que su Exelençia a probeydo.  

In this assembly there was discussion about the urgency of completing the four unfinished houses to which the council agreed and ordered to have in the district of Saint Lazarus for the housing of the newly arrived African slaves that are brought to this city, since the two houses already there were insufficient for the Africans that have already come from the [African] continent. Moreover, the owners are anxious to be given housing for them, and his Excellency Lord Viceroy of these realms has already ordered this through decrees that his Excellency has provided.

Early slave confraternities “concerned themselves with the spiritual and physical welfare of their members, proper treatment by slave owners, and burial of member slaves.” A caporal headed each confraternity, and presided at assemblies. Slaves found to be of royal lineage in Africa became monarchs of the confraternity. After 1601, ecclesiastical representatives supervised these confraternities but apparently did not discern (or ignored) the practice of African rituals hidden under “the guise of Catholic ceremony.”

404 Juan Bromley (transcriber and annotator), Libros de Cabildo de Lima, Libro Vigesimo segundo, Años 1631-1633, Lima: Concejo Pronvincial de Lima (Torres-Aguirre) (1963), 162.
406 Ibid., 22.
African traditions hidden under Catholic rituals for the duration of the colonial period; this would later form part of the bedrock of what is now *música criolla*, the Afro-Spanish Creole music of Lima’s middle and upper classes, which they promote as the national music of Peru (and an example *par excellence* of cultural hybridity and hegemonic appropriation of previously subaltern practices).

By the late eighteenth century, many confraternities for newly arrived African slaves had been abandoned, but among those that survived, there was still a vibrant cultivation of musical styles inherited from their African forebearers, which members of American-born black and mulatto confraternities also practiced, if in hybrid form with local styles. In a 20 June 1756 entry in the *Gaceta de Lima*, an anonymous observer describes a Corpus Christi procession that the viceroy (José Antonio Manso de Velasco, Count of Superunda) and other members of the Royal Audience customarily witnessed. In the entry, the observer describes the highly energetic dances that newly arrived African slaves performed as members of confraternities, as well as percussion instruments (both prevalent in black African and black African diasporic music). As a writer for (and member of) an elite audience that looked to Western European aristocratic society for cultural leadership, he frowned upon the relaxed, athletic displays that he observed, especially since they occurred during the most important procession in the Catholic Church (and likely interpreted them as additional evidence to support the colonial stereotype of uncouth Africans).

He writes:

> Asistiò Su Exa. Acompañado de los Señores de la Real Audiencia à la Galeria de Palacio, para ver la plausible Processión acostumbra en los Domingos de la Infra-Octave de *Corpus*; que sale de la Iglesia de Santo Domingo; cuya riqueza de varias Andas quantiosas de plata de martillo, y summa gala de los mas sobresalientes telas, y adornos en Sagrados Ornaments, de que sale revestida toda su Presvitera Comunidad, se hace objeto de la mas prolixa atencion: siendo reparo de complacencia; al mismo tiempo, ver en lo extensivo de esta Procession la numerosa ocurrencia de Negros Bozales, que à ella assisten por parcialidades de Naciones, y Cofradias; con seperacion de Sexos, en que salen los Varones con las invenciones mas ridiculas, exercitando movimientos, y fuertes de gran ligereza, con Escudos, Armas, Vanderas, è insignias de sus Paises: las Mugeres con el lucimiento de las mas costosas Estofas, aderezos de oro, plata, y piedras; simbolizando, con copioso Sequito, las Princesas de sus nativos Territorios; y dando el
lleno de la diversion la variedad de ideas, que son diestros saltos componen sus marchas, al compass de los bien (aunque incultos Parches) pulsados conciertos, de Sonajas, y extravagantes Alboxes.\textsuperscript{407}

His Excellency sat in the Palace Gallery, accompanied by the gentlemen of the Royal Audience, in order to see the customary Corpus Christi procession on the Sundays during its Octave. It left from the Church of Saint Dominic. Its wealth of various, numerous floats of hammered silver, and the grandest gala with the most outstanding fabrics and adornment in sacred ornaments, in which all of the vested priestly community process, makes it an object of the most deliberate attention: being hesitant to condone, at the same time, seeing throughout the length of the procession, the abundant occurrence of newly arrived African slaves, who attend it in factions of nations and confraternities, with a separation of the sexes, in which the men process with the most ridiculous dances, exercising movements and shows of strength with great lightness, with shields, weapons, flags, and insignias from their countries. The women, with candles of the costliest vulgarities, dressed in gold, silver, and stones, symbolizing, with a large entourage, the princess of their native lands, and giving the entourage, full of excitement, a variety of ideas, which are skillful jumps that constitute their marches, to the beat of highly rhythmic ensembles (although with vulgar drums) of tambourines extravagant cabasas [from Brazilian Portuguese \textit{afoxé}].

According to the author of the 16 June 1791 \textit{Mercurio Peruano} article I mentioned earlier, there were ten main nations (\textit{Castas}) within the confraternities for newly arrived enslaved Africans by the last decade of the eighteenth century in Lima: \textit{Terranovos, Lucumés, Mandingas, Cambundas, Carabalíes, Cangas, Chalas, Congos, Mirangas,} and \textit{Huarochiríes} (some, such as the latter, or \textit{Terranovos}, were not based upon black cultural groups). All nations were under the direction of two elder corporals or supervisors (\textit{Caporales}) whom they elected to serve for life. Members of these nations in the persons of black foremen and confraternity senators (\textit{Senadores}) from each nation elected them in the chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary in the convent of Saint Dominic in the presence of the attending chaplain from each confraternity, favoring the eldest and their descendants to serve as corporals. The same formalities occurred

during the election of lower-ranking corporals for each nation and for admission of new confraternity members. Candidates for sub-corporal positions would pay ten pesos, while prospective confraternity members would pay twelve. One-half of this money was later used in the celebrations of Our Lady and refreshments served during the elections. All of the nations encouraged celebration of the festival of Our Lady of the Rosary, financed by a contribution of one-half real from each member, which was monitored and collected on the Sunday after Corpus Christi on a table placed in the plaza of Saint Dominic. Funds for funeral ceremonies that included mass and responsories were drawn from offerings of six reales from each member.

Before the late eighteenth century, the Terranovos and Lucumés celebrated under the patronage of Saint Salvador in the Convent of Mercies (las Mercedes), but by the late eighteenth century, the Congos, from the plantation of Saint Francis of Paula (San Francisco de Paula), had supplanted them. By the same time, the Mandingas confraternity dedicated to Our Lady of the Kings (Nuestra Señora de los Reyes) in the Convent of Saint Francis had been abandoned. Other confraternities that had been abandoned by the late eighteenth century were those housed in the churches of Saint James, Monserrat, the chapel of the Baratillo, and another unnamed church at the foot of the bridge (over the Rimac River?al baxar el Puente). Also the article mentions the confraternity of black and mulatto dray workers (carretoneros) of Saint Nicholas (San Nicolás) in the church of Saint Augustine (San Agustín), but they were mainly American-born, and their confraternity remained active until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. Most of these confraternities were poor, relying exclusively on offerings from members, as opposed to rents, ranches, haciendas, shops, or other sources of revenue that financed the activities of more affluent confraternities.

Among confraternities that still existed by the 1790s (which the anonymous author does not name), the festival “in which they enthusiastically took great pains to go out [in procession]” (en que mas se esmeran para salir con lucimiento) was on the Sunday during the Octave of Corpus Christi. All of the nations joined for the procession that left from the convent of Saint Dominic, each with its own flag and parasol, under that of the Spanish monarch, holding a candle in the right hand, and a bastion or musical instrument in the left. With these articles and other “thunderous” (estrepitosos) musical instruments, confraternity members performed in a

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408 Ibid., 115.
409 Ibid., 116.
410 Ibid.
manner that conformed to black musical preferences. The author complained that this music made “a very disagreeable noise” (*un ruido muy desagradable*), likely reacting to the dense and complex timbral, widely pitched, polyrhythmic, and polymetric textures that still permeate contemporary African and diasporic African music, which would have been perceived as “chaotic,” “savage,” or “primitive” to ears conditioned by Western European-grounded musical practices from the middle and elite social strata.\(^{411}\)

During the processions, confraternity members disguised themselves variously, as demons, in feathers, as bears, or as monsters with feathers from sparrow hawks, claws from lions, or tails from snakes.\(^{412}\) The following excerpt, wherein the author describes the same processions, is noteworthy because it subtly, probably inadvertently, suggests performed subversions of colonial power relations in the midst of Corpus Christi processions, which authorities might have momentarily dismissed as impious, vulgar “barbarisms,” but upon further reflection, they would have wanted to scrutinize them for their potential to disrupt the official message of Hispano-Catholic hegemony within this public sphere, and erode this hegemony beyond it:

Todos van armados con arcos, flechas, garroes, y escudos: se tiñen las caras de colorado ó azul, según el uso de sus países, y acompañan á la procesión con unos alaridos y adamanes tan atroces, como efectivamente atacasen al enemigo. La seriedad y feroz entusiasmo con que representan todas estas escenas, nos dan una idea de la barbaridad con que harán sus acomedtias marciales. Esta decoración, que sería agradable en una mascara de carnaval, parece indecente en una funcion eclesiástica, y mas en una procesion en que el menor objeto impertinente profana la dignidad del acto Sagrado, y disipa la devocion de los coactuantes [illegible]. Puede que nuestros hijos vean la reforma de esto y otros abusos de igual naturaleza, cuya extirpacion deseamos desde ahora.\(^{413}\)

All were armed with bows, arrows, clubs, and shield, with faces painted in the colors representing their respective nations, and they accompanied the procession with such frightening shrieks and gestures, as if effectively attacking the enemy. The gravity and

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\(^{411}\) Ibid., 116-117.
\(^{412}\) Ibid., 117.
\(^{413}\) Ibid.
ferocious enthusiasm that all of the scenes represent give us an idea of the barbarity with which they will execute their martial attacks. This decoration, which would be agreeable in a Carnaval masque, seems indecent in an ecclesiastical function, and even more so in a procession in which the slightest impertinence pollutes the dignity of the sacred act, and shatters the devotion of the co-participants. It is possible that our children see the change in this [sacred act] and other abused of the same nature, whose extirpation we desire from now on.

As members of society who shared the lowest rungs of the colonial hierarchy with “free” indigenous mita laborers, newly enslaved blacks in these confraternities undoubtedly derived special pleasure from these and other activities in which they could maintain cultural links with the African continent and exploit spaces in which they could disregard colonial orthodoxy that conceptualized them as bestial.

American-born and Spanish-acculturated Blacks and Mulattos
(negros or morenos criollos, morenos, and mulatos or pardos)

Because of its large black population, blacks and mulattos had formed confraternities in the urban areas of Spain (particularly in Andalusia and port cities) long before the establishment of Spanish colonies. They were particurlaly strong in Seville, and flourished in Granada, Cádiz, Triana, and Jaen. In addition to their religious functions, the confraternities later established in Peru were institutions wherein members could maintain cultural cohesion and provide mutual aid. Lima’s black and mulatto confraternities, less numerous than those of natives, in spite of the much larger black and mulatto population in Lima, generally restricted membership to those “who had the leisure time and income to participate in the activities of the confraternity,” notably freeborn domestic servants, artisans, and entrepreneurs. Members provided aid to less affluent blacks and mulattos, typically in the form of funding for funerals, charitable acts, manumission

415 Albert Meyers, “Religious Sodalities in Latin America: A Sketch of Two Peruvian Case Studies,” in Meyers and Hopkins, 7-8, 15.
of slaves, loans, and legal counsel for slaves suing their masters.\footnote{Ibid., 52.} The Franciscan Confraternity of Our Lady of the Kings (Nuestra Señora de los Reyes) “was famous for the elaborate splendor of its religious ceremonies as the richest confraternity in Lima,” defying a casual characterization of Lima’s black and mulatto confraternities as a last retreat of the downtrodden as they defended themselves against Spanish oppression.\footnote{Ibid., 53.}

The results of Nicole von Germeten’s archival study of colonial Afro-Mexican confraternities in Mexico City is appropriate to my discussion of the black and mulatto confraternities in Lima for several reasons, and suggests important social phenomena of those confraternities that my research has not fully explored. Mexico City, like Lima, was the capital of its viceroyalty (New Spain), had a large, visible black and mulatto population (although it declined after the seventeenth century) and experienced tension between fearful colonial officials and a population believed to be on the precipice of rebellion throughout the seventeenth century.\footnote{For example, during a 1692 Mexico City uprising of free and enslaved blacks, with members of Afro-Mexican confraternities leading them, rebels burned the viceregal palace (Germeten, 77-79).}

Although my study has not deeply explored gender in relations of power, I have already touched upon prevailing models of the ideal Spanish woman, and negative Spanish reaction to black and mulatto women, whose conspicuous public presence and reputation for irreverence undermined both the patriarchal and racial supports of Spanish hegemony. Also, anecdotal evidence of Spanish reactions to female participants in the musical activities of black and mulatto confraternities (which I briefly discussed earlier) strongly suggests that future studies of black and mulatto confraternities will be critically deficient without a careful exploration of the women who participated in them. According to Germeten, before they reached their apex during the seventeenth century, Afro-Mexican confraternities “thwarted Spanish authority” because of the authority women enjoyed as founding members and donors.\footnote{Germeten, 13.} Moreover, at least through the seventeenth century, before Afro-Mexican confraternities more closely internalized and reproduced the patriarchal gender roles of Hispanic society, the women in these confraternities fully participated in the celebratory activities in processions, and involved themselves in the everyday activities of these confraternities, in contrast to Spanish women, particularly those of the upper strata, who mainly conceded authority to the men in patriarchal Spanish
confraternities. Finally, Afro-Mexican women had essential roles as madres, or mothers caring for the sick and providing charity for members of poor confraternities.

Archival Records of Black and Mulatto Confraternities

Available records, mainly from the seventeenth century, indicate that black and mulatto confraternities broadly shared patterns of instruments used during festivals and preeminence of the mass and funeral ceremonies for members, and also raise questions about the production of musical instruments used during these festivals. For example, in 1590 during the principal festival, the black Confraternity of Holy Water(s) (Aguas Santa(s)) in the Church of Mercy (la Merced) paid two indigenous trumpet and shawm players eight pesos for performing (and spent eight reales to feed the trumpeters), paid the trumpeter who played on the feast day one peso, spent two reales for animal hair used during the construction of tambor drums (ylo de acarreto para coser los atanbores) and eleven reales for rope to decorate the tambor drums (suga para adereçar atambores). We do not yet know if members of this confraternity constructed the drums themselves, or if they hired others for this task. Other expenses included two pesos for two masses (presumably sung) for the memorials for dead members.

In 1608, during the principal festival, the black Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary (Nuestra Señora del Rosario) in the Church of Saint Dominic (Santo Domingo) spent nine pesos, four reales for music from El Cercado, paid four pesos to the tambor players, and nine pesos, four reales to a Geronimo Mexia, master shawm player, for his ensemble that performed during the vespers and feast day. This record confirms an earlier anecdotal description about El Cercado as an important source of musicians, and provides an extra silver of information about performance practice, but raises another question: what other instruments performed in the shawm player’s ensemble? Finally, In 1627, the confraternity spent sixty-five pesos for twenty-five recited and two sung masses, confirming the importance of masses in confraternity life.

Between 1 March 1622 and July 1623, the black Confraternity of Saint Bartholomew (San Bartolomé) in the Church of Saint Anne (Santa Ana) paid a trumpeter one peso for playing...
during Corpus Christi, and two pesos during the procession with a float of Saint Anne during her festival.\(^{426}\)

The constitution from 1697, upon a “re-foundation” of the black Confraternity of Saint Bartholomew (de San Bartolomé) in the Church of Saint Anne (Santa Ana) because the goods of the old one were lost and the founders were dead or absent (\textit{fundar nuevamente la cofradía San Bartolomé en la iglesia Santa Ana, pues los bienes de la antigua cofradía están perdidos y los fundadores muertos o ausentes}) stipulates that the election (by secret ballot) of new officers would be held after the festival of Saint Bartholomew on 24 August. During the same festival, there was to be a sung mass with a vigil held at the altar (presumably of Saint Bartholomew), and confession and communion. Every November after the All Saints festival, the confraternity would have a solemn memorial mass for all deceased members, with a sung mass and vigil, to be held at the altar of Saint Bartholomew. Membership was restricted to those of the Loango cultural group, “and not of another nation, and that those that [went] out from this confraternity asking for Offerings for other [confraternities] [were] to be fined by the Prior and \textit{mayordomos}, because they should only ask for this confraternity of Lord Saint Bartholomew, and not for another.”\(^{427}\)

The second constitution, from 1745, of the Confraternity of Dray Workers of the Martyr Saint Philip (\textit{carretoneros de San Felip Mártir}) in the Hospital of Saint Bartholomew (Hospital de San Bartolomé) called for members to pay for a sung morning mass and six recited ones during the afternoon for a morning funeral, or for these masses to be performed the following day if a funeral took place during the afternoon or evening. In both instances, members were to accompany the body with flags and candles. During the yearly November memorials for deceased brothers, members were to pay for a vigil, a sung mass, and six recited ones. Members paid for an additional memorial service with a sung mass and six recited ones was to take place on the principal feast day. Members were to also pay the chaplain for sung masses given on Sundays and during the festivals\(^{428}\)

\(^{426}\) Leg. 32:5 (1623-1625) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fol. 23.
\(^{427}\) Leg. 32A:21 (1697) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías) (\textit{Yten ordenamos y mandamos que solamente han de ser her\"\" veinti y quartos de esta cof. Los dela casta Loango, y no de otra nascion, y sue los se aparten desta cofradía para ir a pedir Limosna para otras, seran multados por el Prioste y mayordomos, porque solo han de pedir para esta cof. de S'. S. Bartholome, y no para otra}).
\(^{428}\) Leg. 42:16 (1745) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
Other records show less savory aspects of confraternity life, including instances of antagonism between American- and African-born blacks, as well as information about cultural affiliations carried over from the African continent. For example, in 1607, the founding mayordomos Antón Calafate, Manuel de Aramburú, and Alonso de Niza, (all of the Bioho nation and native to Guinea) of the Confraternity of Friar John of the Good Journey (Fray Juan de la Buenaventura) in the Convent of Saint Francis (San Francisco), on behalf of other confraternity members from the same nation, sued members that were Creole blacks of the Bioho nation, but native to Panama, in order to expel them for being “revolting.” According to the mayordomos, at first the defendants were “virtuous and capable,” but in time proved to be “restless people of bad inclinations and manners,” whose “vices and abandon that brought them to shame.” The accusations leveled against them included those of unlocking a chest that was in the church and stealing the confraternity’s ornaments and wax stored therein, of refusing to attend the elections of new mayordomos, of having “little fear of God,” and of taking the confraternity record book for the purpose of “throwing it away or concealing the records of offerings made.”

Official constitutional prescriptions for the participation of members of in processions during festivals did not necessarily ensure actual compliance, for in 1617, the Convent of Our Lady of the Rosary (Nuestra Señora del Rosario) filed a petition to the archbishop’s office through the provincial promagistrate (procurador general), Francisco de Valacázar (Valacaçar), to remind the mulatto Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary it sponsored of its obligation to appear in the processions for the festival of the Blessed Sacrament, writing:

Los mulatos que en el Dicho Conuento tienen fundada cofradia de Nuestra Señora Del Rossario tienen obligacion a salir con la dicha cofradia, y su imagen en las processiones que salen del Dicho conjunto principalmente en La que de el sale este Domingo primero infraoctauo de la fiesta del Smo. S., y en las tales processions Les [illegible] esta señalado y por Vuestra merced, el Lugarx que en ellas an de lleuar y Les pertenece, y por que esto se guarde, y cumpla conviene al derecho Del dicho mi conjunto que Vuestra merced se Lo mande con penas, y aperçebimientos, y que salgan en la dicha Procession el Domingo primero y en el Lugar que como dicho es por Vuestra merced Les esta señalado. A Vmd, Pido y Supplico Lo prober y mande ansi con Las dichas penas, y apercebimiento en que se aministrava Justicia que pido y en lo necesario.

429 Leg. 51:1 (1607) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
The mulattos that have founded the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in said Convent are obligated to go out with said confraternity and its images in the processions that leave from said convent, mainly in the one that leaves from the latter this Sunday during the Octave of the festival of the Blessed Sacrament. In these processions they are to be seen, and through Your Grace, conform to the placement therein which they occupy and to which they belong. Since this placement is guarded [by tradition] they are to comply according to the duty therein as followed in this convent, and failing this, may Your Grace command penalties and reprimands, and have them go out in said procession on the first Sunday, and in the place in which, as said before, is through Your Grace, they are to be seen.

I ask and plead that Your Grace act and command with said penalties and reprimands in which the justice in which I ask for what is necessary has been administered.

Father Francisco de Valacázar

In 1682, the archbishop Melchor de Liñán y Cisneros confirmed the continued preeminence of the cathedral’s Confraternity of Our Lady of Antiquity (Nuestra Señora de la Antigua) (which I discussed earlier) among others of blacks and mulattos in processions, in this instance during the procession of Holy Week, preceding all other black and mulatto confraternities therein. But black and mulatto confraternities gained a reputation for not participating in processions such as those during Holy Week, regardless of the type of official choreographies that archbishop Melchor de Liñán y Cisneros of other officials approved. For example, in 1693, the black Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary (Nuestra Señora del Rosario) in the Church of Saint Dominic (Santo Domingo) requested that the archdiocese exempt it from going out into the procession of Holy Week because it lacked the resources to finance it (se halla tan pobre...no tiene Renta alguna ni medios de que poderse balar para el gasto de la procession dela semana Sancta dela quaresma). The mayordomos of the Spanish Confraternity of the Holy True Cross (Santa Veracruz, to which the viceroy and other high-ranking colonial officials belonged) reacted to this request, rejecting the economic constraints as an apparently

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430 Leg. 31:7 (1617) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías)
431 Leg. 47:19 (1682) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
disingenuous explanation for the latter’s failure to comply, and suggested that this non-compliance was characteristic of Lima’s black and mulatto confraternities:

The *mayordomos* from the Confraternity of the Holy True Cross, founded in the convent of Our Lady of the Rosary of the order of the Evangelists of this City of Kings=

We say that the most excellent Lord Count de la Monclova, Viceroy of these realms, has ordered us by decree to go in procession to his station [of the cross?] with the relic of the Holy *lignum cruces*, which, as in other cases, has always gone out in said procession accompanied by all of the black, Indian and mulatto confraternities that are founded in the said convent. This [is a] timeless and ancient custom for which there is no precedent to the contrary, because it has always been followed through watching the refined devotion and reverence that one should show to the holiest relic. Still, the *mayordomos* of the said confraternities, after having been cited by the Royal Chaplains so that they act and go out in procession, excuse themselves from going to the said station. The *mayordomos* of the confraternities of the *pardos* are doing this just as the *mayordomos* of the other confraternities go out [for the station]. Only the *pardo mayordomos* show proclivities to not show up for the timeless custom and in the processions in which the confraternity of the True Cross participates, and [want the authorities to] ignore and acquiesce to the new introductions that these *pardo mayordomos* want to impose.

We ask and beg Your Grace to order that they [the *pardo mayordomos*] be notified, that under pain of censure and other punishments for these black, Indian and *pardo mayordomos*, they are to go out on Maundy Thursday at night with their insignias and following their routes with candles to the procession of the Holy Cross for which we receive the mercy and justice that we ask.

Joseph Merino de Heredia

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432 Leg. 31A:4 (1693) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
On 4 March of that year, the archbishop (Melchor Liñán de Cisneros, who also served as the viceroy between 1678 and 1681) ordered that the confraternities go out in procession during the night of Maundy Thursday with “their insignias and following their routes in the procession…[or] provide a reason as to why they should not do so.”

Whether or not members of Our Lady of the Rosary would have gone out into processions had there not been an excessive strain on their confraternity’s resources cannot be definitely ascertained—and certainly individual or group resistance independent of material means would be expected—but in this instance, the archbishop and *mayordomos* of Holy True Cross underestimated the financial burden that processions placed upon Our Lady of the Rosary and other confraternities. Given the implications of non-participation in the displays of power in colonial processions though, the archbishop and *mayordomos* of Holy Cross probably suspected that Our Lady of the Rosary and other black and mulatto confraternities disobeyed viceregal and episcopal orders more because of insubordination rather than economic hardship. But processions and others costs associated with religious festivals could be overwhelming for the sponsoring *mayordomos*, and their confraternities, when the former were not wealthy enough to defray costs individually. In 1701, for example, the confraternity was in such a dire economic condition that it requested permission to pawn some of its possessions and collect additional offerings to pay for the annual procession as it tried to comply with viceregal and episcopal orders that it participate. A request to the archbishop’s office reads:

El Cap. Simón de Leon, y Luis Zepata, Maiordomos dela cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario del gremio de los Pardos fun. en la Yglesia Sr. Santo Domingo…dicen:

433 *Ibid.* “[En] la ciudad de los Reyes en quatro de Marzo de seis y nouenta y tres años ante el SS'. liz[do]. Don Lucas de Segura y Lara Provr. y Vicario gen. deste Arzobispado se leyo esta petizion y visita Por Su merced; manda se notifique a las personas Contenidas en el pedimient o Salgan el Jueues Santo en la noche con sus insignias y pasos en la procession que se expresa adentro de Segundo dia den razon porque no lo deuen hazer lo firmo, Segura [illegible, Joseph Merino de Heredia?]”

“In the City of Kings on 4 March 1693 his grace read this petition and inspection in the presence of the Holy Gentleman Licenciado don Lucas de Segura y Lara, General Attorney and Vicar of this Archdiocese, and ordered that the persons contained in the request go out on Maundy Thursday during the night with their insignias and following their routes in the procession within the second day and give reason as to why they shouldn’t do so signed, Segura [illegible, Joseph Merino de Heredia?]”
q. se les ha mandado saquen este año la procession de dha. cof.; y respeto de que se halla mui pobre sin medios algunos para los costos necesarios de cera aderezo de andas, que se hallen mui maltratas, y necesitan deodarse como otras cosas.\textsuperscript{434}

Captain Simón de Leon and Luis Zapata, \textit{mayordomos} of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary of the guild of \textit{pardos}, founded in the church of Saint Dominic…say:

That they have been ordered to go out this year in the procession of the said confraternity; and because it is very poor, without any means to cover the necessary costs of wax and adorning the floats, which are in very poor condition, and they have to go into debt [for this] as with other activities [associated with the procession].

A later document, signed by a scribe of the archbishop, suggests that the request to collect additional offerings was granted, even though the manner of their collection contradicted earlier stipulations (probably as written in the constitution):

Probissor y Vicario Gen. deste Arçobispado se leyó este escrito [illegible], para su merced. Dijo que dava y dio licenzia a un de los mays. diputados dela cofradia de Nuestra Señora del Rosario del cargo delos Pardos pueden pedir limosna En la entrada dela Yglesia del conuento grande de Santo Domingo para el efecto que se expresa poniendo una mesa para este fin sinque concurra combite particular ni general por que solo de les permite pedir alos voluntariamente Entraren y salieren en la dha Yglesia y no en otra forma lo qual Cumplan en Virtud de Santa obiedienzia todas censuras y citaziones para la tabilla y Cinquenta pesos de multas aplicad a por mitad y de qual se prozedera a otra cualquiera demostrazion sirve exzediere delo q ue se permite lo firma.

Dr. Soto\textsuperscript{435}

The General Attorney and Vicar of this Archdiocese read this script for his grace. [The archbishop] said that he gave license to one of the \textit{mayordomos} from the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary under the care of the \textit{pardos} so that they could request offerings at the entrance of the church of the convent of Saint Dominic for the effect that is expressed [by the \textit{mayordomos}], putting a table there for this end without which it would

\textsuperscript{434} Leg. 31A:10 (1701) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\textsuperscript{435} Ibid.
be neither particularly nor generally appropriate because they are only permitted to request offerings voluntarily as they enter and leave said church and not in other forms. They comply with this in virtue of holy obedience [and under pain of] censure and citations for the collecting table and fifty pesos in fines applied by halves, and these penalties will apply to any other mode of collection beyond that which is permitted. Signed,

Dr. Soto

By 1706, the conditions had apparently improved, because in that year the confraternity had the resources to pay the chapel master (maestro de capilla) ten pesos for the music he provided during the feast day of Our Lady of the Candelaria, and six pesos to the shawm players who performed.436

In summary, to the extent that one may deduce generalizations from the scattered, incomplete, and inconsistent documentary evidence regarding them, the musical activities of indigenous, black, and mulatto confraternities in Lima and El Cercado were characterized by a consistent adherence to orthodox Hispano-Catholic practice during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Using the confraternity of Our Lady of Copacabana as a representative (if uncharacteristically extravagant) example, we see that musical activities were the most concentrated around the principal festival centered on the confraternity’s patron (generally the Virgin Mary, a saint, or a Christian contemplation) or any number of other festivals in the yearly Catholic cycle, all of which included vespers celebrations the nights before the main feast day, and a sung mass on the main feast day, followed by a procession. Sung requiem masses generally took place during the principal festival. Musicians were drawn from a variety of sources. They were probably mainly from the clergy or confraternity members who performed without remuneration associated with their musical contributions, but often confraternities would hire drummers, trumpeters, and shawmers, likely for outdoor activities, as well as musicians from the cathedral, or other religious centers such as the unnamed beaterio for the performance of European concert and concerted vocal music.

Among indigenous, black, and mulatto confraternities, we have far more documentary evidence for the musical activities of indigenous confraternities, and the confraternities of African slaves were somewhat more documented and significantly more syncretic than those of Hispanicized and American-born blacks and mulattos in Lima and El Cercado. Women may

436 Leg. 31A:14 (1704-1706) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
have been of vital importance in Lima’s black and mulatto confraternities, and could have represented a threat to Hispano-Christian patriarchy. Finally, confraternities of the Lima’s blacks and mulattos gained a reputation for not regularly attending the core festivals mandated by the Archdiocese of Lima, and frustrated official attempts to choreograph displays of power between Spaniards, natives, *mestizos*, blacks, and mulattos during well-attended processions during festivals.

As I discuss in the next chapter, documentary evidence relating to the musical life of indigenous confraternities, as well as documents from seventeenth-century anti-idolatry campaigns, strongly clarifies the view that confraternities were neither obedient institutions of New Christians, nor simmering cauldrons of indigenous resistance. Their relation to Hispano-Christendom was more complicated.
Chapter 5
Indigenous Confraternities
Outside of the Province of Lima

Introduction

During the colonial period, the confraternity and indigenous kin-group (allyu) shared a number of traits that contributed to the enthusiastic participation of Andean natives. For one, since natives could not join the clergy, confraternities were a means through which they could participate in the Catholic Church, choosing their own patrons and Christian contemplations to venerate. The communal veneration of these patrons and contemplations, represented by a sacred object, linked natives to their pre-colonial past, during which their ancestors venerated huacas, sacred objects or places that embodied gods, ancestors, and other extra-earthly mediators.\(^{437}\) The essential mutual aid function in most confraternities found a ready precedent in the Andes-wide value of communal altruism, in which the needs of and obligations to the community were a fundamental premise of social behavior. Finally, the emphasis on the dead in confraternities could have been a link to pre-colonial practices of ancestor worship, where the living appealed to the dead for assistance; and as Geoffrey Baker writes in his dissertation, “to pray to (and for) recently departed cofrades would have been but a small leap.”\(^{438}\)

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\(^{437}\) My description is rudimentary, and does not approach the nuanced complexity of huaca in Quechua. In original sources, Spanish ecclesiastical scribes frequently reduced huacas to “stones” or “idols.” Jan Szemiński’s entry on “waka” (guaca, waka, and wak’a are also frequent spellings) seems to more closely approximate its different meanings in Quechua. It is described as “that which is composed of two; founding ancestor of a lineage; divinity; god; any manifestation of supernatural power when it is associated with the world below; place where this power is manifest; temple; sacred place; exceptional individual or object; monster; monstrosity; deformed human or animal; someone who has a split nose; someone who has a cleft palate; someone who has six fingers.” (“lo que es uno compuesto de dos, antepasado fundador de linaje, divinidad, dios, cualquier manifestación del poder sobrenatural cuando es asociada con el mundo de abajo, lugar donde se manifiesta el poder, templo, lugar sagrado, individuo u objeto excepcional, monstruo, monstrosidad, hombre o animal deformado, de nariz partida, de labio hendido, con seis dedos”). *Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala: Nueva Cronica y Bueno Gobierno*, Volume III, vocabulary and translations by Jan Szemiński, Lima: Fondo de Cultura Económica (1993). Unless otherwise noted, Quechua translations are from Jan Szemiński.

\(^{438}\) Geoffrey Baker, “Music and Musicians in Colonial Cuzco” (dissertation), Royal Holloway, University of London (2001), 275. After considering the temptation of some historians to view colonial confraternities as replacements for pre-colonial allyus among natives, Baker warns against such an overly simplistic view, since members chose their confraternity affiliations, but were born into allyus, and confraternities and allyus coexisted during the colonial period, which suggests that both served different, perhaps complementary purposes among natives, neither substituting for the other. The studies that he cites in this discussion are Ercilia Moreno Chá’s “Encounters and Identities in Andean Brotherhoods” in C. Robertson (editor), *Musical Repercussions of 1492: Encounters in Text*
Indigenous Andean confraternities adapted to suit the requirements of local communities, and “indigenous people introduced their own beliefs and rituals into orthodox Christianity, creating a hybrid religious form.”

It is well known among historians that confraternities, more than any other institution in the Catholic Church, actively supported popular elements in religious devotion as a means to facilitate evangelization. In the context of indigenous communities in the Andes, this meant support of pre-colonial practices, provided that they occurred within the semiotics of Catholic ritual (to the extent that ecclesiastical authorities could determine or were capable of enforcing these; as I discuss later, in both its ability to scrutinize, and its capacity to enforce its prescriptions, the Church was limited). Moreover, Baker suggests that it financially benefited rural priests in the *doctrinas* to turn a blind eye to some of these practices “in return for a steady flow of cash and gifts.”

At one extreme of pre-colonial practices that persisted through the colonial period were ritual sacrifices, led by a minister or other pre-colonial religious authority wherein participants would drink the blood and consume the raw flesh of sacrificed animals. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, a descendant of indigenous nobility and strongly supportive of anti-idolatry efforts because of his Catholic faith, reacted in horror to what he described as the work of “sorcerers.” In 1615, when describing such a sacrifice of a goat, he wrote:

Los indios en este reino están usando y guardan la ley antigua de la idolatría; porque para comer o para la ceremonia mataban a los carneros, le abrían del corazón, que es la ley de los hechiceros idólatras porque decía el mozo al viejo; suncusaynam yaya uanun, allim churi casun; yauar zancucta chaua yauarta micun quichic churi; así comían sangre cruda y carne cruda primero, después comían cocido por la ley de los idólatras.

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Ibid., 277.

Ibid., 281.

I discuss Guaman Poma more fully later in this chapter. Guaman Poma was well acculturated to Hispanic modes of behavior, but highly disillusioned with widespread corruption among the Spanish, especially among the clergy, which he believed limited the success at converting the indigenous population and bringing them into a trans-Atlantic Roman Catholic empire headed by the Spanish king.

*Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, Volume II, edition and prologue by Franklin Pease G.Y., Lima: Fondo de Cultura Económica (1993), 724. Pease’s work heavily edits the original text, altering Guaman Poma’s idiomatic and
The Indians in this kingdom are using and preserving the ancient ritual of idolatry; because in order to eat or for the ceremony, they kill goats, and open the heart, which is the ritual of the idolatrous sorcerers because the young boy would say to the old man: “suncuscaynam yaya uanun, allim churi casun; yauar zancucta chaua yauarta micun quichic churi,” whereupon they would first drink fresh blood and raw meat, and then eat it all cooked according to the law of the idolaters.

More commonly, natives would conceal more benign pre-colonial rituals, including *borracheras* (ritual bouts of drinking and intoxication, believed to prepare participants for spiritual experiences) beyond the cognizance of Christians (although, as Guaman Poma notes, some parish priests knew of these rituals). Guaman Poma describes some of these rituals, which included the use of music, pre-colonial in context and style:

Los indios tenían y lo tienen el uso del rutochico, el día primero se ajuntan todos en la plaza o en su casa, los dichos hombres y las mujeres toman al niño o niña al medio y toman unas Tijeras cada uno trasquila una tijerada, cortan del cabello del niño y van ofreciendo cada uno de su voluntad, y después comen y se convidan y beben y se emborrachan algunos hacen ceremonias; asimismo lo hacen del causaricoc la borrachera del convaleciente; algunos lo hacen de los difuntos y con ello hacen sus ceremonias; algunos lo hacen de noche porque no lo sepan los cristianos y algunos lo revuelve con las Pascuas para que no lo sienta, y en partes lo saben los padres doctrinantes.

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443 I could not locate a translation of this, but using my very rough Quechua, I recognize some words: suncu (heart), yauar (blood), and micun (he/she/it eats), leading me to believe that this text refers to a ritualized offering of the sacrificial goat’s blood and flesh from the boy to the elder for the latter to anoint before they are consumed.

444 The link between ritualized intoxication and the spiritual experience was not unique to natives of the Andean region. Inga Clendinnen wrote that drinking bouts among the indigenous population of Mexico, for example, opened participants to the sacred world precisely by “losing ‘possession’ of the merely human self,” and that “drinking ‘tore the membrane between the mundane and the sacred.’” Inga Clendinnen, “Ways to the Sacred: Reconstructing ‘Religion’ in sixteenth-century Mexico,” in *History and Anthropology*, volume 5, page 124. Quoted and discussed in Baker (2001), 277.

445 Ibid., 736.
The Indians used to have and still have use of the *rutochico*. On the first day everyone gathers in the plaza or in his or her home, and the men and women take the boy or girl, take some scissors, and each of them cut the hair of the child, each one offering to do so willingly, and afterwards they eat, sing, drink, and become drunk. Some have [other] ceremonies, and in the same manner [of eating, singing, drinking, and becoming drunk], they have the *causaricoc*,\(^{446}\) the *borrachera* of convalescents; some have ceremonies for the dead, and with that [eating, singing, and so forth] they have their ceremonies. Some do it at night because the Christians do not know, and some conceal it with Easter so that no one detects it, and in some parts the parish priests know that.

At the other end of the spectrum, wherein Hispano-Catholic rituals outright replaced pre-colonial ones, recalling Bhabha, were “reformed Others” (from the perspective of Spaniards, of course), who essentially transformed themselves into active participants in customs little (if at all) different from those associated with Spanish Catholicism. Yet, we must view “reformed Others,” and what roles colonial confraternities served in these “Hispanicized” native communities with some caution, for reasons I describe throughout this chapter.

**Hispano-Catholic Reform and Dissimulation:**

**Constitutions and Account books**

**Provinces of Ancash and Huarochirí**

Discussing the central importance of native Christians in the functioning of the colony and evangelization—both of which used music in reinforcing Hispano-Catholic orthodoxy—in the Viceroyalty of Peru, Guaman Poma describes a populace so well acculturated in the practices associated with Spaniards that they match the latter in skill, competence, and Catholic piety. To be sure, such a presentation is critical to his underlying critique of the excesses of Spanish colonialism; if, as he argues throughout his *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, the natives are more devoted Catholics and match the cultural competence of the Spanish, then, as he concludes, the un-Christian Spanish (especially the Creoles) are at best disruptive invaders, and at worst an irredeemably parasitic and corrupt contamination in native realms, interfering with the stability

\(^{446}\) The *causaricoc* was a healing ceremony.
and governance of a Catholic kingdom with the Spanish monarch at its head. On the other hand, that many natives were thoroughly acculturated to hitherto “Spanish” religious and cultural practices by the close of the sixteenth century was well known by Guaman Poma’s generation; indeed this ready acculturation, particularly in musical activities, quickly became an effective tool in evangelization (in all its various degrees of thoroughness). As Guaman Poma writes, natives matched Spaniards in the Spanish language, Latin, European music, and countless other customs associated with Spaniards, as well innumerable civil and ecclesiastic functions. He writes:

Indios de este reino como españoles de Castilla saben y aprenden de todos los oficios, artificios, beneficios, los cuales son grandes cantors y músicos de canto, de órgano y llano, y de vihuela y de flauta, de chirimia, trompeta, corneta y vihuela de arco, organista, y son escribanos de cabildo y de público, y nombrado, y teniente de corregidor, alcalde mayor, alcalde ordinario, alcalde de la Santa Hermandad, alguacil mayor y menor, regidor y contador mayor y menor, y saber tirar una escopeta, y sabe jugar con armas, espadas y montante, partesana: juega en todo juego como español, y gran jinete y domador, y jugador de toros, sabe latín y romance; si la aproba se ordena sacerdote de la Santa Madre Iglesia. Son fieles, jamás se han rebelado contra Dios ni contra su Majestad los indios de este reino, es de la corona real todo el mundo.  

Los dichos indios cristianos de habilidad tienen cargos de la iglesia; a falta y ausencia de los dichos padres, entierran los difuntos con su letanía, y oraciones y responses, las

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447 Since once a population independently widely inherits, enacts, and reproduces the practices—or, recalling Bourdieu, the *habitus*—originally associated with a foreign one, then these practices or habits are no longer exclusively characteristic of the latter; therefore, the marker used to denote these “foreign” cultural practices as practices unique to the latter becomes a false one. For that reason, I have made a mental note to resist describing practices as strictly “Spanish” when cultural diffusion of customs that originated among Spaniards have achieved this wide degree of independent inheritance, enactment, and reproduction among natives—even though, for sake of brevity and convenience, I use conventional descriptions of terms such as “European” or “Spanish” when describing the widely and independently inherited, enacted, and reproduced customs among people who were not European or Spanish, but had every legitimate reason to claim “European” or “Spanish” customs as their own. As it were, “hispanicized” individuals such as Guaman Poma and “El Inca” Garsilaso de la Vega, whom I discuss later, not infrequently matched if not exceeded the cultural “Spanishness” of most Iberian-born and socialized Spaniards.  

448 Ibid., 672.
vísperas lo dicen con música cantadas y la salve rezan a la Madre de Dios; y domingos y fiestas dicen las oraciones cantadas. Rezan todo lo dicho como cristiano, lo hacen en ausencia del dicho cura; y cristiana bautiza, echando el agua de Dios a la cría de esta suerte: yo te bautizo Juan o Juana en el nombre del Padre y del Hijo y del Espíritu Santo amén. Y en los días de obligación, viernes y miércoles, dicen la oración en amaneciendo días y estaciones y responsos a los difuntos y reza todo el pueblo, y echa las festividades de las fiestas de la semana y vigilia cuatro témporas, para que guarden los indios: todo lo dicho lo hacen porque son cristianos y políticos, hábiles siervos de Jesucristo de este reino los indios.\footnote{Ibid., 675.}

The capable Indian Christians have church responsibilities; when the [Spanish] priests are absent, the Indians bury the dead with a litany, prayers and responses, and during vespers this is done with sung music. They recite the salve to the Mother of God, and on Sundays and during festivals they perform sung prayers. They recite all mentioned like a Christian, done in the absence of the curate; they baptize Christians, sprinkling holy water on the subject, saying “I baptize you, Juan or Juana in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, amen.” And on the days of obligation, Friday and Wednesday, they say the morning prayer, stations, and responses to the dead, and all of the people recite [in response]. They carry out the festivities of the weekly festivals and keep watch over four Ember days so that the Indians observe them: all of this they do because the Indians of this kingdom are Christian and pious, capable servants of Jesus Christ.

What does this mean when we consider the musical life of native confraternities outside of Lima and nearby environs? From information such as this, we may gather that, given the wide diffusion of Spanish cultural practices, certainly including confraternity life, then, at least among Hispanic-acculturated indigenous confraternities, European instruments were present, as well as indigenous musicians thoroughly capable of playing them. We may also imagine, given the high degree of institutional and musical conformity (at least in outdoor performances, particularly during processions) between the indigenous and non-indigenous confraternities in the archdiocese, that the general religious and performance contexts of European music generally mirrored those that I described in previous chapters.

Constitutions provide some of the most direct currently available evidence of the musical life of confraternities. As I discussed in Chapter 3, constitutions reflected official prescriptions of Catholic rituals (and aspects of criteria required for inclusion in Hispanic or Hispanicized society), and were highly uniform throughout the archdiocese. As in the city of Lima and nearby environs, musical activities decorated the daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly rituals of confraternity life. Likewise, the three most important instructions in constitutions were that members confess and take communion during the main festival, that they provide funeral
services for deceased members, and that they have yearly commemoration services for living and dead members—musical activities figured prominently in the last two. In this chapter, for the sake of brevity, I limit my discussion to the constitutions of confraternities in the provinces of Ancash and Huarochirí, which were representative of other areas in the archdiocese. The available constitutions are overwhelmingly from the seventeenth century, but, as I discussed in Chapter 3, when taken together, the sources from throughout the archdiocese, and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, confraternities’ constitutions were generally temporally and spatially highly consistent. Yet, this official regularity leaves us with a distorted understanding of confraternities and music, since, as I discuss later in this chapter, ethno-historical sources, and documents from anti-idolatry campaigns, show a wider range of religious and musical practices—including, but also beyond those of the Western European tradition—as Hispano-Catholic and indigenous traditions clashed and merged.

Unfortunately, the currently available information from account books in the provinces outside of Lima is scant, and, unlike those of the confraternities I discussed in previous chapters, currently available data do not clarify the information found in constitutions. I located account books that list the expenses of confraternities mainly taken from margesi de fiestas (festival lists) prepared during ecclesiastical inspections (visitas eclesiásticas), but they are all from Ancash Province in 1774, and none of them even mentions music as a general expense category. Other account books from ecclesiastical inspections from the province that list the expenses associated with Catholic rituals suggest a far wider range of activities in which confraternities very likely participated.

Province of Ancash

San Juan de Huachinga, doctrina de San Francisco de Huari (province of Ancash?)

The 1645 copy of constitution of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Nativity (Nuestra Señora de la Natividad, church of Saint Juan of Huachinga)\(^\text{450}\) called for a solemn vespers, sung mass, and sermon during the principal festival (8 September), with an offering of four pesos (three pesos if without the sermon) to be given to the curate from the confraternity’s funds.

\(^{450}\) Leg. 46:7 (1645) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
Every three months, members were to have a mass (sung?) for all living and dead members, paid for from the confraternity’s funds. When a member died, all living members were to be present for the burial, during which there was to be a sung mass, paid for by an offering from the confraternity’s funds.

The confraternity had so many “problems from gatherings and drunkenness” (inconvenientes de Juntas de borracheras) during the titular festival that the constitution did not require a standard bearer (alférez) during the processions; apparently having one only contributed to confusion and disorder. Furthermore, such events (that the mayordomo had been sponsoring) carried over to private homes, and natives who did not wish to cease participating in these events could be removed from the confraternity. It should be noted, as I will discuss later, that gatherings and intoxications, as well as gathering in the home of a prominent member of the community in celebration, formed a central element in pre-Hispanic religious festivals, and this vexed Spanish authorities for the duration of the colonial period. This is the only constitution I consulted that so strongly confirmed the link to pre-colonial customs among confraternities in the provinces, which is otherwise suggested by other direct and circumstantial evidence. I discuss this evidence later.

**Huaraz**

**Church of Saint Sebastian of Huaraz (San Sebastián de Huaraz)**

The 1666 constitution of the Confraternity of Saint Joseph (San José)\(^{451}\) called for a sung mass of the “highest solemnity” during the afternoon preceding the principal feast day, followed by vespers, and a sounding of the church bells. A procession was to occur on the main feast day, to be funded with the confraternity’s collected offerings.

The 1669 constitution of the Confraternity of Holy Christ of Solitude (Santo Cristo de la Soledad)\(^{452}\) required all members to attend the main festival, the procession of Good Friday, and other unspecified celebrations. Also, there was to be a sung mass and vigil the day after the death of a member, paid for with the confraternity’s offerings.

The 1673 constitution of the Confraternity of Saint Rose of Saint Mary (Santa Rosa de Santa María)\(^{453}\) stipulated that the principal festival have the “greatest splendor and display

\(^{451}\) Leg. 46:17 (1666) (AAL, Series: Cofradías).
\(^{452}\) Leg. 46:20 (1669) (AAL, Series: Cofradías).
\(^{453}\) Leg. 46:23 (1673) (AAL, Series: Cofradías).
possible” (el mejor Lucimiento y aparato que se pudiere), paid for through customary offerings, and should include a vespers, mass (sung?), procession, and, if funds permitted, a sermon. Every year, members were to hold memorial ceremonies (including a mass (sung?) and vigil for dead former members.

The 1679 constitution of the Confraternity of Saint Michael (San Miguel)\(^4\) required a mass (sung?), Vespers, sermon, and procession during the principal festival. On 8 May (or the Sunday immediately previous if this date did not fall on a Sunday), the feast day of the Apparition of Saint Michael (Aparision del Señor San Miguel), there was to be a sung mass as part of the devout recognition of the Apparition. Finally, one day during the octave of All Saints, there was to be a sung mass.

The 1696 or 1697 constitution of the Confraternity of Holy Christ of Humility and Patience and Our Lady of Mercy (Santo Cristo de la Humildad y Paciencia y Nuestra Señora de la Misericordia)\(^5\) required a sung mass and vigil every year to commemorate deceased members, paid for from customary offerings. For individual deaths, there was to be a sung mass on the day that that the death occurred (or the following day if this was not possible). If there were insufficient funds for a sung mass, the town’s curates were to be advised of this and give a recited mass instead. On Holy Tuesday, the mayordomo was obligated to make sure that there was a solemn, sung Passion mass (se cante con toda solemnidad una misa de Pacion [sic]) at the altar of the confraternity, paid for through customary offerings. On the same day, all members were to participate in a penitent procession of mortification of the flesh (Procesion Penitente de mortificacion). Mayordomos were to provide for an additional day of memorial for dead members on All Saints Day, which was to include a sung mass.

**Doctrina de San Francisco de Chiquián**

The 1718 copy of the constitution of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary of Naval (Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Nabal)\(^6\) called for the assignment of a day for the principal festival to take place on Christmas Eve (Pasqua de Nauedad) and Matins, Lauds, or vespers (for which the parish priest [cura procurador] was to receive three pesos), with singing to take place at midnight, followed by a sung mass. The parish priest was to receive two pesos, where

\(^4\) Leg. 46:24 (1679) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\(^5\) Leg. 46:44 (1696/1697) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\(^6\) Leg. 46:48 (1718) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
two reales for officiating during the sung mass. On the day of the festival, there was to be another sung mass (for which the parish priest was to receive three pesos), procession, and sermon (with a fee of six pesos, six reales, paid to the parish priest). For their duties during the festival, the deacon and subdeacon were to each receive one peso.

On the festival day of the Epiphany of the Lord, there was to be a mass dedicated to the Holiest Virgin, and responsories to her sung on each day of the festival. The parish priest was to receive two pesos, two reales for performing these responsories, as well as two more pesos for the mass given the day after the Purification.

On the main feast day during the octave of the Incarnation of the Lord, the Assumption of the Holiest Virgin, and the Nativity of the Holiest Virgin, the Apparition of the Holiest Virgin of Our Lady of Mercies, the Visitation of the Holiest Virgin of Carmen, and the first Sunday of October, there was to be a sung mass with responsories, during which confraternity members were to offer two pesos, two reales.

On the first Monday of November, the confraternity was to have a sung vigil, requiem mass, procession, and responsories for the soul of the organization’s founder. Members were to be present in the town of Chiquián in order to accompany the rites with candles, and donate four pesos, four reales to the curate.

On the first Sunday of November during Patronage of the Holiest Virgin (Patrosinio de la Santisima Virgen), the twenty-first of the month, during the Presentation of the Holiest Virgin Mary (Presentacion de la Santisima Virgen Maria), and the main festival day during the octave of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, there was to be a sung mass with responsories, with a offering of two pesos, two reales.

Beginning 16 December, there were to be nine Christmas masses (“sung with great solemnity”) to the holiest Virgin, with an offering of two pesos, two reales for each mass, given to the officiating curate.

According to the 1719 constitution of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Pillar (Nuestra Señora del Pilar), during the principal festival, there was to be a sung mass of the “highest solemnity,” held the afternoon preceding the feast day, followed by vespers, and a sounding of the church bells. On the feast day, there was to be a procession, and if the confraternity’s funds

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457 For the festival of the Nativity of the Holiest Virgin, the sung mass with responsories, and offering of two pesos, two reales could also take place on the first Sunday of September.
458 Leg. 46:49 (1719) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
(accumulated from customary offerings) were sufficient, a sermon that the curate officiated. Nine days after the festivities ended, before the election of the *mayordomo*, members were to have a memorial mass (sung?) for the souls of defunct members, to be financed with members’ offerings.

**Church of Saint Francis of Huaraz (San Francisco de Huaraz)**

The 1678 constitution of the Confraternity of Saint Francis\(^{459}\) required a sung mass, vespers, and procession for the titular festival, funded from the confraternity’s collected offerings. On the memorial day for dead members, there was to be a requiem mass (sung?), funded with the confraternity’s collected offerings. For the burials of individual dead members, living members were to have a sung mass and vigil, again, funded from the confraternity’s collected offerings. Upon the burial of a dead member, surviving members were to have a sung mass and vigil, paid for through mandatory donations from each member and assistance from the *mayordomo*. Every four months, there was to be a sung mass “to the honor and glory of the holy patriarch” (*glorioso Santo Patriarcha para honra y gloria suya*). Should the confraternity increase to an unspecified size, there was to be one such mass every month.

**Other towns in Province of Ancash**

The 1671 constitution of the Confraternity of Saint Michael (San Miguel)\(^{460}\) in the town of Santiago de Huayan, *doctrina* of Huaylas, called for all members to be present and celebrate all festivals, and a sung mass during the burial of a newly deceased member.

The 1672 additions to the constitution of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament (Santísimo Sacramento)\(^{461}\) in the town of San Idelfonso de Recuay required two monthly sung masses (one every second Thursday), performed by the curate or his substitute, and paid for with customary offerings.

\(^{459}\) Leg. 46:30 (1678) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\(^{460}\) Leg. 46:21 (1671) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\(^{461}\) Leg. 46:22 (1672) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías). On folio 5, four confraternities that apparently participated in the same festivities are listed: Blessed Sacrament, Our Lady of Guadalupe, Our Lady of Pain (Nuestra Señora de los Dolores), and Blessed Souls (Benditas Animas).
The 1676 constitution of the multiracial (Spanish, *mestizo*, black, and mulatto) Confraternity of Saint Joseph (San José)⁴⁶² in the town of San Marcos de Llapo called for the 19 March feast of Saint Joseph to include a sung mass, vespers, procession, another mass (sung?) for living and dead members, and final sung mass and vigil for dead members. Members that failed to contribute to the offerings to fund the funeral ceremonies would forfeit their own such ceremonies upon their deaths.

The 1689 constitution of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Visitation (Nuestra Señora de la Visitación)⁴⁶³ in the town of Yungay required all members to be present for the titular festival (whose main feast day was 2 July). Their mandatory offerings were to be used to finance vespers, the mass (sung?), and procession, as well as a sung requiem mass with vigil for deceased members.

The following tables list the expenses associated with the *doctrinas* of Huari, Llamellín, and Nepeña in 1774. As I discussed earlier, none of the listed expenses even describes music as an expense category, but they give us an idea of the profusion of cyclical rites not evident in Lima’s confraternities.

**Doctrina of (Santo Domingo de) Huari**

| Confraternity of the Rosary (Rosario)⁴⁶⁴ | 5 memorial masses | 3 pesos, 3 reales (each?) |
| Confraternity of (Blessed) Souls ([Benditas] Animas)⁴⁶⁵ | 7 Friday masses to the Holy Spirit | 2 pesos, 3 reales (each?) |
| | 7 Friday masses during Lent | 2 pesos, 3 reales (each?) |
| | memorial mass during memorial Octave | 4 pesos, 4 reales |
| Confraternity of Our Lord (Nuestro Amo)⁴⁶⁶ | memorial mass | 3 pesos, 3 reales |
| Confraternity of Our Lady of the Nativity (Nuestra Señora de la Natividad) of Yaquia⁴⁶⁷ | mass during festival of Epiphany (Reyes) | 4 pesos, 4 reales |
| | Nativity mass (Pascua de Navidad) | 4 pesos, 4 reales |

⁴⁶² Leg. 63:24 (1676) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
⁴⁶³ Leg. 46:22 (1672) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
⁴⁶⁴ Leg. 5:14 (1774) (AAL, Serie: Visitas Eclesiásticas), fol. 53.
⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.
⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.
⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., fols. 56-57.
4 Christmas masses 2 pesos, 2 reales
memorial mass during festival of 6 pesos, 6 reales
Our Lady of the Nativity 4 memorial masses 2 pesos
Confraternity of Saint John the Baptist (San Juan Baptista) of Yaquía memorial mass 8 pesos
mass during Octave of Saint John 6 pesos, 6 reales

Other confraternity masses during 1774 in the town of Yaquí, annex

Mass during festival of
Epiphany 4 pesos, 4 reales
Nativity mass 4 pesos, 4 reales
4 Christmas masses 9 pesos (2 pesos, 2 reales each)
mass during Octave of the Nativity 6 pesos, 6 reales
memorial mass 6 pesos, 6 reales (second entry for 8 pesos)
1 mass each on Holy Monday and Tuesday 4 pesos, 4 reales

Doctrina and Town of Llamellín

Notable expenses of confraternities in 1774
Confraternity of Our Lady of the Assumption (Nuestra Señora de la Assuncion) in the town of Acso
Memorial mass during Octave of the dead (“Ynfraoctava de finados”) 3 pesos, 3 reales
Confraternity of Our Lady of the Visitation (Nuestra Señora de la Visitación) in the town of Mingas
Memorial mass during Octave of the dead 3 pesos, 3 reales
Confraternity of Our Lord (Nuestro Amo) in the town of Saint Andrew de Llamellín
Memorial mass during Octave of the dead 3 pesos, 3 reales
Confraternity of Blessed Souls (Benditas Animas) (unspecified location)
Memorial mass during Octave of the dead 3 pesos, 3 reales

Other confraternity masses during 1774 in the town of Llamellín and its annexes
Confraternity of Our Lord (Nuestro Amo)
Anniversary memorial mass 3 pesos, 3 reales (“infraoctava de finados”)
Confraternity of Blessed Souls (Benditas Animas)
Two anniversary memorial masses 6 pesos, 6 reales
Confraternity of Saint Andrew (San Andrés)

468 Ibid., fol. 57.
469 Ibid., fols. 58-59.
470 Leg. 5:15 (1774) (AAL, Serie: Visitas Eclesiásticas), fol. 37.
471 Ibid., fol. 38.
472 Ibid., fol. 39.
473 Ibid., fol. 40.
**Doctrina of (Our Lady of) Nepeña**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Confraternity of Our Lady of Guadalupe (Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe) (1774)</th>
<th>19 pesos, 4 reales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Christi (Santísimo Sacramento)</td>
<td>(vespers, mass (sung?), procession, and another mass (sung?) for living and dead members)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our Lady of Guadalupe (8 September)</td>
<td>19 pesos, 4 reales? (unlisted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Anthony (San Antonio)</td>
<td>sung mass unspecified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>responsories 10 or 12 pesos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sung mass, and vigil for annual memorial unspecified</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Province of Huarochirí**

The 1632 copy of the constitution of the Confraternity of Our Lady of Solitude (Nuestra Señora de la Soledad) in the town of Santa María de Huarochirí, stipulated that when members (of both sexes—the constitution explicitly allowed members of both sexes to enter) died, there was to be a sung mass and vigil, and customary offering to the curate. During the annual memorial octave for dead members, there was to be a sung mass, vigil, and offering of two pesos, two reales to the curate. During the festival of Our Lady of Solitude, there was to be a sung mass “with all solemnity” on the main feast day, as well as an additional sung mass for the health of living members and souls of dead ones.

The 1640 copy of the constitution of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Assumption (Nuestra Señora de la Asunción) in the town of San Juan de Matucana (parish of San Mateo de Huanchor) required the yearly celebration of Our Lady of the Assumption, with vespers, sung

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474 Ibid., fol. 42, 43.
475 Leg. 5:7 (1774) (AAL, Serie: Visitas Pastorales), fols. 5.
476 Ibid. (*Que la hazen los blancos en la misma forma que anterior*).
477 Ibid. (*La misma festival que hazen los Yndios*).
478 Ibid.
479 Leg. 58:32 (1632) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
480 Leg. 58:6 (1640) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
mass with sermon, procession, and an offering of four pesos to the curate. Every six months, there was to be a sung mass for living and dead members, and an offering of two pesos given to the curate. For individual funerals, services were to include a sung mass, during which the curate was to receive three pesos for his services.

The 1640 copy of the constitution of the Confraternity of the Visitation of Saint Elizabeth (Visitación de Santa Isabel)\(^{481}\) in the town of Huarochirí called for the festival of Saint Elizabeth to be held on 2 July every year with “all ostentation possible,” including vespers, mass, and procession, with an offering of three pesos to the curate. For funerals of senior dead members of the election boards, as well as their wives and children, the confraternity was to provide six candles to accompany the burial, standards, and a sung mass. The funerals of “junior members” (hermanos menores), their wives, and children, were to have four candles to accompany the burial, a sung mass.

A copy of the 1654 constitution of the Confraternity of Saint John the Baptist (San Juan Bautista)\(^{482}\) in the town of San Mateo de Huanchor required the yearly festival of Saint John the Baptist on 24 July or the following Sunday with vespers, sung mass, and procession, and an offering of three pesos to the curate. Every six months, there was to be a sung mass as part of memorial services for living and dead members. During the octave of these memorial services, there was to be another sung mass for dead members, and an offering of two pesos given to the curate. When individual members died, there was to be a collection to pay for the candle wax used for the vigil, to be added to the account for masses (presumably sung for these occasions).

The 1663 copy of the constitution of the Confraternity of Holy Christ (Santo Cristo)\(^{483}\) in the provincial seat of Huarochirí required the main festival to include a sung mass for dead members and to the Virgin, sermon, vespers, and procession, all with “solemnity and devotion,” as well as an offering of three pesos to the curate. When a member died, the funeral services were to include a sung requiem mass, a recited mass, and an offering of one peso to the curate. Every year, there was to be a memorial for dead members, which was to include a sung mass, candles (for the vigil), and an offering of three pesos to the curate.

\(^{481}\) Leg. 58:11 (1640) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\(^{482}\) Leg. 58:12 (1654) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\(^{483}\) Leg. 58:16 (1663) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
A copy of the 1664 constitution of the Confraternity of Blessed Souls of Purgatory (Benditas Animas del Purgatorio),\textsuperscript{484} founded by indigenous nobles (\textit{caciques}) in the town of Santa María de Jesús, allowed male and female membership, called for four sung masses, with vigils and responsories to be given for members, as well as an offering of two pesos given to the curate. One of these masses was to be given during the memorial for dead members and their souls in Purgatory.

The 1665 copy of the constitution of the Confraternity of the Virgin Mary (Virgen María)\textsuperscript{485} in the town of San Mateo de Huanchor called for the festival of the Virgin Mary, which included a sung mass with sermon and procession, with an offering of four pesos to the curate. When a member died, standards and candles were to accompany the burial, and he was to receive a sung mass, vigil, and responsory for his soul, and members were to make an offering of four pesos to the curate.

The 1667 copy of the constitution of the Confraternity of Saint Christ (Santo Cristo)\textsuperscript{486} in the town of Santiago de Anchocalla called for the main festival, on which day members were to confess and take communion. When a member died, he was to receive a sung mass and vigil, while members were to offer the officiating curate three pesos for his services. The 1669 version\textsuperscript{487} of the constitution stipulated that there be a festival for the exaltation of the holy cross, with vespers, mass, and procession. During the octave of All Saints, there was to be a sung mass and vigil for all members who had died during the year, as well as an offering of three pesos, three reales. For individual funerals, there was to be a sung mass, vigil, and an offering of three pesos, three reales.

The 1671 copy of the constitution of the Confraternity of Holy Christ (Santo Cristo)\textsuperscript{488} in the town of San Lorenzo de Quintí required members to confess and take communion, and to offer the curate four pesos during the main festival. On the day after the main festival, there was to be a sung mass and vigil for dead members, as well as an offering made to the curate of three pesos, three reales.

\textsuperscript{484} Leg. 58:17 (1664) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\textsuperscript{485} Leg. 58:19 (1665) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\textsuperscript{486} Leg. 58:21 (1667) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\textsuperscript{487} Leg. 58:24 (1669) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
\textsuperscript{488} Leg. 58:25 (1671) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
A 1671 copy of the constitution of the Confraternity of Saint Marcellus (San Marcelo)\(^\text{489}\) in the town of San Juan de Labaytambo allowed men and women to enter as members, called for the festival of Saint Marcellus to include a sung mass and sermon, candles (presumably for the vespers the night before the main feast day), and procession, as well as an offering of four pesos, four reales to be given to the curate. On the main feast day, members were to confess and take communion. Upon the death of a member, the funeral services were to include a sung mass, insignia, coffin covering, standard, and candle for the vigil and funerary procession, as well as a customary offering to be given to the *mayordomo* (who then gave it to the curate?). On the memorial day for living and dead members, there was to be a sung mass, as well as an offering of three pesos, three reales to be given to the *mayordomo* (who then gave it to the curate?).

The 1675 copy of the constitution of the Confraternity of Saint Rose (Santo Rosa)\(^\text{490}\) in the town of Santo Domingo de los Olleros required a yearly festival of Saint Rose in August, which was to include a sung mass, vespers, and procession (all “conforming with the synods of the Archdiocese”),\(^\text{491}\) and an offering of four pesos to the curate. On the main feast day of this festival, members were to confess and take communion. When members died, they were to receive a sung mass and vigil as part of the funeral services, and there was to be a monthly sung mass for the health of living members (with an offering of two pesos to the curate). Every year, there was to be a memorial for dead members, which was to include a sung mass and vigil.

A 1692 copy of the constitution of the Confraternity of Saint Matthew (San Mateo)\(^\text{492}\) in the town of Santa María de Huarochirí stipulates that both men and women could enter as members, that there be a sung mass and vigil upon the death of a member and during the yearly memorial for dead members, with a customary offering for the curate’s funerary services during both. During the festival of Saint Matthew, there was to be a vespers, sung mass, and procession “with all solemnity.”

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**The Limits of Evangelization: Indigenous Syncretism and Heterodoxy**

\(^{489}\) Leg. 67:30 (1671) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).

\(^{490}\) Leg. 67:21 (1675) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).

\(^{491}\) (*Conforme a las Synodales deste Arzobispado*).

\(^{492}\) Leg. 58:31 (1692) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
As I suggested earlier, exclusive reliance on confraternities’ constitutions and the account books that clarify them leaves us with a distorted understanding of indigenous confraternities and music in the archdiocese of Lima, particularly in the rural areas. As I discussed in Chapter 3, festivals contributed greatly to the mayordomo’s (in the Andean region, generally a high-ranking member of the community such as an indigenous lord [cacique or curaca]) and his confraternity’s cultural capital, and, as a result, could strengthen social links in the community. The Jesuits led in efforts to evangelize the indigenous population and extirpate pre-colonial religious customs and artifacts through the middle of the seventeenth century; the founding of confraternities in missions was part of these efforts. In Ofensas a Dios,\textsuperscript{493} Juan Carlos García Cabrera describes these efforts, for example in 1625 and 1626 in the province of Cajatambo:

En el curso de las misiones los padres apresaron a hechiceros, quemaron objetos de adoración, estatuas de madera, castigaron borracheras, confesaron un número indeterminable de indios, fundaron cofradías y colocaron el Santísimo Sacramento en más de siete pueblos, cabezas de doctrina.\textsuperscript{494}

During the course of the missions, the fathers seized [people believed to be] sorcerers, burned objects of adoration, wooden statues, punished [for] borracheras, received confession from innumerable Indians, founded confraternities, and placed the Blessed Sacrament in more than seven towns, parish seats.

Partially on the basis of anti-idolatry documents from the “Hechicerías e Idolatrías” series in the AAL (some of which I discuss later), Kenneth Mills\textsuperscript{495} writes that “Andean notables played leading roles in what the extirpators often found most ‘wrong’ with Andean Christianity, namely the Indians' apparently consistent failures in the realm of public piety.” Citing saints’ festivals as an example, Mills writes that as periodic Catholic festivals moved “into the center of colonial Andean religiosity,” they did not usually displace “existing allegiances and ways of religious expression.” The “exuberance” with which they participated in confraternities, while


initially a boon to missionaries, became a source of perpetual vexation, since some church officials suspected that they merely served as cover for covert “idolatrous” observances, and undermined the underlying impulses of Hispano-Catholic hegemony. Others, while not sharing those suspicions, nonetheless frowned upon what they considered irreverence and lack of restraint. Mills writes:

The fiestas were the Indians' own; people from the region’s communities and “relatives” who worked far away came together to sing, dance and drink, affirming their connections to each other and to ancestral divinities and sacred places. But to many contemporary officials’ eyes, Indians in Peru, as elsewhere in colonial Spanish America, were making a mockery of these occasions. Indians tended towards “unacceptable enthusiasms” and irreverence in their celebration of Catholic festivals. The exuberance of their participation in confraternities, initially welcomed by missionaries, had become the problem. Some churchmen suspected that Christian celebrations were only a convenient “veil” for “stripped-down” idolatrous observances that went on in secret. Other observers were more guarded, while still regretting the native appetite for expressions of religiosity that went beyond “the guidance of the ordained clergy.” Most commonly, patronal feasts were thought to be made ridiculous by the Indians' lack of restraint, and the opportunities these occasions seemed to afford for sloth and sin. Many solemn affairs, meant as hegemonic exhibitions of communal stability and devotion, had a way of triggering scenes of irreverence, the defilement of order and even extravagant violence.\textsuperscript{496}

Earlier, I cited a seventeenth-century constitution from the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Nativity in the \textit{doctrina} of San Francisco de Huari in Ancash that mentioned members gathering in the house of the \textit{mayordomo} during festivals, where they participated in \textit{borracheras}. \textit{Borracheras} were essential components of pre-colonial celebrations, and survived throughout the colonial period (which vexed colonial authorities). On 26 July 1662, a petition was filed for an investigation of the indigenous \textit{mayordomos} and the confraternities of the Immaculate Conception [of Mary], the Blessed Sacrament, and Our Lady of Copacabana in the town of Gorgor in Cajamarquilla (in the vicinity of Lima). During an investigation of the alleged theft of the main church’s livestock, the investigator was told of idolatry in the parish and requested a further inspection by a \textit{visitador}. Ahead of the arrival of the \textit{visitador}, the

\textsuperscript{496} Ibid.
Mayordomos of the confraternities fled, having been accused of idolatry by indigenous witnesses from Gorgor.\textsuperscript{497} These two references are among the most direct evidence I located that explicitly links confraternities to pre-colonial traditions in the rural, mainly indigenous areas of the archdiocese. As I discuss below, additional direct and circumstantial evidence of practices in indigenous communities throughout the archdiocese strongly suggests that the documents I located barely scratch the surface.

Even a cursory glance at the names of confraternities (and the locations where they lay) whose records lie in the AAL reveals a profusion of the names of saints. Celia L. Cussen writes that there were important links between the “eradication of idols and the promotion of saints in colonial Peru.” \textsuperscript{498} As Spanish settlers continued the practice prevalent among Catholics in Europe of venerating saints (especially the Virgin Mary), new Spanish and indigenous settlements named after them housed churches whose decorations reflected parishioners’ devotion, while saints occupied a central position in the evangelizing efforts of the church, and towns throughout the Spanish colonies highlighted patron saints in the annual religious celebrations. Cussen writes:

In the Spanish colonies, saints enjoyed—as they did in Catholic Europe—a privileged position at the center of devotional life. The Virgin Mary, Queen of Heaven, was without a doubt the most beloved saint the Spaniards carried to the colonies during the conquest period, and only that of Christ surpassed the cult she enjoyed. Each new Spanish and Indian town was named for a saint, and likenesses of martyrs, apostles, and founders of religious orders were placed alongside images of Christ and the Virgin in the altar decorations of urban temples and the murals adorning rural churches. Friars and secular priests who endeavored to convert the indigenous population used saints as one of their principal tools of evangelization, and these special friends of God and man were rooted quickly into many aspects of Andean life—although not always in ways clergymen expected or desired. From the time of baptism every Andean bore the names of a Christian saint, and, in the Andes as elsewhere in Spanish America, the annual celebration of the town’s patron saint was a signal event of public ritual life.\textsuperscript{499}

\textsuperscript{497} Leg. 4:6A (1662) (AAL, Serie: Hechicerías e Idolatrías).
\textsuperscript{498} Celia L. Cussen, “The Search for Idols and Saints in Colonial Peru: Linking Extermination and Beatification” in \textit{Hispanic American Historical Review}, 85:3 (August 2005), 419.
\textsuperscript{499} Ibid.
Through analyses of seventeenth-century sermon collections written for indigenous Andean congregations, reports of inspecting extirpators (*visitadores de idolatría*), and documents sent to the Vatican supporting the lobby for the beatification of Fray Martín de Porres, Cussen argues that, despite the concerns of seventeenth-century extirpating priests, who believe “pre-Christian habits of mind often misshaped Indian interaction with the saints,” colonial authorities generally “increasingly believed that Peru’s saints were effective antidotes to idolatry.” She suggests that the “profusion of Andean ‘idols’ the *visitadores de idolatría* encountered and destroyed” intensified Lima’s “baroque enthusiasm for miracles and saints”; the most reactionary clerics ultimately believed that the substitution of saints for idols was the only effective means to combat the “manifest presence of evil” that these “idols” represented.

By the 1650s, clerics had begun to circulate “devotional paraphernalia, especially paper images” of pious Limeños (for many of whom, the Vatican received documents in support of their beatification) among Christian natives in rural areas in the belief that, more than European saints, “saintly Limeños would become immensely popular emblems of Catholicism in the rural areas outside of Lima.” According to Cussen, the hagiographies of saintly Limeños such as Martín de Porres, a mulatto, Isabel Cano, a mestiza, and Madre Estephania, a mulatta, all emphasized non-Spaniards as a means of indoctrinating the non-Spanish population. In the examples she discusses, all hagiographies emphasized the person’s humility, charity, subservience, and dissimulation of lower intellectual faculty, all traits that supported prevailing stereotypes of non-Spaniards and, as a corollary, reinforced Spanish hegemony. In the cases of Isabel Cano and Madre Estephania, Cussen writes that they fit a “prototype of ideal Christian behavior” for Lima’s black, mulatto, *mestizo*, and indigenous population, particularly women from lower social strata. They “helped the sick, assumed poverty of dress, practiced penance constantly, and displayed extreme humility.” These hagiographies would also serve as examples of ideal Christian behavior for rural indigenous Andean communities as clerics preached them.

These efforts, however, produced unsatisfactory results in the native populations, and the Catholic Church was limited in its ability to convert them. For one, the theoretically powerful Lima Inquisition, which René Millar Carvacho notes had no jurisdiction over natives, and largely

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500 Ibid., 421.
501 Ibid., 448.
502 Ibid., 437-439.
focused its attention on those who lived in Spanish urban centers, in part because of the daunting logistics of effectively monitoring the viceroyalty’s vast rural areas where most natives lived.\textsuperscript{503}

In his decree establishing the Inquisition in Lima in 1570, Philip II of Spain had prepared firm instructions for the Chief Inquisitor, informing him that natives, special charges of the Crown, were to be exempt from the authority of the Holy Office, and, with implicit anticipation of the negative response resulting from excessive coercion, ordered that the Inquisition operate with “temperance, softness, and much consideration” in order to disarm those who would otherwise have reason to harbor ill will toward the institution. An excerpt of these instructions reads:

\begin{quote}
Se advierte que, por virtud de nuestros poderes, no habeis de proceder contra los indios del dicho vuestro distrito, porque por ahora, hasta que otra cosa os ordene, es nuestra voluntad que solo useis de ellas contra los cristianos viejos y sus descendientes y las otras personas contra quienes en estos reinos de España se suele proceder; y que en casos de que conociereis useis con toda templanza y suavidad y con mucha consideración, porque así conviene que se haga, de manera que la Inquisición sea muy temida y respetada y no se dé ocasión para que con razón se le pueda yener odio.\textsuperscript{504}
\end{quote}

It is warned, by virtue of our powers, that you shall not proceed against the Indians of your district, because from now until you are ordered, it is our will that you only use our powers against old Christians and their descendants, and other people against whom one normally proceeds in these kingdoms of Spain; and in cases where you should know to use them, do it with all temperance and softness, and with much consideration, because it is appropriate to do so, in such a manner that the Inquisition be much awe-inspiring and respected, and not give occasion for which with reason one may fill with hatred.

In the case of the archdiocese of Lima, that left the responsibility of policing indigenous religious practices to archbishops through the anti-idolatry campaigns they sponsored, but the lack of consensus within the church leadership, unreliable ecclesiastical and political support of extirpation campaigns, and the over-reliance on coercion also produced unsatisfactory results for the church.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{504} Lib. 252, fol. 97 (AHN, Inquisición), op. cit., 489.
\end{flushleft}
Kenneth Mills writes that the failure of the Catholic Church to “convert the peoples of the archdiocese of Lima to a steadfast and orthodox Christian faith” by the early seventeenth century severely shook its confidence. Natives were continuing to practice pre-colonial religious customs, hiding them under the “guise of proper Christian acceptance,” and church officials quickly began to support a “systematic and forceful initiative to solve the widespread problem of religious error and to continue the absorption of the Indians into Christendom.” According to Mills, however, this support only “intermittently” (during the seventeenth century) or “sporadically” (through the first half of the eighteenth century) crystallized into anti-idolatry campaigns, a “series of inquisitorial investigations held in a succession of parishes.” The archdiocese dispatched visitadores de idolataría to “invite” individual confessions of guilt and denunciations of other religious offenders, and depended heavily “on the patronage of certain archbishops and viceroys,” as well as the abilities of “enemies of idolatry” to induce them to carry out inspections.\(^{505}\)

Part of the Catholic Church’s limited ability to root out and break up pre-colonial indigenous religious practice lay in internal conflict and “constant fluctuation of opinion among contemporary churchmen,” evident most acutely among the Jesuits, who withdrew from official anti-idolatry campaigns during the 1650s. The withdrawal of the Jesuits, who had gained an “unrivalled contemporary reputation for effective evangelization among the Indians,” precipitated a more punitive approach (diligencia) from the Church. Whereas through the early decades of the seventeenth century, inspectors of idolatry had served as guiding reformers, by the second half of the century, they increasingly used physical coercion, a “harsh rhetoric of dissuasion,” and destruction of the physical artifacts of indigenous religious practices as modes of operation, contradicting the initially reformative objectives of anti-idolatry campaigns.\(^{506}\)

Anti-idolatry campaigns reached their highest frequency during the tenure of Archbishop Villagómez Vivanco (1640-1671), and, on the balance, emphasized punitive measures over reformative “programs of instruction.” Drawing from records in the AAL’s “Hechicerías e Idolatrías” series, Mills reflects that through the most coercive activities, church authorities could isolate, discipline, and publically ridicule offenders in front of other natives, and physically destroy the “so-called instruments of idolatry, the false gods, the ancestors’ remains and the

\(^{506}\) Ibid.
sacrificial materials.” Non-physical coercion took place in the form of efforts to “refute and humiliate Andean spiritual leaders and to degrade what the churchmen took to be central aspects of Andean religion.” Elements in this interpolating coercion (recalling Bhabha’s interpellation) included clerics’ framing anti-idolatry ideology through the use of words such as “idolatry” and “superstition” when describing indigenous religious practices; portraying the indigenous priesthood as avaricious servants of the Devil; dismissing the physical relics of Andean religion as idols or toys; and severely patronizing adult “religious transgressors” by sometimes having their sentences include “supervised terms in the children’s daily doctrina classes.” Public acts of punishment could range from floggings of naked, shaved, and tied perpetrators; and processions of shame where criers shouted the religious crimes of the guilty, the latter carrying crosses and wearing *corozas* (conspicuous, pointed headgear); to (for the most dangerous and least likely to convert)—so-called sorcerers (*hechiceros*), witches (*brujos*), ministers and ritual specialists—public banishments to Lima’s correctional prison (Casa de Santa Cruz) or a reforming convent.  

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With circumstances such as these in mind, it is tempting in retrospect to overestimate the efficacy of coercion in the Christianization of the indigenous populations of the Andean region and in the most saccharine, quasi-triumphalist historiography, to narrate tales of impotent, passive natives either converting or fleeing to the highlands in their escape from the omnipotent, conquering temporal and spiritual armies of Hispano-Christendom. Recalling Foucault and Bourdieu, however, coercion, particularly physical coercion, is a cost-ineffective, unsustainable mode of hegemony: coercion, especially physical coercion, unlike doxic habitus, the most cost-effective, sustainable mode of hegemony, does not foster self-reproducing orthodox behaviors among subalterns, and requires the perpetual mobilization and investment of the resources necessary to reinitiate or retrace the process of discovering and indoctrinating heterodox subalterns *ad infinitum* as the latter devise myriad tactics and strategies to evade detection, or respond in kind to excessive, especially physical, coercion. In the geographically vast Viceroyalty of Peru, with its small personnel of clerics (almost exclusively limited to the already small minority Spanish population), church officials could ill afford to constantly divert resources in this manner. It is no surprise then, that Mills frames the seventeenth-century *diligencia* as both a symptom of, and a reactionary attempt of the Catholic Church to overcome

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507 Ibid.
the limits of Catholic evangelization, and concludes that, far from rooting out and breaking
indigenous religious practices, extirpation campaigns actually inadvertently encouraged both
religious syncretism, and, more strongly, the covert practice of indigenous religious traditions in
the face of repressive coercion. Mills writes:

The Christianization of the Andeans was clearly not limited solely by self-imposed
restraints, nor by the invincibility of Indian religious tradition, nor by a presumed
recalcitrance. Andeans were active agents in the challenges that beset their world, but the
particular face of the Christianity which was epitomized by the idolatry visitas and their
diligencias contributed significantly to the religious outcomes. Extirpation campaigns
bred a sort of natural resistance which allowed for myriad forms of religious
intermixture; extirpation encouraged an aversion to what was being trumpeted as official
Christianity. The Extirpation's forms of coercion may also have fostered a need to
withdraw and a deep distrust and hatred which would brew until an outlet was found in
later rebellions. And it is not so difficult to know how to interpret an indigenous
response to religious investigation which is more common in the evidence from the
eighteenth century, that of guarded silence. We know that in at least one region elders
had learned a valuable lesson by 1725: they instructed people to keep their true beliefs to
themselves.\footnote{Ibid.}

**Ethno-historical Sources: “El Inca” Garcilaso de la Vega and Felipe Guaman Poma de
Ayala**

I begin the discussion of direct and circumstantial evidence of syncretism and heterodoxy
in the musical life of indigenous confraternities in the provinces with the narrative treatises of
“El Inca” Garcilaso de la Vega and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Regarding the motives of
authors of treatises during the early colonial period in the Americas, Rolena Adorno writes that
most “represented the distillation of particular ideological positions, which the authors attempted
to impose on their readers,” under the “guise of unadorned reporting.” As a result, the sixteenth-
century chronicles of Peru generally fall into two categories: those that justified the “private
interests of the conquistadors and their descendants,” and those that “served the political interests
of administrators concerned with governing the native populations and establishing the rights and
strategies for doing so.” Indigenous writers, educated in European historical-narrative models, were no different in using the narrative treatise as a means to articulate particular ideological positions, and their “recovery of history was as fraught with personal motives and collective self-interest as were the works produced by European chroniclers of the generations before them.”

This inherent conflict of interests in their works notwithstanding, authors of any given cultural group often unintentionally provided independently verifiable details in their descriptions. In this dissertation, I give greater weight to two Andeans—Guaman Poma and “El Inca” Garcilaso de la Vega—who both had deep genealogical and cultural links with their subjects, and who were also privy to the ancient oral histories and traditions of their subjects to a vastly greater degree than the culturally-distant and largely Iberian-born Spanish authors and architects of colonial policy whom they engaged.

After Bartolomé de la Casas’s damning indictment of Spanish colonialism in the Americas, Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias (1552), which contributed to the Black Legend of Spanish colonialism, the Spanish crown “undertook an anti-de las Casas campaign to legitimate itself.” Beginning in 1565, the viceroy Francisco de Toledo promoted a number of chronicles that served to “justify colonialism and combat the right of sovereignty of the Inca kings and nobles.” Works such as Polo de Ondegardo’s Relaciones, Sarmiento de Gamboa’s Historia de los incas, and the reports concerning the Incan past that the viceroy ordered, “sought to discredit the natives, and, specifically, attempted to show that the Inca were not sovereigns by natural right, but were usurping barbarians and tyrants, and that their ritual practices (polytheism, cannibalism, human sacrifice) were completely inhuman.” After having rationalized that the “absence” of legitimate Incan sovereignty had created a power vacuum in Peru, the Spanish crown could then replace the Inca and “dispose them of their possessions with impunity.”

“El Inca” Garcilaso de la Vega, reacting to the gross adulteration of Incan history in Spanish historiography, subsequent royal justification for usurping Inca sovereignty, and finally Spanish exploitation, wrote Comentarios Reales (published in two parts in 1609 and posthumously in 1617) “contesting Toledan arguments and specifically the legitimacy of the Inca kings and the question of religion.” In this work, de la Vega credits the Inca with “preparing”

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the empire “for the advent of Christianity.” Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (1615) reflected his “complex but coherent” position “in favor of native rule and opposed to colonialism, anti-Inca but pro-Andean, anticlerical but pro-Catholic.” Like de la Vega, Guaman Poma promoted Catholicism and the view that the Inca had prepared the Andean region for Christianity, and went further, asserting that natives, not corrupt and immoral Spanish colonists, were true Christians, while he vehemently opposed pre-colonial indigenous religious practices.

In colonial orthodoxy, de la Vega and Guaman Poma were both, to recall Homi Bhabha, a species of “reformed Other,” in that they fully believed in the Catholic morality that the religious and political architects of Spanish colonialism espoused, but also threatened the Spanish colonial enterprise by challenging the same architects with the very moral codes they ostensibly desired to cultivate in colonized natives, since these moral codes were inherently hypocritical in the colonial context. On the one hand, they belonged to groups subordinate to Spaniards in colonial orthodoxy (de la Vega was a *mestizo* born out of wedlock, Guaman Poma was fully indigenous). Yet on the other hand, and more importantly, they both descended from indigenous nobility and Incan royalty, were wealthy members of the elite, and were acculturated in Hispano-Catholic modes of behavior. As a result, they occupied the *rhetorically unmarked* space of both official subalternity and actual elite status—the latter the official monopoly of

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511 Ibid.
512 Adorno, 5.
513 This is not a reactive, retrospective indictment of Spanish colonialism, since already within the first generation of the Spanish colonial enterprise in the Americas, debate was present among high political and church figures regarding its moral legitimacy and, particularly among the Jesuits, there was a sustained critique of the treatment of natives in the Spanish colonies until the latter’s expulsion from them in 1767. Moreover, the Spanish crown routinely (at least through the early seventeenth century) reminded Spanish colonial officials, through royal decrees, of their Christian duties to protect, not abuse or exploit natives (their acknowledged humanity implicit in one of the official purposes of Spanish colonialism, that of evangelizing and saving their souls). This contrasted with the crown’s active encouragement of not only the appropriation of indigenous resources through means that often stretched colonial laws beyond recognition, but also the institutionalization of forced labor through the *mita* (the worst of which was the generally lethal and inhuman mine labor) upon Christian and non-Christian natives alike, and the promotion of historiography that reinforced the colonial orthodoxy of indigenous intellectual, cultural, and moral inferiority (thereby justifying these contradictions to the moral codes upon Christianity rested). To state more directly, if there was no cognitive dissonance that arose as a result of the distance between Christian morality and the socio-political mechanisms that reinforced Spanish hegemony in the colonies, then the Spanish crown and principal figures in the Spanish colonial enterprise would not have strenuously defended this distance through orthodoxy. Recalling Bourdieu, orthodoxy inherently presupposes a rupture of doxa, the “common sense,” unquestioned state of affairs.
514 Both were culturally mestizo, and Guaman Poma was likely identified as an *indio ladino*, a native who was “presumably proficient in Castillian, Christian in belief, and Hispanicized in custom,” although Guaman Poma never used that appellation “because of the effective erasure of elite status that its use commonly connotated.” Ibid., xlv.
Spaniards—in the colonial social hierarchy. As members of elite strata in the colonial hierarchy, de la Vega’s and Guaman Poma’s immediate motives for writing very likely had more to do with reinforcing and improving their status (facilitated through command of one of the most powerful tools of Spanish hegemony, the written narrative, of the genealogies of their peers in the indigenous nobility) than with proclaiming a kindred bond with indigenous commoners and their customs. Indeed, as I discuss below, their descriptions of indigenous religious customs (including music), derived from or preserving pre-colonial customs to varying degrees (which they unapologetically characterized as idolatrous and superstitious), typically occurred from the perspective of Christian morality and in the belief that such customs were deficient and incomplete preludes to Christianity (the latter in the case of the Inca). With this qualification in mind, however, history has overwhelmingly confirmed the veracity of their descriptions (if not the subjective appraisals) of indigenous customs. Of particular interest to us are the centrality of making sacrificial offerings and communal bouts of intoxication in indigenous and syncretic religious celebrations, with musical activities decorating these events, because, as I discuss later, these practices persisted for the duration of the colonial period (and through the present day in many rural indigenous communities in Peru and other regions of the Andes).

Regarding the polytheism of the Pre-Incan First Age of Idolatry, de la Vega, from the perspective Catholic piety, scornfully describes the countless deities for every occasion and social group, and implores the reader to note that this Age belongs to the “ancient,” pre-Incan (and pre-monotheistic) past. He writes:

Para que se entienda mejor la idolatría, vida y costumbres de los indios del Perú, será necesario dividamos aquellos siglos en dos edades: diremos como vivían antes de los Incas y luego diremos cómo gobernaron aquellos Reyes, para que no se confunda lo uno con otro, ni se atribuyan las costumbres ni los dioses de los unos a los otros. Para lo cual es de saber que en aquella primera edad y antigua gentilidad unos indios había pocos mejores que bestias mansas y otros muchos peores que fieras bravas. Y principiendo de sus dioses, decimos que los tuvieron conforme a las demás simplicidades y torpezas que

515 Although he remained in Spain after he arrived there in 1561 to press his rights of inheritance through his Spanish father—probably partially because of the potential peril that resulted from an assertion of royal Incan lineage (the viceroy Francisco de Toledo ordered the royally unauthorized 1572 regicide of the last Incan emperor, Túpac Amaru I)—de la Vega continued to emphasize his Incan heritage and interest in the improvement of the lives of indigenous Peruvians, investing himself, albeit spatially distant, in the colonial context.
usaron, así en la muchedumbre de ellos como en las vileza y bajeza de las cosas que adoraban, porque es así que cada provincia, cada nación, cada pueblo, cada barrio, cada linaje y cada casa tenía dioses diferentes unos de otros, porque les parecía que el dios, ocupado con otro, no podía ayudarles, sino el suyo propio. Y así vinieron a tener tanta variedad de dioses y tantos que fueron sin número, y porque no supieron, como los gentiles romanos, hacer dioses imaginadas.\textsuperscript{516}

In order that one better understand the idolatry, life, and customs of the Indians of Peru, it will be necessary for us to divide those centuries in two ages: we shall tell how they lived before the Inca, and later we shall tell how those kings governed, so that one does not confuse one with the other, or attribute either the customs or the gods of some for others. For that reason, is it worth knowing that in the first age of ancient paganism, some Indians were little more than calm beasts, and others were far worse than savage wild animals. Beginning with their gods, we say that the Indians had them conforming to the other simplicities and stupidities that they used, as much in the plethora of the gods, as in the vileness and baseness of the things they worshipped, because every province, nation, town, neighborhood, family, and house worshipped in this way, each having different gods, because it seemed to them that the god, busy with another social unit, could not help those of a different social unit, only its own social unit. And that way, they came to have such a variety of gods and so much that they were without number, and they did not discover, like the pagan Romans, how to make imaginary gods.

According to de la Vega, sacrifices during the First Age ranged in morbidity from bloody human sacrifices to ones that used blood without killing another human. During the Second (Incan) Age, however, (and continuing into the Third, Christian Age), human sacrifice had ended; instead, sacrificial offerings took the form of animals, various agricultural products, and precious articles. All of these, in light of de la Vega’s narrative of Incan “preparation” for the Christian Age, were interesting homologies to the sacrificial items in Judaism, whose Tanakh first became the Old Testament “preparation” for Christianity in the minds of early Christian theologists). De la Vega writes:

\textsuperscript{516} Serna, 128.
Los sacrificios que los Incas ofrecieron al Sol fueron de muchas y diversas cosas, como animales domésticos grandes y chicos. El sacrificio principal y el más estimado era el de los corderos, y luego el de los carneros, luego el de las ovejas machorras. Sacrificaban conejos caseros y todas las aves que eran de comer y sebo a solas, y todas mieses y legumbres, hasta la yerba cuca, y ropa de vestir de la muy fina, todo lo cual quemaban en lugar de encienso y lo ofrecían en haciimiento de gracias de que lo hubiese criado el Sol para sustento de los hombres. También ofrecían en sacrificio mucho brebaje de lo que bebían, hecho de agua y maíz, y en las comidas ordinarias, cuando les traían de beber, después que habían comido (que mientras comían nunca bebían), a los primeros vasos

517 Ibid., 133-134.
mojaban la punta del dedo de en medio, y, mirando al cielo con acatamiento, despedían del dedo (como quien da papirotas) la gota del brebaje que en él se les había pegado, ofreciéndola al Sol en hacimiento de gracias porque les daba de beber, y con la boca daban dos o tres besos al aire, que, como hemos dicho, era entre aquellos indios señal de adoración. Hecha esta ofrenda en los primeros vasos bebían lo que se les antojaba sin más ceremonias.

Esta última ceremonia o idolatría yo la vi hacer a los indios no bautizados, que en mi tiempo aún había muchos viejos por bautizar, y a necesidad yo bauticé algunos. De manera que en los sacrificios fueron los Incas casi o del todo semejantes a los indios de la primera edad. Sólo se diferenciaron en que no sacrificaron carne ni sangre humana con muerte, antes lo abandonaron y prohibieron como el comerla, y si algunos historiadores lo han escrito, fue porque los relatores los engañaron, por no dividir las edades y las provincias, donde y cuándo se hacían los semejantes sacrificios de hombres, mujeres, y niños.518

The sacrifices that the Inca offered to the Sun were of many and diverse things, such as large and small domestic animals. The most important and most highly esteemed sacrifice was that of lambs, later of goats, and later still that of ewes. They offered domestic rabbits and all birds that were eaten, suet, all types of corn, plants, including coca, and very fine clothing, all of which they burned in a pyre, and offered in thanksgiving for all that the Sun had created for men’s sustenance. They also offered in sacrifice many concoctions of what they would drink, made from corn, and in ordinary meals, when they brought them to drink, after having eaten (because they would never drink while eating), they would wet the first vases with the tip of the middle finger, and, looking at observantly the sky, they would offer a drop of the libation from their wet fingers (in a flicking manner) to the Sun in thanksgiving because it provided them with drink, and with the mouth they gave two or three kisses in the air, which, as we have said, was among those Indians a sign of adoration. Having made this offering from the first vases they would drink what they wanted without more ceremonies.

I have seen this last ceremony or idolatry among pagan Indians, that in my time there were still many elderly Indians that needed to be baptized, and from necessity I baptized some. In the manner of the offerings [that] were the Inca [it was] the same in all or almost all Indians of the first age. The only thing that distinguished them was that the former did not sacrifice flesh or human blood with death, having abandoned and prohibited eating it earlier, and if some historians have written the contrary, it was because the reporters misled them, for not having divided the ages and provinces, where and when they did such sacrifices of men, women, and children.

During preparations for the festival and procession of the Sun (Inti Raymi), people generally fasted for three days on herbs called chúcam and water, put out fires in the capital of Cuzco, and abstained from sexual intercourse. On the night before the festival, Incan priests would sacrifice sheep and lambs, as well as other customary sacrificial items offered by members of the nobility, their families, and servants, while women prepared vast amounts of

518 Ibid., 186-187.
corn pancakes and dumplings. Members of the elaborately costumed nobility from various parts of the Incan Empire arrived in procession with their respective entourages, ceremonial weapons, dances, and music to further adorn the festivities (and their status). Reflecting Euro-Christian tastes, de la Vega describes the musically-adorned theatrical displays of war in these processions as “nonsense,” and complains of the cacophony (most likely the wide intonation, preferred also among contemporary indigenous Andean musicians) of musical instruments. De la Vega writes:

Los curacas venían con todas sus mayores galas y invenciones que podían haber: unos traían los vestidos chapados de oro y plata, y guirnaldas de lo mismo en las cabezas, sobres sus tocados. Otros venían ni más ni menos que pintan a Hércules, vestida la piel de león y la cabeza encajada en la del indio, porque se precian los tales descendir de un león. Otros venían de la manera que pintan los ángeles, con grandes alas de un ave que llaman cúntr...Otros traían mascaras hechas de las más abominables figures que pueden hacer, y estos son los yuncas. Entraban en las fiestas haciendo ademanes y visajes de locos, tontos y simples. Para lo cual traían en las manos instrumentos apropiados, como flautas, tamborinos mal concertados, pedazos de pellejos, con que se ayudan para hacer sus tonterías. Otros curacas venían con otras diferentes invenciones de sus blasones. Traía cada nación sus armas con que peleaban en las guerras: unos traían arcos y flechas, otros lanzas, dardos, tiraderas, porras, hondas y hachas de asta corta para pelear con una mano, y otras de asta larga, para combatir a dos manos. Traían pintadas las hazañas que en servicio del sol y de los Incas habían hecho; traían grandes atabales y trompetas, y muchos ministros que los tocaban; en suma, cada nación venía lo mejor arreado y más bien acompañado que podía, procurando cada uno en su tanto aventajarse de sus vecinos y comarcanos, o de todos, si pudiese.519

The nobles would come with all of their best pomp and inventions that they could have: some brought vestments plated in gold or silver, and festoons of the same on the head, above their headgear. Some would come more or less made up like Hercules, dressed in cougar’s skin and its head fitted on that of the Indian, because they adore those descending from a cougar. Others would come made up like angels, with large wings of a bird called condor. Others brought masks made of the most abominable figures that one can make, and these are yuncas. They would enter in the festivals making insane, dumb, and simple gestures and faces. For which they would bring appropriate instruments in their hands, such as flutes, tambourines played poorly in concert, and pieces of hide, with which they used to engage in their nonsense. Other nobles would come with other inventions from their domains. Each nation would bring their arms with which they would fight in wars: some would bring bows and arrows, others lances, darts, slingshots, clubs, slings, hatchets with short handles to fight with the hand, and others with long handles to combat with two hands. They would bring paintings depicting the deeds they had done in the service of the sun and the Inca; they would bring large drums and trumpets, and many ministers who played them; in sum, each nation would come the most supported and well accompanied as possible, each nation procuring as much advantage from its neighbors and residents, or from all, if possible.

519 Ibid., 353-353.
Although de la Vega accepted the view that worship of the Sun was idolatrous and that the Inca practiced many superstitions and sacrifices, he considered such worship to be proof of the more civilized nature of the Inca when compared to earlier Andean societies. The Inca, “more considerate and conscientious” than their pagan ancestors, were (like Christians and Jews before them) monotheists who worshipped the Sun for its benefits to society, built splendid temples to it, and not unlike the Spanish, taught their monotheism to those whom they conquered. Importantly, de la Vega notes that although the Inca also venerated the Moon, they did not worship her, make sacrifices to her, or build temples to her, but, in a relationship vaguely similar to the Christian Virgin Mary (in the sense of Mary as the wife of God the Father), venerated her as a universal mother, but they “did not go beyond this in their idolatry.” He writes:

Ésta fue la principal idolatría de los Incas y la que enseñaron a sus vasallos, y aunque tuvieron muchas sacrificios, como adelante diremos, y muchas supersticiones…en fin no tuvieron más dioses que al Sol, al cual adoraron por sus excelencias y beneficios naturales, como gente más considerada y más política que sus antecesores, los de la primera edad, y le hicieron templos de incredible riqueza, y aunque tuvieron la Luna por hermana y mujer del Sol, y madre de los Incas, no la adoraron por diosa ni le ofrecieron sacrificios ni le edificaron templos: tuvieronla en gran veneración por madre universal, mas no pasaron adalente en su idolatría. Al relámpago, trueno y rayo tuvieron por criados del Sol…mas no los tuvieron por dioses, como quiere alguno de los españoles historiadores.520

This was the first idolatry of the Inca, and they taught it to their vassals, and although they had many sacrifices, as we will discuss later, and many superstitions…in the end they did not have any gods other than the Sun, which they worshipped for its natural excellences and benefits, as more considerate and conscientious than their ancestors of the first age, and they made temples of incredible splendor. Even though they considered the Moon to be the sister and wife of the Sun, and mother of the Inca, they did not worship it as a goddess, nor did they offer it sacrifices or construct temples for it. They deeply venerated it as universal mother, but did not go beyond this in their idolatry. They considered thunder and lightning children of the Sun…but they did not have this as gods, as one of the Spanish historians suggests.

520 Ibid., 174.
As I wrote earlier, in *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, Guaman Poma’s main task was to present a narrative of a pious Andean realm loyal to the Spanish king and Catholicism. In his narrative, corrupt Spanish colonists and clerics seriously undermined not only native devotion to king and Christ, but also, in the case of clerics, had little or no positive effect on extirpating persistent pre-colonial religious practices among natives. Guaman Poma leveled especially severe criticisms against Spanish clergymen, particularly parish priests in the *doctrinas de indios*. Among his criticisms was that they were worldly in behavior, far removed from the austere and faithful early church fathers, and in fact so depraved that he thought they should be punished by the Inquisition for the damage they did to not only Spaniards, but also the “New Christians,” that is, natives, and blacks. He writes:

Cómo las dichas doctrinas de este reino del Perú. Cómo los dichos sacerdotes y padres y curas que están en lugar de Dios y de sus santos, el clérigo de San Pedro y el fraile mercedario de Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes, y del señor San Francisco, y de Santo Domingo, y de San Agustín, y los ermitaños de San Pablo, primer ermitaño, y de San Antonio, no hacen lo que estos bienaventurados hicieron, antes se van a la codicia de la plata y ropa y cosas del mundo, y pecados de la carne y de apetitos, y daños que no se escribe, que el buen lector lo sabrá; para buen castigo ejemplo fuese castigado por la Santa Inquisición, y de esto se echa la carga sus prelados y religiosos con ello se daña a los españoles, y más los cristianos nuevos que son los indios y negros.521

How the parishes of this kingdom of Peru [are]. How the priests and father and curates that are in place of God and His saints, the cleric of Saint Peter and the mendicant fray of Our Lady of Mercy, and of Saint Francis, and of Saint Dominic, and of Saint Augustine, and the hermits of Saint Paul, the first hermit, and of Saint Antonio, they do not do what these blessed people did, before they become covetous of silver and clothing and worldly things, and sins of the flesh and of appetites, and destruction of which one does not write, that the good reader shall know; as a good example he should be punished by the Holy Inquisition, and in this his prelates and other high clergy release him of his charges, through which he does damage to Spaniards, and more so to the new Christians, which are Indians and blacks.

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521 Pease, 448.
Guaman Poma condemned parish priests for neglecting one of the most important sacraments, that of confession. He accused them of, rather than tending to the welfare of their indigenous parishioners, preoccupying themselves with financial gain and meting out disproportionate punishment—which could include forced indulgences—to natives for transgressions against Catholic doctrine. Guaman Poma writes:

Los dichos padres y curas de confesión son tan locos y coléricos, y soberbiosos, y bravos como leones, y saben más que zorra cuando confiesan a los indios o las indias, dándoles de puntillazos y bofetones y mojicones y les da muchos azotes, y por ello se huyen de la dicha confesión y encubren sus pecados, y por las penas que le dan en plata, diez pesos por lo menos, un peso a cada uno de los indios, aunque fuese bestia se huiría; que los dichos padres no lo hacen con amor y caridad el oficio que tienen de servir a Dios como sacerdote, lugar de Dios y de sus santos en este reino.\(^{522}\)

Los dichos padres y curas de confesión de los pueblos no quieren confesar a todos los forasteros, primero pide cohecho, ni le quiere enterrar ni bautizarlo como obligado a que la Santa Madre Iglesia lo manda, siendo cristiano; como no tiene plata del casamiento, dándole plata se huelga. Y así como no les confiesa a culpa del dicho padre se van al infierno; y no le da la extremaunición pidiéndolo como pobre de Jesucristo. Y así Jesucristo se hizo pobre para conversar con los pobres, pues si vosotros sois Cristo ungido, ¿porqué no conversáis con los pobres?\(^{523}\)

The priests and confessional curates are so insane, easily vexed, arrogant, bold like cougars, and know more than a vixen when Indian men or women confess, punishing them with large daggers, smacks and slaps to the face, and many lashes, and because of that, they flee from the confession and cover up their sins, and for their punishment they pay in silver, ten pesos at least, a peso for each of the Indians, even an animal would flee; that the fathers do not carry out the office in which they serve God as priest, intermediary of God and His saints in this kingdom, with love and charity.

The priests and confessional curates of the towns do not want to have all of the forasteros confess, first they ask for a bribe, neither does one [of the former] want to bury or baptize one [of the latter] as an obligation that the Holy Mother Church commands him as a Christian; how even though the forastero has no money for a wedding, upon giving it to the priest, the latter stands idle. And being that they do not have confession because of the curate, they go to Hell; and the former does not carry out extreme unction, requesting it [a monetary “donation,” \(\textit{limosna}\)] as if a mendicant of Jesus Christ. And just as Jesus Christ became poor in order to converse with the poor, if all of you are Christ anointed, why do you not converse with the poor?

Guaman Poma also accused parish priests of being complicit in the celebration of pre-colonial festivals, which pre-colonial dances, music, and instruments embellished, during those

\(^{522}\) Ibid., 467.

\(^{523}\) Ibid., 472.
of the Catholic Church. This is particularly noteworthy, because, as I suggested earlier following Geoffery Baker, parish priests could have often ignored such "disturbances" to Catholic festivals because they could have received various gifts (including money) for such complicity. Moreover, ritual gift-giving from parishioners (including confraternity members) to parish priests, including those who sponsored the confraternities, was a normal element in the yearly festivals of the Catholic church, and this could have concealed the priests’ acquiescence. Guaman Poma wrote that these priests should discontinue this practice:

 Que los dichos padres y curas no consientan que traspase las dichas fiestas de las dichas iglesias y de cofrades, sino que se haga el mismo día que cayere y si no, no la haga porque traspasan los indios por revolver fiestas de uaurachico, rutochico, sacechico, y otras idolatrias y ceremonias de los indios Ingas, y ayunos y penitencias y vigilias de los demonios de ídolos uacas antiguos de los indios que fueron en este reino.\(^{524}\)

That the father and curates do not consent to allowing the festivals of the churches and brothers of confraternities to be disturbed, unless it [the festival] is held on the same day and if not, it should not be held because the Indians disturb [these festivals] by bringing back festivals of uaurachico, rutochico, sacechico,\(^{525}\) and other idolatries and ceremonies of the Indian Inca, as well as fasts, penitence, and vigils of the demons of idolatrous ancient guacas of the Indians that were in this kingdom.

Parish priests’ complicity in the preservation of pre-colonial rituals and the widespread neglect of the (Catholic) spiritual welfare of native parishioners were probably different sides of the same coin. The gifts that parish priests received provided an essential supplement to their incomes, which were far below those of priests who served the cathedrals of larger urban centers such as Lima, Arequipa, and Trujillo. In fact, given the common practice of prominent urban Creole families populating the most prestigious (and remuneratively lucrative) ecclesiastical positions with their younger sons, it is certain that a large portion of parish priests went to rural

\(^{524}\) Ibid., 485.

\(^{525}\) The festivals of uaurachico (warachiku[q]) was a borrachera to celebrate the first day during which boys would wear zarahuelles [zaragüelle] (an herb known by several names in Spanish, including “Moorish wheat”) (la junta o borrachera para celebrar el día primero en que ponían zarahuelles sus muchachos); I have described the rutochico earlier (the [first?] haircut of a child (tresquilarse, el rito de tresquilar al niño)). I did not locate either sacechico or a variation thereof in Pease’s dictionary of Quechua text.
indigenous communities only after the higher clergy passed them over for better-connected individuals in competitions for more prestigious urban positions. The combination of modest incomes (compared to those in Lima, for example) and relative autonomy in rural areas would have encouraged avarice among many parish priests, especially those who entered the priesthood primarily for financial motives. When these motives invariably conflicted with their official responsibilities to serve the spiritual welfare of native parishioners, they posed a grave risk to the souls of the latter in the eyes of faithful Catholics such as Guaman Poma. Observant of priests routinely neglecting their duties (which, important to us, included performing sung masses for various functions), even after having received offerings to perform them, and noting that poverty among parish priests contributed to this neglect, Guaman Poma proposed that there be a detailed account of offerings made to priests, and that the ecclesiastical inspector distribute any surpluses to impoverished priests, who showed a proclivity to exploit their native charges. Guaman Poma writes:

Que los padres de las doctrinas [de] todas las misas de difuntos o de salud o de fiestas de cada pueblo, tengan un libro asentado toda la Limosna del testamento de fulano o fulana, o responses, ofrenda, con día y mes y año; porque si sobrare la dicha Limosna de los días señalados que son viernes o jueves de la misa de difuntos, misa cantada tres patacones, misa rezada un patacón, de esto lo tenga escrito para tomarle cuenta el visitador. Y lo que sobrare le dará su señoría a los pobres sacerdotes que no tienen que comer, para el bien de las animas, y el pobre sea remediado con esta santa obra; para este descargo los padres interín den muy derecha fianza, abonado el dicho padre y cura de los pueblos y ciudades y villas, provincias de este reino. Y así los padres no querrán cogerlo todo y no decirle misa al pobre difunto, y de ello perecen las animas del purgatorio de los pobres de este reino y del mundo.\(^{526}\)

That, for all funeral or well-being masses or festivals for each village, the parish priests have a book that stipulates all donations from the will of this or that man or woman, or responses, or offering, with the day, month, and year. Because if too high a donation is given (for example those for noted days such as Friday or Thursday funeral memorial masses, three pesos for a sung mass, one peso for a recited mass), all of this will have

\(^{526}\) Ibid., 504.
been written down for the inspector to view. And if the donation is too much, his honor will give it to the impoverished priests that have nothing to eat, for the good of souls, and the poor will be relieved with this holy work. For this act the interim priests shall give a good bond, provided for by the priest or curate of the towns, cities, villas, and rural areas of this kingdom. In this way, priests will not want to seize everything without saying mass for the poor deceased, from which the souls of this kingdom and world perish in purgatory.

Guaman Poma, like many in the clergy, suspected that natives continued to practice pre-colonial rituals under the guise of Christian celebrations. In fact, he asserted that borracheras encouraged this behavior, even among the most Christian natives. During various festivals such as those for Easter, Christmas, or Corpus Christi, Guaman Poma believed that many not only practiced various “idolatrous” ceremonies under the influence coca leaves, and libations consumed during borracheras (all of which were punctuated with pre-colonial musical chants, songs and dances), but also became sexually unrestrained, completely abandoning their Christian education and religion. Interestingly, he suspected that while songs such as the harawi (an ancestor of the popular eighteenth-century yaravi) appeared to support Christian rituals from superficial observation, upon closer inspection, one would quickly realize that they in fact directly contributed to what he considered the idolatry and sexual debauchery that borracheras facilitated. He writes:

Los indios no se acuerdan de misa ni de la doctrina, ni de sermon los domingos, ni fiestas, ni pascuas porque el demonio, que ellos llaman supay curaca, le manda y le aconseja que no tenga temor de Dios y del padre, que ellos les pleiteara...y ansie no quieren servir a Dios, y ansie es muy justo que para la salve y visperas, y miercoles y viernes, y domingos, fiestas, muy santa cosa contrarlos para la Ceniza y Domingo de Ramos, Jueves Santo, Pascua de Resurrección y de Natividad, Corpus Cristi...en las Pascuas no suelen venir a misa el mejor de ellos sino que están en sus casas; después de misa salen a la plaza solo a fin de la borrachera y taquies.

Los dichos indios estando borrachos el más cristiano, aunque sepa leer y escribir trayendo rosario y vestido como español, cuello, parece santo, en la borrachera habla con los demonios y mocha a las uacas ídolos y al sol, pacaricos, oncocunedamanta, uanocmantapas, pacaricoc, uarachicoc, cusmallicoc, uacachicoc, y de otras hechicerías; hablando de sus antepasados algunos hacen sus ceremonias, si los dichos indios hicicen sin borrachear las fiestas, ni comer coca, y sin idolatrar, fuera fiesta de cristiano, danzas y taquies, y haylles y cachius, harauis, como cristiano fuera bien pero a ojos y a vista que lo confieso, como lo he visto, estando borrachos idolatran y fornican a sus hermanas u a
sus madres, las mujeres casadas, y las mujeres estando borrachas andan salidas y ellos propias buscan a los hombres, no miran si es su padre ni hermano; que en tiempo de los Ingas y así no había borrachería aunque bebían y hacían fiestas.\footnote{Ibid., 709.}

The Indians remember neither the mass nor the doctrine, nor the sermons on Sundays, festivals, or Easter, because the demon, whom they call supay curaca\footnote{Pease suggests that supay curaca could be a translation of the Latin princeps tenebrarum (“lord of shadows”), and notes that in Quechua, zupan means the shadow of a person or animal. Among contemporaneous Catholics including Guaman Poma; supay curaca could have easily been understood as “lord of demons,” as Guaman Poma asserts, and Pease describes.} and to whom they pay homage, commands and advises one not to fear God or the priest, both of whom it challenges…and because of that they do not want to serve God; for these reasons, it is appropriate that for the salve, vespers, Wednesdays, Fridays, Sundays, and festivals, it is a very holy thing to engage them for Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Easter, Christmas, [and] Corpus Christi…during Easter and Christmas, the majority of them do not usually go to mass, but are in their houses; and after the mass they go to the plaza for the sole purpose of having a borrachera and dances.

The Indians being drunk, the most Christian among them, even though he knows how to read and write, carrying a rosary and dressed like a Spaniard, ruff [and all], he seems like a saint, but in his drunkenness, he speaks with demons, goes to the idolatrous guacas to the sun in such ceremonies as pacaricos, oncoycunamanta, uanocmantapas, pacaricoc, urachicoc, cusmallicoc, uacachicoc,\footnote{In Pease’s dictionary, there is an entry oncoycunamanta uanocmantapas pacaricoc (unquykunamanta wañuqmantapas paqarikuq), which is described as “a wake from a serious illness and a dead person.” Guaman Poma’s decision to use commas to separate these three words, rather than present them as a single phrase is confusing in the context of Quechua grammar. Given the meaning of the words oncoycunamanta (“from multiple sicknesses,” i.e., “grave”); uanocmantapas (“also from a dead person”), and pacaricoc (“his wake”), I follow Pease. Cusmallicoc (kusmallikuq) (“he who saw the tunic”) was a ritual during which the participant(s), probably female, put on the cusma (kusma), a type of tunic. Uacacachicoc (waqachikuq) (“that which causes crying”) was a ritual performed after a death.} as well as other forms of witchcraft; speaking of their ancestors, some have their ceremonies. If these Indians had festivals without getting drunk, without consuming coca, and without being idolatrous, it would be a Christian festival; dances and songs, haylles, cachiuas, harauis\footnote{The haylle (haylli) was a “delightful song” sung in war or well-worn farm plots (chacras), “sung in chacras, celebrated in dances, with triumphant or victorious singers.” It was a celebratory song sung while workers plowed, or when many, “carrying a beam” (for log racing?) and in a responsorial manner, entered “triumphantly” into the town, celebrating a victory. The cachiu (cachua or qachwa) was a nocturnal grabbing dance among youths. Harauis (haravis) were songs about the deeds of others, or memories of absent lovers, or of love and affection.} seem Christian at first glance, but upon further inspection of what I have revealed, as I have seen, they are idolatrous and fornicate with their sisters, mothers, and married women in their drunken state, and drunken women go about looking for men, not checking to see if they are fathers or brothers. During the time of the Inca, there was no such drunken debauchery even though they would drink and had festivals.

Documents from Ecclesiastical Litigation against Witchcraft and Idolatry (Hechicerías e Idolatrías)

527 Ibid., 709.
528 Pease suggests that supay curaca could be a translation of the Latin princeps tenebrarum (“lord of shadows”), and notes that in Quechua, zupan means the shadow of a person or animal. Among contemporaneous Catholics including Guaman Poma; supay curaca could have easily been understood as “lord of demons,” as Guaman Poma asserts, and Pease describes.
529 In Pease’s dictionary, there is an entry oncoycunamanta uanocmantapas pacaricoc (unquykunamanta wañuqmantapas paqarikuq), which is described as “a wake from a serious illness and a dead person.” Guaman Poma’s decision to use commas to separate these three words, rather than present them as a single phrase is confusing in the context of Quechua grammar. Given the meaning of the words oncoycunamanta (“from multiple sicknesses,” i.e., “grave”); uanocmantapas (“also from a dead person”), and pacaricoc (“his wake”), I follow Pease. Cusmallicoc (kusmallikuq) (“he who saw the tunic”) was a ritual during which the participant(s), probably female, put on the cusma (kusma), a type of tunic. Uacacachicoc (waqachikuq) (“that which causes crying”) was a ritual performed after a death.
530 The haylle (haylli) was a “delightful song” sung in war or well-worn farm plots (chacras), “sung in chacras, celebrated in dances, with triumphant or victorious singers.” It was a celebratory song sung while workers plowed, or when many, “carrying a beam” (for log racing?) and in a responsorial manner, entered “triumphantly” into the town, celebrating a victory. The cachiu (cachua or qachwa) was a nocturnal grabbing dance among youths. Harauis (haravis) were songs about the deeds of others, or memories of absent lovers, or of love and affection.
In this section, I present direct and circumstantial evidence that supports my assertion that confraternities did not simply operate as institutions to evangelize, or stoutly challenge Hispano-Christian doctrine among the indigenous population outside of Lima. The available evidence, the vast majority of which I have only superficially considered in this study for sake of brevity (and only a hypothesis that this source of documentary evidence would be fruitful as I began my dissertation research in Lima), should give pause to the researcher who relies exclusively on documents such as constitutions and account books, or focuses attention on European-derived concert or concerted vocal music. Before I searched through this evidence, I had the premise that confraternities did not appreciably deviate from the patterns of cultural practices present in the communities from which they drew members, and with which they seamlessly interacted.

For example, in the province of Cajatambo, on 19 November 1662 in the doctrina of (Nuestra Señora de) Ambar in the corregimiento of Cajatambo, the fiscal mayor (chief prosecutor) of the archdiocese filed a petition to the archdiocese to have the local authorities go to the houses of the town’s natives, who had been accused of using “ancient masks from the time of paganism, small tambourines, and other instruments for the dance that they call the huacon” (mascaras antiguas del tiempo de la gentilidad, tamborillos y demas instrumentos del Vayle que llaman guacon), which had been prohibited for its use in idolatry and superstition. It is hardly inconceivable to imagine that members of this and communities’ confraternities not only knew of activities such as these, but also participated in them. The confraternity existed within and served the purposes of these communities. From this premise, which was necessary in light of what I expected to be a dearth of primary sources off the comparatively well-beaten path of musical manuscripts, constitutions, and account books regarding colonial indigenous music, and evidence that I have digested up to now, I believe that even if confraternities did not officially foster the preservation of explicitly “idolatrous” pre-colonial rituals in the rural regions of the Archdiocese of Lima, they certainly did not approach the evangelizing ideals of the clergy, since indigenous communities retained ancestral traditions in a colonial syncretism with Andean Catholicism; in other words, one may not confidently assert that indigenous confraternities fulfilled their initial evangelizing and extirpating designs.

531 Leg. 4:9 (1662) (AAL, Serie: Hechicerías e Idolatrías).
Although the vast majority of documents from the Church’s anti-idolatry campaigns date from the seventeenth century (during which these campaigns reached their greatest intensity), I have located several from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which is a reminder that we have access to only silvers of colonial life among the indigenous population, recorded only after Church officials caught members in their “idolatry,” or endeavored to discover them in the first place. In one record from 1723, for example, the ecclesiastical inspector accused Juan de Rojas (Roxas), an indigenous man from the doctrina and town of Carampoma in the province of Huarochirí of idolatry, for having cast spells, and superstition. One witness, a native named Francisco Limacondor, from the same town, testified that he saw Rojas perform witchcraft involving sacrifices and worshipping huacas during borracheras, recitation of invocations of the Devil during curing ceremonies, consumption of coca and chichi (fermented corn beer), and dancing. The ecclesiastical inspector also accused Rojas’ wife, María Melchora, of participating.\(^{532}\) Seven years later, the ecclesiastical inspector accused natives in the same town of witchcraft. According to the causa criminal, they kept huacas as idols, and engaged ritual offerings of pacos [pacas?\(^ {533}\)] and their blood to the dead, dancing, “great delight” (gran Regocijo), and used “idolatrous” musical instruments, most likely drums and/or woodwind instruments.\(^{534}\)

Corpus Christi, which emerged as the festival that received the greatest planning, opulence, and Christian devotion during the colonial period, was also a favored festival during which natives could covertly practice pre-colonial customs, particularly at night, beyond the festivities (and watchful eyes of the authorities) taking place in the main plaza, in the homes of pre-selected hosts or other secret places well-known to members of the indigenous population. For example, during a 1622 visita in Villa de Carrión de Velasco (Huaura) in the province of Chancay, indigenous witnesses testified that there were adoratorios,\(^ {535}\) huacas, and places in the hills where other natives practiced pre-colonial rituals, and that they had observed “ancient dances,” masks, and the use of drums “from ancient times” during the festival of Corpus Christi.\(^ {536}\)

\(^{532}\) Leg. 11:5 (1723) (AAL, Serie: Hechicerías e Idolatrías), fols. 27-31, 33, 34. 
\(^{533}\) Pacas are rodents that belong to the same suborder (Hystricomorpha) as guinea pigs. 
\(^{534}\) Leg. 14:4 (1730) (AAL, Serie: Hechicerías e Idolatrías), fols. 9-13. 
\(^{535}\) Among the indigenous population, an adoratorio was a construction built for performing rituals to huacas. 
\(^{536}\) Leg. 1:8 (AAL, Serie: Hechicerías e Idolatrías).
Members of the indigenous ruling class of caciques, who were keen to serve as mayordomos and sponsors of the festivals (and music therein) of confraternities, were expected to serve (from the perspective of Spanish authorities and native Christians) as models of Hispano-Christian decency and restraint to the natives entrusted to their care. Members of this class known to exhibit behaviors associated with pre-colonial natives (read “pagans” or “idolaters”) seriously weakened their position in the colonial hierarchy, and both Spaniards and natives challenged their legitimacy by frequently accusing them of paganism and/or idolatry. For example, between 1646 and 1648, in the town of San Jeronimo de Pampas, in the province of Huaylas(?), natives gave testimony during an investigation of one of their own, a certain don Geronimo Auquiniven. In their testimony, they questioned the legitimacy of Auquiniven, whom they had known “for a long time, but had never been neither governor nor curaca” of the doctrina of Pampas. Moreover, they accused Auquiniven of being a “bad Christian with a bad life and temper.” Among other accusations (including adultery), they also claimed that Auquiniven drank (presumably chicha) to huacas “in a pagan manner” (al uso de su gentilidad), of participating in rituals with chicha, cuyes (guinea pigs), “public borracheras, and pagan dances” (vorracheras publicas y taquies a modo de su gentilidad). Finally, they claimed that Auquiniven lived “like a pagan” (como gentil), failing to confess and take communion during Holy Week.\(^{537}\)

Arguably, the fate of the soul is the central preoccupation for virtually all past and contemporary religions, and in the context of colonialism, the battle over the soul underlay the religious battles between Catholicism and pre-colonial indigenous religions. Perhaps the strongest demonstration of native rejection of Catholicism occurred when natives (regardless of apparent religious proclivity) removed the corpses of the Christian natives from Christian burial grounds, and placed them in ancestral locations where they received pre-colonial rituals, thus reasserting the authority of indigenous religions over the souls of their loved ones. For example, in 1656 in Santo Domingo de Pariac, in the province of Cajatambo, church officials accused natives of taking Christian corpses from the main church, and transporting them to the hills “where they had idols, which they would worship, offer cults, and other ancient rites and ceremonies that they preserved.” Indigenous witnesses corroborated the accusations, adding that

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\(^{537}\) Leg. 2:6 (AAL, Serie: Hechicerías e Idolatrías), fols. 10-13, 16-20, 23-28.
the ceremonies in the hills included burnt offerings of llamas and guinea pigs (*cuyes*), as well as fat, *coca*, and corn, and that “all in the town attended.”

Earlier, I discussed the importance of *borracheras* in indigenous communities. Typically, these occurred within the context of cyclical festivals and agricultural cycles, and would occur in the home of a prominent member of the community who would supply an abundance of *chicha*, while others sang and danced various songs and dances with instruments (or instrument use) that predated the colonial period. As mentioned earlier, it was believed that ritualized intoxication brought the temporal and spiritual worlds together. On many occasions, a *huaca* would be adored and given offerings, most frequently of *chicha*, *coca* leaves, and guinea pigs. One especially detailed account of activities such as these from 1656 sheds light on the specifics of these activities. On 15 August of that year, in the province of Cajatambo, the *visitador*, *bachiller* Bernardo de Nobua, filed a report about alleged idolatry during festivals among natives in the towns of San Francisco de Otuco, San Pedro de Hacas, San Juan de Machaca, Santiago de Chilcas, and San Francisco de Cochillas. In San Pedro de Hacas, natives were accused of tending a *huaca* that “all of the community worshipped,” offering it tallow, *coca*, and guinea pigs shortly before the corn harvest. According to the report, during the festivals of Saint Peter (San Pedro), they would gather in the homes of the *alférezes*, and “sing and dance the *cachua* all night” (*cachuaban toda la noche*), becoming intoxicated with *chicha*, while ministers and their assistants officiated. One minister from the *allyu* of Cantas, Hernando Cojo (Coxo) was a public official (*fiscal*) of San Pedro de Hacas (“hernando coxo fiscal de hacas es ministro de ydolos del aillo Canta”).

According to the report, in Santiago de Chilcas, several messengers (*camachicos*), speaking for the ministers of the *huacas*, “ordered all of the elders to attend to their ritual of sorcerers and have them command that all in the town obey the ministers’ commandments, and

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538 Leg. 3:8 (AAL, Serie: Hechicerías e Idolatrías), fols. 1-2.
539 In this discussion, I distill de Nobua’s highly detailed *causa de idolatría*, for which specific citation is problematic because in most cases, details are not attributed to any one source, but several corroborated accounts of witnesses. In any case, the details distilled in this discussion are from Leg. 3:11 (1656) (AAL, Serie: Hechicerías e Idolatrías), fols. 3-4, 8-22.
540 The *cachua* is likely the ancestor of the modern *cachua* [*kashwa, kjaswa, kaswa, kachura, kashua, quoshwa*]. According to William Gradante, the modern *cachua* is a courtship circle-dance among Bolivian and Peruvian Aymara in which adolescents dress in fur and feathers, imitating the movements of animals. Men may initiate a male-female responsive alternation in “amorous verse,” while the “bombo, *sicuri* ensemble, guitar, *charango* and harp provide instrumental accompaniment.” William Gradante, “Cachua,” in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04521.
that they preserve their ancient custom” (mandam [sic] a todos los biejos visen su oficio de echiseros y a hacer pregonar en El pueblo que todo El comun del los obedezcan todo lo que Ellos mandaren y que guarden su costumbre antigua). During ceremonies devoted to huacas, natives sacrificed llamas and danced, and went out at night shouting and playing drums (tambores).

In San Pedro de Hacas, natives reportedly performed rituals to the devil, offering coca, chicha, guinea pigs, and goats, with “singing in the pagan manner” (cantando al uso gentilico). The mayordomos of unnamed confraternities brought various offerings (including more guinea pigs and chicha) for borracheras during the festivals of Corpus Christi and Saint Peter, which also included the playing of small tambourines (tamborillos) and singing through the night. The report also described offerings of guinea pigs, blood of unnamed origin, and coca in ceremonies that “ministers of idolatry” officiated before fields were plowed. After these ceremonies, natives reportedly began to plow their fields, “singing aillis\(^{541}\) and songs from ancient times” (cantaban aillis and taquies del tiempo antiguo). Later, in particularly joyful celebrations associated with cultivating the fields, natives reportedly wore masks, danced “ancient dances,” played small tambourines, drank chicha during borracheras, and made offerings to huacas.

In San Francisco de Cochillas, natives reportedly made offerings including coca, chicha, and llama blood to sacred animals (poma, atoc and guacacayan or guacacuyan\(^{542}\)) of the yungas (the tropical valleys facing the Amazon Basin east of the Peruvian cloud forests), and participated in large borracheras of chicha during a large festival dedicated to a sacred bird (yague or yugue) where participants danced. During other rituals natives reportedly offered guinea pigs, coca, chicha, and corn flour, and dancing the Vicochina through “all the streets” with small tambourines “all night, without sleeping, every kin group and allyu” during the festival of Saint Peter. One of the kin groups (parcialidades) had apparently been “defeated,” or prevented from participating (vensido) because the members therein “did not know to celebrate the festivals of the idols and spirits with caution” (por que no sabian celebrar con cuidado las fiestas de sus ydolos y malquies). On the “very feast day” of the festival of Saint Peter, natives

\(^{541}\) This could have been related to the harawi, cultivated in the Andes well before the arrival of the Spanish, now (through its descendant the yaravi) associated with romantic contexts in indigenous and mestizo communities across the Andes; and the frequent use of agricultural activities, such as plowing fields, as playful euphemisms for sexual intercourse across many historical and contemporary cultures would seem to support my hypothesis.

\(^{542}\) Puma and fox. I could not locate a description of the third term; it could refer to a breed of alpaca (huacaya), or a location in Oruro, Bolivia (Cerro Huacacaya), but both pertain to the Andean highlands, not the yungas. Otherwise, this term is a mystery to me.
would gather in the main plaza of the town for a *borrachera*, consuming *chicha* and *coca*, with ministers of the rituals present. Later, offerings of guinea pigs, *coca*, and llama blood would be made in selected homes while ministers officiated and participants consumed more *chicha*. For five days during Corpus Christi celebrations, natives reportedly gathered and made offerings, consumed copious amounts of *chicha* during *borracheras*, and played Spanish reed instruments played in the style of small portable organs (*tocando unos ynstrumentos de caña de castilla a modo de organillos que llaman sac[illegible]*)\(^{543}\). During ceremonies associated with the plowing and sowing of fields, natives reportedly made offerings of *coca*, tallow, and guinea pigs, and traveled through the streets playing small tambourines and singing in Quechua to a sacred bird (the same mentioned above?). Later, during additional offerings to this bird, they danced, and “became very intoxicated.”

Although confraternities did not officially encourage the preservation of pre-colonial practices that church officials could condemn as idolatrous among its members, it was not uncommon for *mayordomos* (and certainly other members) to participate in such activities. I already mentioned several cases previously, and, considering my superficial survey of documents in the Hechicerías e Idolatrías series, the presence of several more descriptions of *mayordomos* participating in explicitly “pagan” or “idolatrous” activities strongly suggests that such activities penetrated confraternity life and music to a far greater degree than even available evidence suggests. In the province of Cajatambo (?), for example, on 26 July 1662, a petition was filed for an investigation of the indigenous *mayordomos* and the confraternities of the Immaculate Conception [of Mary], the Blessed Sacrament, and Our Lady of Copacabana in the *doctrina* of Gorgor. During an investigation of the alleged theft of the main church’s livestock, the investigator was told of idolatry in the parish and requested a further inspection by a *visitador*. Ahead of the arrival of the ecclesiastical inspector, the *mayordomos* of the confraternities fled, having been accused of idolatry by indigenous witnesses from Gorgor.\(^{544}\)

In the same province, on 22 August 1662, the *visitador de idolatrías* (ecclesiastical inspector of idolatry) *licenciado* Bernardo de Noboa, *visitador general* of the archdiocese, filed a

\(^{543}\) I am inclined to believe that the witness or scribe might have mistakenly referred to a sackbut (*sacabuche*), but not only is the word “sac[?]” illegible, but in the digital image of this source, the folio curves precisely where additional letters would have helped me to decipher the word. Moreover, sackbuts were brass, not reed instruments. It is possible that the witness or scribe meant to refer to a *bajón*, a reed instrument ancestral to the modern bassoon, and similar to the sackbut in range and use as a doubling instrument.

\(^{544}\) Leg. 4:6A (1662) (AAL, Serie: Hechicerías e Idolatrías).
report on the natives of the town of San Francisco de Mangas for having practiced witchcraft and idolatry. According to witnesses, the *curaca*, *cacique*, and former *mayordomo* (of a confraternity?) of Mangas, don Alonzo (Alonsso) Callampoma and his *allyu* of Cotos kept and shared a *huaca* (*ydolo*) called *coya huarmi* (queen woman), offering it a large quantity of guinea pigs, sheep, *coca*, *sango* (akin to couscous, made from corn flour), tallow, and silver. At midnight, the noble, his ministers, and his *allyu*, worshipped *huacas* (*ydolos*), participated in long drinking sessions (*grandes borracheras*), and sang in Quechua praising the *huaca*, while dancing and playing small tambourines, the songs and dances taken from “ancient time” (*desde tiempo antiguo*). During that year, on “all of the days of Corpus Christi” (*todos Los dias de Corpus Cristi*), the noble took the *huaca* to his house, where he sponsored long drinking sessions and dances during the vespers and main feast day of Corpus Christi and during the vespers of the festival of Saint Francis (San Francisco). During the vespers of Corpus Christi and the festival of Saint Francis, “all of the Indians in the town of Mangas joined others from their *allyu* in assigned houses” for these celebrations (*se Juntan todos los yndios deste pueblo de Mangas por sus ayllos, en Casas, que tienen señaladas*), and included the consumption of “meats that the Spanish eat, such as goat, hens, [and] pork” (*Carnes que comen los españoles como son carneros, gallinas, carne de puerco*) in their celebrations. During the same festivals during vespers, natives would gather in the plaza with others of their *allyu* to continue the celebrations.545

As I have suggested, the preservation of pre-colonial rituals in the midst of ostensibly Christian celebrations occurred across broad swaths of indigenous communities. Natives could not only conceal these activities under cover of darkness and beyond the centers of Christian scrutiny, but they could also feign ignorance of them when church officials demanded that they divulge information. For example, in the province of Yauyos, on 14 April 1680, the *predicador general* and curate of the *doctrina* of San Francisco de Huantán (Guantán), Marcos de Nuñovero filed a report on natives from the town of San Francisco de Huantán (Guantán) who, “with little fear of God and the Catholic faith,” had been accused of “carrying a stone [huaca] that their ancient pagan ancestors used to worship as a god” (*Leuantando una piedra por su Dios a qual adoraan antiguamente sus antepassados en su gentilidad*). According to witnesses, the natives had been carrying the *huaca* in midnight processions and storing it in the same place as their

545 Leg. 5:2 (1662) (AAL, Serie: Hechicerías e Idolatrías), fols.15-23, 27-34, 48-50.
ancestors. During the processions, participants adorned the *huaca*, danced, brought vast amounts of *chicha* (*lleuaron cantaros de chicha*), and consumed guinea pigs, *sango*, and *coca* leaves. The principal indigenous noble (*cacique Principal y gouernador*), don Simon Carlos Canchopacia participated by having the *huaca* dragged from a hill called Cari where it had been adorned, while fifty men carried the *huaca* while singing and dancing.\(^546\)

During the second Friday of Quaresma (15 May) of that year, after the curate sang a “very solemn, holy mass to Christ” (*auiendo prim", *cantado una missa muy solemne al santo xpo*), he declared, in a loud voice, that he who was Christian would follow him (and, by implication, tell him where to find the stone), and carried the cross from the main town church, and without apparent knowledge of where the *huaca* was located since no one wanted to tell him (*sin sauer donde estaua la piedra porque nadie selo quiso decir*), the curate eventually went to the hill where the *huaca* had been stored, preached against idolatry, and asked God to forgive those who has committed such a serious sin. Afterwards, the curate removed the *huaca* and destroyed the altar, after which parishioners had a procession, singing the *Te Deum*, while the curate ordered the natives to scatter the *huaca* (*mando nto. Pº. cura a todos los yndios qe semeasen en la Piedra*) and put a cross in its place (for at least the second time, since the cross had been there before [*se Puso en su lugar una cruz que estaua antes en ese lugar*]).\(^547\)

**Conclusion**

In summary, in this chapter, I discussed colonial indigenous confraternities outside of the city of Lima, their evangelizing purpose, official conformity to Church doctrine, the limits of anti-idolatry campaigns in provincial indigenous communities and confraternities, and musical activities within these contexts. Indigenous populations readily absorbed the confraternity, which complemented pre-colonial *allyu* affiliations in social cohesion and mutual aid. The Catholic Church viewed confraternities as effective institutions to convert native populations from pre-colonial “paganism” and “idolatry” to Hispano-Catholic New Christians, and achieved varying degrees of success.

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\(^546\) Leg. 8:1 (1680) (AAL, Serie: Hechicerías e Idolatrías).

\(^547\) Ibid.
Evidence from the constitutions of confraternities shows strong overlap with confraternities in Lima with respect to the official veneration of Christian personages and contemplation and the use of music (most likely chiefly from the Western European tradition) in support of important cyclical events in the Christian calendar. Sung masses typically accompanied principal festivals, funerals, and monthly mass celebrations. While constitutions suggested a high degree of overlap among provincial indigenous confraternities with those in Lima, currently available account books, unlike those in the latter, do not corroborate or clarify information (such as instruments used and musicians hired, and for which events) from the constitutions. Finally, exclusive reliance on constitutions and account books distorts our understanding of how confraternities and music operated in the surrounding communities.

Historical and ethno-historical evidence strongly suggest that confraternity life and music existed on a continuum. Rarely did they faithfully, and exclusively, copy Hispano-Christian models, but integrated pre-colonial practices into these adopted models, covertly preserved pre-colonial practices under the guise of apparent Hispano-Christian celebrations, or, rarely, openly rejected the Hispano-Christian semiotic code while asserting the authority of pre-colonial religious practices. Musical activities supporting pre-colonial rituals and celebrations usually occurred within the context of offerings to huacas and cyclical agricultural events, preserving various pre-colonial songs, dances, and instruments. Although a clear role of confraternities in the cultivation of music in pre-colonial rituals and ceremonies cannot be ascertained from presently available documentary evidence, we may securely infer, from the premise that members of confraternities did not appreciably differ in their cultural practices from others in communities in which confraternities existed and were fully integrated, that confraternity members participated in the musical activities of various pre-colonial rituals and ceremonies. Indeed, there is evidence that mayordomos contributed to and participated in these events, and there is no reason to assume that other confraternity members did not do so as well.
Conclusions

Colonial Lima has been overwhelmingly treated in Latin American musicology as a site from which Hispanic power and culture vigorously radiated throughout the Viceroyalty of Peru. As in all relationships of power however, colonial relationships were not characterized invariably by unilateral domination of monolithic Spaniards over equally monolithic and passive non-Spaniards, but by highly complex, often ambiguous and contradictory interaction and engagement with the Hispano-Catholic colonial enterprise. A consideration of the place of confraternities in colonial relationships of power, and the use of music in these relationships, is potentially highly illustrative, since religious confraternities in colonial Latin America were, more than any other institution of the Roman Catholic Church, on the frontier between Hispanic Christendom and subaltern “idolatry,” and since they were the Church institutions that mirrored the broadest spectrum of colonial society. Whereas the cathedral and convents (the latter safely insulated in the central zones of Hispanic cities) principally functioned as elite institutions, members of all strata of society actively participated in confraternity life within and beyond the City of Kings.

In Chapter 1 I established the seminal premise of my study, a critique of the pervasive, distracting reinforcement of colonialisitc Hispanic hegemonic discourse present in mainstream Latin American musicological investigation: racial essentialism, homogenizing of hegemonic and subaltern strata, and marginalization of cultural hybridity. Then, I proposed a preliminary conceptual framework (within the context of social hierarchies in the Spanish Indies) that structured my reading of available documentary evidence, which was written by and for members of the hegemonic classes. This framework included such themes as hegemonic paradox, habitus, doxa, orthodoxy, and heterodoxy; power and discourse; hegemony and subalternity; and a consideration of alterity and hybridity.

In Chapter 2 I considered the intimate connections, with the Lima City Council often serving as a nexus, between secular and ecclesiastical authority surrounding the city’s major religious festivals as they developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the confraternity as one link in the lattice of Hispano-Catholic conformity (as partially manifest in the Church’s yearly festivals); conflict between the City Council and the Church during the seventeenth century over the performance of theatrical productions during Corpus Christi (which
also involved confraternities); and how music served political and religious ends in these productions. These themes are different aspects of the fundamental hegemonic impulse that I explored in Chapter 1, namely the impulse (principally manifest in elite strata) to normalize the cultural practices of hegemonic strata for all echelons of society. Minutes from the Lima City Council, anecdotal evidence from contemporary observers, and account books of confraternities shed light on these connections and how confraternities were oriented. Through its patronage of certain confraternities, the City Council reinforced the influence and power of the city’s political, religious, and socio-economic elite. It also reinforced this influence and power through strict enforcement of the order and status of participants in processions during religious festivals (especially Corpus Christi, representing the apex of the Church’s public rituals), as well as through the patronage of extravagant elements—cultural capital—including music and dance.

Conflict over theatrical performances between the City Council and the Church, however, arose, as the City Council, recognizing the popularity of religious plays during these festivals, resisted the Church’s efforts to suppress them, out of its fear that lewd acting diminished the gravity and piety of the dramatic messages therein. This conflict illuminates my Chapter 1 criticism of the narrative of homogeneous or monolithic hegemony in much of Latin American musicology. Spanish theater formed the most logical context of the performance of religious plays during important festivals such as Corpus Christi. Through allegory and musical support, Biblical and Greco-Roman mythology could be altered to suit the political ends of the Spanish crown, and the religious ends of the Catholic Church.

In Chapter 3 I explored the place of confraternities in the evangelizing and Hispanicizing efforts of the Church; the convergence of confraternities in the Lima cathedral and the emerging ethos of whiteness; and finally, types of music that confraternities in the Lima cathedral could have nurtured while confirming their participation in European culture and Catholic orthodoxy, which, during the eighteenth century, increasingly meant variation on the theme of what we now describe as racial and cultural “whiteness.” Recalling my discussions in Chapter 1, I frame Hispano-Catholic (later, “white,” and European) cultural traditions as hegemonic traditions that, as such, were normative, “unmarked” traditions in elite Hispanic orthodoxy, and in which practitioners gained positive ascription is members of “civilized” Hispano-Catholic society. Constitutions provided evidence of Church orthodoxy that confraternities officially supported and musically embellished (among the most critical were pious celebrations of titular festivals,
and trusting the Catholic Church to safeguard the soul), while account books clarified this support and close public conformity throughout the archdiocese. Finally, through analysis of five musical items from the cathedral that confraternities could have used, I discussed the use of rhetorical and musical devices, which were drawn from the conventions of aristocratic European culture, and which presupposed the intellectual capacity of the audience (read, in the Hispanic elite: “civilized,” or, in retrospective analyses, “white” or “whitened”) to correctly receive, interpret, and be moved by the central Hispano-Catholic messages.

In Chapter 4 we learned that the musical activities of indigenous, black, and mulatto confraternities in Lima and El Cercado generally followed orthodox Hispano-Catholic practice during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such musical activities would have confirmed their status (in elite Hispano-Catholic orthodoxy) as—recalling my discussion in Chapter 1—“rhetorically unmarked,” non-Spanish members of Hispano-Christendom. Using the relatively detailed account books of the indigenous Confraternity Our Lady of Copacabana as a representative (but uncommonly opulent) example, I found that musical activities were the most concentrated around the principal festival centered on the confraternity’s patron or other festivals in the yearly Catholic cycle, all of which included vespers celebrations on the eve of the main feast day, and a sung mass on the main feast day, followed by a procession. Sung requiem masses generally took place during the principal festival. Musicians were drawn from a variety of population groups, probably mainly from the clergy or confraternity members who performed without remuneration for with their musical contributions. Often though, confraternities would hire drummers, trumpeters, and shawm players, musicians from the cathedral, or from other religious institutions such as the unnamed beaterio for the performance of European-derived concert or concerted vocal music.

The confraternities of African slaves were somewhat better documented than those of Spanish-acculturated and American-born blacks and mulattoes in Lima and El Cercado, whose records are particularly sparse. Women could have represented a heterodox threat to Hispano-Christian patriarchy because of their public roles in these confraternities. Finally, confraternities of Lima’s blacks and mulattoes frustrated official attempts to choreograph displays of power circulation between Spaniards and non-Spaniards, and seem to have been especially targeted in Spanish attempts to make them participate. As we recall my discussion of hegemonic paradox in Chapter 1, the careful choreography of status and rank would have been a critical link in
sustaining Spanish hegemony, since it required both the doxic acceptance, and the perpetual demonstration (proof) of its existence.

In Chapter 5 I found that the constitutions of confraternities in outlying areas were very similar to those of Lima’s confraternities regarding musical activities in support of important repeated events in the Christian calendar, and, as such, superficially suggest the activities (in elite Hispano-Catholic orthodoxy) of “rhetorically unmarked” participants in Hispano-Catholic society. Sung masses typically accompanied principal festivals, funerals, and monthly mass celebrations. While constitutions suggested a high degree of affinity between Lima’s and provincial indigenous confraternities, the available account books were far too scant and perfunctory to demonstrate conformity with requirements set forth in the constitutions. Exclusive reliance on constitutions and account books, however, distorts any understanding of how confraternities and musical activities served the communities in which they existed.

Historical and ethno-historical evidence strongly suggests that confraternities and their musical life rarely faithfully, and exclusively, copied Hispano-Christian models, but existed along a wide continuum. This continuum of practice illuminates the discussion I had in Chapter 1 of inevitable cultural hybridity as Hispanic and indigenous cultural practices collided and coalesced. Musical activities supporting pre-colonial rituals and celebrations usually occurred within the context of events long practiced by the ancestors of colonial natives, and incorporated pre-colonial songs, dances, and instruments. Since it is unlikely that members of confraternities substantially differed in their cultural practices from others in communities in which their confraternities were integrated, confraternity members almost certainly participated in the musical activities of various pre-colonial rituals and ceremonies. *Mayordomos* contributed to and participated in these events, and would have greatly influenced other members (or vice versa) to do the same.

Whereas the seat of elite ecclesiastical power in the Spanish colonial enterprise was in the urban cathedral, the urban monastery or convent ensconced almost exclusively Spanish monks and nuns in relative isolation from secular colonial society, and Jesuits formed missions in isolated, rural indigenous reductions in order to protect them from the excesses of Spanish

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548 Convents, even in their relative isolation though, developed a reputation for patronizing what Church authorities considered overly secular music during the colonial period, particularly during the eighteenth century. Sas Orc Hassal (1971) and Estenssoro (1989) for example, discuss the Church’s negative reaction to the music cultivated in convents in Lima, while Baker (2001 and 2008) discusses this in Cuzco’s convents.
colonialism, confraternities brought together all swaths of colonial society in urban and rural spaces. More than any other ecclesiastical institution, confraternities not only exposed its members to the full gamut of heterogeneous influences from colonial society, but also expanded beyond their officially religious mandates as they served the secular purposes of their members and the communities in which they existed.

In their official religious purposes, confraternities throughout the archdiocese shared three salient activities beyond public festivals and processions in those institutions throughout the temporal and geographical space of the archdiocese: Holy Communion and confessions during titular festivals, funerals for recently deceased members, and yearly memorials services for other dead members. In theory, participation in Holy Communion identified members of confraternities as not only members of a Catholic community, but as members of a “civilized” Hispano-Catholic society. Partaking in the Holy Eucharist was the most sacred act that not only demonstrated their acceptance of Christ as the Redeemer, but also the rejection of “pagan” superstitions (which, in the colonial context, could become proxies for African and indigenous cultural and intellectual degeneracy). Funeral services and memorials also served the dual purposes of demonstrating the ultimate authority of the Roman Catholic Church over the soul and Hispano-Christendom over the living colonial body. We have seen, however, that confraternities did not always closely follow their theoretical designs.

Confraternities were not mere institutions of piety, but important places for social networks. They were also institutions where ambitious members of society could gain cultural capital through the public display of extravagance, manifest in intense competitions between confraternities during the Church’s yearly cycle of celebrations. The benefits of gaining this capital could outweigh the ostensibly religious purposes of the confraternities, since they were willing to sacrifice the underlying reverence of their religious patrons and Christian contemplations during festivities celebrating them. For example, in 1742, the archdiocese released an official censure of the confraternities founded under Our Lady of the Rosary in various churches for “excessive ostentation and competition” and music considered inappropriate to the gravity of these occasions. Church officials feared that this undermined the dignity and reverence of the Virgin, and distracted worshippers from the underlying religious messages of the festivities celebrating her.549 Forty years later, confraternities had apparently not taken heed, 549 Leg. 47:25 (1742) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
because in 1782, the archbishop Juan González de la Reguera released an order that confraternities “maintain the greatest decorum and decency” during processions during Holy Week. According to the archbishop, confraternities had not only been lacking “decency, circumspection and devotion,” but encouraged “the noisy excitement of the common people” (*bullicio de la Pleve*), had not been travelling down streets that the archdiocese had previously approved, and had not been following their designated schedules.⁵⁵⁰

Although my study sought to fill in factual gaps about the musical and social life of confraternities, it is also a repudiation of developmental essentialism, which, as I described in Chapter 3, I understand as the retrospective interpretation of past phenomena as early manifestations of “immanent” historical developments. Although developmental essentialism does not inherently serve hegemonic ends, I believe that racial essentialism, a mode of developmental essentialism, ultimately does. In light of the strong correlation between race and socioeconomic status in Latin American countries, when contemporary Hispanic, (or Luso-Hispanic if we also rightfully consider Brazil) elites argue for their disproportionate control of wealth and cultural resources because of the assumed inability of those from less affluent classes (predominantly blacks, natives, mulattos, and mestizos) to do so, colonial and contemporary Hispanic elites are ideologically linked. When contemporary Hispanic elites, drawing from Post-Enlightenment constructions of “whiteness,” create a retrospective ethos of whiteness when regarding ancestors who identified themselves as Spanish—with whom they establish a conspicuous kindred bond when narrating their authority through histories and historiographies (meanwhile overlooking miscegenation and redefinitions of Spanishness throughout the colonial period)—concepts of status and privilege (or lack thereof) become proxies for race and color. In other words, by racially essentializing past populations, contemporary Luso-Hispanic elites legitimize their hegemony through not only space (as vertical hierarchies arguably based on inherent capacities), but also time.

In Latin American musicology, this partially underlies the colonialisms I criticized at the beginning of this dissertation. Notated cathedral music broadly following Western European conventions, and associated with the Spanish elite, remains the central focus in much of the field. Beyond the cathedral, institutions dominated by the Spanish clergy—monasteries, convents, and missions, emphasize the same types of notated music rooted in Western European music culture,

⁵⁵⁰ Leg. 47:27 (1782) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
and “reformed” non-Spaniards who “mastered” these traditions. Meanwhile, the musical traditions of people of mainly African and indigenous ancestry and the institutions where they enjoyed relative autonomy and parity with Spaniards, remain peripheral. Finally, the music of Spanish subalterns, those who did not spurn occupations as artisans and laborers, and therefore became associated with their black, indigenous, and mixed cohorts, or who chose vagabondage and Spanish honor over artisanal crafts and labor, is effectively purged from musicological memory.

If one could convincingly argue that aristocratic concerted instrumental and vocal Western European music traditions intrinsically differed from the musical traditions of natives, blacks, and subaltern Spaniards, then he or she would have a legitimate justification for the prevailing focuses in Latin American musicology that I described. Clearly, a polychoral villancico, by virtue of its particular orchestration and instrumentation, characteristic moderate instrumental and vocal range, clear intonation, and separation of the performer and audience, would have been starkly different from an agricultural song of an indigenous highland community that would have featured drums, high vocal tessituras, wide intonation, and communal performance. This villancico would have sharply contrasted with a performance of an African confraternity’s processional during a religious festival, where one would have witnessed a dense texture of polyrhythms and polymeters, a profusion of percussion instruments, vibrant rhythms, wide intonation and vocal range, and fluid mixing of the performer and audience. Finally, no one would confuse this villancico for the drinking song of a Spanish laborer, where one would have perhaps witnessed a guitar or fiddle accompaniment, rough intonation, and gregarious, boisterous delivery (perhaps periodically interrupted with the clangs of beer mugs and friendly pats on the back) in a dark tavern far removed from the Baroque, candlelit opulence of a cathedral’s interior. Yet these are differences in orchestration, instrumentation, tessitura, performance practice, context, venue, or other typical elements in musical performance and tradition, not differences that suggest the intrinsic distinction of the musical traditions that cultivated polychoral villancicos from those that cultivated the other musical genres I briefly described. All musical traditions serve social functions, and the myriad elements by which one may describe, categorize, or analyze them merely illuminate idiosyncratic variations on the theme of music-as-social-mirror across time and society. If one cannot locate valid musical justifications for the disproportionate emphasis on music of the Spanish elite while the musical
traditions of non-elites and non-Spaniards are marginalized, then he or she must consider the non-musical biases that underlie musical colonialism. To be fair, the oral musical traditions of non-elites from the colonial period only survives through second-hand anecdotes, musical instruments, and visual representations, and can only be approximated through contemporary performance of culturally descendant populations, but these traditions, as music-in-society (arguably musicology’s fundamental inquiry), warrant serious examinations of the sources available to us.

The findings in this dissertation substantially support the theoretical assumptions set out in Chapter 1, but due to the necessarily holistic approach to my research, which explored a virtual wilderness in Latin American musicology, documentary and interpretive gaps remain. This study, for example has not profoundly considered the intricacies of the individual in confraternities, or how confraternities as institutions interacted with each other. Just as *mayordomos* often sponsored numerous confraternities in order to gain social advantage, regular members could also join several confraternities with their personal motives. We do not yet know if confraternities specialized in different aspects of public celebrations. Did some confraternities, for example, gain renown for exceptional dancers or shawm players? How important were gatherings of several or more confraternities (*cabildos*) in these institutions and their music?

The reader will have noticed that while I devoted special attention to indigenous, black, and mulatto confraternities, I devoted no such attention to Spanish or mestizo confraternities. This apparent neglect is due to the nature of the sources. None of the sources I consulted referenced confraternities specifically associated with mestizos, and I did not encounter enough information concerning Spanish confraternities to warrant a separate, meaningful discussion of those institutions. The vast majority of documents that I consulted did not identify a racial category associated with its members, and, indeed, many confraternities had multiracial memberships. When confraternities and their members were identified by racial category, they were almost always black, mulatto, or indigenous.

I have discussed much about relations of power between people of different racial categories manifest in confraternities and music, but I am also interested (in testing the adage that *there is more difference within groups than between them*) in how the cultural groups within these racial categories might have interacted and what, if any, were the musical results. I have very briefly considered cultural tension between American-born and African-born members of
black confraternities, but it is not difficult to imagine cultural tension within indigenous confraternities that closely followed allyu affiliations, or within Spanish confraternities that tended to form around ethnic affiliations in Spain. These considerations raise a number of questions. For example, how did tension between cultural groups within racial categories manifest themselves in confraternities and their musical patronage? How would have such tension affected competition (for example, in dances or performances) between confraternities associated with these groups? If these groups were associated with different levels of socioeconomic status, what, if any, would have been the musical results?

While racial categories formed the most important link in the latticework of Hispano-Catholic hegemony in the Spanish colonies, gender was also a critical link. In elite Hispanic orthodoxy, proper women ceded public authority to men and restrained their sexual impulses. This clashed with the cultural values of many blacks, mulattos and natives, whose ancestors often came from matrilineal and/or polygamous societies where women and men often shared public authority and responsibilities, and where courtship practices for prospective spouses provided socially acceptable outlets for sexual urges before marriage. Factors such as these would have contributed to relative gender parity in the public sphere, as well circumscribed acceptance of premarital sexual intercourse, which would have, by misinterpretation and distortion, nurtured colonial stereotypes of aggressive non-Spanish women in particular and wanton sexuality among non-Spaniards in general.

Within the context of confraternities and music, I would be interested in gendered musical performance, for example, if women and men tended to perform on certain instruments or during certain times during festivities, and what, if any, social consequences occurred if men and women transposed their expected roles during musical performance. We know that women had a prominent singing and dancing role, and that men presented vigorous dancing displays in the processions of black and mulatto confraternities. What would happen if men joined the women in singing, if women joined the men in the athletic displays, or if men and women performed in ways not generally associated with their gender role?

The reader will have also noticed that, even though funeral services in confraternities were arguably the most essential activities that linked confraternities across racial category, space, and time, I have marginalized them in this study. This is a result of my early decision to stop recording expenses related to funeral services while I gathered archival evidence, as well as
my focus on activities that I believed would illuminate my exploration of power more clearly. Accounting for the funeral services of the thousands of people who received them is understandably vast and perfunctory, and as I began my search through what would become thousands of folios, it soon became clear that I would lose precious time by devoting more than superficial attention to these records, especially in light of the necessarily holistic nature of my study. Future, more careful study of these records could be of use for the researcher who wishes to more closely examine individuals in confraternity life. For example, we know that the opulence of funeral services generally reflected the social status of the deceased; slaves would often receive a simple burial and recited mass, while wealthy individuals could not only receive a sung mass with full clerical support, but also bequeath considerable resources for sung masses in their honor in perpetuity. Wills, estates, and inventories, which I have not considered in this dissertation, would also be potentially rich sources of information for a fuller narrative of individual lives in confraternities.

While I consulted records from the colonial period in the Municipality of Lima, the gradual crystallization of public protocol for secular ceremonies during the sixteenth century impressed me. It began my interest in the extent to which confraternities participated in patently secular ceremonies throughout the colonial period, such as during celebrations of important events in the lives of the Spanish royal family, receptions for incoming viceroys, and celebrations of important Spanish and royalist military victories. Since various religious institutions such as the Lima cathedral, the monasteries, and parish churches participated in these ceremonies, I wanted to know how confraternities, as religious institutions, also participated. The Lima City Council devoted great care to ensuring that the city received incoming viceroys with the opulence appropriate to the sovereign’s representative. Celebrations of royal births and marriages and mourning over royal deaths punctuated the cycle of public ceremonies, as did celebrations for victories such as those over the Ottomans during the sixteenth century, the British during the eighteenth, and rebels during the nineteenth-century Wars of Independence. Processions and festivals for viceregal entrances, royal births and weddings, and important military victories featured many of the same elements seen in religious processions and festivals such as the high clergy to solemnize the events, bullfights, fireworks, and various musical performances. Unfortunately, the primary documentation that I encountered was far too thin to have warranted a substantive discussion of confraternities’ participation in secular festivals in
this dissertation, but occasional details did emerge. For example, in a letter dated 6 November 1813 from viceroy José Fernando de Abascal y Sousa, Marquess of La Concordia, the viceroy expressed thanks to the Lima City Council for having accompanied him in solemnizing a festival of thanks for the National Army of the viceroyalty in which mayordomos from the Confraternity of the Rosary had also participated. The army had been victorious in the Battle of Vilcapugio (in Upper Peru, or present-day Bolivia) during the Argentine War of Independence. During the course of my research, I found that Lima had rogation and thanksgiving processions and festivals during times of particularly trying times, and confraternities of Saint Elizabeth of the Earthquakes and Saint Roch, for example, were formed in response to the earthquakes and plagues that periodically struck colonial Lima.

As I gathered materials for and later began to write this dissertation, the issue of frames, or the interpretive fields, of colonial audiences, emerged. Fundamentally, frames presuppose a system of codes and meaning. Regarding music, which entails not only the spectacle of musical activity, but also performance (as members of the audience and musicians themselves, which might or might not be separate entities, depending on the social context or tradition), I proposed a theoretical consideration of performative signification in early drafts of Chapter 1 that I did not include in this dissertation. I understand performative signification as the communicative ordering and operation of signs and meaning in embodied representations (performances) of the prevalent systems of value in social formations (cultural formations). As I began a literature survey of semiotics and musical semiotics, it became clear that this was beyond the scope of the present study (and my present expertise), so I did not integrate a substantial discussion of musical semiotics in this dissertation, but I would like to briefly explore it here. By considering performative signification, we may gain perspective on the operation of power through the window of performance. As Umberto Eco writes:

The whole of culture should be studied as a communicative phenomenon based on signification systems. This means that not only can culture be studied in this way, but...only by studying it in this way can certain of its fundamental mechanisms be clarified.552

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551 Doc. 206 (1813) (ML,Serie: Cabildo/Alcaldia/Correspondencia [Virreyes], 1807-1821).
The laws of signification are the laws of culture. For this reason culture allows a continuous process of communicative exchanges, in so far as it subsists as a system of systems of signification. *Culture can be studied completely under a semiotic profile.*

The salient elements in my consideration of performative signification were the performers; audience (or performer-audience if participatory); media; context/purpose; and visual, aural, tactile, olfactory, and/or gustatory signs. The significance of performance rests upon a recognition of and reaction to signs by those who actively or passively experience performance within the behavioral norms of a social formation, and ultimately depends upon competent ordering (following convention or masterful innovation) and recognition of the signs themselves that structure performance.

The performance and creation of music serve their social functions only when they satisfy the expectations of the social formations in which they develop. In more egalitarian societies, individuals tend to fulfill these expectations as they simultaneously create and perform. In more stratified societies, specialists are more frequently entrusted with fulfilling the expectations of a largely non-creating, non-(musically) performing audience. As participants in social formations, specialists not only internalize prevailing conventions, but also work with symbolically mediated abstractions of musical signs—that is, verbal and/or notational “theory-composition”—that precede and structure performance (and are also structured by performance). My framework of performative signification (drawing from Umberto Eco’s theory of sign production and criticisms of aspects of Peircean semiotics) would have been an attempt to explore the links between the *reaction* to the musical experience and the *production/creation* of the signs that allow these experiences in the operation of meaning, all of which are *governed by social convention*. This would bring production, creation, and social convention into sharp focus, and serve as a corrective to interpreting music simply as a reflection of society, a pitfall to which many musicologists (including me) occasionally fall prey. One issue in Peircean semiotics, which marginalizes social convention in the creation of signs, is its use of iconism, or the apparent analogous correspondence between the sign and the object. For example, advocates of Peircean musical semiotic theory would hold that BaMbuti musical performances (the signs)

are iconic of BaMbuti society (the object) because both are decentralized and egalitarian, but “decentralization” and “egalitarianism” are two isolated elements of both (and, furthermore, are Western abstractions that translate BaMbuti musical aesthetics and social values into Western linguistic codes, which further weakens any truly “iconic” link between the two), and it is only by qualifying the isolated focus on these elements that there is anything akin to “iconicity” between performance and social practice. Clearly, no singular mode of social interaction of any society can faithfully convey the innumerable intricacies of that society, and societies cannot (and should not, even in theory) be reduced to musical analogies. If music is a window that allows us to peek inside social formations, then we must remember that it is a filtered one whose field of view is also limited by the innumerable shadows, corners, and walls that structure those social formations.

One image that slowly emerged as I gathered archival information was that during colonial processions in the city (including, but not limited to those of confraternities), the people who carried the floats representing various Christian personages and contemplations were overwhelmingly black, and to a lesser degree, indigenous. Here, blacks and natives seemed to literally bear the weight of Hispano-Christendom on their shoulders, while a cross section of colonial Lima society—from viceroy to slave—witnessed this. Blacks and natives built the physical infrastructure of the Spanish Indies: the viceregal and archiepiscopal palaces, the churches, the monasteries, and other astounding Baroque monuments of the colonial period at which foreign tourists in Latin American countries now marvel—and largely perceive as “Spanish” achievements. The colonial infrastructure also included textile mills (obrajes) where many natives were forced to labor and then buy the products of their labor at prices stratospherically inflated from their actual value. It included sugar plantations where black slaves toiled and perished prematurely like their brethren in the Caribbean. It included rural estates (haciendas), important sources of seemingly perpetual wealth for a largely Hispanic elite, but which were also fulcrums of the gradual institutionalized invasion of prime, communal indigenous agricultural lands. The colonial infrastructure also included the silver mines, where vast numbers of indigenous workers died or were maimed to disability in pitch-black, noxious, claustrophobic environments that defy the imagination.

Yet blacks and natives were not simply laboring peons resigned to their fate as bearers of the Spanish colonial enterprise. Jubilant black and mulatta women, proudly displaying their
opulent clothing and jewelry, danced and sang around the same black and indigenous float bearers whom we might assume to be downtrodden bearers of Hispano-Christendom. Around these same float bearers who, in the eyes of the Spanish audience, might have reinforced and legitimized notions of Hispano-Catholic authority, black men performed athletic, energetic displays of bravura and mockery of the Hispanic elite in dances that struck uneasy nerves in the same audience that lived in fear of black rebellion. Black, mulatto, and indigenous confraternities enthusiastically participated in Lima’s festivals, and fiercely competed for the public recognition of their extravagance, often with Pyrrhic results. Members of affluent indigenous confraternities such as Our Lady of Copacabana proudly displayed their membership in “civilized” Hispanic society through their patronage of European concert and concerted vocal music, while the display of possible “indigenisms” in their processions suggests that they did not perceive “civilization” and “indigenisms” as mutually exclusive concepts. In the rural regions of the archdiocese, indigenous confraternities exhibited even more complexity vis-à-vis colonial society and Hispano-Christendom. They formed pious institutions that seemed to demonstrate the success of evangelization on the one hand, yet on the other, their confraternities served the purposes of communities where natives took physical possession of the baptized “Christian” corpses of their brethren and, through their own funerary rites, asserted the spiritual authority of their ancestors.

Neither did Spaniards invariably stand as aloof, godlike, condescending masters of the subjects who populated their dominions. The least fortunate among them (and the least engaged with their subalternity), vainly clung to pretentious notions of the superiority of Spanish ancestry as indigent vagabonds too proud to share in the manual labor of their indigenous, black, and mixed peers. Others of various social strata crowded in the balconies of playhouses with blacks, natives, and those of mixed ancestry to share in the delight of viewing spectacles that scandalized Church authorities. They joined and stood close to other people of all racial designations as enthralled spectators of bullfights, giant floats, and fireworks, and as spectators of and participants in candlelit vigils and processions, and dances—all with heavy participation among confraternities—that embellished festivals such as Corpus Christi or Rose of Lima. In confraternities, they paid for uncharacteristically elaborate funeral rites with musical embellishments for cherished black slave or servant children, referring to them in affectionate, moving terms that challenged my own previous assumptions about relationships between
Spanish slave owners and black slaves. Spanish men married black, indigenous, and mixed women, and, like most fathers across time, space, and society, acted in ways to maximize advantages and security for their wives and children.

Contrary to strains of triumphalist narratives that still taint mainstream Latin American musicology, Spaniards were not omnipotent, prescient conquerors blazing trails in the American wilderness. Natives were not an inert mass of peasants that passively accepted the usurpation of their ancestors’ lands and cosmologies. Blacks were not defeated victims of their forced servitude whose only desire was to die and finally let their souls rest in peace. Those of mixed ancestry, *mestizos*, *zambos*, and “tragic mulattos,” were not invariably cast to the margins of colonial society, unable to find a place in a rigid system of colonial Apartheid. Colonial Spaniards, natives, blacks, *mestizos*, *zambos*, and mulattos defied retrospective, essentialist, homogeneous, and unyielding constructions of their existence and societies. They mixed, intermarried, fought, loved, and hated in a society where fluid mixing created infinite possibilities to reinforce, reproduce, question, reject, assimilate, and redefine prevailing quotidian and spectacular habits, beliefs, and traditions. The confraternities and musical life they cultivated reflected aspects of this colonial mixture, conflict, affinity, and ambivalence.
Notes on Appendices

Appendix A: Documents concerning the indigenous confraternity of Our Lady of Copacabana in El Cercado.

Appendix B: Documents concerning indigenous confraternities in Lima.

Appendix C: Annotated alterations to manuscripts from the AAL.

Appendix D: My edition of the antiphon “Regina coeli.”

Appendix E: My edition of the cantada “De amor es encanto.”

Appendix F: My edition of the villancico “De un cazadorcito.”

Appendix G: My edition of the aria “Al mar.”

Appendix H: My edition of the cantada “Aunque arrogante.”
## Appendix A:

### Confraternity of Our Lady of Copacabana

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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notable recorded expense</th>
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<td>1606</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>10 pesos, 6 reales (trumpeter); 13 pesos, 4 reales (shawm player); 24 pesos, 8 reales (music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Massacre of the Innocents**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1608</td>
<td>Principal festival?**</td>
<td>25 pesos (sung mass); 6 pesos, 6 reales (sung mass)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 January through</td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>No musical expenses listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1666**</td>
<td>Maundy Thursday</td>
<td>No musical expenses listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saint Elizabeth**</td>
<td>No musical expenses listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Palm Sunday</td>
<td>No musical expenses listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saturday masses</td>
<td>7 pesos (various); 40 pesos (cathedral musicians)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 July 1666 through 1 January 1667**</td>
<td>Christmas</td>
<td>No musical expenses listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saturday masses and antiphons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Leg. 11:1 (1608-1615) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fol. 54.**

**Santos Inocentes?, bien abenturados y nosentes** on 28 December.

**Paid to a man named Simon, “master trumpeter” (maestro de trompeta) for playing during the vespers, masses and night of the feast during the illumination of the church (las Luminarias).**

**Paid to Juan de Caravasal (“Carausal”), master shawm player (maestro de chirimia) for playing during the main mass and night of the feast day.**

**Paid to Juan Martín for the Cathedral musicians who played during the vespers and masses.**

**Leg. 11:3 (1609-1616) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 25, 26.**

**In the account books I consulted where only one festival was listed among its yearly expenditures, it frequently occurred under a generic “fiesta” heading with an itemization of associated expenses. Since the constitutions I consulted almost invariably stipulated that members attend and celebrate the principal festival (no other festivals had this degree of mandatory stipulation), then this festival is the most likely (but of course not the only) category of festival listed under the generic heading when the account book has no other festival listed. For consistency, when I encountered these conditions, I identified generic festivals as principal festivals.**

**Main feast day.**

**On another day, likely during the same festival period.**

**Leg. 11:4 (1671-1674) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 22-23.**

**Santa Ysabel.**

**Ibid., fols. 5, 7, 9.**

**For Christmas masses (misas de aguinaldo) and three days of celebration.**

**An Antonio Quespe hired them from the Cathedral for unspecified purposes around Christmas because musicians from within the confraternity did not provide their services during an unnamed conflict. (Ibid., fol. 7) (porque ningun de los hermanos ayudaron por estar confusos del levantamiento y asi me hizo cargo de todo).**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 January through June 1667&lt;sup&gt;568&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>1 peso (black float bearers during procession)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saint Elizabeth and The Purification&lt;sup&gt;569&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1 peso, 6 reales (two drummers);&lt;sup&gt;570&lt;/sup&gt; 1 peso, 6 reales (black float bearers and two drummers); 4 pesos (musicians)&lt;sup&gt;571&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Holy Week</td>
<td>6 pesos (sung mass);&lt;sup&gt;572&lt;/sup&gt; 6 pesos (divine offices);&lt;sup&gt;573&lt;/sup&gt; 6 pesos (sung mass)&lt;sup&gt;574&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1677</td>
<td>1677-1678&lt;sup&gt;575&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>3 pesos, 5 reales (each)&lt;sup&gt;577&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saturday mass and antiphons</td>
<td>10 reales (drummer and trumpeter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saint Elizabeth</td>
<td>12 pesos, 5 reales (sung mass); 6 pesos (music); 2 pesos, 5 reales (organist)&lt;sup&gt;578&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Funerary expenses&lt;sup&gt;576&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>32 pesos&lt;sup&gt;579&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christmas masses</td>
<td>2 pesos, 5 reales (three sung masses);&lt;sup&gt;580&lt;/sup&gt; 90 pesos (various)&lt;sup&gt;581&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1678</td>
<td>Saturday sung masses and antiphons</td>
<td>No musical expenses listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Candelaria</td>
<td>4 pesos, 6 reales (chaplain organist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Renting the cross on 3 May”&lt;sup&gt;582&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>4 reales (drummer and trumpeter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1689&lt;sup&gt;583&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>“Redemption”</td>
<td>26 pesos (music, organist,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>568</sup> Ibid., fols. 14-16.
<sup>569</sup> *dela purificación*.
<sup>570</sup> *cajeros*.
<sup>571</sup> To the musicians who accompanied a sung mass after candle-holding worshippers had processed to the church (*que asistieron ala venidicion de las Velas y Romero y cantar en la misa*).
<sup>572</sup> The confraternity paid the officiating chaplain 2 pesos and the musicians four pesos for the mass of Saint Joseph.
<sup>573</sup> To the chaplain and musicians for the “the Gloria and other offices” (*la gloria y demas oficios*).
<sup>574</sup> To the chaplain and musicians for a sung mass during the fiesta of the Incarnation and Surrender of the Lord (*Sonomision del Señor*).
<sup>575</sup> Leg. 10A:19 (1679-1680) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
<sup>576</sup> *Gastos de finados*.
<sup>577</sup> The written-out version of the expenses records three pesos, four reales.
<sup>578</sup> There were also several recited masses for which there is no payment recorded.
<sup>579</sup> The confraternity paid 11 pesos for the masses themselves (presumably to the chaplain), and an additional twenty-one pesos for the music.
<sup>580</sup> Celebrated on day 1 through 3 of the festival.
<sup>581</sup> Including the music for three days, singers (*Los musicos como constara para canta*), and one peso, four reales for the lunch and dinner of the trumpeter.
<sup>582</sup> *Rentar la cruz 3 de mayo*.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Christmas Novena</th>
<th>harpist)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1690(^{585})</td>
<td>6 pesos (organist); 1 peso, 4 reales (dinner for drummer and keyboardist); 2 pesos (drummer and trumpeter)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notable expenses for 1690 Christmas Novena**

13 pesos, 4 reales, unspecified, but presumably for officiating and singing
6 pesos, 6 reales paid to the organist;
5 pesos, 4 reales paid to the harpist;
5 pesos, 6 reales paid to the choir or altar boys;\(^{589}\)
4 pesos, 6 reales paid to the drummer and trumpeter;
6 pesos, 6 reales paid to the organist;
2 pesos, 6 reales paid to the sacristan;
5 pesos, 5 reales for 5 days of fireworks;
9 pesos paid to the deacons and subdeacons;
9 reales for incense
4 reales for flowers, presumably adorning the altar, during 4 days of celebrations

**Additional notable, non-musical expenses for the principal festival in 1690\(^{590}\)**

15 pesos for thirty taffetas (“tafetanes”)\(^{591}\)
5 pesos for 120 roses that adorned the main altar
1 peso for another 24 roses for the niche devoted to Mary in the church (“para el nicho de Nuestra Madre”)

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\(^{583}\) Leg. 11:1 (1692-1697) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 21-22. The accounting from 1689 through 1691 in this source is chaotic, with jumbled entries and mixed dates.

\(^{584}\) (Gastos de los desagrabios), probably in October.

\(^{585}\) Leg. 10C:16 (1706) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 8-10.

\(^{586}\) On last festival day.

\(^{587}\) Performed in the chapel (La Musica con la mayor grandeza) by a harpist, violonist, and clavichordist.

\(^{588}\) The transportation of the clavichord from an unidentified location.

\(^{589}\) (los muchachos).

\(^{590}\) Ibid., fols. 9-10.

\(^{591}\) A high-quality fabric that actors in religious plays or performing musicians wore, or that officiating priests wore to adorn their vestments.
1 peso for the rental of 4 talcos (containers of “powder”?)
6 cornucopias
26 silver nails from Saint Augustine (“puntas de plata de Señor Agustín”) (no expense listed);
1 peso, 4 reales for candle wax for the illumination of the church;
22 pesos for three days of fireworks;
10 pesos paid to a Marcos de Arastia for constructing the scaffolding for them;
1 peso paid to the minor sacristan for officiating for three days;
6 pesos paid to the notary and chaplain for officiating during the election of confraternity officers;
20 pesos paid to a Friar Vicente Ferrer from the church of Our Lady of Mercy (Nuestra Señora de la Merced) for the sermon he gave on the last festival day;
3 pesos, 4 reales for 2 hand bouquets (of roses?, “Ramos de Mano”);592
6 pesos paid to the chaplain for officiating for the three days of the festival;
28 pesos, 4 reales to the curate as offerings (“los derechos del curato”);
140 pesos to the sacristan for his work over fourteen months

1691593 Saturday masses and antiphons
Christmas Novena
Principal festival (see below)

No musical expenses listed
13 pesos (chaplain); 24 pesos (music); 1 peso (deacon and subdeacon)594

Notable expenses for the principal festival in 1691
4 pesos for rights to the church;
36 pesos, 4 reales for the rights of the parish curate;
1 peso, 4 reales for the sacristan;
118 pesos for the music performed for the vespers and procession during the three days of the festival;
6 pesos, 4 reales for the organist;
10 pesos for the shawm players;
1 peso, 4 reales to feed the drummer and trumpeter (and an additional 6 reales for trumpeters explicitly identified as black);
20 pesos for the drummer and trumpeter;
1 peso, 4 reales for the harpist and guitarist for performing on the feast day;
40 pesos for the construction firework scaffolding near the church, and another 10 pesos for its builder;
46 pesos, 6 reales for the fireworks;
6 pesos for the election ceremonies (presumably to the witnessing and officiating officials);
1 peso, 4 reales for the candle wax for the illumination of the church;
1 peso, 4 reales for the candelabra (“Sirial”) that the viceroy held (presumably during the

592 One was given to the viceroy Melchor Antonio Portocarrero Lazo de Vega, Count de la Monclova, the other to the archbishop Melchor Liñán de Cisneros.
593 Ibid., fols. 16-17.
594 On the Friday during the Novena.
procession);  
2 pesos for additional candelabra;  
2 pesos for the cross held during the procession;  
2 reales for pins to dress the image of Mary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1704</th>
<th>Saturday masses and antiphons</th>
<th>No musical expenses listed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 pesos (drummer and trumpeter); 596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13 pesos (curate); 597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 pesos (various) 598</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1706</th>
<th>Saturday masses and antiphons</th>
<th>No musical expenses listed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday (see below)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notable expenses for Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday in 1706:
- 9 pesos paid to the curate from the parish of Saint Lazarus for officiating;
- 10 pesos to a friar Agustín Collago for officiating the Passion of Maundy Thursday;
- 4 pesos for six customary crafts from Saint Lazarus that he made for Lent (“por los seis plasticos que hizo en la quaresma en dha iglesia como es acostumbrado”);
- 6 pesos to 3 more priest for officiating during the Passions of Good Friday;
- 4 pesos for two vestments worn (by the friar?) during the sermon and procession of Maundy Thursday and Good Friday;
- 8 pesos for the four sung musical selections for the Passion of Good Friday (“8 pesos por la música que cantaron la Passion del biernes santo que a dos pesos cada uno”);
- 12 reales to the singers who performed on Maundy Thursday;
- 1 peso, 4 reales to the harpist and organist;
- 2 pesos for the sung mass on Holy Saturday;
- 2 pesos for the vestments worn during the spreading of holy water at the end of the same (“de la bendicion del agua profecia”)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1709</th>
<th>Saturday masses</th>
<th>No musical expenses listed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christmas Novena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 pesos (curate); 603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 pesos (drummer and trumpeter); 604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 pesos (curate); 605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 reales (curate) 606</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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595 Ibid., fols. 39–40.
596 For having played during the Vespers and feast day of the Innocent Saints (Santos ynocentes). This could be from a separate festival, but it listed under the heading “Expenses from the principal festival of Our Lady” (Gastos dela fiesta principal de Nuestra Señora del año de 1704).
597 From the parish of Saint Lazarus, officiating during the Vespers and procession.
598 For the two vestments worn during the Vespers, sung mass and procession.
599 Ibid., fol. 52.
600 Ibid., fols. 50-51. The AAL catalogue lists 1706 as the date of the document bundle in which this accounting is found. In situ comparisons of the 4’s, 9’s, and their corresponding written-out parts when they accompanied them led me to read the year as 1709. Moreover, the accounting from years 1704 and 1709 are both fragmentary and
## Christmas Novena: 5 pesos, 6 reales to adorn the façade of the church, replenish the supplies of candle wax (“quite en merma de cera”), and clean the cemetery for the entrance of the archbishop (Antonio Zuloaga, who also officiated); 6 pesos to laborers for the transport of ebony (chairs? “abaños” [sic], now “ebano”) and carpet.

### Other notable non-musical expenses in 1714

Festival of Our Lady of the Candelaria (2 February): 6 pesos, 7 reales to adorn the church and supply an armed escort (“poner las harmas”) during the entrance of the viceroy (Diego Ladrón de Guevara).

Christmas Novena: 5 pesos, 6 reales to adorn the façade of the church, replenish the supplies of candle wax (“quite en merma de cera”), and clean the cemetery for the entrance of the archbishop (Antonio Zuloaga, who also officiated); 6 pesos to laborers for the transport of ebony (chairs? “abaños” [sic], now “ebano”) and carpet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Payment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Holy Saturday</td>
<td>6 pesos (curate); 8 pesos (music) (organ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1714</td>
<td>Memorial mass Easter</td>
<td>4 pesos (music); 1 peso (mass); 4 reales (sacristan); 9 pesos (officials)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1728 through January 1729</td>
<td>Easter</td>
<td>2 pesos (music); 4 reales (shawn players); 4 pesos, 6 reales (drummer and trumpeter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 pesos, 4 reales (each of 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 pesos (chaplain); 6 pesos (priests); 10 pesos (various)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1729 through December 1730</td>
<td>Saint Joseph (San Joseph)</td>
<td>none; 3 pesos, 3 reales</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

603 The antiphons are not mentioned, but still likely accompanied the latter.
604 Comments attending the mayordomo’s payment to the parish of Saint Lazarus and the officiating priest both state that there were no processions: *(Ala parroquia de Señor San Lázaro los nueve pesos de los derechos de bispery y misa porque no hubo procesion, and [al] Señor teniente pague cuatro reales de su asistencia de biperas no mas por auer Cantado dicho teniente la misa y no se le pago otra cossa por no auer auído procession).*
605 From the parish of Saint Lazarus.
606 Performed during the Vespers and feast day.
607 From the parish of Saint Lazarus.
608 Friar Joseph Iglesia (Yglesia) for the sermon of the Passion (presumably on Good Friday).
609 To a Pablo or Pedro Valentin (Balentín) de Heredia for the music during the Passion on Good Friday.
610 To Juan Chumbe for playing on Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday.
611 Leg. 10C:18 (1706) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fol. 9.
612 Friar Joseph Iglesia (Yglesia) for the sermon of the Passion (presumably on Good Friday).
613 To a Pablo or Pedro Valentin (Balentín) de Heredia for the music during the Passion on Good Friday.
614 To Juan Chumbe for playing on Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday.
615 Leg. 10C:29 (1715) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 7, 9-10.
616 From El Cercado.
617 Paid to the parish for officiating rights.
618 The attending officials during the election of new confraternity officers.
619 Guevara had also served as the bishop of Quito.
620 Leg. 10C:38 (1729) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías)
621 For officiating the Passion.
622 For 3 priests that sang in the Passion.
623 For the bajón player (bajonero), dulzaina player (Dulzaynista), and Passion music.
| Saint Christopher (of Burgos?) (San Cristobal) | 5 reales; 3 pesos, reales |
| Saint Anne (Santa Ana) | 3 reales; 3 pesos, 2 reales |
| Saint Rose (Santa Rosa) | 3 reales; 3 pesos, 2 reales |
| Saint Marcellus (San Marçelo/Marzelo) | 3 reales; 2 pesos, 2 reales |
| Lord of Help (Señor del Avislio) | 2 reales |
| Principal festival | 38 pesos, 3 reales |
| Saturday masses | 4 pesos, 5 reales (each) |
| Pre-Lent Godmother’s Thursday (see below) | 1 peso, 2 reales (mass); |
| Holy Week (see below) | Paid to the chaplain. |
| Principal festival (see below) | 621 |

Notable expenses for Godmother’s Thursday between January 1729 and December 1730
1 peso, 2 reales paid to the chaplain for the sung mass he performed;
1 peso paid to the parish for officiating rights;
2 pesos paid to the sacristan;
6 reales paid to the deacons;
2 pesos paid to the drummer and trumpeter;
4 pesos for the Marian antiphon sung;
3 pesos, 2 ½ reales for the fireworks (cuetes) and the three wheels (ruedas) to which they were affixed.

Notable expenses for Holy Week between January 1729 and December 1730
1 peso paid to the chaplain;
4 reales for the mass and benediction on Palm Sunday;
4 pesos, 4 reales paid to the parish for officiating rights;
8 pesos to 3 priests and others involved in the Passion on Good Friday;
2 pesos for the sung mass on Holy Saturday;
2 pesos to the officiating deacons on Holy Saturday;
6 pesos paid to the chapel master for the music on Holy Saturday

Notable expenses for the principal festival between January 1729 and December 1730
73 pesos to replenish its reserves of candle wax;
40 pesos to adorn the church;
12 pesos for the parochial officiating rights;
10 pesos for the music;
3 pesos, 3 ½ reales paid to the drummer and trumpeter for their performance;
16 pesos for the fireworks during the vespers and feast day

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620 Leg. 10C:39 (1731) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías). The account book only listed total expenditures; it did not identify the year in which the confraternity incurred them.
621 In cases where there are two expenses listed, this reflects the separate expenses for 1729 and 1730, respectively. During these two years, these payments were simply for the events listed, without further details in the account books regarding the context.
622 Jueves de Comadres.
623 Paid to the chaplain.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Events</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Sung Saturday masses to Mary</td>
<td>between 8 pesos, 6 reales and 14 pesos, 6 reales (each) &lt;sup&gt;624&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Holy Week</td>
<td>4 pesos (Mother Vicar) &lt;sup&gt;626&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christmas Novena</td>
<td>27 pesos (sung masses) &lt;sup&gt;627&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>12 reales (sung mass); 2 pesos (drummer and trumpeter); 3 pesos (sung mass) &lt;sup&gt;627&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1747</td>
<td>Sung Saturday masses to Mary</td>
<td>between 11 pesos, 6 reales and 14 pesos, 6 reales &lt;sup&gt;629&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Holy Week</td>
<td>9 pesos (sung masses) &lt;sup&gt;628&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>14 pesos (Mother Vicar) &lt;sup&gt;629&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christmas Novena?</td>
<td>(14 pesos (Mother Vicar))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1748</td>
<td>Sung Saturday masses to Mary</td>
<td>between 11 pesos, 6 reales and 14 pesos, 6 reales per month &lt;sup&gt;630&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Holy Week</td>
<td>4 pesos (Mother Vicar) &lt;sup&gt;630&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christmas Novena?</td>
<td>9 pesos (sung masses to Mary) &lt;sup&gt;631&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>12 pesos for (music); 1 peso (musicians); 2 pesos, 4 reales (drummer and trumpeter) &lt;sup&gt;632&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>624</sup> Leg. 10D:13 (1754) (AAL, Serie: Cofradias), fols. 3, 15.
<sup>625</sup> Ibid. This is deduced from the account book for 1748, which shows expenditures of eight pesos, six reales for months where three such masses were performed; eleven pesos, six reales when there were four; and fourteen pesos, six reales when there were five. In the years between 1746-1748, every year had between three and five such masses performed per month, but only the 1748 records consistently show the correlation been the number of such masses performed monthly and the expenditure; for example in 1746, three Saturday masses to Mary were performed in November, but there is no expenditure listed. On a separate note, since the yearly sung Saturday masses to Mary routinely list separate lists of expenses in 1747 and 1748, then this could suggest that the confraternity drew musicians and/or other pertinent personnel for these masses from different sources. Also, the 1748 records list a separate total expenditure of twenty-two pesos, four reales (each?) for the sung Saturday masses to Mary, suggesting the same, as well as an indication of inconsistent accounting.

<sup>626</sup> Paid to the Mother Vicar of the Choir from an unnamed girl’s orphanage (beaterio) for the music performed for three days (probably Maundy Thursday through Holy Saturday since the records from the following year list those days).

<sup>627</sup> On 31 December.

<sup>628</sup> From Maundy Thursday through Holy Saturday.

<sup>629</sup> Paid to the Mother Vicar of the Choir (presumably from the same girl’s orphanage) for music for the Christmas masses. This amount also included payment for the music she provided for the principal fiesta.

<sup>630</sup> Paid to the Mother Vicar of the Choir (again, presumably from the same girl’s orphanage) the music performed during three days of Holy Week (probably Maundy Thursday through Holy Saturday).

<sup>631</sup> For the vespers and main feast days.

<sup>632</sup> For the unspecified instrumentalists that played the main melody (discante de instrumentos), who performed all day on the feast day.
| 1749 | Saturday masses<sup>634</sup>  
Holy Week | 11 peso, 6 reales (each)<sup>635</sup>  
9 pesos (singing priests)<sup>636</sup>  
2 pesos (chaplain)<sup>637</sup>  
4 pesos (Mother Vicar)<sup>638</sup>  
4 pesos (Mother Vicar)<sup>639</sup>  
(4 pesos (Mother Vicar))<sup>640</sup>  
2 pesos (chaplain)  
(4 pesos (Mother Vicar)); 5 pesos (drummer and trumpeter)<sup>641</sup>  
2 pesos (other musicians)<sup>642</sup> |
| Memorial mass  
Christmas Noveva | |
| Principal festival | |

<sup>633</sup> Leg. 10D:14 (1754) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 6, 7, 14, 20-21.

<sup>634</sup> These Saturday masses were almost invariably sung; all references to them in this table from henceforth operate with that assumption.

<sup>635</sup> In 1748, the confraternity recorded between three and five sung Saturday masses per month during the year, but only listing the eleven peso, six reales rate.

<sup>636</sup> To the priests who sang a Passion on an unspecified day.

<sup>637</sup> For officiating the sung mass and divine offices on Holy Saturday.

<sup>638</sup> Again, from the girl’s orphanage for the music.

<sup>639</sup> This payment was also for music provided for nine sung Christmas masses during the Novena, and for music during the principal festival. From henceforth, unless otherwise indicated, the Mother Vicar listed in the account books was from the beaterio, paid for her musical services (often, but not invariably including a sung mass). Regarding her musical services during memorials, these were most often for music provided for sung masses.

<sup>640</sup> Unless otherwise noted, the musical contribution from the Mother Vicar was for music provided for the sung masses during the Novena, but could have also included otherwise unspecified musical contributions.

<sup>641</sup> For music during the vespers and main feast day.

<sup>642</sup> Who played the main melody.
Unspecified amount of money paid to the man who delivered an ornament sent from the viceroy (José Antonio Manso de Velasco, Conde de Superunda) for the worship of the Holiest Virgin (“al que traxo el Ornamento, que el Excelentísimo Señor Virrey embio, para el culto de la Santísima Virgen”)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Payment Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1750</td>
<td>Saturday masses</td>
<td>Between 10 pesos, 2 ½ reales and 17 pesos, ½ real (each)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Holy Week</td>
<td>2 pesos (chaplain); 7 pesos (singing priests); 4 pesos (Mother Vicar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Memorial mass</td>
<td>4 pesos (Mother Vicar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christmas Novena</td>
<td>9 pesos (Mother Vicar); 12 reales (chaplain); 22 reales, 2 reales (singing deacons); 9 pesos (drummer and trumpeter); 1 peso (string player(s))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>12 pesos (Mother Vicar); 2 pesos (musicians); 5 pesos, 4 reales (drummer and trumpeter); 10 pesos (shawm trio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1751</td>
<td>Saturday masses</td>
<td>Between 8 pesos, 6 reales and 10 pesos, 7 ½ reales (each)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Holy Week</td>
<td>1 peso, 4 reales (chaplain); 5 pesos (Mother Vicar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Memorial mass</td>
<td>4 pesos, 4 reales (Mother Vicar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christmas Novena</td>
<td>9 pesos (Mother Vicar); 4 pesos (drummer and trumpeter); 9 pesos (oboe trio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>6 pesos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

643 In 1750, the confraternity spent ten pesos, two and on-half reales, thirteen pesos, six reales, or seventeen pesos, one-half real for each month in which there were three, four or five (respectively) sung Saturday masses.
644 For officiating a sung mass and divine offices on Maundy Thursday. The chaplain also probably received the two pesos for a repetition on Holy Saturday, but no recipient is listed with this payment.
645 The chaplain, deacon, and sub deacon (?) received this offering for singing in the Passion on Good Friday.
646 For the music provided on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday.
647 For music during the vespers, feast and nighttime Kalends (Calenda).
648 Paid to the instrumentalists who played the main melody who played the entire day before the feast day.
649 This trio performed during the vespers and main feast day.
650 Leg. 10D:17 (1755-1758) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 4-5, 12-13 (excepto el ultimo, que costea el Beaterio, por la Memoria que le dixo el General Don enrique [sic] Ximenez Lohaton).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1752</td>
<td>Saturday masses</td>
<td>Between 8 pesos, 6 reales and 10 pesos, 7 reales.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 pesos, 4 reales (chaplain); 5 pesos (singing deacons); 5 pesos (Mother Vicar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Holy Week</td>
<td>4 pesos, 4 reales (Mother Vicar).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christmas Novena</td>
<td>8 pesos (Mother Vicar); 8 pesos (drummer and trumpeter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>4 pesos, 4 reales (Mother Vicar); 4 pesos, 4 reales (music); 4 pesos, 4 reales (singing deacons); 1 peso, 1 real (drummer and trumpeter); 2 pesos (organ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1753</td>
<td>Saturday masses</td>
<td>No musical expenses listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Holy Week</td>
<td>1 peso, 4 reales (chaplain); 5 pesos (singing deacons); 2 pesos (Passion celebrant); 5 pesos (Mother Vicar)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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651 For months with four or five sung Saturday masses, respectively. The account book only recorded them for the months of January through April, September, and December.
652 For officiating the sung mass and divine offices on Maundy Thursday. The chaplain probably also received the two pesos for the same event on Holy Satruday; the account book does not list the recipient.
653 For sung masses.
654 For sung masses.
655 For sung masses. The confraternity assumed this expense because three confraternity members had failed to follow through on an apparent offer to do so (a cuyo costo ofrecido por los Hermanos Don Joseph, Cayo Tupa y Don Ventura Themoche, faltaron, sin dar nada, ni asistir a la fiesta).
656 For the instrumentalists who played the main melody.
657 For the music for the vespers and Kalends.
658 For four or five monthly celebrations, respectively.
659 Who sang the Passion on Good Friday.
660 Over three days.
661 The girl’s orphanage paid for the last sung mass, in the memory of an Enrique Jiménez Lobatón.
662 For the music for the sung mass on the principal feast day.
663 For officiating and singing in the the mass on the principal feast day.
664 Choral music (Musica del coro).
665 For the borrowing and return of the organ (por traída, y buelta).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1754</td>
<td>No principal festival&lt;sup&gt;667&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Memorial Christmas Novena &lt;br&gt; No musical expenses listed &lt;br&gt; 1 peso, 4 reales paid to the chaplain for officiating a sung mass and divine offices on Maundy Thursday; &lt;br&gt; 2 pesos paid to 2 deacons for also officiating; &lt;br&gt; 2 pesos paid to the chaplain for officiating a sung mass and divine offices on Saturday, (and presumable also on Good Friday, but the mass and divine office are not mentioned); &lt;br&gt; 5 pesos paid to 2 deacons for officiating and singing in the Passion; &lt;br&gt; 5 pesos paid to the Mother Vicar from the girl’s orphanage for the music</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>667</sup> There was no principal festival in 1753 because of an unnamed restriction from the church on 28 December (<i>omitida por el embarazo de la Iglesia</i>). There was, however, a free sung mass, which Bartolomé Jiménez Lobaton, archdeacon from the Cathedral, officiated with the help of two other Cathedral priests who served as deacons and sang “for the loving devotion that they [all] professed to this Divine Kingdom.” (<i>Señor Don Bartholome Ximenez Lobaton, Arcediacano de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana, colgado de otros dos sacerdotes de allí, que como Diaconos oficiaron, la cantaron graciosamente, por la amante devicion que professaron à esta Divina Reyna</i>), Ibid., fol. 18

<sup>668</sup> For officiating a sung mass and divine offices on Maundy Thursday.

<sup>669</sup> During Passion.

<sup>670</sup> As in the 1753, there was no principal festival in 1754, but Bartolomé Jiménez Lobaton, archdeacon from the Cathedral, officiated again with the help of two other Cathedral priests who served as deacons and sang.

<sup>671</sup> For officiating a sung mass and divine offices on Maundy Thursday.

<sup>672</sup> For the music of the eight Christmas masses (the girl’s orphanage paid for the last one for the same reason as in 1752).
Appendix B:
Other Indigenous Confraternities in Lima

Confraternities in El Cercado

Confraternity of Saint Agatho (San Agatón), valle de Huachipa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notable recorded expense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 July 1750 through 21 June 1751</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>10 pesos, 4 reales (chaplain); 6 pesos (music); 5 pesos, 5 reales (singer); 2 pesos (drummer and trumpeter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 July 1750 through 20 January 1751</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>11 pesos (chaplain); 6 pesos (music); 5 pesos, 5 reales (singer); 2 pesos, 4 reales (drummer and trumpeter)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Church of Saint James

Confraternity of Blessed Souls (Benditas Animas)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notable recorded expense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1793</td>
<td>Unnamed procession</td>
<td>3 pesos for four priests who served as holy men (&quot;Santos Varones&quot;) and sang 25 pesos for the musicians who played</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Memorial day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fishermen’s Confraternity of Saint Joseph (de pescadores de San José)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notable recorded expense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (after September 1670 through 1673)</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>10 pesos (music); 4 pesos (drummer and trumpeter); 4 pesos (harpist and guitarist)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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673 Leg. 10D:12 (1753) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fol. 5.
674 For the sung mass he officiated.
675 Leg. 32A:36 (1793) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías).
Church of Saint Sebastian of El Cercado  
(Iglesia de San Sebastián del Cercado)

Confraternity of Saint Joseph (San José)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notable recorded expense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>1776-1778&lt;sup&gt;677&lt;/sup&gt; Sabbath and festival of Saint Joseph</td>
<td>47 pesos (singer); 6 pesos, 2 reales (musicians);&lt;sup&gt;678&lt;/sup&gt; 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pesos, 2 reales (drummers); 6 pesos, 2 reales (trumpeters);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53 pesos (deacons and sub-deacons);&lt;sup&gt;679&lt;/sup&gt; 4 pesos or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>reales (illegible; deacons and sub-deacons);&lt;sup&gt;680&lt;/sup&gt; 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>peso (mass);&lt;sup&gt;681&lt;/sup&gt; 2 pesos (vicars of the Choir)&lt;sup&gt;682&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1777</td>
<td>Sabbath and festival of Saint Joseph&lt;sup&gt;683&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>68 pesos (musicians); 70 pesos (masses);&lt;sup&gt;684&lt;/sup&gt; 1 peso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(drummer); 1 peso (trumpeter); (musicians)&lt;sup&gt;685&lt;/sup&gt; 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pesos (various)&lt;sup&gt;686&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1778</td>
<td>Sabbath and festival of Saint Joseph</td>
<td>94 pesos (musicians);&lt;sup&gt;687&lt;/sup&gt; 4 pesos, 4 reales (shawmer);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>1 peso, 4 reales (drummer); 1 peso, 4 reales (trumpeter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 pesos (float bearers?)&lt;sup&gt;688&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>676</sup> Leg. 10A:13 (1673) (AAL, Serie: Cofradíàs), fol. 13.
<sup>677</sup> Leg. 47:27 (1778) (AAL, Serie: Cofradíàs)
<sup>678</sup> To performers of instruments from the shawm family (chirisulleros).
<sup>679</sup> For the 14 masses (12 and 2, none of which specified as to occasion) they gave in the church.
<sup>680</sup> For having sung the Evangel and Epistle.
<sup>681</sup> Paid to Antonio Montserrate (the musical director?) for his unspecified function.
<sup>682</sup> For presumably having sungs during this mass.
<sup>683</sup> 9 March.
<sup>684</sup> Paid to the deacon and sub-deacon.
<sup>685</sup> The church musicians and their director, a Clemente Gonzales.
<sup>686</sup> For twelve masses given in the church (presumably by the deacon and sub deacon), for the two Vicars of the Choir for their function in the funerary mass for deunct members of the confraternity, and for Antonio Montsserate.
<sup>687</sup> This also included payment to a Clemente Gozales for the singer he provided during the night of the festival.
<sup>688</sup> “When the [float of the] Saint went to the Plaza for the procession of Corpus Christi” (cuando fue el Santo para la Plaza alla proesession del Cupus [sic]).

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279
Other Indigenous Confraternities in Lima

Church of Saint Anne (Iglesia de Santa Ana)

Confraternity of Our Lady of Loreto (Nuestra Señora de Loreto)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notable recorded expense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1649</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>26 pesos (music); 8 pesos (shawmer); 26 pesos (various); 1 peso, 2 reales (organist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>2 pesos, 4 reales (drummer, trumpeter, shawmer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650</td>
<td>Principal festival?</td>
<td>1 peso (trumpeter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1658</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>2 pesos (shawmer); 3 pesos, 4 reales (trumpeter); 3 pesos, 2 reales (drummer); 1 peso (organist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sung masses and antiphons to Mary (Saturday masses?)</td>
<td>13 pesos (sung mass); 30 pesos (music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 pesos (organist) (for each?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1665</td>
<td>Corpus Christi Principal festival</td>
<td>3 pesos, 4 reales (shawmer); 1 peso, 4 reales (musicians); 1 peso (organist); 26 pesos (sung mass)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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689 Leg. 30:9 (1654) (AAL, Serie: Cofradias), fols. 15, 17-18.
690 During October.
691 Paid to a Luis de Bera for music performed from the vespers to the time during which members joined to elect new officers (las visperas hasta el cauilo).
692 The shawmer performed during the same time frame.
693 Paid to the curate for officiating during the mass (presumably sung), vespers and procession and other assistants (“y demas acolitos”).
694 These musicians performed while transporters moved the image of Mary from a house where it had been adorned (que tocaron quando se llevo a la virgen nra. Sra. Dcla cassa donde se adhero El dia del Corpus).
695 Leg. 30:12 (1659) (AAL, Serie: Cofradias), fols. 8-9.
696 Leg. 30:20 (1662-1664) (AAL, Serie: Cofradias)
697 From the vespers through the feast day.
698 Performed during the same period.
699 Also performed during the same period.
700 Performed during the vespers and feast day.
701 From the church of Saint Anne.
702 Juan de Vergara (“Bergara”).
Saint John the Baptist Immaculate Conception (see below) 5 pesos (musicians)\(^{107}\)

Notable expense for the festival of the Immaculate Conception in 1665
15 pesos, 5 reales for the sung memorial mass; 1 peso for transporters to take the float to the shawm players (who presumably sat on them) for the procession; 10 pesos to the organist, who also received two additional payments of 4 reales for unspecified functions; 4 reales each for the harpist, music, and drummer, who received an additional 4 reales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Payment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1666(^{108})</td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>1 peso, 2 reales (drummer)(^{109})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1667(^{110})</td>
<td>Christmas masses</td>
<td>12 pesos, 2 reales (organist); 10 pesos (music)(^{111})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1674(^{112})</td>
<td>Unspecified function for year Corpus Christi Saint Elizabeth</td>
<td>20 pesos (organist) 1 peso (drummer); 3 pesos (3 float bearers) 1 peso (shawmer);(^{713}) 1 peso, 2 reales (drummer);(^{714}) 7 pesos, 4 reales (seat of honor);(^{715}) 18 pesos (music); 2 pesos (organist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1747(^{116})</td>
<td>Sung (Saturday?) mass to Mary Principal festival (8 September) Memorial</td>
<td>6 pesos (unspecified) 5 pesos (music); 2 pesos (drummer and trumpeter) 5 pesos (music); 2 pesos, 2 reales (drummer and trumpeter)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{103}\) Leg. 30:30 (1670-1676) (AAL, Serie: Cofradiás), fols. 41-42.
\(^{104}\) Food for the black trumpeters, shawm players and drummer.
\(^{105}\) A later entry records payment to the (same?) organist of one peso four reales; the shawm players six reales; and two reales to the drummer—none of these entries specify the time during which these musicians performed.
\(^{106}\) To the priest who officiated.
\(^{107}\) To the musicians who played during the memorial mass. Leg. 30:26 (1668) (AAL, Serie: Cofradiás), fols. 1-3, 8, 9, 11.
\(^{108}\) Leg. 30:23 (1666) (AAL, Serie: Cofradiás)
\(^{109}\) The confraternity paid a black drummer one peso to accompany the float of Mary to the procession, and spent two reales for his food.
\(^{110}\) Leg. 30:30, fols. 4-5.
\(^{111}\) (Additional?) music (performed on a Saturday).
\(^{112}\) Leg. 30:36 (1675-1676) (AAL, Serie: Cofradiás), fols. 8-9.
\(^{113}\) For food.
\(^{114}\) Performed from the vespers to the feast day.
\(^{115}\) For the viceroy (“sitial del señor”).
Church of Saint Dominic (Santo Domingo)

Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary (Nuestra Señora del Rosario)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notable recorded expense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1652</td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>1 peso, 4 reales (trumpeter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1653</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>2 pesos (trumpeter); 4 reales, and 1 peso (drummer); 1 peso, 4 reales (fifist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1654</td>
<td>Unnamed</td>
<td>3 pesos (shawmners); 2 pesos, 4 reales (trumpeter); 1 peso (fifist and drummer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 April 1656 through March 1657</td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>2 pesos, 4 reales (shawm trio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>5 pesos (trumpeter and drummer); 1 peso (shawm trio); 21 pesos (various?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 March 1667 through 25 March 1668</td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>1 peso, 4 reales (black drummer and trumpeter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>9 pesos (black shawmners, trumpeter, and drummer); 2 pesos (dancers)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

716 Leg. 30:57 (1747) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías). The account book is from the period between September 1746 and September 1748, but there are no expenses for 1746, presumably because of the catastrophic 28 October earthquake of that year.
717 Leg. 39A:2 (1654) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 4, 21-22.
718 For playing during the processions.
719 Our Lady of the Rosary (Nuestra Señora dela Nabal).
719 (pifano). All musicians performed during the Vespers and feast day.
720 Leg. 39A:4 (1657) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fol. 11.
721 Either Corpus Christi, or Our Lady of the Rosary.
722 Leg. 39A:6 (1658) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 4-5.
723 A trio of black shawm players for playing in the convent during the octave of Corpus Christi.
724 The confraternity crossed out records of payment of 20 pesos for the music and 1 peso for the blacks that rang the church bell (Repique de la campana) during the principal festival.
725 Leg. 39A:10 (1667-1668) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 11-12.
726 They performed from Vespers through the feast day.
727 Food.
728 Paid to a friar priest Francisco de Arevalo (Areba lo) for the music he provided.
### Church of Saint Lazarus

#### Confraternity of Holy Cross (Santa Cruz)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notable recorded expense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25 September 1672 through</td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>16 pesos (music); 1 peso, 4 reales (musician member); 3 pesos, 4 reales (drummer); 1 peso, 4 reales (stick player); 4 pesos (each for harpist and guitarist); 6 pesos (music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1673&lt;sup&gt;730&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May through October 1676&lt;sup&gt;734&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>No music expense recorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saint Elizabeth</td>
<td>No music expense recorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saint Rose of Lima</td>
<td>No music expense recorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Our Lady of the Rosary</td>
<td>No music expense recorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1678-1679&lt;sup&gt;735&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May through October 1678</td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>2 pesos, 4 reales (drummer, trumpeter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saint Elizabeth</td>
<td>No music expense recorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal festival</td>
<td>5 pesos, 4 reales (sung mass); 2 pesos, 4 reales (drummer and trumpeter)&lt;sup&gt;736&lt;/sup&gt;; 6 pesos (music)&lt;sup&gt;737&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 November 1678 through</td>
<td>Memorial</td>
<td>12 pesos, 5 reales (sung mass); 2 pesos (2 recited masses); 7 pesos (music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1679</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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<sup>730</sup> Leg. 39A:19 (1676) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fol. 3.
<sup>731</sup> For playing the trumpet between Vespers and the feast.
<sup>732</sup> Mangrove stick player (?magle).
<sup>733</sup> For having performed during the feast day and night.
<sup>734</sup> Leg. 40:17 (1676-1677) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías)
<sup>735</sup> Performed during the sermon (presumably on the feast day).
<sup>736</sup> Leg. 40:19 (1680) (AAL, Serie: Cofradías), fols. 19, 23-24. Between 1678 and 1679, the confraternity temporarily moved to the church of Our Lady of Copacabana in El Cercado (Esta cofradía fue traslada por estos años de la iglesia San Lázaro a la de Copacabana).
<sup>737</sup> Performed on the feast day.
<sup>738</sup> Of the sung mass and procession.
<sup>739</sup> (discante de la arpa y guitarra).
| Principal festival | 18 pesos (parish rights);\textsuperscript{738} 32 pesos (music); 3 pesos (harpist and guitarist);\textsuperscript{739} 4 reales (drummer and trumpeter)\textsuperscript{740} |

\textsuperscript{740} Food.
Appendix C:

Annotated alterations to manuscripts

Archiepiscopal Archives of Lima (AAL), Serie: Partituras de Música

The scores in this dissertation were produced from transcriptions and edits of instrumental and vocal parts in original manuscripts. The following is a record of alterations I made to those parts in producing a cogent full score edition using Finale (2007).

Regina coeli (Leg. 28:14), by Antonio Ripa y Blaque (1721-1795), scored for 2 horns in C, 2 violins, 2 sopranos, and basso continuo.

1. First violin, measure 1. The e was dotted and second e was halved in order to conform to writing in the second violin and sopranos.

2. Bass, measure 56. Measure with q (G2) and œ inserted to support the caesura on ii.

De amor es encanto (Leg. 27:5), by Juan Manuel González Gaytán y Arteaga (1710-1785), scored for 2 violins, soprano, violon, contrabass, and harp (basso continuo).

1. Soprano, measure 2. Acciaccatura changed from D5-natural to D5-sharp

2. Second violin, measure 51. B4 changed to B4-flat to accommodate G minor region implied in the first violin.

3. First violin, measures 103-104. This writing was absent from the original manuscript, but present in that of the second violin, and required given the melodic and harmonic contexts of the surrounding measures when the writing in the violon and cello were also considered, so I inserted it here.

4. Violon, measure 110. Measured was inserted, since only one measure of rest was in the original manuscript.

De un cazadorcito (Leg. 28:30), by Antonio Ripa y Blaque (1721-1795), scored for 2 violins, 2 sopranos, alto, tenor, and basso continuo.
1. Basso continuo, measure 19. In the original manuscript, two measures of the pattern $\text{\scalebox{1.5}{\text{\textbackslash q}}}$ (G3, F3-sharp, F4-sharp) were repeated once; the writing in the violins required only two measures of this pattern, not four, so I notated only two in this edition.

2. Basso continuo, measure 61. The second and third $\text{\scalebox{1.5}{\text{\textbackslash q}}}$ were changed from D3 and B3 to F2-sharp and F3-sharp (with a $\#$ notated in the figured bass) to accommodate the dominant harmony implied in the violins and choir.

3. First violin, measure 101. Tie on A5 was absent in the original manuscript, but present in that of the second violin, so I tied A5 here.

4. Basso continuo, measure 112. The figure under the last $\text{\scalebox{1.5}{\text{\textbackslash q}}}$ was changed from a 3 to a 3, the latter more appropriate to the melodic and harmonic context of the violins and choir.

5. Al mar (Leg. 7:6), by Roque Ceruti (c.1683/4-1760), scored for 2 violins, 2 sopranos, and basso continuo.

6. Second violin, measure 6. The $\text{\scalebox{1.5}{\text{\textbackslash q}}}$ was changed from an F5-sharp to a D5 in order to avoid a doubled leading tone with the basso continuo.

7. Basso continuo, measure 15. The first $\text{\scalebox{1.5}{\text{\textbackslash q}}}$ was changed from F3-sharp (with a 6 underneath in the figured bass) to D3 (with a $\#$ underneath) in order to avoid a doubled leading tone with the second violin.

8. Second violin, measure 31. One measure inserted; only two measures of rest were indicated in the original manuscript, but the writing in the two sopranos required three from the violins.

9. Basso continuo, measure 31. Writing was extraneous and unsupportive of the writing of the two sopranos, so I deleted that measure; the resulting elision perfectly supports the caesura in the two sopranos.

10. Basso continuo, measure 33. The first $\text{\scalebox{1.5}{\text{\textbackslash q}}}$ was changed from F3-sharp (with a 6 underneath in the figured bass) to D3 (with a $\#$ underneath) in order to avoid a doubled leading tone with the second violin.

11. Second violin, measure 56. In the second group of three $\text{\scalebox{1.5}{\text{\textbackslash q}}}$, the first $\text{\scalebox{1.5}{\text{\textbackslash q}}}$ was dotted and the second $\text{\scalebox{1.5}{\text{\textbackslash q}}}$ was halved in order to correspond to the characteristic siciliana rhythms that pervade this section.
7. Second violin, measures 70-71. This cell was transposed up a second from writing in the original manuscript in order to support the G minor region in the first soprano and basso continuo.

8. Basso continuo, measure 74. During the first two beats, the rhythmic pattern of a dotted \( \text{♩} \) was changed to \( \text{♩♩} \) in order to preserve the general rhythmic patterns in the basso continuo, followed by three \( \text{♩} \) instead of a second dotted \( \text{♩} \). These changes eliminated the rhythmic stasis in the original manuscript. On beat 1, the G2 was changed to a B2-flat in order to complete the otherwise hollow sonority, implied as G minor in the surrounding measures. On beat 2, the three \( \text{♩} \) fall on D3, C3, and B2-flat in order to immediately anticipate the same melodic cell in the first soprano.

9. Basso continuo, measure 78. On beat 4, the pitches on the \( \text{♩♩} \) pattern were changed from E3-sharp and C3 to C3-sharp and A2.

Aunque arrogante (Leg. 28:16), by Antonio Ripa y Blaque (1721-1795), scored for 2 violins, tenor, and basso continuo.

1. Violins, measure 95. I have changed the F5 to F5-sharp to the G major region as implied in the surrounding measures.

2. Tenor, measure 103. I have tied the B5-flat to the B5-flat of following measure; these pitches are not tied in the original manuscript.
Appendix D:
Regina coeli
Antonio Ripa y Blaque (1721-1795)
Appendix E:
"De amor es encanto"

Cantada al Santísimo Sacramento
Juan Manuel González Gaytán y Arteaga (1710-1785)
De amor es encanto

caído! imposibles son todos a que solo el Amor ha llegado.
De amor es encanto

es encuentro es encuentro es encuentro que el Pan es crecer, Don A-

mor es encuentro a quien bien la pruebe con visos de nieve
De amor es encanto

Dios es hacha que ha quien contra hilo al muestre, movera...
Appendix F:

"De un cazadorcito" (version II)

Antonio Ripa y Blaque (1721-1795)

Caja 11, Leg. 28:30
AAL, Serie: Partituras de música

Allegro no mucho

Violin I

Violin II

Soprano I

Soprano II

Alto

Tenor

Basso continuo
De un cazadorcito
De un cazadorcito

duyan cazador cito siguiendo las huellas, duyan cazador-
duyan cazador cito siguiendo las huellas, duyan cazador-
duyan cazador cito siguiendo las huellas, duyan cazador-
duyan cazador cito siguiendo las huellas, duyan cazador-

Basso.

cito siguiendo las huellas por montes por riscos por prados por

cito siguiendo las huellas por montes por riscos por prados por

cito siguiendo las huellas por montes por riscos por prados por

cito siguiendo las huellas por montes por riscos por prados por
De un cazadorcito
Appendix G:
"Al mar" (duo a la Concepción de Nuestra Señora)
Roque Ceruti (c.1683/4-1760)
Al mar

S I

y en tra va ren ta ar mo ni a
ca - tan las glo - rias del Al - ba.

S II

ca - tan las glo - rias del

Basso.

Al - ba, las glo - rias del Al - ba.
Al mar

cantan las glorias del Alba. cantan las glorias del Alba.
Appendix H:
"Aunque arrogante"

Antonio Ripa y Blaque (1721-1795)
Aunque arrogante

Vln I

Vln II

T

Basso.

Vln I

Vln II

T

Basso.

Vln I

Vln II

T

Basso.
Aunque arrogante
Añaque arrogante
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