

Somewhere Between Orthodoxy and Good Taste: Santiago Díaz de Herrera's
Musical Settings of Psalms *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum*

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ABSTRACT

Somewhere Between Orthodoxy and Good Taste: Santiago Díaz de Herrera's
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The music of Santiago Díaz de Herrera, an obscure early nineteenth-century Mexican composer, is oxymoronic in nature; it reflects the musical tastes of the Church officials and community for whom it was composed but not the guidelines for correct ecclesiastical music practice. This study is based upon two compositions by Herrera, the orchestrated choral psalm settings, *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum*, which were found at the Historical Diocesan Archives of San Cristóbal de Las Casas and transcribed into working scores. This music is studied in relation to taste and the practice of ecclesiastical and secular music in Mexico in and around the nineteenth century. The first area of investigation centers on the presence of 'worldly' sounds and the feminine voice in liturgical music through the lens of Catholic musical orthodoxy. The second complementary area of contextual study looks at the relationship between *buen gusto* (good taste) and musical culture in terms of education, musical conventions, and musical genres. The third trajectory reconfigures musical orthodoxy and taste through an interpretation of Herrera's music wherein extra-musical associative connotations embedded in the psalm settings are considered through filters of current musicological approaches, with a marked emphasis on gendered representation. Lastly, the question of musical obsolescence is addressed through the reworking of Herrera's music into a community-based art project. This interdisciplinary study makes a contribution to musicology pertaining to the music and musicians of Mexico's nineteenth century and to developing new approaches for connecting disciplines of music performance and musicology to community-based activities.

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Chapter I Introduction

For we cannot doubt that this, the most intimate and affecting of all the arts, has done much to create as well as to express the religious emotions, thus modifying more or less deeply the fabric of belief to which at first sight it seems only to minister. The musician has done his part as well as the prophet and thinker in the making of religion.

James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*¹

When *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum*,² two psalms set to music by Santiago Díaz de Herrera (ca. 1790-1850), were found in a dusty pile atop a bookshelf in the backroom of the Archivo Histórico Diocesano (Historical Diocesan Archives) of San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Chiapas in 2005 it was evident these works had been forgotten.³ They were mixed in along with other music for Vespers, Matins, and masses by other nineteenth-

¹ James Frazer, *The Golden Bough A Study in Magic and Religion*, 334-5.

² *Psalm Dixit Dominus* is composed for a four-part choir, (soprano, alto, tenor, bass voices, although the alto part is really a second soprano line), two violins, one contrabass, two clarinets, and two horns on 60 folios (35,5 x 27 cm). The verses of the psalm are divided into four contrasting sections: Allegro D major, Andante duet in F, Allegro d minor, and the Doxology with two parts: Andantino in D major and a short Allegro in D major. *Letatus Sum* is also scored for the same instrumentation in 66 folios (35 x 27 cm). The verses of the psalm are also broken into four sections: Allegro moderato in F major, Andante in C major, Andante in F major, and the Doxology is divided into two parts: Andante in F and Allegro in F major. The details of the compositions will be addressed in the fourth chapter. The two scores are housed in the Archivo Histórico Diocesano of San Cristóbal and respectively catalogued as follows: MEX-SCah Carpeta 5489 and MEX-SCah Carpeta 5490. Refer to Appendices A and B.

³ Initially John G. Lazos and I had started this work as part of the group called MUSICAT (Música de las Catedrales), a project dedicated to researching the music and musicians of the Cathedrals of Mexico, coordinated by the Instituto Estéticas at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Andrés Aubry (1927-2007) the well-known polemicist and director of the archives in at the Diocesan Archives at the Cathedral in San Cristóbal de las Casas with the assistants, (whom we knew only by first names, Rafaela and Marie-Carmen) were graciously helpful to us. During one visit to the archives, when, while going through books and printed music in the last of the three rooms of the archives, I noticed a heap of music on top of a bookshelf. After some shifting of furniture and climbing, I was able to retrieve the music. For a more detailed description of the archives and the history of the Cathedral and the Historical Archives of San Cristóbal de las Casas refer to the Ph.D. dissertation of John G. Lazos, *José Antonio Gómez's Invitatorio, Himno y 8 Responsorios: Historical Context and Music Analysis of a Manuscript*.

century Mexican composers: Cruz Balcázar, José Antonio Gómez y Olguín, Joaquín Luna y Montes de Oca, and Ignacio Ortiz y Zárate.⁴ Leafing through the individual parts of this music I was struck by surprising features. These unusual elements included operatic textures, overtly complicated clarinet and violin parts and solo vocal passages scored for technically proficient singers. Passages that were instrumentally and vocally reminiscent of Italian *bel canto* opera challenged any expectations I had of what might have been appropriate for performance in a cathedral in the remote highlands of Chiapas.⁵ I soon discovered that my initial reaction to this music was a reflection of my limited understanding of nineteenth-century Church music. I had assumed that music composed for a religious service would have been less ornamental and technically ostentatious than the music recorded in these documents. Most surprising was the similarity between the vocal flourishes and the language of musical theatricality. In both psalms the melismatic vocal passages of the *Gloria*, belonging to the doxology, looked as if they had been scored for an operatic soprano.⁶ These passages immediately suggested that women might have been singing in churches and cathedrals.⁷ Knowing the music had been discovered in a cathedral archive, I concluded that this style of music was likely a condoned form of liturgical music. My astonishment over what I considered to be anomalies incited me to study this music and to understand how it had been a legitimate expression of musical piety. Thus, I followed the trajectories of inquiry emanating from Herrera's music, which include its past expressive, intellectual, and devotional potentials and new opportunities for artistic and community engagement.

⁴ Through archival documentation, Lazos has proven that these compositions were brought from Guadalajara and Mexico City to the Cathedral of San Cristóbal de Las Casas by the bishop Carlos Maria Colina y Rubio in the year 1854. According to Lazos, the detailed music inventory is evidence that demonstrates that Colina saw music as a means to revitalize the spirit and of the diocese ("José Antonio Gómez's Ynvitatorio, Himno y 8 Responsorios," 146-150).

⁵ The term, *bel canto* signifies a vocal technique that is distinguished by legato singing, a clear articulation of melismatic melodic lines, and a sincerity of emotional expression. It is particularly associated with the Italian opera composers, Vincenzo Bellini and Gaetano Donizetti. Refer to Rudolfo Celletti's *A History of Bel Canto*.

⁶ An image of part of the soprano solo found in Appendix C.

⁷ I did not come across any archival record indicating who performed the works.

Herrera's compositions stem from an immensely rich tradition of music making in the cathedrals of New Spain, wherein musical heritage was transmitted through the music chapels, their directors, and the musicians who served in them.⁸ Music played an important role in the process of converting the indigenous peoples of New Spain to Catholicism,⁹ given that the mendicant orders used music as a pedagogical tool.¹⁰ Lorenzo Candelaria notes that when the Franciscan, Pedro de Gante (ca. 1480–1572), arrived in New Spain in 1523 “he began instructing the sons of native nobility in Christian doctrine and in reading, writing, singing, and playing musical instruments...”¹¹ Music was not only a tool of instruction for the indigenous peoples, it was also a means of instructing, engaging and delighting the disparate populations of New Spain.¹² The

⁸ For a comprehensive study of liturgical music in Mexico refer to Robert Murrell Stevenson's *Music in Mexico. A Historical Survey*.

⁹ I am using the more current term New Spain instead of Colonial Mexico.

¹⁰ Lorenzo Candelaria, “Bernardino de Sahagún's *Psalmodia Christiana*: A Catholic Songbook from Sixteenth-Century New Spain,” 620. These religious orders were the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and later the Jesuits. Quoting from Benavente, *Memoriales o Libro de las cosas de la Nueva España*, Candelaria states that there was a distinction between dance used for recreation and amusement. He also observes that many of the books used to teach catechism were composed in indigenous languages and that lessons for psalmody were taught using song and dances. He has identified two classes of Mexican dance and songs: the *netotiliztli*, and the *macehualiztli*, serious dances carried out in the plazas where gods were petitioned, honored and praised.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 622.

¹² For a history of the peoples of New Spain read, Magali M. Carrera's *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings*. Carrera looks at the religious and cultural framework of tensions and contradictions of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) an interlocking system that determined social rank, religiosity, and a coded sense of honor, which was implicitly linked to the *sistema de castas*. For a clear depiction of race in New Spain refer to Iлона Katzew's monograph, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*. This book documents the history of casta paintings in colonial Mexico. Casta painting was a genre of neoclassical portraiture that visually described race lineage and phenotypes and illustrated the hierarchical social divisions of race through images of mixed-race parents and their offspring. These portraits are set within contextualized backgrounds, which include references to employment and material wealth. On a related subject, María E. Martínez in *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza De Sangre, Religion and Gender in Colonial Mexico* examines the history of *limpieza de sangre* from its origins in Spain to its adoption and transformation in New Spain. All levels and branches of governmental and ecclesiastical bureaucracy were implicated in the enforcement of this system, which attempted to police gender and sexuality in order to protect the vested interests of the upper echelons of society. To inhibit contact between peoples, towns and cities were set up with two republics with Spaniards on the inside, and the second republic with the Indians and castas in the barrios (Martínez 100). By the late eighteenth century, Bourbon reforms sought to eliminate racially segregated church congregations in a bid to create a more civilized and educated population (75). The non-rationally defined churches brought a mechanism of naming which allowed Indians and castas to over the course of time shift identities. Martínez argues that the quality of a person in New Spain that had initially been based upon an Iberian sense of purity of blood became a complex of assessments based upon different modes of representation including phenotype, occupation, religion, behavior, class, pastime, clothing, accent, vocabularies, walking and

huge number of extant music scores in the archives of Mexico's Cathedral is a clear indication that music was valued and as such played an important role for the diverse people who attended church. These people included the Spanish, people of Spanish descent born in New Spain known as creoles, the many indigenous groups, and the *mestizos* people born to parents of mixed cultural and ethnic heritage, although all of these people would have not have attended the same churches per se. In New Spain, the Spanish Crown as head of the Church had held the rights to appoint bishops and chapel masters.¹³ Many of the cathedral chapel masters were composing original polyphonic music influenced by Flemish and Spanish composers for musical celebrations and festivities.¹⁴ Among the thousands of works housed in the cathedral archives are psalm settings, antiphons, hymns, motets and villancicos, works that would have played during masses and special celebrations.¹⁵ By the mid-seventeenth century creoles had assumed prominent positions originally held by Spaniards such as that of chapel master. These chapel masters as well as other musicians of the Church continued the tradition of developing genres and composing original music throughout the period of New Spain into the nineteenth century.

Herrera was active during the period known as Independent Mexico that occurred between the declaration of separation from Spain in 1821 and the signing of Mexico's

gesturing. Music was also related to social class. There is a need to further examine the connections between social class and Mexican nineteenth-century ecclesiastical music.

¹³ Refer to Robert Stevenson, "Mexico City Cathedral Music: 1600-1750." Through the chapter acts of the Mexico City Cathedral, Stevenson examines the practice of music at the Cathedral and draws attention to details related to chapel masters' duties, payments for musicians and singers, the careers of musicians, and the bishops who supported them. Composers mentioned are: Antonio de Salazar, Manuel de Zumaya, and Ignacio Jerusalem.

¹⁴ Stevenson, "The First New World Composers: Fresh Data from Peninsular Archives". The most renowned of these early composing chapel masters is Hernando Franco (1532-1585).

¹⁵ Refer to "Polifonías Novohispanas en Lengua Náhuatl. Las Plegarias a la Virgen del *Códice Valdés* de 1599" by Juan Manuel Lara Cárdenas. This essay on *Sancta Mariae*, a responsorial motet in Náhuatl composed by Hernando Franco includes the edited score. For an overview of the music manuscripts held in the principal cathedral archives of Mexico refer to Thomas Stanford's *Catálogo De Los Acervos Musicales De Las Catedrales Metropolitanas De México Y Puebla*, Drew Edward Davies' *Catálogo De La Colección De Música Del Archivo Histórico De La Arquidiócesis De Durango* and Aurelio Tello's *Catálogo Musical del Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla*.

Constitution in 1857.¹⁶ The historian Alicia Hernández Chávez writes that the typical characterization of Mexico's nineteenth century as a time of turbulence, disorder and loss is inaccurate. In the introduction to the chapter on Mexican Independence and the First Republic she states:

It is a mistake to characterize the period from 1821 to 1850 as primarily a time of anarchy, social disorder, and economic crisis. It is often recalled that there were fifty changes of government, with Santa Anna presiding over eleven of them, and that the military dominated the political scene, overthrowing presidents and governors. Political anarchy, as it is said, gave rise to social chaos, criminal gangsterism, and banditry in central Mexico, along with Indian uprisings elsewhere, particularly in the Mayan area. There were repeated Apache raids in the north. We have been taught that the economy declined and collapsed, that the standard of living deteriorated for most people. As a result of this turbulence, Mexico was independent but poor and battered, sorely lacking in social cohesiveness and peace. Thanks to new research, Mexico's early independence can no longer be portrayed solely as a time of strife and disorder, as though nothing constructive had occurred. In fact, the disorder was more apparent than real.¹⁷

Amidst the fractious changes in government, the quotidian practice of Catholic faith continued and, along with it, music. The music of the Church developed along with the other circles of music making throughout Mexico's urban centers. Despite the financial restrictions and loss of wealth, which had been directly affected by the loss of Church income, music continued to be composed and played by highly skilled musicians in the many religious services and festivities.¹⁸ Santiago Díaz de Herrera was one of

¹⁶ Mexico's Constitution of 1857 officially put an end to the privileges held by the Church and army. The Church was no longer able to own land apart from the buildings that it used. The Constitution consolidated the Laws of Juárez from 1855 that abolished exemptions for Church and military members and the Laws of Lerdo from 1856 that restricted Church's rights to lands and rents. The Church did not accept the Constitution and excommunicated governmental officials who swore its oath (Alicia Chávez Hernández and Andy Klatt, *Mexico: A Brief History*, 153-157).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 117.

¹⁸ Anne Staples, *La Iglesia en la primera república federal mexicana, 1824-1835*, 138-139. Staples explains that there was a cessation to the income with which the Church had amassed its wealth, based upon the donations, legacies, payments and rents charged by churches, monasteries, convents, hospitals, orphanages, brotherhoods, confraternities.

these musicians who taught, played, and composed music in the service of the Church for the appreciation of the public and as such was part of a constructive national development during the period of Mexican Independence.

Santiago Díaz de Herrera

In the past few decades, the mid-nineteenth century has become a period of attentive musicological scholarship.¹⁹ In the case of the research concerning Church music, the recent interest in this period has been positively influenced by an opening of access to many diocesan and church archives.²⁰ It is through this access to diocesan archives that Herrera's music and documents connected to his activities have been made available. In the existing histories of Mexican music, Herrera has received very little mention, most likely because he never held an important Church position and did not publish any didactic treatises as did many of his better-known contemporaries.²¹ Gabriel Pareyón's encyclopaedic dictionary of Mexican music includes a short biographical entry for Herrera where it is stated that Herrera was born in Valladolid, Mexico (present day Morelia) in ca.1790 and died in Guadalajara in ca.1850.²² According to historical sources Herrera played the flute and the horn, was a composer, and at an early age, became the second organist at the cathedral of Valladolid until he filled the vacant position of chapel

¹⁹ In particular I refer to the works of Yael Bitrán Goren, Arturo Camacho Becerra, John G. Lazos, and Laura Suárez de la Torre, who research Mexican publishing, opera, domestic and ecclesiastical music. For an overview of earlier publications on the history of Mexican music that provide some of the foundational information on composers of the nineteenth century, refer to Luisa Vilar Payá's "Historiografía y discurso sobre la música en publicaciones académicas mexicanas de 1917 a 1941" published in the Mexican musicological journal *Heterofonía*, 130-131 (2004), 89-109.

²⁰ Please read the acknowledgments to see archives I visited and the people who have assisted me in my research.

²¹ Yael Bitrán notes that, "These individuals, whose love and dedication to music was a driving force in their lives, began music enterprises including publishing businesses and schools, wrote manuals and compositions, expanded their teaching activities, sought and found new performing opportunities. Some of these opportunities were pre-existing gaps; others, notably for women, meant that pioneering teachers had to carve out new paths in order to help them achieve professional status". *Musical Women and Identity-Building in Early Independent Mexico (1821-1854)*, 111. Three of the treatise-writing teachers she refers to are: Mariano Elizaga (1786-1842), José Antonio Gómez (1805-1876) and Agustín Caballero (1815-1886). For an extensive consideration of teaching methods by Gómez please refer to Lazos, "José Antonio Gómez y Olguín y su gran proyecto educativo-musical durante la primera parte del México independiente".

²² I was not able to confirm these dates.

master in Guadalajara in 1830 when José Mariano Elízaga left.²³ Although Herrera was said to have held the position of chapel master in Guadalajara during the 1830s, payment documents from the *Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Guadalajara* (Historical Diocesan Archives of Guadalajara) indicate that he was active only as a violinist in the cathedral orchestra from 1829 to 1834 after which time his name disappears from the records.²⁴

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
D. Santiago Díaz Herrera 4.º Violín -																															
D. Andrés Balcaras Vn. de 1.º y 2.º Intero.																															

Figure 1. ADHG Libros Cuadrantes 1830 (Entry for D. Santiago Díaz Herrera, 4th violin)

Evidence that his activities in the music world continued after this period includes dated compositions from other archives and a published composition from the popular Mexican publication, *El Museo Mexicano*, to which he also was named in the list of subscribers as a resident of Guadalajara.²⁵

A letter of recommendation written on the August 13, 1828 on behalf of Herrera at the time of his application for the position of chapel master at the cathedral of Guadalajara describes his music responsibilities in Pátzcuaro where he had been very active prior to his move to Guadalajara.²⁶ The document sheds light on the place of music in churches, monasteries and convents. The letter also discloses information pertaining to Herrera's practical duties and the music he composed. The testimony of four referees including a priest, the administrator of the Cathedral confraternity, the prior

²³ Gabriel Pareyón, *Diccionario Enciclopédico de Música en México*, 491.

²⁴ Herrera might have pleased to know that this misinformation had been transmitted, given his personal conviction that he was the person best suited to the position. Indications of his self-assured position are revealed in the letter that follows in Chapter IV.

²⁵ Ignacio Cumplido *El Museo Mexicano 1843-1845*, vol. I p.566. Santiago Herrera of Guadalajara is listed as a subscriber. The waltz, *Las Delicias de Jalisco* composed for and dedicated to Señor Don José Fruto Romero by Santiago Díaz de Herrera was published in *El Museo Mexicano*, vol. II, pp. 526-8.

²⁶ ADHG Gobierno 1828. A facsimile of this letter is included in Appendix D. It belongs to a collection of letters and documents that are not numbered. This translation, like all other translations in this dissertation, were done in collaboration with John G. Lazos.

of a monastery, and the prioress of a convent speaks to the diversity of Herrera's activities. I cite most of this letter with the exception of Herrera's postscript.²⁷ The first referee, the priest Don Mariano Alcocer writes:

I hereby certify that the Citizen Santiago Díaz de Herrera, who is a resident of this city and a professor and composer of music, has carried out with exactitude and efficiency his duties as an organist of this Parish, teaching at the same time a great number of music students, as many nuns as soldiers (*militares*); he remains in his teaching highly merited and appreciated for his *buen gusto*, appeal, conducting, and the accuracy of the rules by which he composes music; this professor has received the recognition and general appreciation of all the residents of this neighbourhood, not only according to what has already been said, but also because of his success in guiding his students in solfeggio, and in all kind of instruments, both in string and winds.²⁸

The second referee Don Manuel Benecia, who was the administrator of the cathedral confraternity,²⁹ writes:

I hereby certify that the citizen Santiago Díaz de Herrera, professor and composer of music, has carried out with the most precise exactitude the responsibility that he has been given. With some amateur musicians who wished to serve in the Cathedral *Nuestro Amo* he has formed a military band for music so that it could play in the service of the

²⁷ I have modernized the phrasing to render it more idiomatic and have made slight changes to the original syntax. In the case of *buen gusto*, I have left it in Spanish in the translation of the letter, as it is used as a specific term throughout the dissertation. At the end of the letter Herrera explains that he is missing a letter from the person who was to write a character reference. The person had not been available on the day the other referees wrote on his behalf.

²⁸ ADHG Gobierno 1828. "Strings and wind" refers to the violin family and woodwind family of instruments. Given the extensive presence of clarinets in his music, Herrera was probably a very adept clarinet player.

²⁹ Confraternities are officially recognized groups of laypeople that organize extra-liturgical social activities, usually in association with a particular devotion. In Mexico, confraternities effectively strengthened the sense of community and belonged within the hierarchy of the Church. Confraternities were however often the source of investigations, given the relative autonomy and power that the laypeople had and the devotional attention that their patron saints garnered. The reforms outlined in the Fourth Provincial Council of 1771, sought to control the expenses of confraternities on requiem masses. Confraternities were to refrain from financial wastage on "material splendour" of many of the devotional practices. Refer to Nicole van Germeten, "Routes to Respectability: Confraternities and Men of African Descent," 229.

sacraments: and the successful effect that this manifested project elicited from the public was the great appreciation and deference of this aforementioned conductor, for the activity and determination that he took within such a short time to give to the public his music. As well, I know that this professor has composed many collections of Matins for full orchestra, Masses, Salves, Psalms, and etc... works that have received not only the appreciation residents of this community but also from people of *buen gusto* from the city of Valladolid, professors and amateurs alike. To this same effect one can say that he is popular with the public and also well-known. This aforementioned Herrera has gained his merit through the activities which he has carried out as Organist of this Parish, having performed some Responsories for solo organ on the variations of *Nuestra Señora Guadalupe*. Finally, this individual deserves to be accepted for this position on account of his accurate compositions, knowledge of all string and wind instruments, and his sufficient knowledge in solfeggio and composition rules in both the ancient and modern systems. He has even composed works for Valladolid, which have been applauded by the same professors.

The third referee, Fray Antonio Maria Alcocer writes:

The Preacher Señor Antonio Maria Alcocer, from the order of the *Ermitiaños de Nuestro Señor San Agustín*, current Prior of this convent, of Santa Catarina Mártir of the city of Pátzcuaro, synodical examiner of the Bishopric of Michoacán of this same city.= I hereby certify that the citizen Santiago Díaz de Herrera , professor and composer of music has performed very skilfully on the Organ at this convent, which is under my care,³⁰ composing in effect some masses and Salves, and some very good Matins for full orchestra, four voices and solo organ, that were performed very finely during the festivity of Nuestra Señora del Socorro. Other compositions of the same kind, very good ones as well, were sung in the service of San Agustín, and others like the works for San Agustín, for organ solo were played in the convent of Valladolid;³¹ I can equally attest to the merited general approval by the people of *buen gusto* for the delicacy of his compositions

³⁰ In this case ‘convent’ refers to a male convent or a monastery.

³¹ The literal phrase is: *de órgano obligado, que se cantaron en el convento de Valladolid*. John Lazos has noted that the use of the term *obligado* does not correspond to the translation “accompaniment,” rather it signifies a solo instrument. Interestingly the term *cantaron* (are sung), signifies playing.

and his dexterity and sweetness of his playing, which is executed principally on the organ, the instrument on which he has performed with perfection.

The fourth referee, the prioress, Sor Maria Josefa Catarina de la Puricima Concepción, writing on behalf of the chapel mistress, Sister de la Concepción, states:

I hereby certify that Santiago Díaz de Herrera professor of music is completely capable in this faculty, not only in its practice, but also in teaching and composing it, so that with all this instruction he has more than enough experience in this convent. This is because he has been professor of this chapel but also because the most modern music that is stored in this convent has been composed by Don Santiago. His works are of great merit and brilliance, an opinion that is shared as he has fame as a good composer not only in this place, but even in other cities where the best Music is always presented. His composing uses the correct rules, and is equally good for teaching. Therefore, this person can obtain any job in this faculty because he knows how to perform. Thus it is confirmed by the people who have the knowledge of this and me, because I have known him for a long time (as I have said), that the abovementioned Don Santiago through teaching and composing has supported the Divine cult with appropriate success in the convent of the Dominican nuns of *Nostre Salud de Pátzcuaro*...

This letter attests to the converging of secular and sacred music spheres in music making.³² Herrera was a skilled instrumentalist who played organ in a monastery, performed, composed and taught composition and all manner of instruments to nuns in a convent and men in a military band. He also conducted an orchestra of amateur musicians that performed in church. The letter also draws attention to the priority placed on public opinion vis-à-vis the reception of liturgical music. Herrera's compositions, which I had assumed were oddities because of the *bel canto* opera stylistic features and the inclusion of women's voices, were popular with Church officials because they demonstrated recognizable sophistication of style.

³² By 'secular' I mean that it does not belong to religious practice. By 'sacred' I mean that it is of or related to the practice of religion.

Apart from drawing attention to Herrera's polyvalent skills, the letter raises questions concerning the connection between musical orthodoxy and *buen gusto*. The term was equated with modern music, the public's recognition of Herrera's merit and renown, and musical expressions deemed appropriate for liturgical music. What then was considered to be the right 'sound' for orthodox music in the service of the Catholic Church in Mexico during the mid-nineteenth century and how did these features connect to *buen gusto*? Understanding *buen gusto* in relation to music during this period of Mexico's history is thus key to my understanding and interpretation of Herrera's music.

An Interdisciplinary Approach to Herrera's Music-

Herrera's psalm settings of *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* belonged to a tradition and practice of Catholic music that was rendered obsolete and perceptually unorthodox after the major shifts that occurred in Catholic liturgical music at the beginning of the twentieth century.³³ The perceived deteriorating value of nineteenth-century Catholic repertoire music coincided with the publication of the *Liber Usualis* and the idealization of the sounds of Gregorian Chant.³⁴ In the encyclical, *Motu Proprio, Tra le sollecitudini* of 1903, Pope Pius X called for the suppression of practices of ecclesiastical music that included orchestral instruments, women's voices, and stylistic features that were reminiscent of opera. His critique of orchestral liturgical music, which had been immensely popular and accepted in churches and cathedrals throughout Europe and the Americas in conjunction with the advocated return to Gregorian chant, altered the practice and the perception of Catholic music and rendered music like that of Herrera obsolete. In the mid-nineteenth century Herrera's music was however suitable for worship and was not unorthodox. In order to examine how *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus*

³³ The question pertaining to how this music lost its usefulness will be addressed. The status of this music parallels that of the forgotten English Catholic music from the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Refer to the footnote below.

³⁴ This subject is also addressed by Thomas Muir in *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791-1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?* Muir writing on the subject of forgotten nineteenth-century English Catholic repertoire notes that it was twentieth-century musicological qualitative perceptions that overlooked the socio-musicological significance of music from this period. This, coupled with the revitalization of Gregorian chant by the monks of Solesmes, and an idealization of music from the past, established a prioritization of particular musical genres.

Sum met the expectations of the listening congregation, I have adopted a variety of methodological approaches, which I present in the continuation of this introductory chapter.

The study of culture implies an interconnectedness and correlation of events and ideas. At the basis of cultural assessment is the researcher's bid to uncover a balance between personal positions based on research interests and those embedded in the documents and the cultural artefacts examined.³⁵ The act of interpreting a document or a cultural artefact is an attempting to uncover information about the people and the social interactions of the people who were socially affiliated to the document's emergence. The ephemeral dynamics and human interactions of events in past times and places are alluded to through a wide range of forms of inscription. These inscriptions are based within written documents and other cultural materials, as for example paintings, devotional sculptures and music manuscripts. These documents speak as much to the lost interactions of individuals as they do to the cultural institutions that produced them. In this study, notated music (the archived originals, the facsimile copy, and the transcribed and edited scores) acts as the fulcrum of the cultural enquiry. Although silent, the written music represents both a record of extinguished musical and sonic experiences and future translations into sounded music events. It is also the multifaceted embodiment of the events that surrounded its composition and reception. The research implications that extend from the score (in its different presentations) are the intersectings of cultural, religious, and personalized artistic spheres that brought about the music's production.

The interpretation of a notated music score—in contrast to an apprehension based strictly on the hearing of a performance—is based on its being read as musical language. The reading of music is typically influenced by the reader's ideas of musical grammar, which include the conventions of voice leading, harmony, orchestration and stylistic features. The interpretation of the score runs the risk of being trapped in a closed-ended understanding that might imply compositional failings and successes. The objective of this research is not to qualitatively evaluate Herrera's musical language, rather it is to determine how it might have been received in light of contemporary precepts of Catholic

³⁵ These embedded expressions might well imply class, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and sexuality.

musical correctness and *buen gusto*. In its variegated forms, Herrera's music acts as an apparatus.³⁶ It reveals its past potential as an expression of devotional and ceremonial music, and activates new possibilities of relevance. Herrera's music no longer belongs to an active Catholic practice in Mexico or elsewhere. Likewise, it would be out of place in a concert setting. Its sounding, however, need not without meaning or merit. Through its re-creation into a readable score and into a performed event, its potential as a source of artistic speculation is activated. The sonic reanimation of Herrera's *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* provides an opportunity to visit the sounds of the past and to glean an impression of its aesthetic, metaphoric, and social sense.³⁷

The place of music and musicians has always been a source of consternation and debate given the prominence of music in ritual and in the service of Christian worship. Jeff Englehardt states that there is a relationship between liturgical practices, congregational life, institutional affiliations, theological, social, ideological and aesthetic concerns that “coalesce into the right idea of singing”.³⁸ Right singing is a proportioned balance of doxa (belief) and praxis (practice). The challenge of ethnographers and researchers of any religious music is to understand what makes singing right or wrong

³⁶ The use of the term apparatus is loosely borrowed and transposed from Karen Barad's *Meeting the Universe Halfway*. The score is a form of apparatus in its practices that are formative to its matter and meaning. It is an open-ended practice that is reconfigured in its spatiality, temporality and dynamics. The notated music score, if understood as an apparatus, becomes the starting point for trans-disciplinary consideration (73-4).

³⁷ The scores of *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* are transcriptions. John Lazos and I photographed the folios of the manuscripts in diocesan archives of the Cathedral of San Cristóbal de Las Casas. The music was then transcribed using the Sibelius music program. The process of transcribing the work poses many challenges, namely the correcting of musical spelling errors and aligning the parts when there are instances of missing measures (usually rests) in the individual instrumental parts. The transformation of the music as manuscript (or facsimile) into a working score changes the historical document into a tangible work that is ready for performance.

³⁸ Jeff Engelhardt, “Right Singing in Estonian Orthodox Christianity: A Study of Music, Theology, and Religious Ideology,”³⁷. The debate concerning right and wrong sounds is relevant to the study of music in all forms of religious practice. A contemporary debate concerning the legitimacy of music appropriate to worship is ongoing in the Evangelical circles of Christian worship. “While the debates concerning the evils of rock have been more or less put to rest and Contemporary Christian Music artists have been embraced by the Evangelical community, the industry is still splintered by controversy. A new debate is beginning as some have begun to worry that contemporary Christianity—its music in particular—has been swallowed up by popular culture” (Jay R. Howard and John M. Streck, “The Splintered Art World of Contemporary Christian Music,” 40). The authors state that “the CCM art world by virtue of bridging evangelical subculture and the rock music of popular culture, finds itself under unusual pressure to develop rationales to justify its existence and to define what is ‘good art’ (41).

and to understand that “the ideal of right singing posits the possibility of another (or heterodox) kind of singing”.³⁹

A contemporary Catholic perspective on the history of liturgical music has informed my investigation into Herrera’s music vis-à-vis its manifestations of possible rightness or wrongness. Anthony Ruff in *Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform* presents a historical overview of sacred music,⁴⁰ the history of Catholic ritual music before and after the late-nineteenth century, and the intertwining of music and liturgy.⁴¹ Music enhances liturgy,⁴² the celebration of which is the conscious participation of Christians in God’s saving plan made present through sacramental signs and symbols. Singing is thus more than the simple communication of a text; it contributes to “the effectiveness of the proclamation of the text”,⁴³ and to the ritual dimensions. The participants’ experience of beauty is connected to broader cultural understandings of beauty.⁴⁴ Ruff’s position supports the premise that Herrera’s musical language, through the pleasing effects of the music’s aesthetic dimensions, could have been appreciated and would have effectively communicated the psalm texts during the celebration of Vespers.

Reactions to music are influenced by personal aesthetic choices, which are rooted in broader cultural dimensions of acceptance, and in physiological responses to sounds.⁴⁵

³⁹ Engelhardt, 41.

⁴⁰ The term, *musica sacra*, emerged in the nineteenth century alongside the Catholic music restoration movements. By the end of the nineteenth century, *musica sacra*, was used in papal legislation (Anthony Ruff, *Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform*, 26). Ruff notes that Benedict XIV used *canta sacra* to distinguish chant from theatrical music.

⁴¹ Ruff, 25. Ruff states that historical consciousness is a product of the Renaissance (57). The idea of new compositional techniques was supported by the early Renaissance theorist Johannes Tinctoris, who wrote that musical progress was desirable and older forms obsolete (60). Regarding the primacy of chant, Ruff states that for many in the Church chant was considered to be of divine origin (62). Ruff does not consider inherited plainchant to be an example of musical historical consciousness (62).

⁴² *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 11, 19, 46, 49.

⁴⁵ Carol L. Krumhansl, “An Exploratory Study of Musical Emotions and Psychophysiology”. Krumhansl writes that many people listen to music for its emotional effect and questions why patterns-of-sound-in-time have such a profound effect upon us. While music neither changes an individual’s material state, nor does it necessarily elicit any action but according to psychological evidence people respond to music emotionally. These musical emotions are to some degree like other emotions. Although people

Discerning the relative rightness or wrongness of music is thus a social, intellectual, and personal process. What one expects to hear in music is connected to the formal and social identifiers that are dictated by musical genres. The term 'genre' is understood as a system of classification of types, whether it be music, literature, or another form of art. The labeling and codification of a work has bearing upon its reception and its evaluation of relative appropriateness, tastefulness, and quality. The genre of a musical work is determined and associated with its reception, the venue in which it is presented, its listening audience, and its identifiable stylistic features. All of these components which determine a work's genre, also function as discursive properties.⁴⁶ For instance, even the designation of an instrument for a musical work, the semiotic medium, is inscribed with its own musical associations that extend the semantic implications within the given work.⁴⁷ The overlapping of instruments and texts, (not to mention all of the other facets of the formal aspects) are laden with dialogic potential that speaks inside and outside of the music itself.

The relationship between music and the people listening to it is equally based within social conventions formed and developed through institutions,⁴⁸ as the listener

might associate musical experience with their own lived experience, music somehow transcends the differences of experience to produce similar musical emotive effects in people from very different cultural backgrounds. The criteria for distinguishing between different musical emotions are based within the musical variants of: modes (major and minor, although this does not take into account other modes such as whole tone, pentatonic, mixolydian, dorian and other modes); firm and flowing rhythms; and complex, dissonant and simple and consonant harmonies Sad music often has slow tempos, minor harmonies, and fairly constant ranges of pitch and dynamics. Happy music often has relatively rapid tempos, dancelike rhythms, major harmonies, and relatively constant ranges of pitch and dynamics. Scary music often has rapid tempos, dissonant harmonies, and large variations of dynamics and pitch, a category that is not necessarily pertinent to Herrera's music. Music produces physiological responses; in the studies conducted by Krumhansl, the spectrum of physiological responses measured included cardiac function, blood flow, electrical conductance of the skin, and respiratory function. Many of the emotional triggers of music overlap with those for emotion, memory, and language. She notes, in the article, that the reception of music is also to some extent effected by cultural origin and level of musical training. As well, some aspects of music cognition and emotion are shaped by experience. But upon closer examination, it can be seen that musical emotions suggest that humans have an aesthetic response that is distinct from basic emotions.

⁴⁶ John Frow, *Genre*, 71.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 67. Each instrument comes from a tradition of playing and the range of its sonorities can potentially represent a wide range of sounds that are associated with particular thematic, rhetorical and formal dimensions.

⁴⁸ The main institution that I am referring to in this dissertation is the Church and specifically the Catholic Church in Mexico. Expectations of listening are developed within milieus or venues of listening. Churches as venues of listening are connected to the institution of the Church. Conventions of genres relate

responds to the formal and thematic expectations prescribed by the genre of the music. In the case of *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum*, these works would have been based on the conventions of psalm settings from the period. The musical expectations and reactions elicited by this music would have been influenced not only by the expectations of the venue it was heard in (the Cathedral or church) but also by the listeners' assessments of the music formed in relation to other experiences of hearing psalm settings and the perceived novelty of Herrera's settings.⁴⁹ Music genres that developed over time within the institution of the Church in Mexico, as elsewhere, were permeated by formal or stylistic characteristics from other genres of music associated with the institutions of education and entertainment. As it pertains to this present study, the psalm setting – arguably a genre in itself – is permeated by the formal characteristics of music associated with other genres connected to *buen gusto*.

While I refer to Herrera's psalm settings as works or compositions, these denominations might not be accurate. In his study of popular music, Philip Tagg calls into question the idea of the musical 'work'. His line of inquiry is relevant to the study of religious music and the tendency to classify this music as works. The study of a musical work entails separating the music out from a continuum of musical practice and the transmission of style, sounds, techniques, and subjects. Defining the inefficacious use of the word 'work' and its associations with the self-enclosed musical idea, Tagg states:

The question is how to refer to something that, within a given musical culture or subculture, is generally perceived as a musical continuum of determinate duration and of sufficient internal structural cohesion to be understood as sonically identifiable in itself

as much to the act of listening in relation to the venue of performance as to the sounds of the music itself. I illustrate my point with a hypothetical situation. In Montreal I live near a storage and studio building named, Fattal. There is a yearly Fattal Fest, which hosts punk bands that play in the adjacent parking lot. In order to fulfill the desired expectations and social interactions, the participants of the Fattal Fest anticipate an experience of music with driving rhythmic intensity, distorted textural sounds, discordant harmonies, rough vocals, and usually aggressive or subversive lyrics (or vocals). The participants would probably be surprised if not disappointed if Herrera's music were to be performed instead of a featured attraction. The experience would arguably be related to a deep sense of implied genre-contract-violation. But then again, breaking the tacit genre expectations might also lead to the development of new hybrid subgenre.

⁴⁹ Frow, 80.

from whatever precedes or follows it, as well as from other similarly integral sets of sequences of musical sound.⁵⁰

The study of Herrera's 'works' poses similar problems. Herrera's music belonged to an ecclesiastical music practice that had developed throughout the periods of New Spain and Independent Mexico. Herrera's psalms settings would have been heard during the evening service of Vespers along with other psalms, the Magnificat, Biblical readings, Antiphons, Versicles and Prayers. This liturgical service that combines plainchant and elaborate musical settings, would have been celebrated within one of Mexico's cathedrals or churches, most likely in Guadalajara or San Cristobal de Las Casas. Its hearing would have also been folded into an entire synaesthetic experience and a palimpsest of human interactions between Church officials, clergy, musicians, and congregants. Its hearing would have also been affected by its performance.⁵¹ There remains the question concerning the quality of the performance and the all-important aspect of the music's presence.⁵² Listeners may have heard the psalm settings as utterances of the psalm texts, as a brilliant display of musicians, or even as a noisy distraction. Whatever the case, it is unlikely that *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* were perceived as distinct musical works that could have been played outside the context of Vespers.⁵³

This present research attempts to contextualize Herrera's music within its original milieu, but it remains an endeavour always rooted in the present. I recognize that the trajectories of my research are biased by my own preoccupations with Herrera's music.

⁵⁰ Philip Tagg, "The Work: An Evaluative Charge," 153.

⁵¹ This fact that cannot be ascertained given that there are no references to the performance of the music, no visible fingerprints or fold marks on the score, no signed dates of performance, which musicians often included on their parts.

⁵² The terms "quality" and "performance" need to be interpreted with care. The term quality refers to the accuracy of the playing of the music. If the instrumentalists and vocalists had not practiced their parts and were not technically skilled the rendition of the psalms may have produced a wholly unintended effect of distraction. Performance is also a particular word, which in this case signifies the actual playing of the psalms within the context of Vespers rather than an idea of a concert performance.

⁵³ For an in depth discussion on the ontological musical work please see Jonathan A. Neufeld, *Musical Ontology: Critical, Not Metaphysical*. Neufeld argues that it is difficult to separate the work from its performance.

Through the lenses of feminist and queer musicology, I interpret excerpts of *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* wherein I examine the relationship between gender and genre, veering away from linear history.⁵⁴ I have adopted a methodological approach referred to as braiding. “Braiding alerts us to look for the improbable intersections, incommensurable ways of living, discrepant imaginings, unexpected moments of influence, and inspiration existing side by side.”⁵⁵ Having come across this music in the archives it intrigued me for the reasons previously outlined and also because of my own personal interest in singing it. I thus question the rightness of my motivation for studying this music and the validity of my research claim: I have no socio-religious attachment to Herrera’s music, apart from my cultural curiosity from a musician’s viewpoint, and I am historically alien to the people it originally affected.⁵⁶ This said, it is the quality of Herrera’s music in its state of non-belonging that makes me feel at home in it. It is not part of a current Catholic music practice and it is not suitable for the concert hall. What then is the purpose of its musical reanimation?

Chapter Summaries

In the second chapter, I examine principles and rules related to the idealized practice of Catholic musical orthodoxy. The repeated condemnations of ‘worldly’ music did not deter the composition of ornate instrumental liturgical music, as evidenced in the wealth of extant scores housed at most of the Mexican cathedral archives. Through selected excerpts from the writings of Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro and Pope Benedict XIV, ideas of musical orthodoxy are presented. The Mexican Provincial Councils from 1771 and 1896 were Church Councils which sought to establish regulations for the

⁵⁴ I refer to works of Naomi André who considers the voice in *bel canto* opera from a gendered perspective, Judith Peraino and Suzanne Cusick, who define approaches to queer musicology, and Lloyd Whitesell who looks at gender ambiguity in musical and visual representations of glamour.

⁵⁵ Robert Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them*, 9. The framing of my research is based partially upon concepts developed by this scholar of religion. *Presence*, which Orsi refers to as the culture of embodiment of God in the body and things (55) is further explained in relation to the continued resonance of Herrera’s music in its revitalized forms in Chapter V.

⁵⁶ In questioning why I have chosen to study Herrera’s work I sometimes disparagingly liken my attraction to this study as a form of academic tourism. With the security of historical and geographical distancing, I am safely able to venture into foreign territories to read the writings, see the sights and hear the sounds of another world.

administering of orthodox practice of Catholicism in New Spain and then in Independent Mexico. These Councils, which took place approximately sixty years prior to and sixty years after Herrera's music was composed, address a broad array of musical behaviours that for the most part are referred to through admonishments. From these articles I isolate the rules pertinent to Herrera's music, which I discuss in relation to excerpts of *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* in the fourth chapter. The practice of music by trained female singers and musical nuns in churches, cathedrals and convents, and the controversy surrounding the inclusion of women's voices in the service of worship is an area of query that arises from rules outlined in the Councils.

In the third chapter I examine facets of music making in Independent Mexico as they pertain to music education and women's musical voices. Herrera was praised for his sophistication of style and *buen gusto* in his compositions for nuns, military bands and amateur musicians. I maintain that music was perceived as a sophisticated art and that its practice was linked to the concept and practice of cultural *buen gusto*. I cite the didactic poem, *La música*, by the Spanish poet Tomás de Iriarte, and *Arte De Pensar Y De Expresar Nuestros Pensamientos* by Francisco Frejes, a Mexican Franciscan historian and educator. Both authors valued the rhetorical arts and linked music to artistic and scientific erudition. Referring to excerpts from *El Museo Mexicano* and published letters of Frances Calderón de la Barca, I consider the social implications of musical erudition and *buen gusto* and the musical genres associated with domestic music.

The fourth chapter is an overview of the compositional features of *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* that demonstrate the ways Herrera communicated a heightened sense of the psalm texts through musical gestures. Through this analysis, I argue that Herrera employed passing stylistic references to musical genres to make intellectual and emotive associations. I then suggest that Herrera's genre employment informs the study of past modalities of production and reception, ones that at first hearing (or score reading) are lost on contemporary sensibilities. I propose that the passages of *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum*, which are diva-like, are ambiguously gendered representations which convey 'otherness' within the overall texture of each psalm's musical narrative.

The fifth chapter is introduced through a consideration of presence and its centrality to my understanding of the ways in which music and art have the potential to

engage individuals and bring them into a sense of a collective or community. I discuss how a performance of *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* became the basis of a reworking of Herrera's music into a community-based artistic production. The first performance of Herrera's compositions were recorded and remodelled into electronic music and used as the basis of an artistic collaboration between participants of different cultural backgrounds might otherwise not have interacted.⁵⁷ Herrera's music has been a source of collaborative offshoots that have brought together disparate times and cultures and has instigated community-building and a sense of creative belonging.

⁵⁷ In this case different 'cultural backgrounds' refers to musical backgrounds and general cultural interests.

Chapter II

Musical Orthodoxy in the Fourth and Fifth Mexican Provincial Councils

In singing Christians express the fact that they believe, whom they believe, what they believe, how they believe, and the communal nature of their believing...Liturgical music participates in the saving dialogue between God and humanity, which consists of God's initiative, and humanity's turning to God in response...Singing and music have an eschatological dimension that refers to Christian hope of fulfillment in the glory of heaven.⁵⁸

Music is married to Christian faith through singing during Mass, the central ritual of Catholic worship and the other services belonging to the Divine Office.⁵⁹ Musically the most important of these are Matins, Vespers and Compline in which the musical elements are present in the chanting or singing of psalms, antiphons, canticles, lessons, and musical responsories. The Office of Vespers incorporates the prayer to Mary, the canticle *Magnificat anima mea Dominum* (Luke 1:46-55) and has presented, in the tradition of liturgical music, many opportunities for composing complex polyphonic music. The practice of composing original music for Vespers or for any other service music has been at the centre of debate throughout Christianity's history. The expression of the sacred through music is intrinsically connected to the secular lives of the people who make it. This tension between the sharing of music's symbolic space with secular and sacred human interests has been a thorn of discontent for those Church authorities who have grappled with this paradox.

Music's effect on devotion was a source of dilemma for Saint Augustine. On the one hand, he identified singing as essential for bolstering the individual's spirit and supporting faith:

⁵⁸ Ruff, 9.

⁵⁹ These include Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and Compline.

And so we were baptized and our dread about our earlier lives dropped away from us. During the days that followed I could not get enough of the wonderful sweetness that filled me as I meditated upon your deep design for salvation of the human race. How copiously I wept at your hymns and canticles, how intensely was I moved by the lovely harmonies of your singing Church! Those voices flooded my ears, and the truth was distilled into my heart until it overflowed in loving devotion; my ears ran down, and I was better for them.⁶⁰

While appreciating music for its power to move the soul, Augustine noted that it could equally be the source of distracted contemplation.

...I remember the tears I shed at the Church's song in the early days of my newly-recovered faith, and how even today I am moved not by the singing as such but by the substance of what is sung, when it is rendered in a clear voice and in the most appropriate melodies, and then I recognize the value of this custom.

Thus I vacillate between the danger of sensuality and the undeniable benefits. Without pretending to give a definite opinion I am more inclined to approve the custom of singing in church, to the end that through the pleasures of the ear a weaker mind may rise up to loving devotion. Nonetheless when in my own case it happens that the singing has a more powerful effect on me than the sense of what is sung, I confess my sin and need of repentance, and then would rather not hear any singer.⁶¹

Music can inspire reflection when performed with sensitivity and beauty, but it equally can lead a listener's mind away from pious thoughts. These meanderings of thoughts can be instigated by beauty but also by irritation, which is suffered if the persons performing lack skill and artistic sensitivity to the text and the music itself.⁶²

⁶⁰ Augustine, *The Confessions*, IX,6 (14), 220. Augustine explains that everyone joined in in the singing hymns in the liturgy, and that singing gave strength and prevented people from losing heart (IX 7.15).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, X, 33(50), 270.

⁶² An example of discomfort caused through the experience of badly performed music occurs in Frances Calderón de la Barca's, *Life in Mexico*. In a letter in which describes a performance in Mexico City's Cathedral on Good Friday April 25 1840 she writes: "As the *Miserere* was to be performed in the cathedral late in the evening, we went there, though with small hopes of making our way through the tremendous crowd...when we were seen and recognized by some of the priests, and conducted to a railed-off enclosure near the shrine of the Virgin, with the luxury of a Turkey carpet. Here, separated from the

Thus, the practice of Church music has often been assigned to people who commit themselves to the study of music. Augustine observed that the problem encountered from the listener's perspective is one of conflicting attentions propelled by the experiential. The conjoining of text and music through the voice is just that, two elements brought together through the act of singing, a process further complicated when instrumental music accompanies the singing of the text. The characteristic sounds of any music type, including liturgical and ceremonial music, are open to creative changes through melodic, rhythmic, structural or textural modifications. Musical innovation implies change to tradition, and as such has often been deemed suspect. Anthony Ruff notes that perceived musical abuses have been associated with worldly and lascivious elements that are identified with artistic development, but experimentation and artistic inspiration are not in opposition to what is sacred. To illustrate this point Ruff points out the similarities between Claudio Monteverdi's secular orchestral music from the Prologue of *Orfeo* and the sacred *Deus in adjutorium*. The opening intonation and response (or versicle) of his *Vespro della Beata Virgine*, Vespers dedicated to the Virgin Mary, provides an example of how Catholic liturgical music has been positively influenced by musical innovations.⁶³

The theological debates over musical orthodoxy brewed alongside the increasing presence of instruments in liturgical music.⁶⁴ The argument against the inclusion of instruments was influenced by Boethius's *De Institutione Musicae*, which helped to shape theological and philosophical attitudes to music. Boethius divided the playing of music into three categories: *musica mundana* (music of the spheres), *musica humana* (human music) and *musica instrumentalis* (instrumental music). He defined the true musician as the scholar who, through pure knowledge, could judge poetic compositions

crowd, we sat down in peace on the ground... The music began with a crash that wakened me out of an agreeable slumber into which I had gratefully fallen; and such discordance of instruments and voices, such confusion worse confounded, such inharmonious harmony, never before deafened mortal ears. The very spheres seemed out of tune, and rolling and crashing over each other. I could have cried *Miserere!* With the loudest; and in the midst of all the undrilled band was a *music-master*, with violin-stick uplifted, rushing desperately from one to the other, in vain endeavouring to keep time, and frightened at the clamour he himself had been instrumental in raising, like Phaeton entrusted to with his unmanageable coursers. The noise was so great as to be really alarming; and the heat was so severe in proportion. The calm face of the Virgin seemed to look reproachfully down" (138-9).

⁶³ Ruff, 27.

⁶⁴ Chris Hann, "Creeds," 232.

and instrumental performances. This category was distinguished from both the poet-musician, who could compose songs without learned guidance, and the instrumentalist, who was only a skilled music craftsman.⁶⁵ In this hierarchical division, theoretical or abstract knowledge of music was associated with discernment of the highest stature, followed by musical knowledge required for composition, and lastly the practical application of musical knowledge through its playing. This Boethian model cast a shadow on the act of making music and when applied to theological arguments this position undermined the place of music and musicians within the Church. The craft associated with instrumental music was called into question, as was the nature of music's attractiveness. Even the organ, the iconic instrument of the Church, which according to legend, was adopted during the papacy of Pope Vitalian (657-72) was not wholly accepted.⁶⁶

The equation of music with spectacle is a theme that runs throughout the castigations of music and musicians in papal encyclicals and Church Councils. The worrying about similarities between the properties of music and the theater is likely linked to the proximity between ritual and performance and the difficulty in controlling the porous interfaces of symbolic representation.⁶⁷ It is perhaps the connection between artistic and theatrical participation in religious ritual that was central to the Church authorities' disdain and worries over the inclusion of theatrical elements in religious celebrations. Ritual and theater are based within symbolic representation made visible

⁶⁵ Calvin Bower. "Boethius," *Grove Music Online*. A witty reference to Boethius's music of the spheres occurs in Frances Calderón de la Barca's recounting of her dreadful music experience.

⁶⁶ Barbara Owen, "Organ," *Grove Music Online*. Owen states that in the early twelfth century the "sounds of the bellows, the tinkling of bells and the harmony of organ pipes" were considered to be ignominious theatrical distractions not suitable to a "place of worship".

⁶⁷ In reference to the liminal experience of communities through ritual, Victor Turner has observed that in complex societies of high-culture, individualized art and music services religious rituals. He states that the individual artist creates the liminoid phenomena that are experienced collectively as liminal symbols (*From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*, 52). Music is one of the arts employed symbolically and interactively. Other arts include architecture, architectural adornment, sculpture, painting, as well as the symbolic actions that are performed at the altar which are supported visually and symbolically with vestments and sacred vessels. Michael Brescia in his discussion of ritual in Colonial Mexico notes that, "ritual is a term that sanctifies and marks off a space and a time of special significance. It is the principal site of cultural construction, and the study of culture is fundamentally about shared meanings and social values (Michael Brescia, "Liturgical Expressions of Episcopal Power: Juan de Palafox y Mendoza and Tridentine Reform in Colonial Mexico," 499).

and audible through the presentations of symbolic manifestations.⁶⁸ Another constant preoccupation for many theologians and Church officials concerned the place of women playing music in convents and churches. Kiberlyn Montford examines the articles in the Council of Trent pertaining to the enclosure of nuns in convents and the way these regulations affected the lives of nuns living in the convents of Rome. The Council considered that the strict enclosure of nuns was threatened by the presence of outsiders, especially men who taught music to nuns in convents. Music was perceived as threatening given that music was often performed by both monks and nuns and “any collusion, in the form of the two choirs' singing together, was decidedly inappropriate, for it hinted at nuns working closely with men in an endeavor that had sensual overtones.”⁶⁹ Montford draws attention to the reform activities of Pope Alexander VII whose papal bull, *Piae sollicitudinis* of 1657 was “a significant document in that its insistence on the renewal of higher standards provides a glimpse of prevailing liturgical practices.”⁷⁰ As a patron of the arts and a poet himself, he had a fondness for music, which probably tempered the effective implementation of the edicts which included the forbidding of “dancelike rhythms in liturgical music, overly elaborate settings, and the use of any texts other than those prescribed in either the Breviary or the Roman Missal.”⁷¹ Complex polyphonic and instrumental music continued to be composed and

⁶⁸ The complexities and dilemmas concerning the overlapping meanings of representation in public ceremonial display is examined by Linda Curcio-Nagy. She looks at the uncomfortable relationship between ritual, theater and the political and religious in Colonial Mexico. She notes that large-scale spectacle was a tool of colonizing that included the participation of all the institutions and people of different walks of life. These festivals which included the entry of the viceroys, the oath of ceremony for new monarchs, Corpus Christi, the Royal Banner Festival, and the Feast of the Virgin of Remedies underwent remarkable transformations from the Hapsburg period (1521-1700) through to the end of the Bourbon period (1700-1821). Ritual and display helped to forge a shared history and brought the participant outside of normal time. In these public festivities there was the interacting of different groups of people and the participation of confraternities and other official community organizations. (*The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity*, 58). The Bourbon's focus on fiscal control, science, and education coincided with the tightening of the reins, and reforms to festivities included the controlled participation in Corpus Christi. What had started off as all-inclusive pageantry eventually became elitist events that were not open to the unruly behavior and civic disobedience (113).

⁶⁹ Kimberlyn Montford, “Holy Restraint: Religious Reform and Nun’s Music in Early Modern Rome,” 1013.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1025.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

this persistence of ‘decadence’ points to the difficulty of enforcing rules that went against the preferences and tastes of the faithful, Church officials and even the pope.

Benito Feijóo and Pope Benedict XIV

Even in the face of decreased monies allotted to cathedral music chapels after Mexican Independence, ecclesiastical music grew alongside the latest sophisticated musical trends. The complex orchestrated vocal music that was common to eighteenth-century continued to develop in the early nineteenth-century spurred on by the musical and aesthetic interests of the composers and the musicians employed at the cathedrals. Given that these musicians were supported financially by the Church; it is only logical to assume that the compositions which they produced were perceived as being appropriate expressions of faith. These condoned practices of music were however not completely harmonized with many of the Catholic Church’s official writings. In order to examine this conflicted relationship, I turn my attention to the writings by Benito Feijóo and Pope Benedict XIV, whose works relate directly to ideas of musical orthodoxy found in the Fourth and Fifth Mexican Provincial Councils of 1771 and 1896 respectively. The recurrent topic that links these writings is the need to rid Church music of its worldly qualities.⁷²

The Spaniard Benedictine monk, Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro,⁷³ writing twenty years prior to the Benedict XIV’s *Annus qui hunc* and forty years prior to the Mexican Fourth Provincial Council, distinguished himself as an influential Spanish essayist. For Feijóo, religious music was to be solemn and was not to resemble music intended for entertainment. He bemoaned the infiltration of chromaticisms, fast tempi, dance-like music and Italian opera into Church music. While he considered violins as “inimical to the majestic repose ideal for worship,” he did not categorically dismiss all

⁷² The irony in the fear of the ‘worldly’ and the ‘theatrical’ acting upon people is the fact that all musics, even plainchant, can potentially act upon the listener in an emotive or even sensual way.

⁷³ A Benedictine monk and Spanish essayist, Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro (1676- 1764) taught theology. ‘Música de los templos’ is one of the nine books from his *Theatro critico universal* (1726–40). Almonte Howell also refers to other essays about music ‘Maravillas de la música’ (*Cartas*, i, no.44) ‘El deleite de la música’ (*Cartas*, iv, no.1) and ‘El no sé qué’ (*Theatro*, vi, no.12), which I have not referred to in this dissertation. Almonte Howell, “Feijóo y Montenegro, Benito Jerónimo,” *Grove Music Online*.

instruments or orchestral music. Feijóo's criticism of liturgical music was aimed squarely against music that sounded entertaining, such as that might be heard in the styles associated with uproarious tavern singing and the music popular at court.

The church chants of these times, with respect to their form and manner, sound like the songs of a jovial company sitting round a table. They are all composed of minuets, recitatives, light airs, and allegros; at the end of which, they substitute something which is called *grave*; but this is done very sparingly, lest it should seem tiresome and disgusting. What can this mean? Should not all the music of the church be grave? Ought not the whole composition to be calculated to impress gravity, devotion, and decency? The instrumental music is the same; but what effect can these Canary-bird airs, so predominant in the taste of moderns, produce in the soul? This music, so replete with jigs, that you can scarce find a piece without one, can raise no other emotion in the imagination, than those of frolic and levity. ... Thus the music, which ought to translate the spirit of him who listens to it, from the terrestrial to the celestial temple, conveys it from church to the banquet; and the ideas raised in the imagination of the person who hears this, is either from constitution, or vicious habits... will not forsake him at the church-door.⁷⁴

Although Feijóo considered the effects of music to be capable of destroying the solemnity of religious experience and bringing the thoughts of those attending mass away from prayer to a place of folly, he also stated that sacred texts could be enhanced intelligibly set to music. He was however against the “abuse that has been introduced in the organ chant,”⁷⁵ abuses which included the addition of “semitones and the introduction of the mingling of diatonic and chromatic intervals.”⁷⁶ The offensive intervals to which he was alluding were found within the intricate and florid chromatic passages that were common to both instrumental and vocal music of the period. It is likely that many of the solo singers hired to display their vocal proficiency would have embellished passages with ornaments and cadenzas in keeping with the performance

⁷⁴ Feyjoo and Brett, *Three Essays or Discourses on the Following Subjects, a Defence or Vindication of the Women, Church Music, a Comparison between Antient and Modern Music*, 127.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 132.

practice of the period. The musicians capable of committing abuses, according to Feijóo, were the “famed singers who with a natural easy *solfa*,”⁷⁷ who pleased the listeners through the execution of vocally difficult passages. These distracting passages “of arduous difficulty” gave the effect of “the talking of gibberish.”⁷⁸ He thus disapproved of singing that required the skills of professional opera singers.

Feijóo distrusted music’s power to stir the soul as he distrusted the musicians with the technical skills to produce these musical effects. In a passage that resembles Augustine’s reflections upon music, he noted that music has the power to “incite devotion and even sweet tranquility in the soul” and to “stir the passions and raise the minds.” These same persuasive qualities could however also “lead people to virtue or vice.”⁷⁹ He admired composers who could produce admirable effects because of their abilities to render words with more “vivacity and spirit,”⁸⁰ but considered that the inherent problem with music resided in the proliferation of bad composers who were responsible for having created “vice-inciting urges” and who driven by fashionable trends wrote Church music in the style suited to theatre.⁸¹ The profession of composing for the Church was not to be practiced by “every organist, and violin player of reasonable dexterity” and “middling ability” who “lets himself up for a composer” or mediocre musicians, who he likened to “skilled barbers pretending to be surgeons.”⁸² Not present is a definition of the music qualities that would make a first-rate composer.⁸³

⁷⁷ ‘Solfa’ is a term that refers to solfège. Used in this context it refers to vocal dexterity in the reading and singing of music.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 145.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 139, 141.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 132.

⁸¹ Ibid., 133.

⁸² Ibid., 135.

⁸³ Ibid., 137, 149. In the case of the composer Don Antonio de Literes (1773-1774), whom Feijóo frequently mentions with great admiration, the reader learns only that Literes composed many great works that moved listeners to piety. The *rightness* of Literes is contrasted to the *wrongness* of Durón –presumably Sebastian Durón (1660-1716)– whose inferiority of compositional style was linked to his deliberate incorporation of the corrupted Italian style into the Spanish liturgical music. Both Durón and Literes composed operas and liturgical music that were ornate, complex, and scored for well-trained voices and instrumentalists. It would however seem that Feijóo’s disparaging comments against Durón were

While Feijóo criticized the unorthodox practice of liturgical Spanish Church music, he made certain to lay the blame upon the Neapolitan and Italian operatic styles rather than to suggest that the responsibility of musical misdeeds emanated from those people in positions of power who supported the continued use of this style of operatic liturgical music. Blaming the empty posturing that was prevalent in liturgical feasts and processions,⁸⁴ he suggested that clergy and other people of social prominence manufactured unwarranted theatrical displays. The lapse in principled judgment had occurred because the Spaniards had become slaves to displays of virtuosity,⁸⁵ effects inspired by Italianate operatic music that had mutated Church decorum into spectacle.⁸⁶

Pope Benedict XIV's writings influenced the reforms in the Fourth Provincial Council and the Fifth Mexican Provincial Council.⁸⁷ The demanded changes to music by the Councils cite the encyclicals *Annus qui hunc* of 1749,⁸⁸ and *De Synodo Dioecessana* of 1767,⁸⁹ writings that were influenced by those of Feijóo. Benedict XIV had proposed changes to music that were part of an overall reform of worship. The unity of faith and action through liturgical worship depended upon a strict adherence to the decorum of the prescribed liturgy. The encyclical *Annus qui hunc* focused on music in a practical sense.

based within political adroitness and a sense of self-preservation. Literes and Durón were contemporaries, both composed music for the theatre and the Royal Chapel in Madrid. Durón was however exiled to France after siding with the Austrians during the Spanish War of Succession, a departure that benefitted the younger Literes who then assumed a greater place of importance becoming the preferred composer of the Bourbon King of Spain, Felipe V. (Louise K. Stein, "Durón, Sebastián," *Grove Music Online*; Stein, "Literes, Antonio," *Grove Music Online*.)

⁸⁴ Feyjoo and Brett, 143, 147.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 144, 145.

⁸⁶ Renato Di Benedetto, "Naples," *Grove Music Online*. What is conspicuously absent in his anti-Italianate stance is any recognition of the long musical association that Naples had with Spain. The importance of the musical links that had been forged for more than two hundred and fifty years seems to have disappeared with the loss of Naples to Austria, after the War of Succession.

⁸⁷ Elisa Luque Alcaide, *Iglesia En América Latina, Siglos XVI-XVIII: Continuidad y Renovación*, 221. Prospero Lambertini (1675-1758) became cardinal in 1728, archbishop of Bologna in 1731 and pope in 1740.

⁸⁸ Luque Alcaide, *Iglesia*, 226. I was able to locate the encyclical only through the following web page: <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/>. The encyclical *Annus qui hunc* by Pope Benedict XIV (1740 -1758) is published online in its Italian version: <http://digilander.libero.it/magistero/b14annus.htm>

⁸⁹ Luque Alcaide, *Iglesia*, 221.

Musical works, like sermons, were supposed to be vehicles of communication speaking directly to the hearts and the minds of the faithful; thus the complicated ornate music of the stage had no place in Church. The musical instruments considered acceptable for worship and enhancing the solemnity of the Mass and singing voices—albeit the right sort of singing voices—were the organ, the viola, cello, and the bassoon. By contrast the violin, trumpet, flute, timpani, hunting horns, oboe, piccolo, harp, mandolin, and all other theatre instruments were thought to produce sounds far too exciting for Church. Apart from the instrumentation, the texture of the music was not to include many key modulations or ornaments such as “vulgar trills” or other effects that could cover clarity of the voices. Rather, music was a means of expressing piety appropriate to the liturgical text. Sacred text was to be clearly articulated, neither shortened nor extended, particularly in the Kyrie and Gloria and by the insertion of arias, duets and choruses. The whims of the composers and the alterations to the forms of music for the Church incited a disregard for music’s sacred function. Even though Benedict XIV did not approve of operatic-styled liturgical music, the use of ornaments, florid passages with chromatic motion, and treble instruments persisted.

The Mexican Provincial Councils

Five Provincial Councils were held throughout Mexico’s history. The first four were held during the period of New Spain and the fifth in Independent Mexico. These Councils oversaw the formulation of prescriptive articles meant to ensure the orthodox practice of Catholicism. The Third Provincial Council of 1585, which prescribed the implementation of Tridentine reforms in New Spain, is widely accepted as being the most important document outlining the guidelines for the idealized practice of Catholicism in New Spain.⁹⁰ The articles of this Council were reformulated in the Fourth

⁹⁰ The term, ‘Tridentine reforms’, refers to the reforms mandated by the Council of Trent. These were a series of ecumenical Roman Catholic councils held between 1545 to 1563. These councils redefined and outlined the rules of Roman Catholic faith and practice in the wake of the emergence of the Protestant movement. Michael Brescia, in his study of the late seventeenth-century bishop of Puebla, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, explains the reforms of the Mexican Third Provincial Council of 1585. This Council attempted to correct and standardize ceremonial practice of Mexican Catholicism (500), and to standardize ritualized gestures and behaviours. Instruction and piety were central to the reforms as was the standardization of “liturgical stage” for both cathedrals and parish churches (504). Although standardized breviaries and missals were demanded, translations of catechisms were permitted for neophytes. Prayer and pious devotion and the spiritual transformation of the body, through public and private worship, were at the basis

Provincial Council of 1771 in the spirit of eighteenth-century religiosity and Bourbon socio-economic reforms, and in the Fifth Provincial Council of 1896 during a period wherein the Church's place in society and politics was waning.

The Fourth Provincial Council

In July of 1769 Carlos III, the Bourbon King of Spain, ordered that the Metropolitan Churches throughout the Americas and the Philippines hold Provincial Councils.⁹¹ During the rule of the Hapsburgs, Spain had profited from the Vatican sanctioned autonomy regarding the appointment of bishops to its New World territories. The Bourbon kings, in an attempt to exercise their divine right over State and Church, demanded even more autonomy from the Holy See.⁹² Luque Alceide notes that the Council was fuelled by the competing intentions of reformists who interpreted religion as an instrument of political will and those who wanted to harmonize Catholic practice in the Americas with the papacy.⁹³

The theological position of Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, the Metropolitan Archbishop who headed the Council,⁹⁴ was based upon eighteenth-century European

of the reforms, which “empowered the office of the bishop” (510).

⁹¹ Luque Alceide, “Reformist Currents,” 743. The Councils of Mexico City and Manila were held in 1771, that of Lima in 1772, Santa Fe de Bogota in 1774, Caracas from 1774 to 1778, and the Council of Guatemala and Chiapa was never able to take place because of a series of natural disasters that devastated the territory during a five-year period.

⁹² Ibid., 746. David Brading, in the first chapter of *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico*, examines the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain in 1767 as part the Bourbon's bid for political and economic control. The Fourth Provincial Council further refined the focus of obedience by reducing clergy privileges and replacing the officiating clergy from the mendicant orders with secular priests.

⁹³ Luque Alceide, *Iglesia*, 225.

⁹⁴ When Lorenzana (1722-1804) was promoted to Archbishop of Mexico City in 1766, he was in the midst of a quickly moving theological career. In Spain he had been named canon of Sigüenza in 1750, canon in Toledo in 1754 and Bishop of Plasencia in 1765 only months prior to his promotion to the Metropolitan See of Mexico in 1766. Following the Council he was promoted as Primate, See of Toledo, in Spain and subsequently made a cardinal by Pius VI. In 1789 he was exiled to Rome where he remained until his death (Luque Alceide, *Iglesia*, 290). Two of the other important members were: the bishop of Puebla, Francisco Fabian y Fuero (1719-1803), and the creole theologian and prominent member of the Mexico City Metropolitan Chapel, Cayetano Antonio de Torres (1719-1787). Lorenzana, Fabian y Fuero, and Torres were among the younger members of the Council. They were all proponents of reform although they held divergent opinions on the nature of how reforms should be achieved and implemented. Fabian y Fuero and Lorenzana's views did not take into account the theological views of the Creoles present at the

Catholic reformed piety that discouraged the opulent aesthetics and emotional outpouring of baroque Catholicism.⁹⁵ The Council itself was divided between those like Lorenzana,⁹⁶ who advocated a reformed life with strict moral discipline and interior piety, and those who defended the authenticity of popular piety of the indigenous peoples and their devotional practices.⁹⁷ The Council ordered the replacement of the religious orders by secular priests—the Jesuits having been expulsed in 1767—the reconfiguration of parish organizations and dioceses, and the introduction of reformed piety for the clergy and faithful alike.⁹⁸

Many historians writing about the Bourbon Reforms in New Spain note that the Spanish Crown had a vested economic interest in fighting decadence.⁹⁹ The fight against

Council who continued to hold more traditional Tridentine attitudes towards Catholic faith and worship (Luque Alceide, *Iglesia*, 261, 286).

⁹⁵ Brian R. Larkin, *The Very Nature of God: Baroque Catholicism and Religious Reform in Bourbon Mexico City*, 76. Larkin states that the reformers frowned upon the privileging of the “sensuous, immediate, and physical apprehension of God”.

⁹⁶ On the subject of Jansenism, Luque Alceide makes an important statement, vis-à-vis the Council’s global familiarity with the movement. She states that the members of the Council followed the current ideas in Hispanic culture, but none adhered monolithically to one position (*Iglesia*, 286).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 283 and “Reformist Currents,” 758-759. In terms of the historiography surrounding the Fourth Provincial Council, Luque Alceide identifies two trends: those historians who view the regal policy as an attempt to implant reformist ideas in the Americas, whereby the difference of views created a sense of alienation for the Creole clergy (744); the second tendency is to interpret the disagreement as a nascent sense of Mexican nationality (744-745).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 747.

⁹⁹ Scardaville “Hapsburg Law and Bourbon Order: State Authority, Popular Unrest, and the Criminal Justice System in Bourbon Mexico City,” 510. The religious reforms mandated in the Fourth Provincial Council preceded the major Bourbon reforms to administration and the judicial services that occurred between 1782 and 1790. On the subject of Bourbon reforms and the Fourth Council refer to Matthew D. O’Hara, *A Flock Divided: Race, Religion, and Politics in Mexico, 1749-1857*. O’Hara examines how Catholic practice at the end of the Bourbon period in New Spain prompted the redefinition of social categories and group identities. The Bourbon reforms included a reduction on spending for extravagances, including bullfights and fireworks (66), and a clamping down on all extra-liturgical activities associated with religious celebrations, especially Corpus Christi (131). The ecclesiastical reforms also included changes to church architecture and organizations (92). O’Hara notes that bishops were concerned with false devotions, or devotions that drew upon a deeper sense of commitment than to the church itself (143), and the Indian and casta attachment to buildings. O’Hara reads into these attachments an additional level of devotional entrepreneurship and spiritual capital, whereby devotionism was used as a means of political power and social gain for members of confraternities, solidarities, and other church organizations (161). He also points to the transference of ritualized behavior from the Church to the political arena, noting that during Independence both the Liberals and the Conservatives used the sacralization of politics to lend meaning to the formalities of their governments (164).

financial decadence began with imposed changes to the administration of the Church.¹⁰⁰ Asunción Lavrin writing on the subject of reforms made to the convents of New Spain, states that:

The appearance of philosophical modernism in New Spain starting around the middle of the eighteenth century, brought an intellectual renovation and loosening of the grip of religion upon the philosophical thought of the viceroyalty, and created a fresh intellectual climate which had decisive influence upon the cultural life of the colony. However, this intellectual renovation had no effect on the ethical and religious values of Mexican colonial society.¹⁰¹

In order to promote a unity of faith and loyalty to the Crown catechism was taught only in Spanish.¹⁰² The imposition of the Spanish catechism went against the principles of the Council of Trent that had recommended the usage of local native languages for teaching.¹⁰³ Other reformist objectives focussed on ecclesiastical discipline, improved knowledge of Christian faith, and improved moral standards for the clergy in an attempt to rid the Church of doctrinal waywardness.¹⁰⁴ The elimination of idolatries,¹⁰⁵ and the

¹⁰⁰ Linda Curcio-Nagy states that “Bourbon officials believed that the commoners’ grasp of the Catholic faith was superficial and was based solely on the ostentation and display of religious festivals rather than on deep spirituality” (110). Brian Larkin, in his questioning of the attempts to assess and control spirituality argues that “religious reform in Bourbon Mexico not only aimed at controlling spaces and activities, but also the practice of Catholic worship itself” (“Liturgy, Devotion, and Religious Reform in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City,” 495). According to Asunción Lavrin this was not successful and she notes that there was a fundamental lack of significant changes to ethical values as a result of the Council and the reforms. By contrast, David Brading observes that the reforms created a widening gap between popular and elite religiosity, a “division between educated opinion and popular religion,” as compared to late-baroque Tridentine culture that united “the intellectual elite and the masses” through “devotion and equal aesthetic delight” (“Tridentine Catholicism,” 20).

¹⁰¹ Asunción Lavrin, “Values and Meaning of Monastic Life for Nuns in Colonial Mexico,” 381.

¹⁰² Indigenous language might be considered to be politically subversive.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 262. Bishop Fabian y Fuero wrote the new Spanish catechism.

¹⁰⁴ Luque Alceide, “Reformist Currents,” 748.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 749.

constraining of musical language,¹⁰⁶ were among the changes that extended to all teaching seminaries, convents and monasteries.

The articles pertaining to music in this Council were focussed on correcting perceived abuses and enforcing piety through a solemnity of musical expression. The proposed rules conflicted with the musical practices within the churches and cathedrals of New Spain. The articles that relate to music reflect an initiative to control society “through strict internal conditions.”¹⁰⁷ These can be categorized into two broad categories: regulations concerning secular music and regulations concerning the practice of liturgical music. One of the first references to music in the Fourth Provincial Council concerns the eradication of idolatry. Civilized and ‘genteel behaviour’ required the repression of past pagan memories and as such ‘Indians’ were forbidden from representing Aztec dances and games (*mitotes y juegos*), or dressing in attire that would suggest idolatrous practice. The playing of any traditional songs that referred to the history of the impious pre-Christian past, profane songs and dances were not be performed during any of the feast days, in particular Corpus Christi.¹⁰⁸ Dances that mixed the sexes were not to be performed in secret, at church on any feast day, before Mass, at midday, in the afternoon or at the time of Vespers.¹⁰⁹ The Council wanted to

¹⁰⁶ Luque Alceide, *Iglesia*, 226. Pamela Voekel in *Alone Before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico* examines the religious and intellectual culture of Mexico at the time of the Bourbon reforms through a close examination of funerary practices. She proposes that a new hierarchy of status developed following the preference of toned-down funeral services. Central to Voekel’s investigation centers upon the reformed expression of “true piety” and its adoption by Catholics, or at least those wealthy enough to leave wills. She addresses questions concerning people’s desire to be buried in chapels and the function of professional mourners in Tridentine funerals. Voekel outlines the excesses of the burial practices, focusing on the high emotional theatricality of mourning in urban eighteenth-century Mexico City. Even through the reforms, the essence of the Catholic funeral remained constant through liturgy. The modifications to ritual styles were influenced by the latest trends in theology, music, and visual décor.

¹⁰⁷ Scardaville, “(Hapsburg) Law,” 510. Scardaville argues that these reforms were made in a bid “to maintain law and order that would support the Bourbon State’s order”.

¹⁰⁸ It was most likely the rural churches that were targeted by the Fourth Provincial Council. Braiding notes that the Bourbon reforms were trying to root out the persistent idolatrous practice occurring in non-urban centers, where often superstition was judged with relative leniency. Referring to an incident from 1796, he cites an inquisitional record in which a parish priest of San Luis de la Paz, discovered fifteen men and some women in a room with an altar and candles, four plates holding six pesos of cash, and under the altar a jar with peyote in water. Two of the men were drinking and playing guitars. It was remarked that both the peyote and the music were agents of moving emotions (Brading, *Church*, 159).

¹⁰⁹ León, Camacho and Lorenzana, *Concilio Provincial Mexicano IV: Celebrado en la Ciudad de México El Año De 1771*, 9.

discourage the contact between men and women but more importantly the memories of past pagan histories associated through song and dance.¹¹⁰ All songs and dances were to be approved by the bishop and those performers who had not received approval were to be punished according to the gravity of the offense (*calidad de la culpa*).¹¹¹

Priests who were expected to provide model behaviour for parishioners were not to be influenced by superstitious, idolatrous, or irreverent ways. The singing and playing of popular music and the smoking of tobacco belonged to the popular cultural practices that were considered to be deviant.¹¹² Clergy were also expected to avoid public displays of indulgence. All clerics were commanded to wear cleric habits made of wool and not of silk, black cassocks covering the shoe clasps, no colourful undergarments, camisoles, cloth padding, or fake jewels instead of buttons, and hair was to be kept short. Priests riding horses were to wear black cloaks and, if traveling to officiate mass, were required to wear their cassocks done up to the neck. Seminarians, bachelors and doctors were, however, allowed to wear silk under their choir capes and university gowns, although they too were charged with modesty.¹¹³

The Council's position on personal fashion paralleled its view of theatrical presentations, particularly of priests who donned disguises in public celebrations. Clerics were forbidden from wearing disguises or masks and from participating in any theatrical presentations, given that attending the theatre was inappropriate for ministers of the

¹¹⁰ A similar reference to the songs and dances of the *indios* appears in the Third Provincial Council of 1585 where the focus was on banning superstitious and religious heterodoxy. Galván, Rivera M, and y B. B. M. Arrillaga. *Concilio III Provincial Mexicano: Celebrado En México El Año De 1585, Confirmado En Roma Por El Papa Sixto V, Y Mandado Observar Por El Gobierno Español, En Diversas Reales Órdene*, Libro III, capitulo.18 artículo 1.

¹¹¹ Galván, and Arrillaga, *Concilio III*, 207.

¹¹² León, Camacho, and Lorenzana, 238-239. The Council adopted a scientific language conjoined to the language of faith. The tobacco smoke made of 'small particles', was always indecent and its use demonstrated a 'lack of reverence to the great mystery'. In order for the Spirit of the Church to enter, it had to first, 'enter the chests of the priests; and if the dirty hands from tobacco were to touch the precious body of Jesus Christ, the communion wafer, the transubstantiation of Christ's precious body would turn into a "filthy chimney"'. Priests were forbidden from taking tobacco as powder, smoking cigarettes, or chewing it before Mass. Even though tobacco was not food or drink or a recognized medicine, it was to be denied because it effected the chest and the stomach through the small particles of smoke. It was thusly considered to be indecent and its ingestion demonstrated a lack of reverence to the great mystery of the Church.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*,196.

Church. If a layperson were to see a cleric playing a role or having fun in the theater, “the school of the devil,” his work as a minister of God and his ability to impose penitence upon others would be undermined. Priests were also prohibited from singing dishonest or profane poems, playing instruments during gatherings, dancing, and saying foolish things as these activities made a “blot upon the clerical status.”¹¹⁴ Any behaviour that jeopardized the solemnity of the Mass and sermon would sow distrust in the authority of the Church and would lead the people to hold sermons and admonishments in little esteem.¹¹⁵ Because priests are the measure of the faithful and the way of the flock, they were commanded to renounce the pomp, vanities, pleasures and pastimes of the century and to serve only God’s legacy and therefore were to avoid feasts and gatherings of the world, as much as possible.¹¹⁶

Decorum as outlined in the Fourth Provincial Council, was modeled on Benedict XIV’s *De Synodo Dioecesana*. Piety was to be encouraged through properly enacted liturgy and all members of the ecclesiastical body were responsible for singing chant at the High Altar. The Council wished to rid the Holy Office of any music “reminiscent of the theatre or worldly songs” and “music that delights the ear,” insisting that the dignified solemnity of plainchant was the only music fit for the purpose. Recalling the rule of Saint Augustine, distinguished members of the Church were commanded to actively sing the liturgical chant and not to stand like inanimate statues.¹¹⁷ The choir’s substitution by the organ on Sundays and solemn festivities and the omission of the Gloria and Credo, was deplored and choristers were required to practice the music before the Mass. In order to safeguard the distinct ecclesiastical hierarchies, non-official

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 198.

¹¹⁵ Popular song and its significance as a force of agitation is addressed by Sergio Rivera Ayala. “Dances and songs allowed the lower classes to free themselves, if only for a moment or two, from the atmosphere of subjugation in which they lived. Such manifestations reflected a new perspective on life that allowed the people to approach one another and break the boundaries of the official hierarchy” (“Lewd Songs and Dances from the Streets of Eighteenth-Century new Spain,” 36). The Church was not only threatened by the nature of popular music but also by the power of musical parody to mock its own sacred form. “Songs constantly mixed sacred scriptures into their lyrics, and the people dared to sing the *Our Father* and *Ave Maria* to the music of the *Pan de Jarabe* or to parody the act of confession or the Ten Commandments” (37).

¹¹⁶ León, Camacho, and Lorenzana, 199.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 190.

members were to be denied access into the choir of churches, (the publically-visible seats behind the high altar). To avoid disturbances in worship, laymen were not to enter the choir gates and bishops were to ensure that the musicians remained in place until the end of the mass.¹¹⁸

Women, Nuns and Music

The Council ordered that choirmasters and bishops “expel from the choir the instruments from the century” and cessation of the singing of “arias and *cánticos* (little-songs) that have the sound of the world.” Women were prohibited from entering the choir and they were ordered to not climb up into the organ lofts in any church or monastery and to not sing in them. It was also recommended that two watchmen be posted in the cathedrals to guard against laymen, clerics without surplices, and women from entering the choir. The insistence upon controlling the presence of non-official members attests to the practice of including outsiders and, in particular, women in the choir. In the smaller churches it was the duty of the priests to prohibit outsiders, especially lyrical women singers, from entering the church choir.¹¹⁹ These demands draw attention to the very likely presence and participation of both trained female singers and male instrumentalists in Masses, Vespers and other festivities. The music that would have required such performers was certainly not plainchant! The Council’s insistence that the situation be rectified through the vigilance of bishops and priests also suggests that there were cathedrals and churches in which bishops and priests deliberately did not discourage these outsiders from performing.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 236.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 235.

¹²⁰ Although there is nothing in either the Feijóo or the *Annus qui hunc* of Benedict XIV referring to the singing of women in churches, I did come across a reference to Benedict XIII trying to suppress the music making of female instrumentalist in a convent. “In 1728 Benedict XIII rebuked a community of Benedictine nuns for using other instruments than the organ during high Mass and Vespers. He also forbade the Franciscans from using any other instrument than the organ in their conventual churches” (Joseph Otten, “Musical Instruments in Church Services”). Vis-à-vis the presence of women singing in the churches, there is a possibility that the Council was warning against activity that was already prevalent in Europe.

The enclosure (*la vida comun*) of nuns was a point of fixation for the Council.¹²¹ Nuns were to practice their vows of poverty and were required to live and eat communally, to dress accordingly and to not have financial savings and assets. Nuns were also not to indulge in excessive relaxation on account of vain pretexts.¹²² For many of the women who were nuns these rules went against social conventions of practice. A daughter's placement within a convent was an honour for wealthy families and a sign of social status. "For the family of the nun, the final profession was of the utmost importance. Since the seventeenth century this act had become a yardstick to measure social prominence."¹²³

According to Geoffrey Baker music making in convents was a vital part of daily worship and a way for the nuns and the convents to display their social stature. In his research on the nuns of Cuzco, Baker addresses a number of issues pertinent to all convents of New Spain. Convents were important centers for music making and many nuns were accepted with scholarships based upon their demonstrated musical skills. These musical talents that were often put on public display and were a source of community pride. Music was an indication of the "spiritual and cultural well-being of the city's Hispanic elite" whereby the "symbiotic relationship between convents and the local elite brought economic, spiritual, and cultural benefits to both parties."¹²⁴ Complaints regarding the nuns' musical activities were not issued from local bishops but rather by those priests who argued that nuns who participated in playing polyphonic music were engaging in subversive forms of worldly expression. Baker also notes that music emerged as a "tool of self-expression in a male-dominated and regulated world."¹²⁵

¹²¹ It is not within the scope of this dissertation to address the financial, political, and social ramifications of the Bourbon reforms to the convents. I concentrate instead on the idea of music making and musical orthodoxy within the convents.

¹²² León, Camacho, and Lorenzana, 220-221.

¹²³ Lavrin, "Values and Meaning of Monastic Life for Nuns in Colonial Mexico," 372.

¹²⁴ Geoffrey Baker "Music in the Convents and Monasteries of Colonial Cuzco," 3.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 5. On the subject of the importance of maintaining music in convents, Margaret Chowing notes that in Michoacán a shortage of singing voices allowed nuns to keep novices that otherwise should have been expelled because of new reform laws (Chowing, "Convent Reform," 10).

In New Spain, the occasion of a nun's profession was marked by celebrations that Lavrin characterizes as a "mixture of worldly and religious pageantry."¹²⁶ In the Convent of Santa Clara of Queretaro, maintaining daughters in the convent "was key to the social strategy of affluent families" and the feasts sponsored by the families of nuns included orchestral music, and fireworks.¹²⁷ In the case of Puebla, festivities were being reduced by the late 1760s when Bishop Fabian y Fuero decreed that "visits were to be restricted, and while visitors might be offered modest refreshments, the music and theatrical performances were definitely banned."¹²⁸ The attempt to limit the festivities and musical practice in the convents was meant to reform expressions of piety and to interfere with the place of music in the larger social community of the convent. The outward signs of opulence demonstrated throughout the event of the profession would have been perceived by the members of the Fourth Provincial Council as those of pomp (displayed in the musical extravagance), vanity (flaunted in the clothes of the novice), pleasure (indulged in during the buffet served to the guests), and the futile pastime of music and spectacle itself.¹²⁹

The articles in the Fourth Provincial Council clearly indicate that nuns were to avoid operatic and theatrical sounding music. These rules speak to the perceived musical transgressions as they do to the actual practices of music making in convents.

¹²⁶ Lavrin "Ecclesiastical Reform," 373.

¹²⁷ Ellen Gunnarsdóttir, "The Convent of Santa Clara, the Elite and Social Change in Eighteenth Century Querétaro," 258, 268, 270. Ann Twinam in *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* looks at the interplay between Catholicism and gender after the arrival of the Spanish to the Americas. She focuses on the shift in gender balance and how the situation for indigenous, Spanish, and casta women was in a state of deterioration. In spite of the worsening conditions for all women and all non-Iberian males, she states that "nowhere were native populations passive receptors of change" (8). Regarding the study of women's agency in a predominantly paternalistic Catholic culture, it is important to search for the "latitude for negotiation" that women did have. She also examines the question of women and autonomy and how convents, which were microcosms of patriarchal society, were able to provide a few women of proven *limpieza de sangre* and social standing an alternative to marriage.

¹²⁸ Lavrin, "Ecclesiastical Reform," 186.

¹²⁹ Lavrin, "Values," 372.

Plainchant or Gregorian chant is the most solemn and proper for temples; figured-bass where the arias are introduced,¹³⁰ *sainetes* (comic arias) and singing appropriate to theatres, which have more to do with reminding one of the world of opera, theatre and dance, draw attention away from the devotion of the faithful. The nuns, having been introduced in the religious convents to the use of figured chant, have entirely forgotten Gregorian chant, which all nuns must learn. It is not the fault of the singers, although all of them are obliged to know the psalm tones, to sing the Mass and Divine Office; this Council stipulates that from now on and afterwards only the ones who know how to sing plainchant will be allowed to sing, and these nuns must teach the novices and the young nuns. As well, instruments like violins that are improper and indecent for nuns to play must be expelled from the choirs and care must be taken to have good organists and teachers of plainchant,¹³¹ and as such music positions for instruments that are improper for a nuns' choir are to be suppressed.¹³²

The mandated reforms to music in the convents were much more specific than those outlined for the general Church practice. It is possible that there was a distrust of music's mysterious power to act upon the listener, especially when it was performed by women. Music, long associated with the mystical gift of divine inspiration, could well have been perceived as being even more threatening when performed by women.¹³³ The worldly music that was performed in convents by nuns was appreciated because it was an indication of social status and cultural erudition and, despite the efforts of the Fourth Provincial Council to put an end to it, it seems that orchestrated liturgical and ceremonial music prevailed in convents as it did in cathedrals and churches. Its continued practice

¹³⁰ The word "introduced" signifies a vocal recitative.

¹³¹ It is indicated through the gendered nouns in Spanish that these must be female organists and plainchant teachers.

¹³² León, Camacho, and Lorenzana, 223-224.

¹³³ The nuns with musical talent who lived in the convents, many of them sustained by music scholarships, did not necessarily come from wealthy families. Rather, their merit was determined only by their ability to play and sing music. A nun who was not wealthy and whose musical skills enabled her entry into the convent might be considered even more threatening than others. Nora Jaffary notes that the "Mexican inquisitors were predisposed [then], to suspect claims to mystical sanctity that poor people, especially poor women, made. Court officials frequently concluded that such people only claimed mystical sanctity in order to secure material goods or social advancement" (*False Mystics: Deviant Orthodoxy in Colonial Mexico*, 88). In the case of music making, the truth of musical talent is heard and witnessed by those in its presence.

suggests that most clergy and bishops supported the composing and performing of innovative music that was stylistically influenced by extra-ecclesiastical musical genres.

While the Council had sought to rid the Church of music that resembled the world of the theater, religious ceremonies continued to be spectacular. Music was not the only dramatic facet of ceremonial display. In a letter dated June 4, 1840, Frances Calderón de la Barca describes the witnessing of a novice's profession, an event that transpired sixty years after the Fourth Provincial Council.¹³⁴ She emphasizes the theatricality of the event by recounting the synopsis of the ceremony along with the décor comparing the profession to a staged opera.¹³⁵

She was arrayed in pale blue satin, with diamonds, pearls, and a crown of flowers. She was literally smothered in blonde and jewels; and her face was flushed as well it might be, for she had passed the day in taking leave of her friends, at a fête they had given her, and had then, according to the custom, been paraded through the town in all her finery. And now her last hour was at hand... The nun kept laughing every now and then in the most unnatural and hysterical manner, as I thought, apparently to impress us with the conviction of her perfect happiness; for it is a great honour amongst girls similarly situated to look as cheerful and gay as possible... Shortly after, the church doors were thrown open and a crowd burst in, every one struggling to obtain the best seat. Musicians entered, carrying desks and music-books, and placed themselves in two rows, on either side of the enclosure where I was. Then the organ struck up its solemn psalmody, and was followed by the gay music of the band. Rockets were let off outside the church, and at the same time, the *Madrina* [godmother] and all the relations entered and knelt down in front of the grating which looks into the convent, but before which hung a dismal black curtain...

Suddenly the curtain was withdrawn, and the picturesque beauty of the scene which baffles all description. Beside the altar, which was a blaze of light, was a perfect mass of crimson and gold drapery; the walls, the antique chairs, the table before which the priest

¹³⁴ Silvia M. Arrom in *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* states that, although the number of women entering into convents had decreased considerably, the Church's connection with women came through the increased devotion to Marianism, a connection which promoted the importance of womanhood, (259-260) all the while cultivating the "cult of domesticity" (267). The focus on domesticity and spiritualism in the nineteenth century is related as well to music education and the repertoire played by women at home (discussed in Chapter III) and ex-voto paintings (discussed in Chapter V).

¹³⁵ Calderón de la Barca compares the scene to the opera *Robert le Diable* by Giacomo Meyerbeer of 1831.

sat, hung with the same splendid material; the bishop wore his superb mitre and robes of crimson and gold; the attendant priests also glittering in crimson and gold embroidery.

In contrast to these, five-and-twenty figures, entirely robed in black from head to foot, were ranged on each side of the room prostrate, their faces touching the ground, and in their hands immense lighted tapers. On the foreground was spread a purple carpet bordered round with a garland of freshly-gathered flowers, roses and carnations and heliotrope, the only thing that looked real and living in the whole scene; and in the middle of this knelt the novice, still arrayed in blue satin white lace veil and jewels, and also with a great lighted taper in her hand.

The black nuns then rose and sang a hymn, every now and then falling on their faces and touching the floor with their foreheads. The whole looked like an incantation, or a scene in *Robert le Diable*. The novice was then raised from the ground and led to the feet of the bishop, who examined her as to her vocation, and gave her his blessing, and once more the black curtain fell between us and them.

In the *second act*, she was lying prostrate on the floor, disrobed of her profane dress and covered over with a black cloth, while the black figures kneeling around her chanted a hymn. She was now dead to the world. The sunbeams had faded away, as if they would not look upon the scene, and all the light was concentrated in one great mass upon the convent group. Again she was raised. All the blood had rushed into her face, and her attempt at a smile was truly painful. She then knelt before the bishop and received the benediction, with the sign of the cross, from a white hand with the pastoral ring. She then went round alone to embrace all the dark phantoms as they stood motionless, and as each dark shadow clasped her in its arms, it seemed like the dead welcoming a new arrival to the shades....

When the sermon was concluded, the music again struck up—the heroine of the day came forward, and stood before the grating to take her last look of this wicked world. Down fell the black curtains.¹³⁶

Music was but one layer of the dramatic effects employed in the setting for the novice's rite of passage; it was part of the total theatricality of ceremonial display. The décor, costuming, lighting and gestural effects, as described by Calderón de la Barca, bear witness to an intensely opulent display of ritual. The playing of the solemn organ,

¹³⁶ Frances Calderón de la Barca *Life in Mexico*, 192-4.

the light-hearted band music, the singing of hymns by twenty-five nuns prostrate on the floor with lighted candles, and the distant sounds of firecrackers.

The Fifth Provincial Council

In the introduction to the Fifth Mexican Provincial Council of 1896, it is stated that the Council of 1771 had been declared invalid.¹³⁷ The mandate of the Fifth Council (or really the second Fourth Council) was to update the Third Mexican Provincial Council of 1585. The topics addressed in this Council reflect the changing realities of the Catholic Church in Mexico during the nineteenth century.¹³⁸

After the expulsion of Catholics from political life in the years immediately following 1867, the Church's leaders turned their attention to the formation of religious societies, catechetical work, and the expansion of education for clergy and laity. All these activities showed progress in the last third of the nineteenth century, but they proved insufficient to regain Catholic leadership in Mexican intellectual and social life, particularly in the growing urban areas. The peasantry remained loyal, but the Church was rapidly losing contact with the rising urban middle classes and the urban proletariat. Although much concern was expressed about this deteriorating situation, little was done until after the turn of the century.¹³⁹

Karl Schmitt notes that during the nineteenth century the Church in Mexico did not hold the same place as it previously had for those people from the urban middle class. One of the means of attracting people to the Church was music. Whether it was heard as part of the quotidian of worship or for special celebrations music remained an essential and pleasing element of worship. An indication of the legitimate place that music occupied in the Church and society is underscored by the separating out of the articles related to music in the Fifth Mexican Provincial Council in the section titled, *Del canto y*

¹³⁷ Alarcón y Sánchez de la Barquera, *Quinto Concilio Provincial Mexicano Celebrado En 1896*, V.

¹³⁸ Karl M. Schmitt, "Catholic Adjustment to Secular State 1867-1911," 192, 196. Two of the principal areas of debate concerned the secularization of education and the implications of civil marriages.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 190.

de la música. The few articles that refer to music outside of this designated section pertain to the schooling of priests in plainchant,¹⁴⁰ ensuring that parochial church music be modeled on cathedral practices,¹⁴¹ and the avoidance of light-hearted, theatrical and popular music or other styles of music “alien to the sanctity of God’s temple”.¹⁴² The behavioural guidelines for priests, as in those of the Fourth Provincial Council, insisted upon respectability of presentation of clergy. This meant that adornment with jewellery, gambling, gluttony,¹⁴³ the wearing of long hair and beards,¹⁴⁴ and the frequenting of taverns,¹⁴⁵ spectacles or theaters was prohibited.¹⁴⁶ Not included in this Council are articles concerning the music making or the participation of women (nuns or lyrical singers) and professional musicians. Music was one of the many sacred tools belonging to the total ceremonial and ritual experience. These included garments, vestments, missals, graduals, books of plainchant and other music, chalices, patens, incense, oils, holy water, silver adornments and all other vessels used at the altar.¹⁴⁷ Each bishop was required to keep an inventory of sacred tools, which included a list of useful music and they were expected to assess the appropriateness of the compositions in their collection.¹⁴⁸

The section titled *Del canto y de la música* opens with a reference to Pope Benedict XIV’s endorsement of Gregorian chant in his encyclical *Annus Qui*. The Council encouraged the perfect harmonies of traditional chant and its suitability to the glorification of God and the lifting of souls.¹⁴⁹ It was necessary that compositions

¹⁴⁰ *Quinto Concilio Provincial Mexicano*, 43.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 137.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 94-95.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 100.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 70-71.

¹⁴⁸ Refer to Appendix G for an example of condoned useful music.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 142.

observe the meaning of the text, even when accompanied by the organ or other musical instruments.¹⁵⁰ Vocal music known as *figurando* (polyphonic music) that was accompanied by pneumatic organ was to be harmonically in keeping with the “stepwise” and serious character of the organ. Instrumental music was not to drown out singing “with noise,”¹⁵¹ and only Latin, the proper language of the Church, was to be employed in the composing of sacred music. To this effect, the Council rigorously prohibited singing in Spanish during the celebration of the Mass and the private Exposition of the Sacred Host.¹⁵² This said, the local customs of singing pious songs in the ‘popular language’ was permitted if approved by the bishop, but there was to be no singing of national hymns, popular, humorous and profane songs, or the playing of these genres on instruments or the organ.¹⁵³ Evidently the rules point to the fact that it was part of the common practice to sing in Spanish national hymns, popular, humorous and profane songs in church!

Music to be avoided included vocal music composed with the “harmonies of the theater,” vocal cadences that were too frivolous and ornate, such as those known as *Gabalettas*,¹⁵⁴ recitatives, and other exaggerated forms of vocal music.¹⁵⁵ There were however allowances that permitted the continued practice of music inspired by worldly genres, which included the composition and performance of arias, duets, trios and vocal ensembles—as long as the instruments were properly integrated into the compositions and they preserved the character of the “sacred melody”—.¹⁵⁶ This statement is indeed vague, as it does not specify what character of the sacred chant was to be preserved: the character of the plainchant or the overall character produced by the newly composed melody based upon the sacred text.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 143.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 143-4.

¹⁵⁴ Likely a popular spelling of cabaletta, a virtuosic form of an opera aria.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 144.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

In the rules pertaining to the setting of sacred text to music, the Council expressed concern over text underlay and compositional techniques that obfuscated the clarity of the text. Sacred words were not to be omitted and reckless changes to the text such as cuts, excessive repetitions, or the creation of unintelligible pronunciations were forbidden.¹⁵⁷ Musical substitution was also not allowed as for instance in the replacing of the Gradual with Ave Maria or other antiphons. Plainchant was not to be replaced by polyphonic music that contained chromaticisms, organ interludes, or instrumental passages.¹⁵⁸ Equally undesirable were all vocalizations exhibiting “reckless prolixity” that prolonged the Divine Office. Elaborations to the Gloria in Excelsis and the Credo were permitted within reason, but not in the case of the Kyrie, the Gradual, the Offertory, the Benedictus and Agnus Dei.¹⁵⁹ During the Consecration, the Elevation, and the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament nothing could be sung, instead voices and the organ were to remain silent; or at least they should play softly and gently!¹⁶⁰ Operatic “vocal inflexions that were too clever”, noises made by the director while conducting to get the attention of those who are singing or playing instruments, and the turning of one’s back to the Holy Altar were also not acceptable. There was also to be no “articulation of immodest words or the doing of improper things,”¹⁶¹ or the playing of genre of music customarily performed in theatres and on theatrical stages; music resembling that performed in organized dances was equally forbidden.¹⁶²

The identification of proper and improper musical conduct reveals events that commonly transpired during the celebration of Mass and other festivities. Apart from trying to rein in embarrassing human behaviour, which is difficult to control even through regulations, the rules outlined in *Del canto y de la música* were a half-hearted policing of existing music practices. Music that resembled opera was discouraged but its

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 145.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid..

¹⁶² Ibid.

formal characteristics were accepted as long as the vocal and instrumental music respected the character of the sacred text. The music of the Church had developed in tandem with music in society. Music that was composed in the service of the Church in Mexico during the nineteenth century grew out of existing local traditions as well as the fashionable imported sounds of Italian operatic music. The stylistic sounds of the genres of music that were associated with practices extraneous to the tradition of Church were still however sources of preoccupation. The ambiguity of the guidelines for music making outlined in the Fifth Provincial Council were accommodations for music like that composed by Herrera and his contemporaries.

Singing Nuns

Another of the published letters by Frances Calderón de la Barca provides a secular impression of the effect of hearing women's voices in sacred settings. In her visits to the many churches and convents, Calderón de la Barca witnessed the singing of nuns on more than one occasion. From a letter dated Palm Sunday, April 21, 1840, her reaction to the melancholic beauty of a solitary voice is conveyed:

In the church of Santa Clara, attached to the convent of the same name, small but elegant, with its pillars of white marble and gold, one voice of angelic sweetness was singing behind the grating alone, and in the midst of an almost deathlike stillness. It sounded like the notes of a nightingale in a cage.¹⁶³

Her recounting of experiencing music during Holy Week continues; The impact of hearing and not seeing the women singing on Holy Thursday, April 25, 1840, is described:

We next went to Santa Teresa La Nueva, a handsome church belonging to a convent of strict nuns, which was now brilliantly illuminated; and here, as in all the churches, we made our way through the crowd with extreme difficulty. The number of *léperos* was astonishing, greatly exceeding that of well-dressed people. Before each altar was a figure, dreadful in the extreme, of the Saviour, as large as life, dressed in purple robe and crown

¹⁶³ Calderón De la Barca, 134.

of thorns, seated on the steps of the altar, the blood trickling from his wounds; each person, before leaving the church, devoutly kneeling to kiss his hands and feet. The nuns, amongst whom is a sister of Señor A_____, sung behind the grating of the gallery above, but were not visible.¹⁶⁴

Through this passage, the author expresses the distanced effect of hearing music without having been able to see the women who were singing it. The letter also illustrates the way in which music acted upon the congregated poor beggars (*léperos*) and the well-dressed prosperous people, crowded into the chapel of a convent to experience the theatricality of ritual, the ethereal sounds of the invisible choir floating above the riveting image of Christ represented in permanent moment of aestheticized suffering.

Calderón de la Barca details the profession of a young novice in a letter dated June 4, 1840. The theatricality of the event is married to the expression of religious symbolism. Herein her perspective as a trained musician draws attention to the artistic stifling of a young woman's voice.

In the Convent of the Incarnation, I saw another girl sacrificed in a similar manner. She was received there without a dowry, on account of the exceeding fineness of her voice. She little thought what a fatal gift it would provide her. The most cruel part was, that wishing to display her fine voice to the public, they made her sing a hymn alone, on her knees her arms extended in the form of a cross, before the immense crowd: "*Ancilla Christi sum*," "The Bird of Christ I am." She was a good-looking girl, fat and comely, who would probably lead a comfortable life in the world, for which she seem well fitted; most likely without one touch of romance or enthusiasm in her composition; but having the unfortunate honour of being niece to two *chanoines*, she was thus honourably provided for without expense in her nineteenth year. As might be expected her voice faltered, and instead of singing, she seemed inclined to cry out. Each note came out slowly, heavily tremblingly; and at last she nearly fell forward exhausted, when two of the sisters caught her and supported her.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 131-2.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 194-5.

This excerpt demonstrates that music, which belongs to ritual, does not only carry its prescribed liturgical meaning; its utterance can also communicate the personalized narrative of the music participant. In this case, Calderón de la Barca underscores the misfortune of the young woman whose voice breaks under the burden of doubt and disillusionment. Perhaps the intensity of the theatricality was a means of folding the individual's experience into the symbolic language of religious ritual.

Motu Propio

Herrera's *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* and much of the religious music of Mexico's nineteenth century might to the ears of a listener in 2016 sound rather unorthodox. This judgment has its basis in a perceptual shift that occurred at the beginning of the early twentieth century. The *Motu Proprio Tra le Sollecitudini* promulgated by Pope Pius X on November 22, 1903, was a pronouncement that changed the practice of ecclesiastical music in cathedrals and churches in Europe and the Americas. Pius X's requirements for sacred music redefined ideas of holiness, beauty and universality. The Church's "return" to the sounds of authentic musical piety (as embodied in Gregorian chant) adopted a new right-sounding music; this effectively turned other past practices and expressions of the Holy into quasi-deviant sounds.

Hugh Thomas Henry summarized the main points of the *Motu Proprio* twelve years after its issuing. He commented upon the new music regulations from the position of a layperson and musician who supported the imposed changes:

The Holy Father was not quarrelling with the humble village church, with its untrained voices, unpaid organist, unwise ambitions for display-music, uncultured musical taste. He appears rather to be thinking of splendid city churches, glorious basilicas; or well-cultivated voices, and of organists who are *virtuosi*; of costly organs and of extensive repertoires.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Hugh Thomas Henry, "Music-Reform in the Catholic Church," 102,105.

Quoting from a translation of the *Motu Proprio* he noted that Pius X considered that the singing of music that displayed technical proficiency to be an impediment to grace.¹⁶⁷ Refined musical sounds, those associated with technical skill and by extension concert repertoire, were deemed unsuitable for the expression of the “solemn public prayers of the Church.”¹⁶⁸

As music is intended to clothe the sacred texts appropriately, it should not inartistically cover and hide from view the majestic proportions and the graceful lines of texts. If we might use with reverence a comparison here, we should say that music is the thinnest possible drapery for the texts, like the graceful marble draperies of a Greek statue, which adds distinction to the human figure without hiding its beautiful symmetries.¹⁶⁹

Liturgical texts were to be clearly stated, not subjected to changes and repetitions, or divided into movements like an opera or oratorio; Vespers and psalms were not to be composed *di concerto* style with movements and solo passages. Hymns were to be treated in a strophic way and not broken into solos and duets; solos were not to make up the bulk of a choral work. Boys were to replace women, and no other instruments beside the organ were allowed, unless by special papal dispensation. Henry also remarked that women are incapable of expressing universality through their singing on account of their expression of the “eternal feminine”, a quality which he equated with an exaggerated emotionalism.¹⁷⁰ Instruments were not to overpower the voices and singing was not to take up too much time. Bands and noisy instruments were forbidden from playing,

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 106. “It would be in vain to hope for this grace from God as long as our worship of Him, instead of going up with an odor of sweetness, only, as it were, puts into our Lord’s hands again the scourges with which He once drove out of the Temple those who were profaning it.” By extension it could be inferred that technical singing, as an impediment to grace, was associated with sinful behaviour.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 106.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 111.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. It should also be noted that the accusation of the ‘eternal feminine’ that is levied against women, does not take into account the fact that the operatic musical works which were sung by women were composed by men. Henry does not indicate whether or not he considered the exaggerated emotionalism (or the eternal feminine) to be embedded within a woman’s singing or within the music that they were apt to sing.

especially theatrical music.¹⁷¹ Unlike the previous regulations concerning music, the *Motu Proprio* did have a real impact on the music that was composed for and played in all churches and the way that future generations would hear the music of the past.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 115-6.

Chapter III

A Sense of Good Taste and *Buen Gusto*

Taste is involved in the delight Christians regularly take in singing songs, and in their frequent sense of perplexity or dismay at what certain other Christians choose to sing. Taste is essential to the enjoyment of those special works of art that help connect us with all we perceive to be holy; it is also involved in our disgust at things we regard as desecrating what is holy, or as somehow serving a purpose that is unholy.¹⁷²

A sense of taste whether good or bad is relational and qualitative. As it pertains to the arts, taste is related to an art object's appeal in relation to its function and social context.¹⁷³ Determining the tastefulness of an art object or act requires an understanding of taste as a both predetermined system of social validation and as creative engagement between the participant-spectator and the object or event.¹⁷⁴ Simon Stewart asks whether or not preferences in cultural taste are determined by social class and expectations or if formal features can act independently upon those who appreciate and enjoy art and music:

So, moments of passion, sublimity, empathy or creativity that are present in the act of tasting can only be analysed if in the process of research we step aside, for a moment, from the laws of causality that determine, to such a great extent, why we like what we like and probe deeper into the moment of tasting.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Frank Burch Brown. *Good Taste, Bad Taste, and Christian Taste: Aesthetics in Religious Life*, x.

¹⁷³ The function of an art object does not imply that it must have a specific utility beyond its self-presentation.

¹⁷⁴ Simon Stewart, *A Sociology of Culture, Taste, and Value*, 4.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 103-4.

The concepts associated with decorum,¹⁷⁶ those being propriety, suitability and behaviour are like those associated with good taste. Decorum and good taste communicate ideas of purpose, meaning, and morality through formal characteristics.¹⁷⁷ The term *buen gusto*, in contrast to good taste and decorum, carries a cultural association that in nineteenth-century Mexico was linked with the study of the arts and sciences and the associated particular musical genres and modes of expression.

In the letters of recommendation for Santiago Díaz de Herrera's application for the position of chapel master at the Cathedral in Guadalajara in 1828, the term *buen gusto* is used three times to describe Herrera's character and the people who appreciated his music. On account of his *buen gusto* Herrera had merited the approval of the public and his compositions were applauded by people of *buen gusto*. Determining the ways in which Herrera's music satisfied the expectations of the community for whom he was composing and its embodiment of cultural discernment are thus key to understanding his music's relative 'rightness'.

¹⁷⁶ Decorum in relation to art created for the Church "dictates the placement of paintings, mosaics and sculpture in religious buildings" (Robert W. Gaston "Decorum," *Grove Art Online*). Decorum in the visual arts determines the suitability of a pictorial or sculptural subject within an architectural setting, taking into account the type of building and the status of the people it is intended for. Decorum communicates through actions and the ceremonial. An absence of decorum, or a lack of procedural observance, disrupts the solemnity of a ceremony or event. Musical decorum similarly pertains to the inclusive suitability of a musical piece's form and content, relative to its designated function and its venue of performance. In the case of liturgical music, the decorous behaviour of the musicians during a performance is also a key to the music's decorum

¹⁷⁷ For instance, in a contemporary setting in the year 2016, the singing of Franz Schubert's *Ave Maria* during a funeral service would likely be perceived as being in good taste whereas the singing of "I'm gonna wash that man right out of my hair" (a song from the musical *South Pacific* composed by Oscar Hammerstein and Richard Rodgers) might be perceived as being in bad taste. The variables that influence the perception of tastefulness of music during a funeral are based upon the suitability of genre to the event. Suitability is determined by the expectations of social norms, the circumstantial particulars and formal qualities. The formal qualities of music encompass anything pertaining to the sound of the music, which include all facets of the composition, the texture and the timbre. If for example *Ave Maria*, which is standard repertoire, were to be performed with a pop-styled vocal inflection accompanied by non-traditional church instruments, such as electric guitar and bagpipes, the performance might be perceived as being in bad or at least strange taste. By contrast, the excerpt from *South Pacific*, if performed at the funeral of a Broadway singer, might, depending upon the congregants and their knowledge of the deceased person, be considered to be in good taste. Taste in all of its mutability is also intrinsically linked to the concept of decorum

Buen Gusto: A Cultural Act

In the nineteenth century *buen gusto* was identified with education, cultural erudition and with neoclassical architecture.¹⁷⁸ A recent publication, which examines the relationship between *buen gusto* and the visual culture of Latin America, focuses on the ideological weight of *buen gusto* in New Spain and Independent Mexico. Magali Carrera states:

Buen gusto encompassed more than a visual style operating to cohere colonial subjects of the viceroyalties and subsequently citizens of emerging nations around a sense of collective selfhood. Buen gusto, then, operated differently at different times, reflecting ongoing social political transitions. By the last decades of the eighteenth century, buen gusto would inform the corporate identity of New Spain's Creole elite, who sought to maintain and certify their Spanish heritage as intricately embedded in the unique landscape and history of the Americas. Distinguishing themselves from españoles as well as from naturales Americanos (indigenous groups) Creoles envisioned a unique and complex socio-physical environment in which they interacted to construct and cohere an amalgam identification of españoles americanos.

By the early nineteenth century this identity of español americano was no longer fully viable... Mexicanos, as citizens of the nation had to be linked to the emerging geopolitical boundaries of the nation. Buen gusto would continue to operate to discern and refine the cultural content of these boundaries and emphasize connections to international culture.¹⁷⁹

Carrera argues that *buen gusto* in Independent Mexico was a continuation of its practice in New Spain, a practice that came from Spain. As an act of cultural process,

¹⁷⁸ The term itself came out of Spanish literary circles. *Buen gusto* was associated with a neoclassical aesthetic in both literature and the visual arts, although there was no "internally coherent style" in either Spain or the Americas (Niell *Buen Gusto and Classicism in the Visual Cultures of Latin America, 1780-1910* xviii). The terms neoclassical and *buen gusto* were used to distinguish the old (associated with *mal gusto*) from the modern. In both literature and architecture, the neoclassical aesthetic emphasis was perceived in opposition to the exaggerated baroque aesthetic. The neoclassical aesthetic also favored clearly delineated genres. As well, the rationalization of the experience of beauty included the concepts of refined sensibilities, concepts that were expressed with the words 'delicate', 'sublime', and 'picturesque' (xxxiv). In reference to philosophical understandings of taste, Niell cites the works of Francis Hutcheson and the mechanisms for the perception of taste, beauty, and pleasure, David Hume's consideration of standards of taste, and Immanuel Kant's understanding of taste as a "teleological realization of God's grand purpose" (xxiv).

¹⁷⁹ Magali Carrera, "Buen Gusto and the Transition to Nation, 1830-1850," 136.

buen gusto was an agent of change. The changes instigated through the adoption and application of *buen gusto* propelled the identity of Mexico's creole elite through the development and dissemination of culture that was influenced by international trends. My contextualization of Herrera's music within a broader cultural sphere begins with an eighteenth-century Spanish take on *buen gusto* that leads into an overview of *buen gusto* in Mexico during the 1830s and 1840s.

Juan Sempere's Spanish translation from Italian of *Reflections on Good Taste in the Sciences and the Arts by Lodovico Antonio Muratori with a Discourse on Actual Taste in Spanish Literature*, provides both a European and a Spanish understanding of eighteenth-century *buen gusto*.¹⁸⁰ In the opening pages of the treatise, Muratori (the original author) explains that the place of a person's birth determines genius and the cultivation of *buen gusto*. The rude and obtuse nature of people from cold climates, he explains, was a reaction to the frigid climate; by contrast, people influenced by excessive heat of the tropical climates suffered imbalances in temperament that disfavoured the development of genius. Accordingly, only Europeans —presumably men— were blessed with an abundance of talents and a natural predisposition for the potential of genius and the development of *buen gusto* through education.¹⁸¹ The principal feature of *buen gusto*, which extended beyond the author's geographical and classist biases, is described as a quality of discernment that permeates all aspects of a cultivated man's life. According to Muratori, *buen gusto* connoted the developed skill of discernment of the best (*lo mejor*). It was a virtue that covered all areas of life and combined intelligence and hard work with the actions of the will. Discernment associated with *buen gusto* could enable a man to judge what is best in all the realms of personal conduct, economics, politics, sciences and the arts.¹⁸² *Buen gusto* had bearings upon practical philosophy, morality and affected all aspects of life including one's public presentation through dress and comportment.¹⁸³ At the basis of Muratori's definition of *buen gusto* was the "universal" quality of

¹⁸⁰ Antonio Muratori, *Reflexiones Sobre El Buen Gusto En Las Ciencias, Y En Las Artes*, 1782.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 2-4.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 14-15.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 15.

European culture, a quality that was to be made known through public works of literature and the arts,¹⁸⁴ and through study, reading, and reflection.¹⁸⁵

Other later European presentations of *buen gusto* signify a state of discernment based upon superficial judgment. In *The Refined Man and Up-to-Date Taste: A Complete Manual of Urbanization, Courtesy and Good Tone*, a guide to Parisian masculine etiquette “translated” and published in Madrid,¹⁸⁶ Don Mariano de Rementería y Fica explains the guiding rules that should determine the social comportment of the “man of taste” in private and public, at home and abroad.¹⁸⁷ Taste was strictly based upon appearances and knowledge was merely a social steppingstone.¹⁸⁸ Men were encouraged to make acquaintances with artists and to learn about their creations because “the company of artists ennobles the soul,” given that the arts were generally considered to be of social interest.¹⁸⁹ Taste and discernment, according to de Rementería y Fica, was a superficial mode of behaviour of which applied knowledge and social mores to elevate and maintain men of good taste in high social standing.¹⁹⁰ This trite understanding of *buen gusto*, although it may have been a reality of urban life in Independent Mexico, does not prevail in the published excerpts cited in the continuation of this chapter.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁴ In reference to the arts, (Rhetoric, Poetry, Music, Painting, Sculpture, and other Liberal Arts), Muratori states that they must be based upon solid principles, as they are exposed to the local, daily, and mutable tastes of the places, people and times whence the artists originate (163).

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 182.

¹⁸⁶ The original authors are not credited by Mariano de Rementería y Fica in this third edition of *El Hombre Fino Al Gusto Del Día* published in Madrid in 1837. In the translator’s prologue the reader learns that two Parisian publications, manuals of etiquette and gastronomy, were written by two unnamed authors, were synthesized and translated by de Rementería y Fica (vii).

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹⁹⁰ This included keeping men away from accidental embarrassment, as for instance at the theater where men who might not know better would fall prey to wily women attempting to ensnare the naïve gentlemen into impassioned discourse through feigned helplessness (108-9).

¹⁹¹ Frances Calderón de la Barca in a letter dated January 1, 1840, employs the term “good taste” to describe an architectural structure. Her overall account draws attention to the synthesis between politics, religion, and the ceremonial: We were then at the door of the palace, where we went this morning to see the opening of Congress, the two houses being included in this building. The House of the Representatives, though not large, is handsome, and in good taste. Opposite to the presidential chair is a full-length

Buen Gusto and Music for the Church

The poem, “La música” by the Tomás de Iriarte (1750-1791), is based on the principles of *buen gusto*. It is a witty exhibition of the author’s refinement and discerned erudition in the fields of philosophy and culture.¹⁹² It was first published first in 1779; notably its third edition was printed in Mexico City in 1785 by Mexico Zúñiga y Ontiveros.¹⁹³ The poem is divided into five cantos and covers the subjects of music theory, music rhetoric and emotions, the music of the Church, music in the theater, and finally the practice of music in private homes.¹⁹⁴ Bruce A. Boggs, in the preface to the critical edition of *La música*, explains that Iriarte, in keeping with the spirit of enlightenment, synthesized his encyclopaedic knowledge of music theory, history, and practice into a compact accessible form of rhyming verse poetry. His display of musical knowledge is both theoretical and practical, including references to the authors of antiquity and important music contemporaries: Rameau, Rousseau, and Feijóo.¹⁹⁵ “Iriarte’s poem reveals the newly formulated notion of music as part of the *bellas artes* that holds Beauty as an ideal

representation of Our Lady of Guadalupe. All round the hall, which is semicircular, are inscribed the names of the heroes of independence, and that of the Emperor Augustín Yturbe is placed on the right of the presidential chair, with his sword hanging on the wall, ... The multitude of priests with their large shovel-hats, and the entrance of the president in full uniform, announced by music, and a flourish of trumpets, and attended by his staff, rendered it as anti-republican an assembly as one could wish to see” (*Life in Mexico*, 71). Men of good taste are intrinsically connected to *buen gusto*. The new style of man was the *Gente de bien*, or *de orden, decente de Frac* (Michael Costeloe *The Central Republic in Mexico, 1835-1846: Hombres De Bien in the Age of Santa Anna*, 247). This new category was not an ethnic reflection; it was however associated with a preference for French fashion. These men were self-aware, owned personal libraries, went to church and belonged to a confraternity. Gambling, which was also fashionable, was their preferred vice (250). They were politically ambitious and held paternalistic mentalities (251). The *hombre de bien* was also a man sensitive to the extreme disparity between rich and poor and was worried about possible social explosions (254).

¹⁹² Bruce Boggs, *La Música”: Poema por Tomás de Iriarte: a Critical Edition*, 14. The erudition is made evident through his many references to music theory and the linking of art and science through rational observation. This work is cited in Sempere’s *Reflexiones Sobre El Buen Gusto*, 237, ft.1. Iriarte’s anonymous benefactor was José Moñino, the count of Floridablanca, “the hand-picked prime minister of Carlos III.” Floridablanca promoted the arts “as a tool for enlightened progress” (Boggs, 33).

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁹⁵ At the age of ten, Tomás de Iriarte (1750-1791) began studying Latin and philosophy with his brother Juan Tomás and then at age fourteen was sent to Madrid to study with his uncle Juan de Iriarte y Cisneros, who had ties to the ministers of the Court of Carlos III. He entered “within the circle of the most influential families in Madrid” (20).

to be judged by the faculties of reason and of *buen gusto*.”¹⁹⁶ Boggs notes that Iriarte’s poetic presentation combined utility and pleasure, elements of classical beauty,¹⁹⁷ and was written in a “clear, comprehensible and elegant form” intended for an audience of *buen gusto*.¹⁹⁸

In the introduction to the third canto dedicated to the music of the Church, Iriarte addresses the censors, presumably of the Church. He states that their insensitivity to music can be changed if they re-evaluate its ingenious artifice and ability to win over people through expressive powers.¹⁹⁹ In the continuation of the third canto, the importance of novelty is underscored.²⁰⁰ The poet states that expressive and formal innovations in instrumental and vocal music have throughout time been used in the service of the religion.²⁰¹ While the voice is recognized as the official instrument, other secular instruments alternate with the voice in sacred song. The harp and the dulcian are cited as being the most appropriate.²⁰² In the concluding stanza of the canto, the concept of *buen gusto* is underscored: with skill, taste, novelty, and invention the arts and sciences can be joined through music that is ecclesiastically suitable.²⁰³

Buen gusto and the Clarity of Artistic Expression

The ideas of Tomás de Iriarte are reiterated in the writings of Fray Francisco Frejes (1784-1845). Frejes was born in Guadalajara and studied humanities, philosophy, theology and sciences in Zacatecas at the Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 36.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 80.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 60.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 177.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 186.

²⁰¹ Iriarte like Feijóo, noted that secular instruments had been employed to augment and consolidate liturgical expression, although his choice of harp as an instrument appropriate to sacred chant deviated from both Feijóo and Benedict XIV.

²⁰² Perhaps Iriarte is making a biblical reference (1 Samuel 10:5), wherein refers to the harp and pipe, (sometimes understood as being a reed-pipe) The dulcian is a double-reed instrument that is a predecessor of the bassoon.

²⁰³ Ibid., 48-49.

Zacatecas. He returned to Guadalajara to the Convento de Guadalajara and embarked upon a significant career of writing history and philosophy.²⁰⁴ In *Arte De Pensar Y De Expresar Nuestros Pensamientos* Frejes proposes that the rhetoric of artistic expression is somehow scientific.²⁰⁵ The clarity of the arts must be expressed through its own specific grammar and syntax.²⁰⁶ In the case of music, he noted that this art belongs to scientific studies.²⁰⁷ The objective of the arts was to teach men to give form to their thoughts through various modalities of expression. The youthful spirit of reform and progress in scientific study was to follow the natural tendencies of exploration, as in the arts.²⁰⁸ Frejes noted that education and progress were possible through a refined balance of perspicacity and *buen gusto*, attainable through a dedicated study of the sciences and the employment of judgment and genius.²⁰⁹ Advancement in the sciences relied upon external knowledge of the senses, which included the sense of touch, vision, sound, taste and the olfactory, and the internal knowledge of reason which included fantasy, memory, emotions, and instinct.²¹⁰ Frejes proposed a reformed system of educating students in modern sciences in a practice-based version of the Liberal Arts' quadrivium.²¹¹ This included the study of mathematics, algebra, trigonometry, and music.²¹² Utility was linked to a balance between the expressive rhetorical forces of the arts in combination with scientific progress.²¹³

²⁰⁴ María C. Rovira and Aceves Gómez, *Pensamiento Filosófico Mexicano*, 19.

²⁰⁵ Francisco Frejes. *Arte De Pensar Y De Expresar Nuestros Pensamientos*, 21, 27.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 56, 22.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 79.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, vi.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, vii-viii.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

²¹¹ The quadrivium consists of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy.

²¹² The related subcategories of scientific study which he considered to be useful were: mechanics, optics, dynamics, *dioptrics*, perspective, architecture, hydrodynamics, artillery, fortification and nautical sciences. Each of these disciplines was to be studied alongside related arts, although what these related arts are, is not specified.

²¹³ Frejes, 81-82. In the case of music, Frejes did not explain why music was valued as a science or why it was included with the other arts.

In the chapter titled “Of talent, wit, genius and good taste (*buen gusto*) for the sciences,” Frejes defines Talent as a facility in combining ideas with exactitude, Wit as an ability to invent or to imitate, Genius as the natural inclination that some individuals have to a particular science or area of knowledge, and Taste as the appreciation of “delicate” discernment of beauty and that which represents the best of “our” (society’s) thoughts and expressions.²¹⁴ The tasteful appreciation of the arts was based upon a unification of internal and external knowledge that ideally responded to and mirrored the tasteful balance of artistic language. In order to create persuasive artistic statements, an artist’s rhetorical language was to include current techniques in combination with the artist’s own talent, wit, genius and *buen gusto*. Technical advancement in the arts was referred to as the “scientific.” This sense of scientific development in music was notably found in the new style of *bel canto* opera.

Musical Buen Gusto in Mexican Publications

The process of music education was supported by a proliferation of publications in Mexico in the early decades of Mexico’s independence. The music-loving public in Mexico City made demands upon the publishing industry,²¹⁵ which resulted from the continuous presence of music in the lives of people of *buen gusto*, whether at church, at home, in social gatherings, or at the opera.²¹⁶ The publications reflected the requirements of the aficionados, which included band conductors, professional and amateur musicians, and opera enthusiasts; these included musical scores, music revues, teaching methods, opera librettos, and literature related to music.

El Museo Mexicano

Carrera, in her study of *El Museo Mexicano* published by the Mexican editor Ignacio Cumplido, identifies this visual and informative gazette as a history of Mexico from a Mexican perspective. The publication, which included a vast array of writings from history to poetry, published music, opinion pieces and polemics on science and culture, was also an important technological innovation in Mexican publishing. Through his

²¹⁴ Ibid., 84-86.

²¹⁵ Laura Suárez de la Torre, “Los Libretos: un negocio par alas imprentas, 1830-1860,” 100.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 104.

travels to Europe and the United States, Cumplido had acquired typographical material, machinery, and production methods as well as the latest cultural trends.²¹⁷ These included the literary magazine, a popular European trend in journalism, along with the translation and publication of a wide variety of foreign writers.²¹⁸ Carrera argues that Cumplido, through his publications that had a marked emphasis on public education and Mexican topics (rather than foreign articles),²¹⁹ sought to develop a sense of national identity in his readers. The gradual social accruing of cultural was a process, which Carrera defines as *buen gusto*. Cumplido sought to expand the cultured and civilized nation of Mexico through the “stimulation of the beneficial effects of science, arts and literature”.²²⁰ *Buen gusto* was both a personal and national process of transformation that developed perspicacity, appreciation, and understanding, which required the continued material support of publications and other civic and public works.²²¹

In the first volume of Cumplido’s *El Museo Mexicano*, published in 1843, the story, “Una harpa de una cuerda” (a harp of one string), the author identified as M.S. speaks metaphorically about the evocative powers of music upon humans and animals alike.²²² The author provides a brief scientific explanation of the mechanics of the flute and lyre, the iconic instruments of idyllic classical representation. He goes on to describe

²¹⁷ Marina Garone Gravier and Albert Brandt, “Nineteenth-century Mexican Graphic Design: the Case of Ignacio Cumplido,” 56. In Amada Carolina Pérez Benavides’ “Actores, Escenarios y Relaciones Sociales en Tres Publicaciones Periódicas Mexicanas de Medios del Siglo XIX” she states that it was through the publication of periodicals that Mexicans were able to transition from colonial rule through to the republican period of Independent Mexico (1163). The focus of the periodicals was progress. The Publications of Ignacio Cumplido included *El Mosaico Mexicano*, *El Museo Mexicano*, *El Álbum Mexicano* and *La Ilustración Mexicana*. These publications expressed the customs of the middle class and generally domestic scenes, nationalism, and a new form of sentimentality (1165). In the face of the destruction and upheavals caused by the war of Independence, intellectualism expressed through publications, was a force that restored order (1174).

²¹⁸ Gravier and Brandt, 56.

²¹⁹ Carrera, “Buen Gusto and the Transition to Nation,” 142.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 143

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 144. In the first volume of *El Museo Mexicano*, a short interest piece extols the virtues of the city Morelia. The author identified as J.G.U. remarks that, given the availability of primary education, both civil, religious and scientific instruction and musical cultivation, Morelia is one of the best places to live in the republic (Cumplido, *El Museo Mexicano*, Vol. I, 57). This excerpt underscores the value placed on education in the sciences, music, and religion in the development of Mexico’s urban centers in the new republic.

²²² Cumplido, *El Museo Mexicano*, Vol. I, 88-89.

his experience among shepherds during a lightning storm and a mysterious symbiosis between a musical shepherd, the lightning, and nature. Next, the vicissitudes of urban life are compared to the wonders of the natural environment. The protagonist recounts how he was lulled into reverie by the sound of music and then awakened by the shouts of the shepherds who cut into pieces a snake, which had been charmed to sleep by the shepherd's music. The author, enraptured by idyllic visions, imagines that if the musical shepherd were to have continued playing the harp of one string the reptile would not have had to die. In this fleeting imagining of the peaceable kingdom, the snake—a paradigmatic symbol for the devil and temptation of sin—is rendered nonthreatening through the pastoral music of the shepherd. M.S. has set the stage for the unfolding of these dramatic events in the opening paragraphs, which describe the relationship between music and man:

Music can excite in the heart of man all species of commotions, to a degree of tenderness that of which only can inspire sadness and languishing, to that point of rapturous pleasure, which accelerates the coursing of the blood, producing in our hearts a shudder of voluptuousness. It appears men's delight for harmonies, sounds, and those modulations of tones, which is referred to as melody, depends on the sensitivity and the state of the heart, as much as the thunder, that resonates more or less strongly as an instrument. Wherever there is a variety of tones and that these tones are in harmony, and that they gently modulate, there is also delight, whether the instrument is high or low, loud or soft, simple or complicated.²²³

The author elaborates upon ideas related to memory and associated emotional attachments. He explains that music's capacity to move its listener resides within memory and sensitivity. Music is heard and remembered; the hearing of familiar melodies can trigger emotional responses. If a person has not developed a sensitivity to music and:

...if the heart has been made insensitive, or if a great weight has enveloped one's sensitivity and has hardened it [the heart], the most harmonious concert and the sweetest

²²³ Ibid., 89.

instruments can not communicate the enthusiasm and ardour with which music can often transport us into delirium.²²⁴

Through the thick mist of romantic phrasing, key concepts emerge: the acoustic properties of music have the potential to elicit physical and aesthetic responses; the emotional significance lingers on past the immediacy of hearing music and its memory can evoke past emotions and experiences.²²⁵

Cumplido's publishing was fuelled by a revitalized sense of *buen gusto*. This process, intended to develop intellectual discernment through education and exposure to international ideas, was materially supported through the publication of gazettes such as *El Museo Mexicano*. These publications reinforced a sense of developing personal and national identity. Emotions, which are not discussed in terms of *buen gusto*, are however sublimated within the experience of the hearing of music.²²⁶

Music as a tool of intellectual and emotional discernment was likened to a form of audible sophistication. This conception of sophistication was identified within certain genres of music and types of people. The polarization of sophisticated and unsophisticated music is illustrated in a short editorial titled, "Affection of Indians for Music" also published in *El Museo Mexicano*.²²⁷ The author's characterization of the raw

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Musical emotions are relevant to an understanding *buen gusto* given that the experiencing of music was a means of achieving a sense of spirituality. In "Algunas Ideas Sobre la Soledad" (Some ideas about Loneliness). The author who is named as *El Solitario* (The Solitary One), finds himself at Vespers in the convent of San Fernando in Mexico City where earnest contemplation is incited by hearing the organ played. He writes that the music of the organ had always affected him. His emotions were softened when he heard the organ playing while his eyes beheld the "golden orbs of incense" and the vases of flowers: "...my ears were not able to perceive the sound of that instrument, without my imagination, driven by a throng of earthly ideas, grand and sublime at the same time, flew up to search in heaven for a God of love and forgiveness, and on earth for a capacity to participate in the ineffable emotions that agitated me...; the atmosphere heavy with the scent of incense, the melody of the organ that spread and echoed in these vaults, were like a voice of heaven calling out to men, offering consolation and hope..." (Cumplido, *El Museo* Vol. II, 562). The recounting of this experience speaks to the physical draw of the sounding organ and to the entire experience of being in the church. In this excerpt there is no trace of the scientific presentation of sound, rather an emotional encounter with music produces a spiritual reckoning.

²²⁶ Within the spatial and spiritual context of the Church music, a form of prayer that elevates the senses toward the transcendent is represented as a catalyst for the activation of the devotional experience. I thank Donald Boisvert for reminding me about this important point.

²²⁷ *El Museo*, Vol.I, 454.

and natural relationship of the “Indians” to music is contrasted with that of the refined sensibilities of the cultured and educated creole population. What comes to the surface through this prejudiced writing, which posits “our” against “their” music, is a philosophical statement about the nature of music. The root of music is based within the relationship between the heart and imagination and its acting upon the nervous system. Although the author segregates the two experiences of music he is evidently capable of perceiving both!

We truthfully have the manners and refinement in this expression, but they have more force and activity of sentiment. We illuminate our ideas and thoughts with brilliant colour of elocution or we envelop them with the subtle uses of metaphysics; they, on the contrary, are content to manifest them, without the least artifice and study, with spontaneous effusions and movements of the heart.²²⁸ ... I repeat, that nothing has the capacity to propel us to our passions as does music; there is nothing so active, as to excite in one’s soul all sorts of emotions; it speaks to tender and gentle sensations of sadness, respect, and gratitude; it speaks to those emotions of violence and vengeance.²²⁹

The emotions of compassion (sadness, respect, and gratitude) are separated out from the uncontrolled and passionate emotions (anger and vengeance). The range of emotions provoked by music suggest a contrast between the expression of sophisticated emotions, through tempered intellectual musical rhetoric, and the unrefined sounds of natural music, which elicit crude and violent responses. Savage and sophisticated musics are respectively contrasted; their elicited responses are exhibited either in spontaneous bodily gestures or through controlled intellectual appreciation. The musical sophistication of *buen gusto* therefore was perceived as a means of restraining the body unlike unsophisticated music which excited visceral urgency.

²²⁸ The contrast between sophisticated and unsophisticated appreciation, pertained equally to the perception of gendered music making. Unrefined music making was equated with lower social status, In Mexico as it was in Europe. The boisterous unschooled expression of emotions was deemed to be a completely undesirable model for young women, given the middle class preoccupation with social climbing and the safeguarding social status (Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 62).

²²⁹ Ibid.

Music Education

Musical *buen gusto* was propagated through teaching, publication, and performance. Many musicians and composers who worked for the Church also taught privately and published teaching materials. Many of their students were young middle-class women who, in Mexico as in Europe, were encouraged to study music as part of their general education. The teaching in urban domestic settings also coincided with a burgeoning market for publications of piano music, which responded to the public's preference for fashionable piano and vocal arrangements of opera and dance music. Many music teachers were enterprising individuals who engaged in publishing businesses, writing pedagogical manuals and composing secular and sacred music. Through these activities, they expanded the opportunities for professional musicians.²³⁰

One of Independent Mexico's most notable and multifaceted teachers and composers of sacred music was José Antonio Gómez (1805-1876), who voiced his opinions and expertise in reviews published in periodicals. In a concert review of Bellini's *La Sonnambula* published in *El Siglo Diez y Nueve* on October 7 1842, he presented an overview of his philosophy of music,²³¹ a review which also served as a promotion for his pedagogical publication, the *Instructor Filarmónico*. For Gómez, that which makes music timeless and enduring is a balance between the scientific and artistic expression. The transitory and precarious nature of musical tastes are based in current fashion, which quickly fall behind the times. Although he claimed that "real genius consists of a perfect concordance in parts between the scientific and art," he did not specify what he meant by the term scientific. Artistic and scientific qualities in music would produce works of art that pass the test of time. The inexplicable beauty of Bellini's modern music was thus explained through its balance of the natural and the scientific, qualities exhibited in the alternation of voices and instruments. The phrases employed by Gómez equate the artistic genius with the divine. His repetition of words associated with celestial topics such as 'light' (*luce*), 'divinely' (*divinamente*), 'illuminated' (*luciendo*), and 'firmament' (*firmamento*), rhetorically emphasize the concept of the immortal genius (*genio inmortal*), a concept applied in reference to the

²³⁰ Bitrán, *Musical Women and Identity-Building*, 111.

²³¹ *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, October 7, 1842, 2.

music of Bellini and other ‘modern’ composers. Gómez’s conviction that music communicates spirituality is emphasized in his choice of evocative vocabulary that cast a divine aura upon Bellini’s opera, *La Sonnambula*.

In another publication dated July of 1843, Gómez speaks about the place of music within the new Republic of Mexico:

That the progress of *buen gusto* in the republic is a reality that we all can sense. The new edifices that are built, the persistence with which people seek out the paintings of great artists, the interest that is inspired by sculptures of merit, leaves no doubt that the esteem of the charming arts is increasing. It seems however that music, out of all of the beautiful productions, is that which now most affects Mexicans. There are few houses that do not have a harmonic instrument. Before independence, pianos were very rare: today almost all well-off families own their own. With the communication that we have with Europe, we have full and rapid knowledge of what is being produced by those exceptional beings, the possessors of harmony,²³² who know how to arouse feelings of rejoicing or sadness among all people.²³³

Gómez supported the idea that *buen gusto* was transmitted through artistic discernment and music, which was developed through the learning of piano and contact with the ideas and music imported from Europe.

Both Arturo Camacho Bercerra and Yael Bitrán Goren examine the importance of music instruction, especially that of women during the period of Independence. These scholars link music education to the ethos of nation building. Camacho focuses on the practice of women in the early decades of the nineteenth century in Guadalajara who were able to sing and play piano and often did so in gatherings of friends and family.²³⁴

²³² These are the talented composers and writers on harmony and music theory.

²³³ *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, July 11, 1843, 4.

²³⁴ Arturo Camacho Bercerra, “El arte de tocar y cantar ordenadamente,” 252-3. The question concerning the performing of music publicly versus performing in private is central to many of the decorum issues surrounding women and music. It is also central to the idea of the emergence of music as a form of consumption. Naomi Miyamoto argues that the musical world had not existed until music itself was turned into a ‘commodity’ by a public concert system. The emergence of a musical ‘public’ implies that musical works began to be regarded as objects to be listened to, appreciated, and discussed (“Concerts and the Public Sphere in Civil Society” 103). While Miyamoto reflects on the meaning of art and

Bitrán points to the pervasive influence of Romanticism upon the urban elite of Independent Mexico. She states that by the 1830s women were being given opportunities to pursue and develop their musical abilities. These musical skills ended up being associated with ideas of the feminine and the sentimental.²³⁵ Bitrán also notes that music was thought to develop the “sweetness of personality, good taste and sensibility” that a young woman was required to possess in order to transition from being an ideal daughter to an ideal wife.²³⁶ The musical education of women did however pose ideological problems vis-à-vis behaviour and decorum given that the performing music was based on public display and was not suitable to traditional sense of feminine propriety. The concern was that through music women could independently enter into an alternative narrative, a world of their own filled with emotional expressivity, intellectual ideas that could not be controlled.²³⁷

Elizabeth Smith Rousselle studies the subject of gender in Spain between the eighteenth and early-twentieth centuries. She notes that decorum, like *buen gusto*, was understood as a behaviour that embodied education and the advancements in the arts. She states that “in accordance with the ideals of civilization, women [*were*] banned from participating in the public realm of commerce and scientific inquiry but played a pivotal role in the development of the comforts of the home, aesthetic appreciation, the refinement of manners, and limited education.”²³⁸ In keeping with current continental

representative ‘publicness’, which she refers to as “re-presentation,” the act of continually showing something to the public. Miyamoto claims that the miniatures composed for piano and played often by young women in domestic settings did not “have any public characteristics” as they were played only for friends and family. This contradicts the idea of re-presentation. In the case of young women performing in a domestic setting, it is the family, especially the authority figures of the fathers, who are connected to the larger social sphere and who by extension would have re-presented the public’s presence.

²³⁵ Bitrán, 58.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 50.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 45. Phyllis Weliver in “Music, Crowd Control and the Female Performer,” through the lens of Victorian literature, presents the ideas that governed the assumptions about how and why music should be taught to women. Weliver notes that the effect of music’s impact upon the body was perceived as being dangerous, yet potentially a positive feature of conditioning. These hidden powers were in turn related to music’s respectively masculine or feminine characteristics, both weak and strong. It is important to note that Weliver is writing specifically about the English experience.

²³⁸ Elizabeth Smith Rousselle. *Gender and Modernity in Spanish Literature*, 38, 40.

philosophy trends, Spaniards contended that “women *were* sentimental by nature” and should be kept out of the public sphere. Instead they should be kept within the safety of the home.²³⁹ At home women were expected to be good daughters and then wives and then mothers. They were thought to be incapable of managing their own amorous sentiments given the perception that “woman’s overly imaginative construction of love” hindered the necessary commitment to decorum, behaviour which required close authoritative masculine supervision.²⁴⁰ Given that Independent Mexico was influenced by conservative and progressive ideologies coming from both Spain and Europe respectively, there was a confusion concerning the roles of women. The post-revolutionary European liberal ideas were contrasted with traditionalist Spanish views of women and, as Bitrán notes, both “contradictory ideas occupied the same printed space.”²⁴¹

Learning to participate in the world of music through playing and listening was deemed essential to the civilizing mission of the developing nations, activities which were associated with science, erudition and cultural refinement. While women were encouraged to study music, the associated morally ambiguous orbits of music making, such as the unleashing of emotions and performing in public, were considered problematic.²⁴²

²³⁹ Ibid., 41.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 44.

²⁴¹ Bitrán 29-30. Given that European culture was predominantly fashionable in Mexico it seems likely that some of these musical attitudes were communicated both through the music and the fashionable attitudes that crossed the Atlantic. The objective of female accomplishment was not to become artistically skilled but rather to fulfill the duties of a woman’s primary vocation, that of housewife or hostess. While it was fashionable to play the pianoforte it was improper to play with too much technical skill and emotional involvement. As far as music was concerned, women were to play for “domestic comfort” and to become only proficient enough so that their pianoforte should help them to avoid boredom (Richard Lepeprt, 67). The nature of feminine music was to be kept within the status of spiritual refreshment, fashionable dances and sweet piety (69). Just as there was a perceived difference between sophisticated and unsophisticated music there were also distinctions made between what was perceived as appropriately feminine or masculine music. Feminine music was not to exhibit overtly masculine qualities, as in the case of complicated harmonies rather it should retain a sense of ease equated with “lightness, simplicity, clarity, flowing quality, and charm” (Matthew Head, “If the Pretty Hand Won’t Stretch,” 216). These qualities characterized the musical rhetoric of the feminine will be discussed in the following chapter.

²⁴² In reference to Victorian English society, Phyllis Weliver remarks that the channeling of unruly passions of the “potentially dangerous mobs” was deemed possible through music, (64). The notion of control also extended to the idea of education for women. Music education was also deemed to be an

Italian opera

If there is one music form associated with the expression of emotional release, it is opera. The staged musical presentations of dramatic stories had undergone many stylistic innovations since its origins in Italy in the early seventeenth-century. By the early nineteenth century, the primacy of *opera seria* had been challenged by a revolutionary genre of comic opera that was followed by the Romantic operatic style known as *bel canto* opera. At the forefront of this musical movement was the composer Gioachino Rossini,²⁴³ “whose permanent position around the operatic globe was then equaled by a favoured few works by Bellini, Donizetti, and Verdi.”²⁴⁴

Italian opera was promoted by the government in Mexico City during the early-nineteenth century.²⁴⁵ Opera was assimilated into the musical consciousness of the listening public and became the locus of musical and artistic inspiration. Joel Almazán Orihuela identifies a social and political rift between those who liked Italian and opera and those who didn't; the basis of the discord was language and the preferences for either Italian or Spanish.²⁴⁶ Italian opera, which was perceived by many as elitist, was supported politically as an edifying statement of contemporary forward-thinking modern

important tool for controlling the passions and talents of women so that their beauty, sexuality, and intelligence would remain actively contained (74).

²⁴³ For commentary about the symbolic social significance of the popularity of Rossini's operas refer to Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker's *History of Opera: The Last 400 Years*, 188-190. See also Carl Dahlhaus' *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 57-64. Dahlhaus focuses on the historical popularity of Rossini's works, which fell out of favour in the mid-nineteenth century, until the twentieth-century revival. The compositional characteristics of Rossini's works were deemed trite in light of the emerging class of music, known as absolute music. The music of Bellini and Donizetti was also revived in the mid-twentieth century from a similarly fallen state of grace.

²⁴⁴ Abbate and Parker, 190.

²⁴⁵ Bitrán notes that in a primary source document she found, an album that was produced for a young woman, from Mexico City, the collection of pianoforte pieces that date from the 1840s provide an overview of preferred genres amongst which are waltzes, polkas, polka-mazurkas and arrangements of operas by the composers Vincenzo Bellini and Gioachino Rossini (60).

²⁴⁶ Joel Almazán Orihuela, “La recepción musical de las óperas de Gioachino Rossini en la ciudad de México 1821-1831,” 55. Áurea Maya, covers the history of opera in Mexico City from the periods of New Spain and Independent Mexico. She traces the rising importance of opera as a form of building national identity in “La ópera en el siglo XIX en México: resonancias silenciosas de un proyecto cultural de nación (1824-1867)”.

culture for Independent Mexico.²⁴⁷ Although some critics targeted Italian opera for being frivolous—a typically feminine attribute—the operas by Rossini, Donizetti, and Bellini, were well received and considered to be in good taste. Almazán sees in this reception of opera evidence of a bourgeois society whose educated assessment of opera linked the musical values of harmonies, balance, and proportion to philosophical ideals.

Nancy Vogeley in an earlier study of Italian opera in Independent Mexico notes that opera was promoted as a civilizing mission through the cultivation of good taste. In particular, she links a political agenda of nation building through the subject of the opera plots “which often relied on conflict between Christian and Moor.”²⁴⁸ Rossini’s *Mahometto II* functioned as a form of allegorical exegesis—on the conflict between Spaniards and the indigenous peoples of Mexico. Opera provided a common meeting ground for the contentiously opposed conservative and liberal factions of Independent Mexico politics through a controlled release of the public’s deep emotion by the simulation of musical emotions.²⁴⁹ If opera affected Mexican audiences in public venues, it surely affected individuals emotionally and socially in their private spheres. The popularity of opera’s spectacular and emotional nature entered into private homes through published method books, periodicals, and piano arrangements. The enduring presence of operas by Rossini, Donizetti and Bellini on stage and in homes throughout the nineteenth century, meant that these styles were socially and emotionally current within both domestic and public forums.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 62. Mexico was not alone in its support of Italian opera as a national and cultural initiative. In a master’s thesis titled, *Gusto y buen gusto en la cultura musical porteña*, Guillermina Guillamón demonstrates how Italian opera was used to promote *buen gusto*. Opera (in particular those by Rossini, Mozart and Gluck) was seen as a civilizing force (13). Through connoisseurship, garnered through an exposure to opera, modernity was developed (28). Interestingly the notion of operas’ fragmentation into excerpts was also considered edifying (29). Citing a newspaper, Guillamón notes that judges, priests, lawyers, and businessmen, as well as women, people of *buen gusto* attended the opera (32-33).

²⁴⁸ Nancy Vogeley, “Italian Opera in Early National Mexico,” 281.

²⁴⁹ Vogeley, 285.

²⁵⁰ Bitrán, 199. In Mexico, Rossini remained popular even with the increased interest in Bellini and Donizetti during the 1830s and 1840s. This popularity was translated into publications for domestic use and also in the concert repertoire performed in the theatre. Laura Suárez de la Torre, in her examination of music published in Mexico, states that the presence of music in the public and private spheres of society was an attempt to raise the cultural standards of Mexico to that of European standards (“Los Libretos: Un Negocio para las Imprentas. 1830-1860,” 104).

Intersectings of genres

Military band music encompassed many musical subgenres. It seems to have been however associated exclusively with masculine music making during the nineteenth century. The term “military band” was applied to most brass and wind bands in the decades following independence. Mexican military bands following the trends of European brass and wind bands played arrangements of operas, waltzes, quadrilles, marches, and military music as well, in parks, public plazas and gardens.²⁵¹ Military bands were equally present and belonged to the music environment of churches. As noted in the opening chapter, the administrative head of the Cathedral confraternity in Pátzcuaro, writing on behalf of Herrera, lauded his organization and conducting of a “military band” that performed regularly at masses and other celebrations at the cathedral. In the same recommendation, it was indicated that people of *buen gusto* appreciated this music. It stands to reason that band music, otherwise known as military music, was considered to be a respectable form of music, exemplifying yet another aspect of musical *buen gusto*. The music performed in parks by the military bands paralleled the music that was learned and played in private domestic settings.²⁵²

Music was practiced by both men and women, albeit in different social contexts. It was also heard as part of the urban quotidian experience. The music that fit the category of *buen gusto* was, however, understood to be that which was based on European traditions and appreciated by a class of sophisticated educated people. This repertoire was disseminated through public venues in theaters, churches, and parks, and through private concerts and intimate domestic settings.

In a letter from July 24, 1840, Frances Calderón de la Barca writes about an intersecting of musical genres. In Mexico City, on the way to *Lucia*, an opera by the composer Donizetti. Her carriage was stopped by a passing procession:

As we were passing through the square, the carriage suddenly drew up, the coachman and footman uncovered their heads, and an immense procession came passing along the

²⁵¹ Rafael Antonio Ruiz Torres *Historia de las Bandas Militares de Música en México*, 107.

²⁵² I have not read about or seen any examples of women performing or composing for band.

cathedral, with lights, and military music. There were officers in full uniform, with their heads uncovered, a long line of monks and priests, and a carriage carrying the host, surrounded by hundreds of people on foot, all bearing lighted torches. A band of military music accompanied the procession, all which astonished us, as it was no fête-day. When at length, being able to pass along, we arrived at the opera, we were informed that they were carrying the *viaticum* to a rich acquaintance of ours, a general, who has been indisposed for some time, and whose illness has now exhibited fatal symptoms.

For him, then, these great cathedral bells are tolling heavily; for him, the torches and the pompous procession—the sandaled monks, and the officers in military array; while two bands of music are playing at his door and another in front of the cathedral, and in the midst of these sounds of monkish hymn and military music, the soul is preparing to wing its flight alone and unattended.

But the sweet notes of Lucia drown out all other from our ears, if not from our thoughts. In a house not many hundred yards off, they minister the host to the dying man, while here, Las Castella, with her pretty French graces and Italian singing, is drawing tears from our eyes for fictitious sorrows.²⁵³

This descriptive passage portrays a sonic collage of overlapping musical genres and sound-textures: the brass and woodwind instruments of the military bands, the plainchant sung by the monks, the tolling bells of the cathedral, contrasted with the anticipated experience of the *bel canto* opera, and heard against a backdrop of clattering carriages and the chattering of the crowds. These musics and sounds heard simultaneously in the urban setting would have been identified as distinct entities, yet ultimately they were experienced as part of the total aesthetic experience. In the above-excerpted passage, the theatrical nature of the event is brought to the fore. People bearing torches, singing monks, and uniformed military band musicians in exaggerated reverence symbolically announce the impending death of a member of Mexico City's elite. Calderón de la Barca remarks that the staging of the dying man's final minutes could however not evoke the same emotional response as that of the diva's operatic outpouring.

²⁵³ Frances Calderón de la Barca, 393-4.

Changing Tastes and Changing Values

“Bad Taste in Upholstery” is the title of an article published in the *Art Amateur* in 1882.

The unnamed author complains that the sense of ‘architectural dignity’ of the “manly art” of decorators has been undermined by the pressures of fashion and the “typical lady of the house” who resorts to “trimmings, fringes, valences and the like.” The author writes:

It is in curtain valances that these things run the wildest. And there has been some consequent reaction of taste against valances altogether. But, the abuse of them is no argument for their abolishment, as long as reform is possible. It is, no doubt, a very good plan to hang curtains from a brass pole; but there are objections to the practice, as well as prejudices against it; and there is no reason why we should not have valances, so long as we have them in good taste. As a rule, the simpler the valance the better it will be. If half the money wasted on heavy upholstery were spent in bold embroidery, the valance might be changed from a most tasteless to a most tasteful feature of a room.²⁵⁴

Through the discussion of good taste—or the impossibility of good taste—in interior decorating, the author calls into question the use of the valance.²⁵⁵ The references to class and gender present in this discussion of taste suggest that the anonymous author was not a woman. Bad taste is associated with the decadence of decorative indulgences. Women’s demands upon decorators to include fashionable details that do not work within the scheme of overall design are blamed for the inexcusable proliferation of theatrical embellishments. The author notes that the abusive overuse of upholstery, and other manufactured goods had been facilitated by the affordability and availability of pseudo-luxury items to “ignorant” adherents of fashionable trends.²⁵⁶ On the subject of the foibles of women’s sensibilities and preponderance for bad taste in decorating the author states:

²⁵⁴ Montague Marks, ed., “Bad Taste in Upholstery,” *The Art Amateur*, vol. 4 September 1882, 76.

²⁵⁵ The valance is the window treatment that covers the top part of a window and the top of the curtain.

²⁵⁶ On the subject of the use of affordable materials for decorating the author states: “It is not perhaps wholly the fault of the tradesmen if, in the desire to meet the public craze for cheapness, he resorts to the use of a material does not exact quality of workmanship which must always be more or less costly.” *Ibid.*

She knows nothing of decoration, and something about millinery, and in every difficulty she faces back accordingly upon feminine devices. There is no such excuse for the decorator. His is a manly art, and remains for the most part in the hands of men. Why he should treat it in a womanish fashion is hard to understand, except that he has come to look at things from the woman's point of view.²⁵⁷

The call for reforms to decorating advocated in the *Art Amateur* was aimed at amending abuses and restoring good taste through a return to simplicity, quality and craftsmanship. These reforms notably called into question the validity of women's opinions. This position parallels those voiced in the Mexican ecclesiastical Councils and in Pope Pius X's *Motu Proprio*, which advocated a return to an idealized simplicity and a cessation of music reminiscent of genres that had long been associated with the theater and the voiced-feminine.

Buen gusto in Independent Mexico was associated with national and personal cultural development. Musical *buen gusto* was associated with *bel canto* opera and its conceptualization as a branch of the sciences and an embodiment of social progress. The development of intellectual and artistic discernment, which was the philosophical basis for *buen gusto*, was promoted through varied forms of publications including opinion pieces, music reviews, music methods, and printed music. Most importantly the lived experiences of people hearing music occurred in venues that included domestic settings, salons, concerts, theaters and churches. In the ephemeral instances of listening to and playing music, men and women formed their personalized fondness for musical genres, which, in both secular and ecclesiastical contexts informed the collective and constantly shifting understandings of both good taste and musical orthodoxy.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

Chapter IV

***Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum*: A Textual and Musical Interpretation**

Chaste goddess who silvers
these sacred ancient trees,
turn your lovely face toward us,
cloudless and unveiled.
Continue to temper the bold zeal
of our ardent hearts,
spread over earth that peace
which you cause to reign in heaven.²⁵⁸

While it is impossible to accurately reconstruct Herrera's compositional process or the reception of his music, the study of *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* open dialogic considerations of both past and present potentials for meaning. Herrera's music would have been performed during the Office of Vespers, the liturgy of evening prayer. For centuries this liturgy had provided an important platform for musical expressivity, as evidenced in the wealth of settings composed between the late-sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries.²⁵⁹ *Laetatus Sum* and *Dixit Dominus* are psalms included in the Vespers dedicated for the feast of the Virgin Mary, and within the context of Mexico more specifically for the Virgin of Guadalupe.²⁶⁰ In the music catalogue of *Los Acervos Musicales de las Catedrales Metropolitanas de México y Puebla* there are numerous musical settings of Vespers, many of them dedicated to Saint Joseph, the Coronation of the Virgin, the Precious Blood of Jesus, the Transfiguration, Vespers for the Dead, and Nuestra Señora (the Virgin Mary).²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ Excerpt from the aria "Casta Diva," from Act I of the opera *Norma* (1831), music by Vincenzo Bellini and libretto by Felice Romani (Ellen Bleiler, *Famous Italian Opera Arias*, 2).

²⁵⁹ The most notable settings are by the composers Monteverdi and Mozart.

²⁶⁰ Vespers are Marian in focus because of the Magnificat, Mary's prayer, that is sung or said during the service. While Herrera's settings are not specifically dedicated to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, the tradition of Catholic musical psalm settings leads me to believe that Herrera's settings could have been intended for Marian Vespers in honour of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe or the Nuestra Señora de la Soledad. *Dixit Dominus* was common to all of the Vespers services; *Laetatus Sum* was only sung during the Vespers of Our Lady or other Holy Women for which the psalms included were: *Dixit Dominus*, *Laudate Pueri*, *Laetatus Sum*, *Nisi Dominus*, and *Lauda Jerusalem* (John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western*, 160).

²⁶¹ Herrera's orchestration of the psalms follows a continuum of elaborate psalm settings of *Dixit*

Although there is no date indicated on the copies of Herrera's settings, *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* were most likely composed sometime between the late 1830s and the early 1840s,²⁶² years that are almost equidistant between the Fourth and Fifth Provincial Councils. As discussed in the second chapter, the articles from both Councils, which pertain to ecclesiastical music, reveal convergent and divergent positions on musical propriety. Herrera's music can be read, firstly, against the earlier Council to see if the rules were heeded, and secondly against the rules of the Fifth Council to see how music, like that of Herrera's, might have been considered when the new rules for orthodox music practice were established. The articles in both Councils point to the tensions that existed between the idealized and the actual practice of ecclesiastical music in nineteenth-century Mexico, as evidenced in extant compositions.

Parameters of Interpretation

In his study of Spanish treatises on the subject of rhetoric published between the eighteenth and the early-nineteenth centuries, José Checa Beltrán examines the significance of *buen gusto*. The author, Francisco Sánchez Barbero, writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century on the principles of rhetoric,²⁶³ made a distinction

Dominus and *Letatus Sum*. The records of the Mexico City Cathedral musical archives indicate an increase in the orchestrated settings of liturgical music during the 18th and early 19th centuries. In the case of *Dixit Dominus* the settings include works by Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599), Hernando Franco (1532-1585), Gabriel Díaz Besson (1590-1638), Luis Bernardo Jalón (1643), Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana (1650-1705), Antonio de Salazar (1650-1715), José de Torres y Martínez Bravo (1665-1738), Gaetano Carpani (1692-1785), Francisco Corselli (1702-1778), Ignacio Jerusalem y Stella (1710-1769), Matteo Tollis de la Rocca (1710-1781), Antonio Ripa (1720-1795) Jose Manuel Aldana (1758-1810), Bonifazio Asioli (1769-1832), Antonio Juanas (fl. 1791-1819), Manuel Arenzana (fl. 1791-1821), Joseph Ohnewald (1781-1856), Luigi Ricco (1805-1859), and Geronimo Gutierrez (1832). The composers include Mexican, Italian, Spanish and German composers. Antonio Juanas, a chapel master of the Mexico City Cathedral, is by far the most prolifically represented composer of complete Vesper settings. See Thomas E. Stanford, *Catálogo de los acervos musicales de las catedrales metropolitanas de México y Puebla de la Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia y otras colecciones menores*.

²⁶² Given the stylistic similarities to Bellini's opera *Norma*, this music could not have been composed prior to Herrera's exposure with either a published vocal score of the arias or a performance of the opera. *Norma* was performed in Mexico eleven times between 1836-57 (Lazos, *Ynvitatorio*, 138). For more detailed information on opera performances of operas by Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti and an overview of opera in Mexico refer to José Octavio Sosa and Mónica Escobedo, *Dos Siglos de Ópera en México*.

²⁶³ José Checa Beltrán *Razones Del Buen Gusto: Poética Española del Neoclasicismo*, 15. He refers to Francisco Sánchez Barbero's *Principios de Retórica y Poética* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Administración del Real Arbitrio de Beneficencia, 1805).

between *buen gusto* for poetry and prose. Prose, an eloquence of writing, was to persuade the reader through representations of truth and the natural. By contrast poetry, through verisimilitude or imitation, was to express the real and the natural.²⁶⁴ Prose, like an orator, convinced its readers through reason and poetry, which he likened to a creative singer, was to capture the mind through images, and the heart through feelings.²⁶⁵ In essence, poetry was communicated through enthusiasm, furor, inspiration, and genius.²⁶⁶

While it is extremely unlikely that Herrera was influenced by neoclassical literary treatises on *buen gusto*, it is possible to recognize that his music functioned much like neoclassical poetry, in the sense that Herrera responded to the poetry of the psalms, and used musical gestures that pleased and captivated the listeners' minds and hearts. Herrera did so by employing stylistic appropriations of familiar-sounding sophisticated musical idioms.²⁶⁷ The terms 'representation' and 'verisimilitude', as distinguished by Sánchez, can be applied to the musical settings of the psalm texts. An example of musical and textual representation would be a strict homophonic declamation of the text: the words being clearly orated with minimal musical support. Verisimilitude, by contrast, would augment the text's radiance through musical embellishment, the addition of musical events, and onomatopoeic effects.²⁶⁸ Herrera consistently employed poetic gestures of verisimilitude, not by imitating the natural world, but rather by imitating the worlds of music that belonged to the quotidian realm of sophisticated music production, the sound-embodiments of musical *buen gusto*.

²⁶⁴ Sánchez Barbero is referring to Aristotle's *Poetics*. As such, the link between the term neo-classical and *buen gusto* is irrefutable.

²⁶⁵ Checa, 60.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 71.

²⁶⁷ Musical gestures are the types of generic sounds that Herrera employs to create effects.

²⁶⁸ It can be argued that it is impossible not to add extra meaning to text even with the simplest of musical settings. Bitrán writing about Gómez and his *Wals de las gorditas de horno calientes* (1840) uses the term to demonstrate the "integration or enclosing of a local sound-world within a European genre in a domestic format for amateur consumption." The street vendor gains entry into the intimate setting of the middle class house through the musical domestication of the urban sound of the vendor's cry (Bitrán, 121).

Appropriation and gesture

Yael Bitrán notes that the appropriation of the sound-world is a means of fashioning the ‘outside’ world within the domestic sphere. The sublimation of the sound-world occurs through a process of re-contextualization whereby the source music (of the sound-world) is set within a new environment. This procedure opens the extra-narrative possibilities within the genre of the salon piece.²⁶⁹ These inclusions of borrowed ‘outside’ sounds bring with them expressive possibilities that magnify the discursive range of what is being communicated through the music.²⁷⁰ In Herrera’s music the outside-genre references are stylistically and texturally folded into the overarching setting of the psalm text. These references are borrowed textures from *bel canto* opera and from military bands; they form the basis of his compositional gestures that carry outside associative meanings. These gestures enhance the texts through a deployment of familiar generic

²⁶⁹ Mieke Bal defines the term narratology as a set of tools that enable the expression of one’s interpreted reactions to a text (x). The study of narratology, like the study of genre, can elucidate the theoretical approach to musical analysis, especially music that is a complex intertwining of text, liturgy, ritual, musical conventions and music practices. Bal’s system of narratology is a tool for interpreting images, spectacles, events, cultural activities that tell a story (1). She understands that a narrative text conveys a story to an addressee through a particular medium or combination of various mediums (such as language, sound, and buildings). The story of the narrative text is its content with the inflections or the ‘colouring of the fabula. The fabula is the manner in which a series of logically related events are caused by or experienced by actors (5). This tripartite system of reading disentangles ‘the voices that speak’ through ‘works’ and provides room for the “reader’s input in judging the relative persuasiveness of those voices” (17). Narratology lends itself to the complexities of a nuanced interpretation of *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum*. The overarching narrative text is the text of the psalms, as conveyed through music; the content of the text, as told through the music by the musicians, is the story; the fabula is the variations of texture, tone colours, and modalities of style. These elements together create the narrative. A narratological analysis of music would take into account an awareness of the generic frame, which occupies both the internal aspects of the composition and its external structure, heard within its total context. The musical texts—the notated score and the poetry—are relatively stable, but can be altered during a performance.

²⁷⁰ It might prove fruitful to pursue the idea of music representing the noise of the military band in *Dixit Dominus*. The embodied references to military bands are found through the borrowing of musical gestures that refer to ‘outside’ music and by extension ‘outside’ events. In this sense Herrera’s music can be understood as communicating references to sublimated violence. In his Master’s thesis, Rafael Antonio Ruiz Torres refers to exercises for the Mexican Infantry (*Instrucción para la Infantería del Ejército Mexicano*, 1841, 3). It would be interesting to carefully consider the positive correlations between the triadic patterns of the bugle calls and similar rhythmic and melodic patterns in Herrera’s music in relation to the narrative and poetic inferences. Charles Heath approaches the concept of musical noise, as conceived by Jacques Attali, in *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*. Heath states: “noise... is violence, it is the disruption of any social process, and music seeks to sublimate violence to a created order, especially through political integration. For example, when Spanish military musicians signaled the moment of attack with fanfares and drumbeats, it signified with noise, the violence and disorder about to befall the indigenous Mesoamericans, and heralded for them the onset of a new order about to be imposed” (Charles Heath, *The Inevitable Bandstand: The State Band of Oaxaca and the Politics of Sound*, 21).

features. Musical gestures, which reference ‘outside’ genres, are used to create effects that reflect the composer’s interpretation of the psalm text.²⁷¹ The melismatic, ornate, and emotionally expressive gestures are associated with opera, whereas the military band style is identified through arpeggiated triadic melodies.²⁷² Herrera’s use of gesture is a reflection of the psalm texts, in a poetic sense. My presentation relies upon elements of formal analysis. A complete formal analysis of the psalm settings would be antithetical to my understanding of Herrera’s music, given that I have argued that they are not autonomous ‘works’ of music, meant to function outside of the context for which they were composed. This said, I draw attention to some of the main gestures, which I consider to be intellectualized references that contain both musical and extra-musical associations.²⁷³

It is important to differentiate between the elements of musical understanding that are culturally determined and those that are communicated through musical forces.²⁷⁴ Steven Larson explains that the experience of perceiving musical motion is a recognition of a parallel experience of physical motion. Listeners can “use knowledge of one domain of experience to construct an understanding of some other domain,”²⁷⁵ and they metaphorically transfer and correlate sensory-motor experiences to the domain of “subjective judgment and abstract thought.”²⁷⁶ In listening to music, we abstractly recognize event hierarchies, which are determined through metaphoric apprehension in relationship to time and the act of hearing.²⁷⁷ There is always a sense of what has been

²⁷¹ John Frow states that process of recognizing genres informs the listener to background knowledges. “Genre is a framework for processing information and for allowing us to move between knowledge given directly in a text and other sets of knowledge that are relevant to understanding it” (80).

²⁷² These textures are connected with the melodic contours of trumpet calls.

²⁷³ I refer to Steve Larson’s *Musical Forces: Motion, Metaphor, and Meaning in Music*. It is not within the scope of this work to apply Larson’s theory with rigour. I present only an overview of some of his key concepts as driving force definitions.

²⁷⁴ Larson, 12.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 7, 47.

²⁷⁷ Larson has three models of music metaphors: The Moving Music Metaphors, The Musical Landscape Metaphor, and The Music as Moving Force Metaphor. ‘Music as moving force’ is the most pertinent to apprehending the gestures in Herrera’s music. He states that if music is a force, it then has

heard and what will happen in relation to what is being heard.²⁷⁸ The features of music, as moving force, are melodic gravity and the relative stability of pitches (through the hierarchy of tonal centers); rhythm, which communicates motion through timing, grouping and meter; and the anticipation of sameness or change.²⁷⁹ These features are conceptualized through, what I determine to be, sensible associative connections. In order to illustrate how Herrera ultimately employed musical gestures in *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum*, the psalm texts are presented followed by an interpretation, which connects the musical gestures to the texts.

Herrera' Setting of the Psalm Texts to Music

The instrumentation for both psalms consists of first and second violins, contrabass, first and second horns, and first and second clarinets. The second violin, double bass, and horns provide a harmonic and textural foundation, while the music for the first violin and clarinets is lyrical and technically complicated.²⁸⁰ The choir parts are typically scored for soprano, alto, tenor and bass, and the vocal writing is often unorthodox, in terms of range and voice leading.²⁸¹ In the case of the tenor and bass lines, there are many voice crossings. Additionally, what is indicated as an alto line, in *Dixit Dominus*, is actually a second soprano line that occupies the same vocal range as the soprano line.²⁸² In general, the voices are very instrumental in character and often reiterations of the instrumental parts.

Herrera employs four modes of vocal writing: homophonic articulation of harmonic patterns that mirror the instrumental parts, short motivic patterns that are instrumental in nature and that interact with the other voices, vocally complicated

causal effects. Thus, musical experience is perceived as a physical motion that acts and moves the listener from one location or emotional state to another by means of physical forces

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 58, 68, 70, 75.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 83, 100, 139.

²⁸⁰ The fact that the second clarinet part is the solo line suggests that Herrera was composing for a particular clarinetist.

²⁸¹ 'Unorthodox' in this case signifies 'not according to the rules' or correct musical grammar.

²⁸² This problem of tessitura will be addressed in the discussion of *Dixit Dominus*.

motivic patterns that are operatic in nature, and lyrical and melismatic writing reserved for solo and duet passages. *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* are composed of a series of interlocking musical motifs that are respectively bookended by opening enigmatic musical gestures. The verses are ordered into expressive musical divisions.²⁸³ Neither setting is a clear presentation of the psalm text, rather both bring into the fore an idea of the psalm that would have been experienced at the moment of listening.²⁸⁴ The sections are delineated through changes to tempo, dynamics, key, and rhythm. These are indicative of shifts in affective traits and not movements per se.

Dixit Dominus

Dixit Dominus Domino meo: sede a dextris meis *(Donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.) ²⁸⁵ Virgam virtutis tuae emittet Dominus ex Sion: Dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum.	The Lord's utterance to my master: "Sit at my right hand *Till I make your enemies a stool for your feet".
Tecum principium in die virtutis tuae in splendoribus sanctorum: Ex utero ante luciferum genui te. Juarbit Dominus et non paenitebit eum : Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech. Dominus a dextris tuis : confregit in die irae suae reges. Judicabit in nationibus implebit ruinas : ²⁸⁶ Conquassabit capita in terra multorum	Your mighty sceptre may the Lord send forth from Zion: Hold sway over your enemies. Your people on the day of your power in brightness worship: From the womb of dawn you are born. The Lord has sworn, He will not be sorry: You are priest in eternity in the priestly order of Melchizedek. The Lord is at your right hand. On the day of His Wrath He smashes kings. He exacts judgment from the nations, Fills (the valleys) with destruction . Smashes the heads across the great earth. From a brook on the way he drinks Therefore, He lifts up His head.
De torrente in via bibet: Propterea exaltabit caput.	

²⁸³ I use this turn of phrase instead of the term movement, because of Herrera's method of ordering musical elements.

²⁸⁴ Celletti notes that composers like Rossini and subsequently Bellini were not focused on the "outcome of the words" in the sense of accurately replicating the text's prosody; rather, *bel canto* composers sought to portray a sense of the words through the melodies, and this in relation to what was taking place on stage, or in the narrative structure (*A History of Bel Canto*, 138).

²⁸⁵ This section of text is omitted in Herrera's setting.

²⁸⁶ The alteration to the text is discussed. The word "cadavers" is replaced by "destruction".

In the first, second, fifth, and sixth verses of *Dixit Dominus*, the text portrays the dominating might of God over his enemies.²⁸⁷ By contrast, the third verse evokes God's beauty, glory, and the brilliance of nature. The fourth verse speaks to the righteousness of God's chosen rulers: "Malchizedek is the king priest of Jerusalem who participates in Abraham's victory over the alliance of Eastern kings in Genesis 14:18".²⁸⁸ Removed from Herrera's setting is the entire second half of the first verse: "till I make your enemies a footstool for your feet." Another change to the text occurs at the end of the first half of the sixth verse where "cadavers" of the original text is replaced by "ruins". This change is consistent with another contemporary setting of *Dixit Dominus* by the composer José Antonio Gomez, whose instrumentation is notably the same as Herrera's. The textual omission and the word replacement significantly attenuate the imagery of violence present in the psalm. Robert Alter comments that "this is an image of God as warrior pausing to drink during or after hot pursuit of the enemy."²⁸⁹

The text of *Dixit Dominus* is conveyed through four main expressive musical divisions and a constant shifting of rhythmic modules, melodic motifs, and dynamics. As mentioned above, the text is altered by the omission of the second half of the first verse and the changing of the word "corpses" to "ruins". This modification of the imagery attenuates the violence and emphasizes a sense of assured authority. Herrera establishes a well-suited lively opening gesture with an articulated D major chord, pulsing eighth-notes, and an ascending sixteenth-note scale passage on the fourth beat that leads to the dominant. The pattern is repeated on an A major chord, and the scale passage leads into the secondary dominant (E), followed by a mirrored descending scale passage, sudden syncopation, and chromatic motion, leading back to D major. This opening gesture of

²⁸⁷ For both psalm translations I have quoted principally from Robert Alter's *The Book of Psalms*. I have also used some lines translated from the *Good News Bible: Today's English Version*. The fusion of the translations reflect the actual Latin words used. This is especially true in the third verse where the imagery associated with *brightness*, *wombs* and *birth* are rendered differently in the English translation. It seems musically evident that Herrera responded to many of the individual words in a form of word-painting.

²⁸⁸ Robert Alter, *The Book of Psalms: A Translation with Commentary*, 397 ft. 4.

²⁸⁹ Alter, 398.

excitement suggests an imminent change. This is the musical statement that also closes the psalm setting (see fig. 2).²⁹⁰



Figure 2. *Dixit Dominus*, First Violin (Allegro, mm. 1-8)

On the opening words, “Dixit Dominus Domino meo sede a dextris meis,” (The Lord’s utterance to my master: “Sit at my right hand) the first verse is clearly a triumphant musical statement. The rhythmic agitation is introduced in the clarinets, which repeatedly articulate descending scale passages against the choir’s final reiteration of “sede a dextris meis” (see fig. 3).



Figure 3. *Dixit Dominus*, Clarinets (Allegro, mm. 20-24):

There is a sudden change in character with the introduction of the first half of the second verse of the psalm, “Virgam virtutis tuae emittet Dominus ex Sion” (Your mighty scepter may the Lord send forth from Zion). Unlike the first entry of the choir, the vocal presence in this verse resembles a Rossini-like operatic dialogue (see fig. 4). The entry of the bass that is answered by the alto, is supported by a solo clarinet passage, which is almost comical. After a second bass entry, the tenor similarly responds. The second half of the verse “Dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum” (Hold sway over your enemies)

²⁹⁰ The complete score of *Dixit Dominus* refer is included after the Appendices.

marks another textural shift where the choir adopts the sounds of a military band. This military effect is especially present in the alto response to the soprano and tenor duo, which if sung in the register it is written, resembles a trumpet call, an effect that works in accordance with the text “thine enemies.”

Figure 4. *Dixit Dominus*, Choir (Allegro, mm. 35-40)

The band-like texture elides into a repetition of the first half of the verse. This military band sound is quickly subsumed into an operatic ensemble as the voices begin to build a sense of urgency in the passage of “inimicorum tuorum”.

Figure 5. *Dixit Dominus*, Choir (Allegro, mm. 48-54)

The verse is repeated with slight modifications to the orchestration between the clarinets and the violins, particularly in the addition of dotted rhythms. The verse ends with a choral coda (see fig. 5), wherein the final words “inimicorum tuorum” are repeated three times, followed by the word “tuorum”, where the strings and clarinets in

unison chromatically descend the octave bringing to a close the urgency of the “rule in the midst of thine enemies” with a final cadence on A.

The second expressive musical division is proportionally the longest part of the psalm setting. The imagery employed in the two verses that make up this section evokes ideas of beauty, birth, morning, youth and divine leadership. The contrast in the text is reflected in a significant change in tone, rhythmic impulse, dynamics and most importantly, in the register of the voices. This extended duet, undoubtedly scored for two sopranos, is introduced by a clarinet solo, which is the most lyrical music of the entire work. The move from the previous Allegro 4/4 in A to an Andante 6/8 in F major is a distinct change in character. The vocal filigree of the sopranos is spun with delicate, fast-moving ascending and descending lines (see fig.6-8). The extended imitative passages are permeated by rhythmic variations (especially dotted sixteenth note passages and triplets), ornamented passages and variations in harmony at the third or the sixth. Herrera exploits rhythmic potential of syllabic divisions in choice words, such as “in splendoribus sanctorum.” This section is reminiscent of many *bel canto* opera duets.

-ae in s-plen-dó-ri-bus, in s-plen-dó-ri-bus, in s-plen-dó-ri-bus sanc-tó-rum.

Figure 6. *Dixit Dominus*, Soprano (Andante, mm. 108-111)

in, in s-plen-dó-ri-bus, in s-plen-dó-ri-bus, in s-plen-dó-ri-bus sanc-tó-rum:

Figure 7. *Dixit Dominus*, Alto (Andante, mm. 115-119)

S. ex ú-te-ro an-te lu-ci-fe-rum,
A. -tó-rum: ex ú-te-ro an-te lu-ci-fe-rum,

Figure 8. *Dixit Dominus*, Soprano-Alto (Andante, mm. 118-121)

There is an immediate push away from the tonic key to the dominant, in this case from F to C, and the desire for harmonic stability is further propelled (see fig.9) where, through the use of secondary dominants, relative minor sonorities, and chromatic motion, the arrival at the new tonal home of C on the words “genui te” (you are born) is welcome.

The image shows a musical score for Soprano (S.) and Alto (A.) parts. The Soprano part is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Alto part is in bass clef with the same key signature. The lyrics are: S. te, *f* an - te lu - ci - fe - rum gé - nu - i te an - te lu - ci - fe - rum gé - nu - i te. A. te, gé - nu - i te, gé - nu - i te.

Figure 9. *Dixit Dominus*, Soprano-Alto (Andante, mm. 149-153)

The first half of the verse is only stated once, “Juarbit Dominus et non paenitebit eum” (The Lord has sworn, He will not be sorry).²⁹¹ The remaining ninety measures of vocalizing over a relatively sparse instrumentation are based entirely on the second half of the verse, “Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech” (You are priest in eternity in the priestly order of Melchizedek). In the repetition of the music for the fourth verse, Herrera makes changes to the instrumentation and voices. Through the extended passage occurring principally on the words “secundum ordinem Melchisedech,” the harmonies are wrestled back to F, the initial key of the movement. It seems that Melchisedech, as the high priest of justice, is able to exert tonal stability in spite of a sopranistic precocity.²⁹²

The third contrasting section is composed of three verses (beginning on m.228). The first two verses are related through thematic repetition. The strings, playing in percussive unison, announce the tragic d minor chord and the homophonic choral recitation of the verse “Dominus a dextris tuis confregit in die irae suae reges” (The Lord

²⁹¹ As in the omitted second half of the first verse, the words of the first half of the fourth verse sound very Latin. I have remarked that Herrera tends to repeat words that have pure vowels, that sound Italian.

²⁹² Alter comments that “Malchizedeck is the king priest of Jerusalem who participates in Abraham’s victory over the alliance of eastern kings in Genesis 14:18” (397). Perhaps Herrera’s decision to repeat this name more than any other word in the psalm, twenty-four times, is more than just a preference for the sound. Donald Boisvert alerted me to the fact that Malchizedeck is a symbol for the priesthood and a possible reference to the authority, power and influence of the clergy, and by extension the Church as a whole.

is at your right hand on the day of His Wrath He smashes kings). The vocal ranges of the soprano and alto parts outline a tritone, the tenor line a minor third and the bass a perfect fourth, with a drop to the octave d. The text is imparted with severity, compacted between the rhythmic perturbation of the violins, the shrill emphatic harmonies of the clarinets, and the dramatic double bass line. The imploring minor harmonies (beginning in m. 294) of the verse are accentuated through a lack of dotted rhythms. The transition into the sixth verse passes through F major and “Judicabit in nationibus” (He exacts judgment from the nations) is syllabically intoned by the choir over a static orchestration (see fig.10), eliding immediately into the second half of the verse “implebit ruinas” (fills with destruction).

The image shows a musical score for the sixth verse of 'Dixit Dominus'. It includes vocal parts for Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B.), and string parts for Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), and Clarinet Bass (Cb.). The vocal parts are in a minor mode and feature the lyrics: "Ju - di - cá - bit in na - tió - ni - bus,". The string parts are in F major and 4/4 time, marked 'Allegro'. The Violin I and II parts feature rhythmic patterns and accents, while the Clarinet Bass part features a static orchestration.

Figure 10. *Dixit Dominus*, Voices and Strings (Allegro, mm. 312-316).

At the second repetition of “implebit ruinas”, the violins and clarinets articulate the offbeats and momentarily halt with a sforzando on the syncopated second syllable of “ruinas”. Continuing into the third repetition, the clarinets build in intensity pulsating eighth-notes until the entry of the second part of the verse, where against the resolving cadential progression to the d minor ending, the choir solemnly pronounces “Conquassabit capita in terra multorum” (Smashes the heads across the great earth) against the clarinets’ desperately lyrical countermelody, marking the end of the tragic character of the sixth verse.

The seventh verse, “De torrente in via bibet” (From a brook on the way he drinks), is a change in character to the sound of a trumpet-styled call and answer, where the bass,

alto, tenor soprano state and echo “De torrente...” (see fig. 11). The countermelodies of the clarinets build, at first with folk-like charm and then with almost giddy hilarity, sounding reminiscent of a finale of a comic opera (see fig. 12).

Figure 11 shows a musical score for Clarinets (Cl.) and Horns (Hn.). The Clarinet part features a melodic line with slurs and accents, marked with *dol* (dolce) at two points. The Horn part provides a harmonic accompaniment with sustained notes and rests.

Figure 11. *Dixit Dominus*, Clarinets and Horns (Allegro, mm. 342-347)

Figure 12 displays a series of seven staves of music for Clarinets (Cl.), numbered 354, 357, 360, 363, 366, 370, and 373. The music is characterized by increasing intensity and complexity. It includes dynamic markings such as *p* (piano), *cresc.* (crescendo), and *f* (forte). The notation features slurs, accents, and various rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes.

Figure 12. *Dixit Dominus*, Clarinets (Allegro, mm. 354-376)

The intensity of the clarinets is met by that of the choir which repeats for the first twenty bars, “Propterea exaltabit caput” (Therefore He lifts up His head). The excitement

suddenly dissipates and returns to the initial musical gesture in d minor. The reclaimed seriousness of the five iterations of “exaltabit caput” is underscored by the only melodic horn solo, which follows the clarinets resolve to conclude the verse on a d minor cadence.

The text of the doxology, “Gloria Patri Dei et Filio et Spiritu Sancto Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum Amen” (Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, as it was in the beginning is now and ever shall be, Amen), occurs at the conclusion of every psalm. In Herrera’s settings of *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum*, the Gloria, the first part of the doxology, is used as a final contrasting musical gesture, and the second part “Sicut erat”, is set to a repetition of the first musical idea. In both psalms the Gloria is written as a soprano solo. In this case it is composed very much like an instrumental cadenza (see fig. 13). The vocal difficulty of executing the dotted rhythms and complex triplets with the awkward text underlay would suggest that Herrera was more interested in the overall effect than the clear transmission of the words, which all the listeners would have been familiar with.

Figure 13. *Dixit Dominus*, Soprano (Andantino, mm. 415-428)

The bright character portrayed by the vocal flourish prepares the listener for the restatement of the opening gesture. “Sicut erat in principio” is extended and rendered

more uplifting by the repeated section wherein the addition of triplets and dotted rhythms in the soprano and alto parts drives the ending positively back to a resounding D major cadence (see fig.14).

Figure 14. *Dixit Dominus*, Voices and Orchestra (Allegro, mm. 451-454)

Letatus Sum

Letatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi :
 In domum Domini ibimus.
 Stantes errant pedes nostri:
 in atris tuis Jerusalem.
 Jerusalem quae edificatur ut civitas:
 Cujus participatio eius in id ipsum.

I was glad when they said to me:
 "Let us go to the Lord's house".
 Our feet were standing
 In your gates Jerusalem.
 Jerusalem is built like a town
 That is joined fast together.

Illic enim ascenderunt tribus:
 Tribus Domini testimonium Israel ad

Where the tribes go up:
 The tribes of Yah. An ordinance it is

confitendum nomini Domini.	for Israel
Quia illic sederunt sedes in iudicio:	To acclaim the name of the Lord.
Sedes super domum David.	For there the thrones of judgment stand,
Rogate quae ad pacem sunt Jerusalem:	The thrones of the house of David.
Et abundantia diligentibus te.	Pray for the peace of Jerusalem:
Fiat pax in virtute tua:	May those who love you prosper.
Et abundantia in turribus tuis.	May there be peace in your power
Propter fratres meos et proximos meos:	And abundance in your towers.
Loquebar pacem de te.	For the sake of my brothers and companions
Propter domum Domini Dei nostri:	I say, peace be with you.
Quaesivi bona tibi.	For the sake of the house of the Lord our God,
	Let me seek your good.

Letatus Sum is an exuberant celebration of peace and security. The imagery of Jerusalem as the seat of Davidic dynastic authority represents “cultic centrality... joined with the centralization of judicial authority and, implicitly, of political authority as well.”²⁹³ This psalm is identified as a song of ascent associated with pilgrimage.²⁹⁴ Wellbeing, peace and prosperity are for those who arrive within the security of Jerusalem’s walls. It is tempting to metaphorically interpret this psalm text as an expression of Independent Mexico’s political aspirations; it is also equally possible to read the text as a statement about the Church being true national seat of national authority.

In his musical treatment of the psalm texts, Herrera responded to the contrasting textual imagery of the might of *Dixit Dominus* and the rejoicing of *Letatus Sum*. His manipulation of the psalm texts through omission and repetition is central to his method of extending and enhancing the text for the sake of his poetically musical interpretation. In both psalm settings Herrera uses the verses to establish musical divisions. His method of dividing text, while not consistent, indicates a way of working with the text whereby the verses are stated entirely, repeated, partially, and fragmented, sometimes into single syllables! Herrera establishes musical gestures that work with the text using a technique

²⁹³ Alter, 440, ft. 5.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 439, ft. 1.

of broad brush-stroke word painting and establishing rhetorical gestures that act as backdrops to the psalm texts. With these gestures he creates musical events and effects.

The overall expression of the psalm text *Letatus Sum* conveys rejoicing and security. Herrera sets this text in a musically delightful and exhilarating manner. The opening instrumental, which resembles an orchestral divertimento, is echoed in the choir entry, “Letatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi” (I was glad when they said to me). The lightness of character is established through the simple F major harmonies and the 3/4 time signature.²⁹⁵ The repetition of the first half of verse is a call and response between the bass and alto and soprano, singing in parallel motion, echoing back “Letatus sum” (mm.19-24). Herrera inverts the clarinet and violin parts in the third iteration of the first half of the verse and the second part of the verse that follows an innuendo of dramatic tension, the words “Domum Dominum ibimus” (Let us go up to the Lord’s house) are introduced harmonically with a d flat diminished chord, which resolves to F major, along with accentuated fortissimo and sforzando indications (see fig. 15).

The image shows a musical score for six parts: Clarinet (Cl.), Horns (Hm.), Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B.). The music is in F major (one flat) and 3/4 time. The lyrics are: "sum in his, que dic-ta sunt mi-hi: In Do-mum". The score includes various musical notations such as rests, notes, and dynamic markings like *ff* and *sf*. The Soprano, Alto, and Tenor parts have lyrics written below them, while the Bass part has lyrics written below the staff. The Clarinet and Horns parts are instrumental.

Figure 15. *Letatus Sum*, Clarinets, Horns, and Choir (Allegro moderato, mm. 29-34).

The cloud of passing tension is dissipated by the sudden simulated modulation to C major, which is instigated by the stepwise chromatic motion in the second clarinet and the first violin. The textual repetition of the second half of the verse is set in a bucolic manner. The tenor solo imitates the alto entry at the minor third below (see fig.16). This is set against the sustained voices of the bass, soprano, and the strings which hold the F

²⁹⁵ The complete score of *Letatus Sum* follows that of *Dixit Dominus*.

major tonality in the outlining of the C7 chord. The transience of this passage, which is repeated with slight vocal modification, is accentuated by the oscillation between C and B natural, played firstly by the first horn and then by the first clarinet and contrabass. The sense of the pastoral setting is left behind at the cadence in F at the beginning of the new gesture associated with the second verse.

Figure 16. *Letatus Sum*, Choir (Allegro moderato, mm. 45-52).

The shift into the beginning of the second verse, “Stantes errant pedes nostri” (Our feet were standing) marks a change of expression evoking trumpet calls. The alto and tenor duo is imitated by the soprano and bass duo, which echoes a modified response (see fig.17).

Figure 17. *Letatus Sum*, Choir (Allegro moderato, mm. 66-73).

These ‘trumpet calls’ announce the arrival of another homophonic statement of the first half of the second verse and a decisive modulation to C, where, with the feet firmly planted, the first violin along with the contrabass ascend a D major scale (m. 95), although remaining in C major. This movement is halted with the return to the bucolic

character that leads from a short soprano solo into an alto solo; this is followed by the only *a cappella* choral passage in either of the two psalms—what I liken to musical representation. This short-lived passage moves in chromatic ascent to the “gates of Jerusalem” (see fig. 18). The expectation of arrival is prolonged through the building of tension and the arrival at a half cadence on G7.

Figure 18. *Letatus Sum*, Voices and orchestra (Allegro moderato, mm. 110-116).

The exposed violin solo descending by alternating descending skips and steps, opens the gate to the another extended building upon the words “in atris tuis Jerusalem” (In your gates Jerusalem) gaining speed, intensity and harmonic determination which cadences in C major (mm.123-150). This passage is answered by a statement of the initial instrumental introduction, which recalls the light-hearted feeling, but in the key of C. ‘Jerusalem’ is the closing and opening word of the second and third verses. Herrera uses this word as a textual pivot. In the final bars of the first musical section, the first half of the third verse, “Jerusalem quae edificatur ut civitas” (Jerusalem is built like a

town) is grafted onto the opening gesture which has settled back into the original key of F major.

The shift to the andante tempo accommodates the operatic nature and dramatic nature of the third and fourth verses which, unlike the second verse, are succinctly expressed. The entire statement of “Jerusalem quae edificatur ut civitas: Cujus participatio eius in id ipsum” (Jerusalem is built like a town that is joined fast together) is firstly sung by the alto and tenor duo and then repeated by the soprano and bass duo (see fig.19).

The image shows a musical score for a choir, titled "Letatus Sum, Choir (Andante)". The score is written for four voices: Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B.). The tempo is marked "Andante". The music is in F major, indicated by one flat in the key signature. The lyrics are in Latin. The first system shows the Alto and Tenor parts singing the first line of the text: "Je - ru - sa - lem que e - di - fi - ca - tur e - di - fi - ca - tur ut ci - vi - tas". The second system shows the Soprano and Bass parts singing the second line: "cu - jus par - ti - ci - pa - ti - o e - jus e - jus in i - dipsum par - ti - ci - pa - ti - o e - jus in i - dip - sum". The music features ornate vocal lines with triplets and other rhythmic patterns.

Figure 19. *Letatus Sum*, Choir (Andante, mm. 168-183).

All four voices share in the technical difficulties of the ornamented lines. The coordination of text underlay and detailed vocalizations suits the textual significance of the city being well built.²⁹⁶

The expressive vocal intricacies of verse three are left behind in the choral parts of the fourth verse, “Illic enim ascenderunt tribus : Tribus Domini testimonium Israel ad confitendum nomini Domini” (Where the tribes go up: The tribes of Yah. An ordinance it is for Israel to acclaim the name of the Lord). This is stated with a sense of static motion and is carried along by the building of harmonic expectation and textural

²⁹⁶ Robert Alter states that “the probable reference is to the fortifications of Jerusalem or, specifically to the protective wall that encloses it.” 439, ft 3.

excitability. In the repetition of the passage, the triadic triplets move from the clarinets to the violins. The second half of the verse (“testimonium Israel ad confitendum nomini Domini”) continues with a similar orchestration but the testimonial of Israel, to give thanks to the name of the Lord, takes on a sense of urgency that passes through f minor, D flat major, and through a diminished ascending seventh chord, arriving to c minor on the words “nomini Domini” and a final iteration of “Domini” on the dominant of C.

The arrival at the fifth verse, “Quia illic sederunt sedes in iudicium : Sedes super domum David” (For there the thrones of judgment stand, The thrones of the house of David) is an extended alto solo that builds sequentially from the chromatic motif introduced in m.123. Embedded within the operatic texture of a responding chorus, the melismatic *bel canto* alto solo (see fig. 20) leads into the final chorus of “Super domum David”.



Figure 20. *Letatus Sum*, Alto (Andante, mm. 233-257).

Strangely indeed, Herrera begins the chorus after a two-bar rest with the repeated final syllable of David, “vid” (m.259)! The rhythmic motif of the instruments accelerates the momentum established through the secondary dominants with a slowing of the rate of rhythmic and harmonic change at the final four declarations of David (mm.263-267).

The seventh verse, “Rogate quae ad pacem sunt Jerusalem: Et abundantia diligentibus te” (Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: May those who love you prosper) confirms the operatic tendencies of this psalm setting. The declamatory and rhythmically articulated delivery of the first half of the verse by the soprano solo echoes the first violin’s introduction (see fig. 21). Excitement for the prayers for the peace of Jerusalem

is generated through the cabaletta style. The prospering of those who love the Lord and presumably Jerusalem, is expressed through the abundance of notes in the technically demanding passage. The operatic nature of this section is emphasized with the vocal quartet that states and repeats the two halves of the verse.



Figure 21. *Letatus Sum*, Soprano (Andante, mm. 283-290).

In the continuation of dramatic intensity Herrera modifies the combinations of the voice ensemble with a soprano and tenor duo that begins the eighth verse, “Fiat pax in virtute tua” (May there be peace in your power). This is then joined by the bass on “Et abundantia in turribus tuis” (And abundance in your towers) (see fig. 22).

Figure 22. *Letatus Sum*, Choir (Andante, mm. 328-338).

Finally, an alto/bass duo voice takes over an ornamented restatement of the soprano line of the duo. The second half of the verse is a muddled quartet, wherein the alto continues with the soprano line, the soprano sings the tenor line, the tenor sings the bass line, and the bass singing above the tenor line (see fig. 23). Not even the ornamented alto line can disguise the string of parallel fifths between the two upper lines, its steely effect occurring on the word “palaces”!²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ Melissa Hui has noted that the muddled quartet that yields parallel fifths is the only example of invertible counterpoint, and an illustration of the composer’s fine compositional technique and *buen gusto*.

S. et a - bun - dan - tia in tur - ri - bus tu - is

A. a - bun dan - ti - a in tur - ri - bus tu - is et

T. et a - bun - dan - ti - a in tur - ri - bus tu - is

B. et a - bun - dan - ti - a in tur - ri - bus tu - is

Figure 23. *Letatus Sum*, Choir (Andante, mm. 342-346).

A clarinet trill on B flat introduces one of the last melodic sections for the choir, “Propter fratres meos et proximos meos (For the sake of my brothers and companions), which is sung by the alto line. “Loquebar pacem de te” (I say “Peace be with you”), the second half of the eighth verse, is suddenly in d minor and the ominous change of sentiments is further stressed by the strings playing dotted sixteenth-notes. The fermata (m.383) and the unexpected change to a faster tempo in a major key adds an almost comical effect to the solo bass pronunciation of the beginning of verse nine, “Propter domum” (For the sake of the House). This is followed by a timid echo from the tenors, altos, and the soprano—whose part is written to come in one eighth-note later; it sounds like an error on the singer’s part (see fig. 24).

S. *prop - ter Do - mum*

A. *prop - ter Domum*

T. *prop - ter Domum*

B. *Prop - ter Do - mum prop - ter Domum*

Mas vivo

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

Figure 24. *Letatus Sum*, Voices and strings (Mas vivo, mm. 384-387).

This exchange continues in the parts throughout “Domini Dei nostri” (of the Lord our God); they appropriately arrive together on “nostri” with the soprano continuing to be late until the first statement of “Quaesivi bona tibi” (Let me seek your good) where the choir finally reunites. In these same measures of vocal unification, the clarinet passages contrast with the choir’s repeated “quaesivi bona tibi.” For forty-four measures the clarinets harmonized in thirds play short effervescent motifs, running up and down scale passages and creating dazzling effects of musical hilarity, which conclude the final verse of the psalm (see fig. 25).

Cl.

Cl.

Figure 25. *Letatus Sum*, Clarinets (Mas vivo, mm. 417-428).

Initially when I found the music it was Herrera's setting of the first part of the doxology that had caught my attention and it is to this passage that I turn my attention. Following the final cadence on F of the ninth verse, the soprano enters accompanied only by the strings, which harmonically mark the pulses of the 6/8 time. In a Bellini-like aria the vocal line creates a sense of musical yearning through the melodic gestures of resting on passing tones, upward leaps, intricate downward tumblings, sequential patterns, arpeggiated melismas, and sequential ornamented passages. The prolixity and prolongation of this passages is built primarily upon the word 'Sancto' (see fig. 26).

Andante

Glo - ri a Pa tri Pa - tri et Fi - li o Glo - ri - a Pa tri Pa tri et Fi - li o et Spi - ri - tu - i Sanc - - - to Glo - ri - a Pa - tri Pa tri et Fi - li o et Spi - ri tu - i Sanc - - - to et Spi - ri tu - i Sanc - - - to et Spi - ri tu - i Sanc - - - to Sanc - - - to

Figure 26. *Letatus Sum*, Soprano (Andante, mm. 444-488).

The melisma on the word ‘Sancto’ is introduced by a plaintive lyrical passage similar in sentiment to the aria “Casta Diva” from Bellini’s *Norma*. This passage is a moment where the voice spins out beyond the parameters of the text. The embarrassment of vocal riches occurring on the first syllable of “Sancto”, is a coloratura filigree reminiscent of the mad scene from Donizetti’s *Lucia*. In this moment the word itself, “Sancto”, falls into oblivion as the soprano voice creates dazzling vocal effects. This section is defined through its difference with the other vocal passages, whether homophonic or complex. In this passage the Holy Spirit is represented through a textless departure into vocalization and at this moment the diva represents the mystery of the divine. This strange exposed soprano solo might have momentarily brought its listening audience into a sonic realm wherein the theatrical and the religious were conjoined. The sudden shift in the second part of the doxology, “Sicut Era,” to the opening theme of the *Letatus Sum* in F major abruptly shatters the mesmerizing vocal spell. With little changes, other than an extended coda on the Amen, the psalm closes musically as it began.

Herrera’s settings of *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* are respectful enhancements of the psalm texts. Through the divisions, arrangements, and the application of musical effects, Herrera crafted musical gestures that would have captured the attention of the congregation. It would be difficult to argue that Herrera’s compositions exhibit profoundly artistic musical innovation; instead his music is an interweaving of sound ideas borrowed from the familiar genres of opera and the textures of band music that together communicate a sense of cultural erudition, if performed by musicians with sufficient skills. The encapsulation of the operatic style was likely mirrored in the ritual of the Vesper’s service, set within the cathedral and articulated by the gestures of the robed clergy and choir members. In this sense, the theatricality of the music and its stylistic connections to operatic repertoire should not be perceived as being worldly music per se, but rather in keeping with an overall aesthetic of opulence.

There are aspects of Herrera’s music that according to the Fifth Provincial Council, were unacceptable. It was probably music like that of Herrera’s which resulted in the formulation of the rules concerning textual alterations, omissions, and repetitions. But

Herrera's changes to text, for the most part were created for extended vocal arias, duets, and vocal ensembles. It seems that his tailoring of the psalms, with the additional ruffles of complex instrumental passages and vocal prolixity, was part of an overall commitment to the earnest communication of the psalm texts and not a deliberate creation of unorthodox music per se.

Other perspectives

Shelley E. Garrigan, examines the historical process of building a Mexican national identity through the assembling of collections of cultural artefacts for museums between the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In her discussion of the economy of meanings, she notes that "when a given object seems to surface as a unique thing...the tendency is to read it as part of a larger project."²⁹⁸ An object of study, or in this case a piece of music, must be contextualized within a "larger process of social interest." Its significance must also take into consideration the creativity and the artistic decisions of the individual responsible for its making.²⁹⁹ While the social collective and rationality impact aesthetic choices, an individual's creativity must not be overlooked. As such, the orchestration and compositional techniques that Herrera used were, on the one hand, determined by popular trends in music (ecclesiastical, social and domestic), but they were also controlled by his own artistic sensibility.³⁰⁰

I interpret Herrera's use of stylistic juxtaposition as a deliberate referencing to 'outside' genres of music employed in order to create effects through association. It can be argued that his rhetorical style of juxtaposing textures was part of his personal aesthetic of communication. On May 22, 1829, Herrera wrote to the Dean of the Cathedral Chapter in an attempt to persuade the members to accept his request to act as an interim chapel master, while the decision was being made regarding the official filling of the position. Herrera opens his letters politely, stating that he has respectfully presented himself to the Venerable Chapter for the position of chapel master; he hopes

²⁹⁸ Shelly Garrigan, *Collecting Mexico: Museums, Monuments*, 1.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁰⁰ The symbiotic relationship between the collective and individual pertains not only to the creative process but also to the process of the music's reception.

that the best candidate will be chosen, and he understands and accepts the prorogation of the competition by ninety days.³⁰¹ Suddenly his tone changes; he bemoans his financial state of affairs and then he explains why he should work as the interim music director:

...Your Honour cannot ignore that the state of poverty in which my family and I are found in is much too great: I submissively beg Your Honour that you have the dignity to let me temporarily have the position of Chapel Master, only for the time that the contest stays open, (as it would not be a physical detriment to anybody) so that, in this way, I can give proof of my skills in the teaching of all instruments, as much those of woodwinds as those of strings and keyboards; I can produce all of the compositions that during this time are required. As well, I say that the salary of said position would provide for the food for my family, and would alleviate part of the misfortune that surrounds me.

Herrera then focuses on the cause of miserable plight, which has been a direct result of the Venerable Chapter's inability to choose a chapel master.

I do not doubt that Your Honour takes into consideration the believable shame and afflictions that I have suffered in the desperation of seven months; and the loss of the position that I had obtained in Pátzcuaro...

Herrera states that if he were to be given an interim position, the Cathedral Chapter would witness the "satisfaction of this public and the satisfaction of the Venerable Chapter." Herrera is pointing to the importance of public opinion, especially as it concerns music and the fact that music was an esteemed part of a congregation's experience. It is also incredibly audacious, on the part of Herrera, to tell the Dean that the Chapter should be influenced by public opinion. Herrera returns to his state of self-pitying and use of dramatic rhetorical devices:

God knows how it is; how can I subsist, and endure new sufferings in the space of three more months in this place... is my only recourse Divine providence? Oh Lord! And what if one day (God forbid it) the extreme and obvious end arrives, could you in this case,

³⁰¹ AHDG Gobierno 1828. See Appendix E.

Your Honour, hear with pleasure of the sufferings that finished my existence, or one of my family members, for lack of food? Or maybe that necessity drove me to an unfortunate end? No, no, Sir. I do not wish this upon Your Honour, the severity (*of the situation*) which I fear. Proof for Your Honour of my mentioned fears is that the Lady of my house, now counting 16 days, is in the Belen hospital, where she has been asked by Don Pablo Guttierrez to stay, so as to avoid dying from lack of food and medicine. This, Sir, is the unhappiness in which I have found myself; this is the misfortune of my situation; I ask for your help, I am weak, as is my whole family; We are selling what we have for food. And will Your Honour not be moved to compassion?

Herrera uses the contrasting voicings of deference, indignity, and self-pity and he heightens the dramatic effect of his letter with rhetorical questions. He asks the Dean of the Cathedral Chapter if he will be moved to compassion and allow him to act as the interim chapel master. Herrera then answers his own question:

Yes, I believe so, because great souls feel the pain of their brothers, as though it were their own, and their Great Willingness alone calls them.

Most striking in this letter is Herrera's veiled suggestion that the behaviour of the Dean and the Chapter is uncharitable. In his partially underlined quotation of Matthew 25:35, Herrera answers the question as to whether the Dean and the Cathedral Chapter would be moved to compassion by stating that they would:

reach out and extend a helping hand to relieve those who need and also because they understand the terrible sentence of our Lord when he said: I was hungry and you gave me (not) to eat & cet.³⁰²

He concludes the letter with a formal plea, albeit determinedly self-righteous, and then a formulaic closing salutation.

³⁰² I have kept the "& cet." as written in the letter. Another letter, dated only a number of months after this dramatic testament, adopts a deferential tone, albeit dramatic as well. In it Herrera lends his full support for the organist Mariano Elízaga who was promoted to the position. Elízaga kept this position only for a matter of months after which point the position was dissolved until the late 1830s when the music chapel was re-established.

Therefore, I submissively beg Your Honour to have the goodness to grant me what I have asked, so that I can receive mercy and grace, and to live in perpetual gratitude...³⁰³

Herrera employs expressive techniques which parallel his musical language.³⁰⁴ He frames the petition of his letter with opening and closing formulas that, in tone of voice, express a reserved and respectful sentiment; the letter does have strange shifting back and forth between the first and third person, as he refers to himself both by “I” and “he”. The similarities between Herrera’s musical voice and the tenor of his letter reside in the way in which he employs contrasting textures to create effects. Although there is an obvious difference between the musical voicings in the two compositions and the narrative voicings of his letter, it is possible to see that Herrera does not shy away from a commitment to emotional affect. It can be argued that Herrera crafted a musical language that employed popular genres of musical language, which are in common with his personalized style of communication. He also enhanced the meaning of the psalm texts—*Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum*—with musical gestures that, much like a film score, gave impetus to the psalms’ musical narrative.

Current acts of Meaning

Current acts of meaning, warns Garrigan, can potentially override the original historical and social meanings of the material being researched.³⁰⁵ My process of research and interpretation is twofold. Firstly, it is based upon the lines of inquiry that developed through historical and contextual questioning. Secondly, the search for an extended meaning of Herrera’s music mirrors my own preoccupations, interests which are based within current acts of musicology. I have in the previous chapters presented two trajectories of research: the understanding of this music relative to a sense of Mexican Catholic orthodoxy and musical *buen gusto*. Both lines of inquiry are relevant to a contextual and historical appreciation of Herrera’s music. So far, in this chapter, I have

³⁰³ The letter written by Herrera is in the stack of letters found in the folder: AHDG Gobierno 1828.

³⁰⁴ I would like to thank Yael Bitrán for having noticed Herrera’s particular rhetorical style.

³⁰⁵ Garrigan, 3.

examined excerpts of *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* and have illustrated a relationship between the psalm texts and the music. In the continuation of this chapter, I address other challenging aspects of Herrera's music, ideas that are best considered through the lens of new musicology. Herrera's psalm settings responded to the demands of the listening audience and they also met the local ecclesiastical expectations, which were somewhere between *buen gusto* and orthodox musical practice. In the moments between taste and correctness there are points of disjuncture; these instances of strictly unorthodox text underlay and voicings are significantly symbolic. In order to address these grey zones of enquiry I shift the framing of the music's analysis.

In a collection of short essays, Judith Peraino and Suzanne G. Cusick present a range of writings by queer theory scholars who approach music and musicology from alternative perspectives,³⁰⁶ which take into account gender, sexuality, and pleasure. When these approaches are applied to the analysis of Herrera's music, the possibilities for semantic speculation broaden.³⁰⁷ A close listening/reading/study of this music reveals an ambivalence of musical agency. How was this music heard by the people who listened to it and by the musicians and singers who performed it? In particular, it is the operatic texture that should be examined from a perspective that travels beyond an assumption of simple style appropriation. Herrera's music employed sounds that were associated with opera, domestic music and military bands, all styles that arguably could be seen as legitimating forces of modern temporal structures, which promoted productivity, marriage, and nationalism.³⁰⁸ As discussed in the third chapter, *buen gusto* was linked to

³⁰⁶ The seven categories covered by Judith Peraino and Suzanne G. Cusick in "Music and Sexuality" are: Sexuality Temporality, and History; Affect Theory and Reparative Reading; Pleasure and Antisocial; Intersections of Sexuality; Race, and Gender; Intersections of Sexuality; Postcolonial and Modernity; Class Critiques of Queer "Metronormativity"; and The Separation of (Trans)Gender and Sexuality.

³⁰⁷ Ibid. The frame of "Sexuality, Temporality and History" responds to the fissures created by generalized impositions of social hetero-normative paradigms upon musical structures and contextual studies. Peraino states, "modern industrial temporal structures of work and productivity, or marriage and reproductivity, configure our bodies and our embodied relationships in seeming essential teleological ways. To embody—or at least to imagine—a position outside of the "reprofuturity" of this sexualized timeline is to engage in queer temporalities". In reference to reparative reading, Peraino refers to the work of Lloyd Whitesell who "insists upon deviant readings of familiar musical objects" (827-8). The lens of "Pleasure and the Antisocial" addresses the repression and recalibration of desire, and the academic embarrassment of admitting to musical enjoyment or pleasure.

³⁰⁸ The Catholic Church itself maintained a teleological vision of Independent Mexico's growth. It was part of the country's trinity of the three guarantees of union, liberty and religion. It must be remembered

sophistication, cultural development, and a new national identity. Opera, which was a popular form of theatrical and domestic music, belonged to the cultivation of cultural discernment. Given that *bel canto* opera was prevalent in the lives of young women who studied music, its symbolic significance cannot be underestimated. A young woman's musical talents were ideally to be shared with her family, her future husband, and her prospective children. The presence of the feminine vocal characteristics of *bel canto* within Church music should be read beyond the surface of its borrowing. It should be heard as a reference to an idealized voice type within the overall texture of the composition and this, in turn, within the overall context of its liturgical or ceremonial function.

The solo and duet passages that were so evidently composed for operatic sopranos—no matter the sex of the performer—are representations of the feminine operatic voice. These virtuosic passages are pleasing to listen to and intensely flighty. As we have seen in the discussion of orthodoxy and music, women's voices were heard in churches and convents. Women were however actively discouraged from performing in church. The women who sang in churches and cathedrals were either musically trained nuns or they were trained singers (who were not nuns). Nuns could have been singing with a sense of empowerment, thwarted artistic aspirations, a sense of devotional duty, or any number of personal reasons, but chances are they were hidden from the public. In the case of trained secular female singers, they might have been singing from the organ loft, which was technically supposed to be reserved for members of the music chapel. While these women singing would have been accepted on a local level, they would have still been, according to the official regulations of the Church, out of place. If instead, it had been extremely well-trained boy sopranos or countertenors, rather than women, who sang the soprano solo parts, the reference to the operatic woman's voice would still have been incorporated into the overall texture of the psalm setting, as appropriations of the operatic sound-world. The unresolved tension in the music thus resides in the uncertainties concerning the place of women's voices in ecclesiastical music, whether pertaining to visibility in performing—as in the case of the visiting lyrical singers—or

that although many of the musicians playing in the orchestra and singing in the choir lived their lives outside of church, during the performance of the religious festivities, the enactment of the music was framed within a presentation of celibacy.

the use of the feminized operatic voice as a textural element of the music.³⁰⁹ The vocal passages in Herrera's *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum*, which are references to types of feminine operatic singing, should be examined in relation to their inclusion and the symbolic value of these elements within the total music aesthetic.³¹⁰ While I am not saying that gender sublimation was a deliberate compositional strategy used by Herrera, I am suggesting that the sublimation of gender is embodied, deliberately or not, within the musical textures that Herrera employed in the composing of his music.

The concept of sublimated gender within the vocal writing of Herrera's music, must be considered in light of the gendered presence in *bel canto* singing. Naomi André perceives the emergence of *bel canto* opera in conjunction with the disappearance of the castrato singer. She locates a sense of sexual ambiguity at the core of the vocal techniques that developed for both heroic tenors and the soprano divas.³¹¹ André also finds evidence of gendered ambiguity through the contour of *bel canto* vocal lines,³¹² and the combinations of declarative syllabic phrases, melismatic vocal runs and passages that

³⁰⁹ Even if the music were to have been performed by boy sopranos, the music itself would have contained the engendered representation of the feminine.

³¹⁰ Andrew Whelan looks at the concept of engendered music. He states that musical genres and gestures are not inherently "male" or "female" rather they are co-produced through complex systems of identification (Whelan 111). He states that performance, "acts" are experienced in collectivity. Judith Butler on the subject of acting gender states: "The act that gender is, the act that embodied agents are inasmuch as they dramatically and actively embody and, indeed, wear certain cultural significations, is clearly one's act alone. Surely there are nuanced and individual ways of doing one's gender, but that one does it, and that one does it in accord with certain sanctions and proscriptions is clearly not a fully individual matter" ("Performative Acts and Gender Constitution" 525).

³¹¹ Naomi André's study of the castrato voice looks at the transition from the aesthetic of the ethereal sounds of the castrato voice and its variegated character roles from the late-eighteenth century into the dramatic realist sounds of operatic sopranos and tenors in the nineteenth century. André approaches the voice from both a philosophical and psychoanalytical perspective. The shift to the aestheticized beauty of *bel canto* singing is an extension of the castrato voice production whose conventions of sound were not determined by the gender of the character. As the castrati singers vanished from the European operatic stages, the practice of combining a strong and flexible treble with hearty lower notes was retained within the development of *bel canto* singing technique (*Voicing Gender*, 4).

³¹² *Ibid.*, 114. Gender has generic implications: feminine desire appears registrally distinct from masculine (Helen Dell, *Desire by Gender and Genre in Troubadour Song*, 3). Dell states that in troubadour songs the distinction between the masculine and the feminine is articulated in the registers (12). Femininity in opposition to masculinity is problematic and ambiguous and cannot "superimpose a binary sexual opposition onto a multiple system of genres" (13). While the articulation of sound implies the masculine or feminine character of the work it does not indicate that it is specifically masculine or feminine, instead that there are formal attributes that are being employed in order to cast an associative light on the text or on the musical actions.

prolong cadential arrival.³¹³ The tensions embedded within the formal vocal features are equally matched by the stories of most *bel canto* operas, which turn around the feelings of desire, deception and dejection, usually ensuing from strained romantic bonds. These emotions are the sources of the vocal outpourings, which are embedded into the *bel canto* vocal lines. Rudolfo Celletti, writing about the coloratura passages for sopranos composed by Bellini, states that these passages were not “virtuosic airy nothings”; they were indicative of a grandiloquence that was reserved for figures of divinity or mythology.³¹⁴ He also connects this style of singing to a sublimated representation of emotions that he connects to a glorification of virginity and supreme virtue in women, a value that was promoted in *bel canto* operas between the 1830s and the 1860s.³¹⁵ If both romantic and gender ambiguity belong to the essence of *bel canto* operatic lines, there is the possibility that the soprano coloratura passages in ecclesiastical music were ambiguously gendered vocal acts that represented sublimated expressions of desire.³¹⁶

I address my final interpretive thoughts to the effects of pleasure and glamour and the possibility that these moments of textural disjuncture communicated meaning

³¹³ André, 73.

³¹⁴ Celletti, *A history of Bel Canto*, 190, 195.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 195-6.

³¹⁶ It is not within the realm of this chapter to delve into the full implications of the representation of the voice as an object of desire, one that could be mirrored within the privacy of the home. Stephen Gundle explains that the aura of mystery is created partially through “contexts that harnessed the maximum effect” and “contexts that endowed commodities with an aura, a mystery, or an appeal that went beyond their basic essence” (Glamour, 72). The idea of the commodity of aura complements the ideas of Michel Poizat and the ephemeral voice as object. For Poizat, opera-lovers are connected to particular singers and the manner in which they execute specific passages in operas. For Poizat these are the irreplaceable and transformative moments. A sense of nostalgia related to the expectations surrounding these moments concretize the ephemeral voice as an object. In this sense, the allure of a particular voice is both its hearing but also the anticipation of its loss (“The Blue Note,” 209). If we apply Poizat’s ideas to the presence of diva-like textures in both the soprano duet of *Dixit Dominus* and the soprano solo of *Letatus Sum*, it is possible to imagine how the stylized appropriation of a recognizable transformative passage from an opera might carry with it parallel associative significance for the listeners. For those *bel canto* aficionados who would have heard Herrera’s music, the florid passages may have triggered longing and expectation for that which is identifiable only in its absence (a sense of a well-beloved opera passage). It is also possible that the representation of ‘otherness’, in this case the operatic feminized voice, with its complexity of social nuances, had a specific musical function in relation to the overarching music and structural narrative of Vespers in their conjoining of the theatrical (operatic) to the religious.

through the experiential.³¹⁷ The operatic gestures were deliberately created moments of beauty,³¹⁸ or possibilities for the apprehension of beauty. Herrera's music—properly executed—would have acted upon its listeners. It would be difficult to argue that music as part of any religious service was there simply as a means of creating pleasurable experiences. This said, the operatic passages of vocal prolixity within the total scope of the compositions were elements of the musical works that were condoned by the bishop.³¹⁹ Perhaps these operatic solo and duo passages functioned as moments of fantastical escape. Lloyd Whitesell, writing about the glamour effect of music and dance in Hollywood films, identifies glamour as being associated with an “abandonment to pleasure display” and excess.³²⁰ He states:

For any spectator so inclined, there is plenty to suggest a counterideological pleasure. By focusing on the gender ideal as a matter of aesthetics, mainstream musicals propound a view whereby femininity, say, is not an innate quality granted to all women but instead a special effect available to anyone with the proper skill and accessories. Moreover, the staged musical numbers, in their sheer excess, permissive indulgence in fantasy, and temporary suspension of the social and moral demands of the narrative, create a space where the experience of glamour takes on a life of its own, tentatively floating free of real systems of gender attribution. They project a gender magic characterized by experimentation and bravura rather than adherence to essential facts or prescribed categories.³²¹

³¹⁷ William Cheng tackles the institutional repression of admitting to pleasure when experiencing music. He describes the “shackles of propriety” in the musicological world. The sounds of music can act upon us in physical ways and we are corporally influenced into sympathetic movement. He cites the example of meetings of the American Musicological Society wherein audience members attempt to adhere to “respectful conduct, concertized etiquette, deep concentration, straight-laced decorum, gluteal inertia, habitus...deliberate even effortful defiance of music's physical sway” (“Pleasure's Discontents” in “Music and Sexuality” 842).

³¹⁸ An additional argument could be developed whereby, in the neoplatonist sense, beauty is associated with goodness as aesthetics to ethics.

³¹⁹ Herrera's compositions were listed in the inventory of Bishop Colina of Chiapas. For an example of an inventory of ‘usable’ works from the Cathedral of Guadalajara, refer to Appendix C.

³²⁰ Lloyd Whitesell, “Trans Glam: Gender Magic in the Film Musical,” 264.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 273-4.

The escapades of operatic delight in Herrera's music can be interpreted as "technologies of aesthetic and sentimental enhancement," in that they, through sheer exaggeration, would have created temporary suspensions of the real-time utterance of the text.³²² While these passages demand the skills of a soprano voice, the gender-magic of these moments defy gender categorization. While I have argued that the operatic vocal lines encompassed many layers of gendered implications, it is also possible to interpret the incorporation of *bel canto* flourishes as vocal effects that, within the telling of the psalms, created metaphoric gestures that signified a suspension of the psalm's poetry and a momentary departure into otherworldliness. In the context of Vespers, perhaps these moments provided the listening audiences with a temporary escape into a place of heavenly contemplation.

Conclusion

The Spanish Tomás de Iriarte, in the concluding stanza of the canto dedicated to ecclesiastical music, urged the critics of Church music to accept and promote musical innovation in liturgical music, because the arts and sciences are good for both the Church and State. The related viewpoint was reiterated by Francisco Frejes, the Mexican Church historian and philosopher, and his contemporary, the composer José Antonio Gómez, for whom *bel canto* opera was the apogee of the conjoining of science and art. *Bel canto* opera belonged to musical *buen gusto*, which encompassed a social outlook, as it did a cultural process. Music, one of the facets of cultural betterment, was employed both as an entertainment and as a means to educate the citizens of Mexico's new republic. The popularity of this form of cultural erudition extended through the interconnected institutions of the Church, State, and family. The failed attempts of the Mexican Provincial Council of 1771 to rid ecclesiastical music of extravagances, lyric female singers, professional instrumentalists, and the presence of worldly music, are attested to in the continued composing of music that did not adhere to those conceptions of musical orthodoxy. The continued practice of these worldly forms is evidenced in the articles concerning music in the Fifth Provincial Council of 1896. The Council's condemnation

³²² Ibid., 265.

of theatrical musical genres was coupled with provisions for the inclusion of arias, duets and other vocal ensembles. This acceptance of operatic music must have been influenced by the ideas of musical *buen gusto*. As such, Herrera's employment of musical gestures that appropriated formal features of popular genres to musically enhance the presentation of the psalm texts, was not completely orthodox, but it was arguably earnest and done in good faith.

Chapter V Artistic Questioning

This final short chapter is a presentation of the re-creation research. The performing of Herrera's music prompted me to consider the notion of presence in ecclesiastical music, music that in its essence is not about itself (as is the case Herrera's), but is rather about belonging to a community experience and an expression of faith.

The tradition of retablo paintings, also known as ex-voto paintings, flourished during the nineteenth century. These simple figurative paintings that linked people to the sacred world through representations, (which were not considered to be entirely orthodox), occupied "physical space in churches and chapels, and home altars, but also occupied mental, spiritual, and affective space among believers, space the church finds impossible to closely monitor."³²³ The small retablo (or ex-voto) paintings that were created often for home altars were painted by self-taught artists who made their images in deliberate and personalized ways,³²⁴ and the pictorial space is typically divided into three registers. The upper sacred register is characterized as being celestial and weightless, where the saint or the Virgin is depicted. The earthly middle register represents the action, sickness or emotional state that requires, or required, a petition for divine intervention. The bottom register includes the written inscription, which describes the event and petition.³²⁵ The combination of figuration and colour expresses spiritual and emotional content in a symbolic language that joins together visual imagery of faith and the quotidian.³²⁶ Elizabeth Zarur remarks that the laws passed in the nineteenth century that separated Church and state "reinforced privatization and significance of home altars and paved the way for an increasingly private form of devotion."³²⁷ This

³²³ Solange Alberro, "Retablos and Popular Religion in Nineteenth-Century Mexico" in *Art and Faith in Mexico: The Nineteenth-Century Retablo Tradition*, Eds. Elizabeth Netto Calil Zarur and Charles Muir Lovell, 59.

³²⁴ Elizabeth N.C. Zarur, "Introduction" in *Art and Faith*, 18.

³²⁵ Elin Luque, "Powerful Images: Mexican Ex-Votos" in *Art and Faith*, 72.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 73. Claire Farago, "Prints and the Pauper: Artifice, Religion, and Free Enterprise in Popular Sacred Art," in *Art and Faith*, 48.

³²⁷ Zarur, "Introduction..." 18.

sense of private devotion created a blurring of distinct practices, whereby devotional practices were determined by individual family, or regional practices.”³²⁸

The Mexican nineteenth-century ex-voto painting tradition and the ecclesiastical music from this period share formal and social features. In particular, it is the element of the domestic and its connection to religious faith and practice that seems to have informed the formal attributes of both devotional music and devotional art. In the case of music, it was the domestic forms of music which reflected popular social trends of musical *buen gusto* that were brought into the Church. Inversely the ex-voto paintings borrowed imagery from the Church, reproducing versions of the large retablo paintings of Saints and the Virgin, as well from printed devotional cards.³²⁹ These were incorporated into personalized petitions and displayed at personal domestic altars.³³⁰ The ex-votos share another trait in common with music, although one that is more readily identifiable within the visual medium; both music and paintings are media of presence.³³¹

Media of presence states Robert Orsi “act upon the world, upon others and upon oneself” and are an exchange between “humans and sacred figures.”³³² While Orsi provides the example of physical objects such as paintings, sculptures, prayer beads, relics, and blessed oils and waters, music is likewise a medium of presence. Herrera’s

³²⁸ Alberro, “Retablos...,” 65.

³²⁹ Farago, “Prints...,” 52.

³³⁰ It would be interesting to study the formal and textual aspects of liturgical music of this period (an endeavor which would require the transcription and performance of much music) alongside the devotional paintings. In keeping with some of Bal’s theories on narratology, I propose that the formal aspects of Herrera’s psalm settings can be read registrally: The overall orchestral and choral texture could be likened to the middle register, the departures into ‘otherness’ could be interpreted as the upper register of the divine, and the actual way in which the text is repeated and emphasized would be considered as the lower register.

³³¹ The apprehension of beauty and the pleasure of experiencing music is deeply connected to both its presence and the inherent creativity of ritual. In a multi-authored essay that examines the religious and secular facets of ritual, the authors state that all ritual, religious and secular “show the ways in which their symbols encode and evoke the systems of cultural disclosure” (Adam B. Seligman, Robert P. Weller, Michael J. Puett, and Bennett Simon, *Ritual and Its Consequences: An Essay on the Limits of Sincerity*, 4). Whether they are presented in the prescribed gestures or through the symbolic design of vestments, the unfolding of the ritual, which includes all of sensorial elements used in the enacting of liturgy, is itself an “ongoing arena of creativity and tradition”. In ritual there is a constant tension between creativity and tradition, and “ritual provides the central space for playing out this tension” (5, 37). The creative experience of participating in ritual occurs through its symbolic apprehension and through the individual’s own creative participation in the experience.

³³² Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth...*, 49.

music, as presented in its original context, was a tool for the communication of faith. It was experienced both personally and communally. The presence of his music, like all music that is heard in the context of a ritual, would have been carried in the memory of the individual who experienced it. Unlike prayer beads or holy cards, music remains in the mind's ear and imagination. Through its remembering, both in the present and as vestiges of the past, it is an exchange between the human and the sacred. Orsi notes that while there is a tendency to distinguish the sacred from the secular, these distinctions are artificial. An understanding of the musical 'object' does not negate its potential for spiritual communication or vice versa.

The precise relationship between the devotional way of experiencing objects and the way that denies or ignores presence is a matter of historical and cultural study; the two ways of experiencing exist together and inflect each other, today as in the Middle Ages. They are not as distinct as those on either side who are dedicated to maintaining the boundaries between them hope they are.³³³

There are many approaches to the concept of presence, especially as it is manifested in the spheres of music and in outward signs of devotional practices. Scott Burnham, discussing the idea of presence in relation to ideas of the poetic and Romantic music, states that music symbolically gulfed the separation between the presence and the absence of a past ideal of humankind being at one with nature. "Music's invisibility, temporal transience, and unarguable immediacy combined to create a symbolic language truly befitting an ideal presence no longer as ubiquitous as the light of day but now concentrated in the mystery and the power of the visitation."³³⁴ He goes on to say that, "music's nearest correlate in these particulars was the 'word of God', which could address an entire congregation in the same terms and yet hold a distinct meaning for each member."³³⁵ Even though Herrera could not have subscribed to the philosophical tenets of German Romanticism, Burnham's comments are at the same fitting for a re-imagining

³³³ Ibid., 50-51.

³³⁴ Scott Burnham, "How Music Matter: Poetic Content Revisited" in *Rethinking Music*, 193-4.

³³⁵ Ibid.

of the experience of listening to Herrera's music. While it is out of the scope of this dissertation to propose how congregants might have experienced music in relation to its utterance as the 'word of God', it is possible to speculate that congregants would have experienced the sound of the music in relation to their own intuitive, emotional and intellectual understandings, within the context of the community's reception. Burnham emphasizes that the significance of music cannot be reduced to "circumstances whether cultural, historical, biographical, or sexual." Rather, its presence is an interaction of the music's 'voice' with that of the individual.³³⁶

Orsi's discussion of presence and the ways in which the secular and the sacred are communicated through cultural artefacts is something with which I can identify. It is through the study of art and music that I was drawn to participation in the Church.³³⁷ I was always curious about religious art and the way in which images communicate on both spiritual and visual levels. When I began to study singing, I joined a church choir. This experience was both beneficial and enjoyable. The habit of singing in a congregational setting grew on me, as did the experience of being immersed in church communities. This said, I have a strong attachment to the —what can seem like complementary or conflicting—worlds of art and church. Although these worlds are not necessarily disparate, I often feel that I do not belong to either. Having lived with Herrera's music for quite some time, through the interstices of my daily activities, I have come to understand my attraction to this music and I feel a sense of belonging in this music that is an intersecting of different worlds.³³⁸

³³⁶ Ibid., 215.

³³⁷ As a baby I was baptized in the Anglican Church, but my family very rarely attended any church services.

³³⁸ I am referring to the music itself and not so much the individuals whose intertwining lives would have produced Herrera's music at the time. I can however relate to the notion of the women and domestic music making. I studied music as a child and a teenager; this was certainly nothing to do with my parent's attempt to make me more suitable for marriage, but it was definitely based on my mother's desire to provide me with a sense of cultural growth. I play piano with standard mediocrity and pursued singing in a more serious way. I have always been pleased to sing, knowing that the repertoire and the way I sing are influenced by the recordings and the performances I have heard and by my own sense of artistic interpretation, albeit one that I do not feel is necessary to share outside of the very local world in which I live and work. The concept of transposed theatricality into the domestic and church spheres of music making, seems like an attractive possibility of maintaining the pleasure of musical participation in a meaningful way without having to even think about the overwhelming possibilities of talent, discipline,

I wish to return to the questions surrounding the reactivation of Herrera's music within a different historical, cultural and geographical context and the relevance of this music, which until recently was a forgotten pile of papers resting on a bookshelf in the backroom of a Cathedral archive. In the introduction to this dissertation I brought up the fact that I do not know whether or not Herrera's psalm settings should be considered as works of music, which stand alone as an integral artistic statements. I have also called into question the relevance of a performance of Herrera's music outside the context of Church ritual and its original context, given that the musical settings of *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* are no longer appropriate for a modern Vespers service. A dilemma resides in the fact that the original score, the facsimiles, and the transcribed music act as invitations for the reactivation of this music. This prompts me to wonder if the function of this music should be to demonstrate historical research, to engage and entertain the listeners' senses, to showcase the musical talents of the performers, or if it might also be to provide an opportunity to activate community creativity.³³⁹ Through this re-creation research I have endeavoured to address these questions.

I wanted to orchestrate an experience wherein people could participate collectively in a moment of creativity with Herrera's music at its basis. This activity came to mind only after the music had already been performed. On December 7, 2014, Herrera's *Dixit Dominus* and *Letatus Sum* were presented at Trinity Memorial Anglican Church in Montreal.³⁴⁰ John G. Lazos and I had prepared the scores and the instrumental and vocal parts and distributed them to the volunteers of the chamber choir and the music students

and suitability, to name but a few of the myriad fragments that go into working musically outside the realm of domesticity.

³³⁹ The popularity of Herrera's music was based within both its sounds and their associations with the cultured erudition of *buen gusto* and also within the local pride and pleasure of hearing local musicians perform. Music in the service of the Church reflected the practice of music in society, popular genres of operatic and band music, and familiarity. It can thus be argued, the sounds of Herrera's music linked religiosity (through community and familiarity) to the popular culture.

³⁴⁰ The musicians in the choir were: Arpi Meguerditchian (soprano duet and solo-*Dixit Dominus*), Christopher Grocholski, Dion Lewis, Gwenda Wells, Julie Cumming, Loren Carle, Martin Hirschhorn, Karen Zacy Benner (soprano duet *Dixit Dominus* and soprano solo- *Letatus Sum*). Violins: Teodora Dimova, Aryo Nazaradeh, Samuel Hogue; Clarinets: Paul Carter, Emilia Segura; Horns: Vaughan Cooke, Anna Pierson; Double bass: Caleb Smith; Conductor: John G. Lazos.

who had been hired to play in the chamber orchestra.³⁴¹ The choir members had met only two times to rehearse the vocal parts before the day of the event.³⁴² As for the instrumentalists, they read through the music once, with John conducting, just prior to the performance. Herrera's works were presented to a small and enthusiastic group of listeners. Canon Joyce Sanchez, the priest of Trinity Memorial Church, had kindly allowed us to present this work in the Church. Many of the people who attended the event are members of the regular Sunday choir from Trinity Memorial and others congregation members.³⁴³ There were also family members and friends of the performers, my work colleagues, and others who had heard about the performance through the posters and emails we had sent out through various platforms. I spoke briefly and introduced the historical context of the work, explaining how the two works by Herrera had been discovered and assembled for the performance. And then we played through the works. This event was not part of a religious service. We were performing the music in the space of the church to an engaged community of people who had gathered to listen. It was also a celebratory meeting. People clapped at the end of sections—where usually there would be no clapping—children ran around, others took photographs. The unfolding of the event was completely organic. Snacks were served after the performance and the performers and listening participants shared in drinks and victuals after having shared the experience of the music.

On a practical level I had wanted to understand the relationship between the instrumental and choral parts. I had also wanted to hear it within the physical space of a church—albeit not a Catholic church, but the large physical space of a church with a church community present—to see how people would respond to the music. This performance was in no way an ideal presentation of Herrera's music. Most people did however comment on the beautiful clarinet playing and the conductor's fine skills, but no

³⁴¹ All of the musicians with the exception of Samuel Hogue from Concordia University, were students attending McGill University's Schulich School of Music.

³⁴² It should be mentioned that the choir members who volunteered are friends: Chris the organist at Trinity and his partner Dion, Loren and Martin both of whom I know from singing in a local chamber choir, Julie a dear friend and an amazing Renaissance scholar, Gwenda is an Anglican minister and Arpi, a close singing friend. The limited rehearsal time made it feel a little more 'authentic', given the limited practice time available for most church musicians, especially in Herrera's time.

³⁴³ I am also a somewhat regular member of the Trinity choir.

one called into question the nature of the music in relation to the psalm texts.³⁴⁴ In this instance the playing of Herrera's music brought together communities of people through complementary processes of creativity.

While I achieved the experience of witnessing the sounds of the music, hearing the actual balance and the overall musical effect of the work, the performance itself did not satisfy my questioning concerning the continued relevance of music such as Herrera's. Although the performance of the music was well received, I continued to wonder what its lived meaning and its potential might be and how it could belong to an intersecting of contemporary Christian and musicological communities. This music no longer lives within the traditions of the Catholic Church and it is not concert repertoire. Considering that the original works represent the intersectings of communities and musics, and the blending of secular and ecclesiastical worlds, it occurred to me that its reconstitution should instigate a modernized blending of elements, in order to open a similar potential for community experience.

Central to my historical investigation is the questioning of orthodoxy and the guidelines for what is considered to be in good taste, even outside of the contextual specifics of *buen gusto* in nineteenth-century Mexico. I have noted that Herrera's music is a reflection of the common urban trends that joined the youth culture of domestic music making and the musical culture of the Church; these are important elements of Herrera's idiosyncratic musical voice. When I first encountered the soprano solo in *Letatus Sum*, in its manuscript form in San Cristóbal de Las Casas in Chiapas, I was struck by what I considered to be its anomalous stylistic features. My reactions were of course based on misconceptions about the music and the realities of Church music from this period. The reframing of my assessment through a consideration of orthodoxy and *buen gusto* allowed me to reimagine a belonging for Herrera's music, as a starting point for dialogue and a bringing together of worlds that are typically remote from each other.

Through one of my daughters and my students at the college where I teach, I have seen how the non-commercialized electronic music scene is an important participatory creative outlet for many young people. Events or raves are centered around music

³⁴⁴ I had asked people to write to me with their comments, and the two comments that I did receive were written by two friends of ours (mine and John's) who are a Mexican couple we have known for several years. With permission from Maria Ezcurra, I have quoted her response in Appendix H.

producers and DJs who, through improvisation and the manipulation of recorded sounds activate a sound environment for all night parties. These parties, which take place in studios and spaces specifically decorated for the occasion, are community ritual events that share common ground with ecclesiastical celebrations. Individuals come together to experience a sense of community, which is facilitated by a designed aesthetic ritualized behaviour.³⁴⁵ It occurred to me that electronic music would be the genre to merge into Herrera's music. First of all, it was the music that I immediately thought might be the most unlikely to hear in church.³⁴⁶ The church and the electronic music scenes, although they might perceive each other as being not-connected and even philosophically at odds, do however share paralleled senses of community, and they both emphasize the importance of ritualized expression of togetherness.

I invited Ryan Biddles, a young local music producer, to create an electronic remix of the recording of *Dixit Dominus*. With its emphatic duple meter and catchy repetitive phrases, the first section of the psalm lent itself well to a reduction and synthetic refashioning in a more current style. What Ryan produced was witty and apropos. He patiently sat with me over two working sessions and used his skills and knowledge as a producer to combine his rave-savvy with some of my more musique-concrète based sensibilities, all the while maintaining a feasibility of listening interest.

A simple concert-format presentation of the work seemed to me to be limited in terms of community response and participation. The initial performance had been a participatory experience, given the numbers of musicians and the relaxed environment of the people who were listening. I asked Canon Sanchez if she would welcome another event and she agreed. We decided to coordinate its presentation with an organized youth group activity.³⁴⁷ We sent out a number of posters through various electronic and traditional platforms; the content of the posters was modified according to the targeted

³⁴⁵ Refer to Graham St John's article "Electronic Dance Music Culture: An Overview". St John covers the literature on EDMC and connections to its religious characteristics. Some of the theoretical positionings on the religious parallels and EDMC speak to the 'religious impulse' in EDMC and the similarity of the functioning of rave subculture and religious communities.

³⁴⁶ While I have read about heavy metal Christian music, rock-fusion, and other sorts of rock-based music, I had not read anything about electronic music as part of Christian worship music.

³⁴⁷ Jessica Bickford is the coordinator of the youth program.

group. The people were invited to listen to the *Dixit Dominus* remix and Ryan's mixes of other electronic music all the while painting on fabric panels.

I decided upon a painting activity for the reason that the action of painting would be influenced by the setting of the activity, the responsiveness to the music, and the interacting of all the participants. I prepared six fifteen-foot coloured panels with non-figurative imagery and colour fields. My daughter Federica had prepared another white panel, employing figurative animal imagery in neon colours. The evening before the event, some of the very accommodating members of the Trinity Memorial Church community helped me to set up the panels on long plastic-protected tables, which were set up in the Sanctuary. On the morning of October 24, 2015, I arrived with my paints (and snacks) and with the help of others set up. I mixed and diluted the acrylic paints and laid them out in containers beside a pile of paint brushes. Ryan arrived at noon to set up speakers and his computer in the transept of the sanctuary. By one o'clock many people had arrived; many who had been at the previous performance and others came out because they had heard about it and thought that it might be an interesting way to spend an afternoon. Over a three-hour period, Ryan played the remix of *Dixit Dominus*, as well as other electronic music remixes. Even though the majority of the participants had never painted or listened to electronic music, they quickly left their inhibitions behind and joined in the creative process.

The product of this activity is fixed in the traces of personalized gestures and the intertwining individual "voices" recorded on the fabric panels.³⁴⁸ Herrera's music that had belonged to the fabric of cathedral ritual in nineteenth-century Mexico was itself appropriated and reconstructed as a sound-world and recast as part of a new sonic texture. The remix of the recording, which came to light through the transcription and performance of the works, provided an opportunity to conjoin disparate worlds into a creative event. The resulting painted panels are testaments to the collective and individual voices that made up this temporary community, and whether as a form of entertainment or worship, Herrera's music became an opportunity for creative transference and momentary belonging.

³⁴⁸ These panels have since adopted functional, symbolic, and decorative assignments at Trinity Memorial Church. See Appendix I

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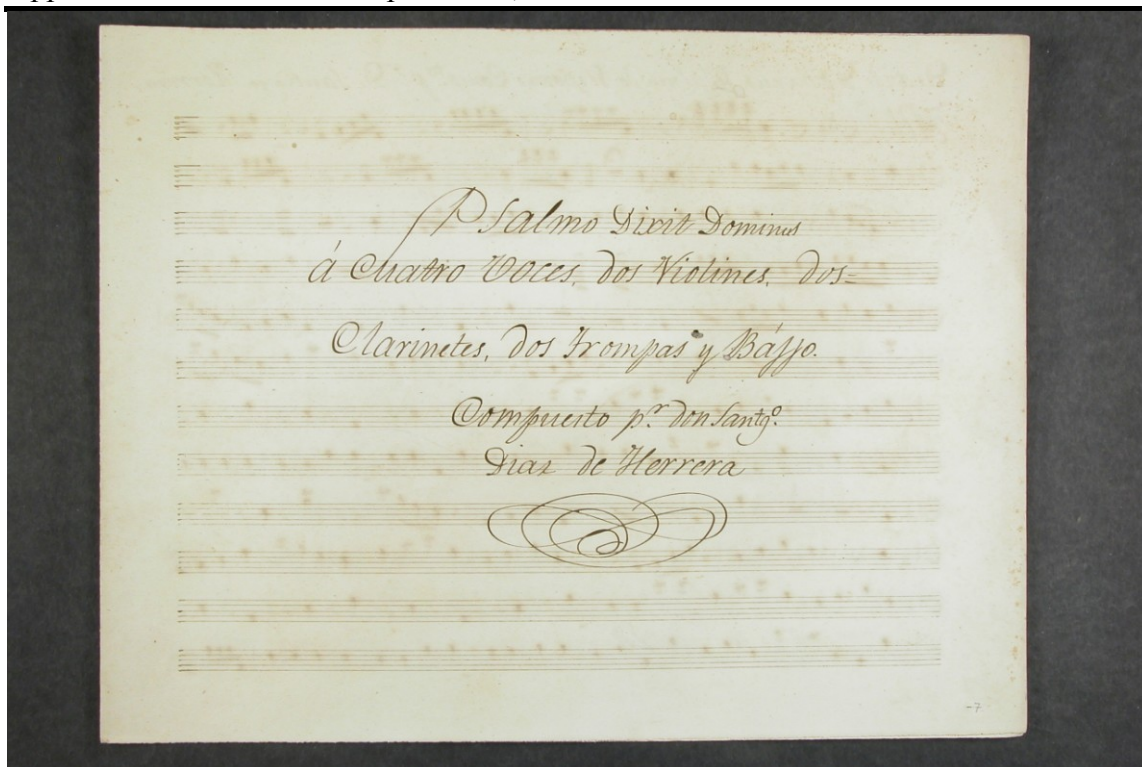
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Appendices

Appendix A: MEX-SCah Carpeta 5489, Dixit Dominus



Appendix B: MEX-SCah Carpeta 5490, Letatus Sum

Contrabasso
Letatus Sum
per
Don Santiago Herrera
Con Dos Violines, dos Clarinetes, dos Trompas
y Cuatro Voces

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a Contrabasso. The title is 'Letatus Sum' and it is attributed to Don Santiago Herrera. The instrumentation includes two violins, two clarinets, two trumpets, and four voices. The page contains several staves of musical notation, though the notes are not clearly legible.

Appendix C: MEX-SCah Carpeta 5490, Letatus Sum, Soprano Solo

Handwritten musical score for Soprano Solo, titled 'Letatus Sum'. The score is written on multiple staves and includes Latin lyrics such as 'Glo-ri-a Pa-tri & Fi-li-o S-pi-ri-tu i-Sanc-to', 'Glo-ri-a Pa-tri & Fi-li-o S-pi-ri-tu i-Sanc-to', and 'Glo-ri-a Pa-tri & Fi-li-o S-pi-ri-tu i-Sanc-to'. The notation is dense and includes various musical symbols and clefs.

Copia a las Certificaciones de a favor del Ciudadano Santiago Herrera han dado el Sen^{to} & Cua. D. Mariano Alcocer, el Mayordomo de la C^o de N. S. de Guadalupe, D. Man^o Benicia, el Prior & S. Agustín Fr. Ant. Alcocer y la R. P^o Priora del Convento de Isonjas & esta Ciudad.

Certifico en la mas bastante forma, de el Ciudadano Santiago Diaz & Herrera residente y vecino a esta, profesor y compositor de música, ha desempeñado con la mayor exactitud y eficacia el encargo de organista de esta Parroquia, haciendo al mismo tiempo gran número de solfas, tanto Eclesiásticas como militares; recayendo en estas el mayor mérito, y aprecio, p^o su buen gusto, hermosura y acertadas reglas & q^o han sido formadas, logrando este profesor el mérito y aplauso públ. & todos los vecinos de este suelo; no solo p^o lo d^o, sino tambien p^o los aciertos con q^o ha dirigido a sus discipulos en el solfas, y toda clase de instrum^{tos}, tanto de Cuerda, como de viento. = Y p^o q^o haga la fe de hubiere lugar, doy la presente a pedim^{to} del interesado. En Pazc. a 13 dias del mes de Agosto de 1828 = José Mariano Alcocer.

El Mayordomo de la Archidiócesis de N. S. de Guadalupe & esta Ciudad de Pazc. en el Estado de Michoacán. = Certifico en la mas bastante forma de el Ciudadano Santiago Diaz & Herrera, profesor y compositor de música, ha desempeñado con la mayor exactitud, el encargo q^o se le encomendó, p^o q^o & unos artesanos aficionados se decaban servir a N. S. de Guadalupe, formara una banda de música militar, p^o q^o esta sirviera en todas las ocasiones; y al efecto lo grado de fue este proyecto manifestado este público el mayor aplauso en obsequio del citado director, p^o la actividad y empeño q^o tomó p^o haber sacado al público su música dentro de pocos dias, e igualmente me consta q^o este profesor ha compuesto varios juegos de marciales a toda orquesta, Misas, Salve, Salmo & q^o, puzas q^o han merecido no solo el aprecio de los vecinos de este suelo; si

no tambien el a sugeto a buen gusto a la Ciudad de Vallad-
olid, tanto profesores como aficionados. Al efecto mismo digo
q. es publico y notorio q. el dicho Herrera ha merecido, p. la
actividad con q. ha desempeñado el órgano de esta Parroq.
ejecutando algunas Responsores obligados al órgano, en la Mañi-
ner a N.ª de Guadalupe. = Finalm. este individuo no solo ha
merecido aceptación en este lugar p. sus acertadas composicio-
nes, conocim. entod. los instrumentos, ya a cuerda como a
viento: conocim. suficientes en el Solfeo, tanto antiguo como
mod.º reglas a composiciones tanto al sistema antiguo, como
mod.º: sino q. aun a Valladolid le han mandado hacer obras, las
q. han sido aplaudidas p. los mismos profesores. = Y p. q. haga la
fe q. hubiere lugar doy la presen. a pedim. al interesado. En
Paz a los tres dias del mes de Ag.º de 1828. = Man. Venicia =

El Predicador Fr. Ant. Ma. Alcocer, del ór. de Heremitas de
N.ª P. S. Agustín, Prior actual a este convento de Sta. Catalina mar-
tor a la Ciudad de Paz.º, examin.º sindal al Obispado de Michoa-
can en esta misma Ciudad & = Certifico en la mas bastante forma
q. el Ciudadano Santiago Diaz de Herrera, Profesor y compositor de
música ha desempeñado con muy puntual asistencia el órgano de
este convento a mi cargo, compon. al efecto algunas misas y
Salves, unos muy buenos Martinis a toda Orquesta, cuatro voces
y órgano obligado, q. fueron desempeñados con primor en la
festividad de N.ª de los Socoros, otros p. el mismo orden, y tambien
muy buenos q. se cantaron en la funcion de S. Agustín, y así mismo
otros en el Ag.º, todos a órgano obligado, q. se cantaron en el
conv.º de Valladolid: é igualmente q. me consta el qual aplauso q. ha
merecido a todas las gentes a buen gusto, p. la delicadeza de sus com-
posiciones, y su destreza y dulzura con q. las ejecuta, principalm.º en
el órgano q. es el instrum.º q. desempeña con perfección. = y p. q. haga
la fe q. hubiere lugar doy la presen. a petición al interesado en
el mencionado conv.º de esta Ciudad a Paz.º a 13 dias del mes
de Ag.º de 1828. = Fr. Antonio Ma. Alcocer = Prior =

Certifico como el Sr. D. Santiago Herrera profesor de música
está completam^{te} instruido en d^{ha} facultad, no solo p^a ejercerla, p^{er}
sino aun p^a enseñarla y componerla, pues a toda esta instruc-
cion tiene sobrada experiencia este conv^{to}, en q^{ue} p^{er} ha sido ma-
estro de Capilla; sino p^{er} q^{ue} la mas múica mod^{er}na q^{ue} se ha archibado
en este t^{po} ha sido p^a comp^{on} de d^{ho} D. Santiago, siendo sus obras
de bast^{ante} mérito y lucim^{to}, a voz comun, teniendo fama de buen com-
positor, no solo en el lugar; pero aun en otras Ciudades en
donde se ha practicado sp^{er} lo mejor a la música. Su comp^{on}
es p^a debidas reglas, e igualm^{te} en enseñar: p^{er} tanto es sugeto q^{ue}
puede obtener cualq^{ue} empleo en esta citada facultad p^{er} q^{ue} la sabe
desempeñar: **Así lo aseguran las personas q^{ue} tienen conocim^{to} en**
ello, y yo p^{er} el mucho tiempo q^{ue} (como dije) p^a medio a la enseñanza
y comp^{on} al repetido D. Santiago se ha sostenido el culto Divino con
el debido lucim^{to} en este Convento de religiosas Dominicanas de N^{ra}
S^{ra} de la Salud y Paz. en donde soy esta debida certifi^{ca} hoy dia
13 de Ag^o del año de 1828. = Sor. M^{ra} Josefa Cararina de la purisima
concepcion = Priora = Por mand^o de su R. M^{ra} Josefa de la concepcion
= Abta de Capilla =

Nota = La Abundancia de negocios de la mayor
importancia q^{ue} está bestando este Y. A. no ha dado lu-
gar p^a q^{ue} se me estienda una Certificac^on de mi con-
ducta politica; p^{er} si, estoy seguro q^{ue} en la primera jun-
ta q^{ue} tenga esta Corporac^on se estendiera d^{ha} Certificac^on
pues así me lo ha prometido el Sr. Sub-prefecto de es-
ta Ciudad D. Felipe Menocal. Por este motivo, y por lo
grax q^{ue} esta copia sea remitada a esa Capital, con la
mayor brevedad, lo beificio: quedando al cuidado, de q^{ue} si
fuere necesario, (como así lo creo) mandarla, lo haxe con la
mayor brevedad, tan luego como la reciba de este Il^{mo}
Ayuntam^{to}. Santg. Diego de Herrrass

M. Mtro S. Frey^{te} y Cab.^{do}

Santig.^o Diaz de Herrera, como opositor
presentado en primer lugar a la Maestria de
Capilla de esta Santa Iglesia Catedral; con
el debido respeto, compareco, y hago a V.S. -
presente Que: Satisfecho de que el V.^o Cab.^{do}
solo desea la mejor provision de la plaza de Ma-
estro de Cap.^a y que para los fines consiguient.
ha tenido a bien, prorrogar el termino de la
convocat.^a en otras treinta dias, contados desde
el cinco del presente mayo p.^o q.^o pueda presentarse
a concurso el opositor que aparece; no puedo
menos que conformarme con tan prudente dis-
posicion, y desear q.^o esta tenga todo el lleno q.^o se
desear.

En atencion al dho, y de que V.S. no igno-
ra q.^o el estado de indigencia en que mi familia
y yo, nos hallamos es, demasiado grande: Suplico
a V.S. Reverend.^{te} tenga la dignacion de que seme-
de Interinariam.^{te} la Maestria de Capilla, tan solo
por el tpo que durare abierto el concurso, (como
no sea con detrim.^{to} ficio de alguna persona) p.^o
que de este modo pueda yo dar pruebas de mi in-
telig.^a en la ensenanza de todos instrumentos, asi de
viento, como de cuerda, y tecla, haciendo todas las
composic.^o q.^o en dho tpo sean necesarias. Asi mis-
mo, contando yo con la renta de dha plaza, podre
sustener a los alimentos de mi familia, y aliviar
(en cierto modo) parte de los males que me sercan.
No dudo que tomando V.S. en considerac.^o las
crecidas penas, y afliciones que he sufrido en el-

perentorio de siete meses; y la perdida del
destino que en Paraguano obtenia; hará que el
Decreto de esta mi petición me sea favorable.

Si V.S. me concede la gracia, y favor p^o pido,
amas de que quedare sumam.^{te} agradecido, ten-
dre la satisfacion de q^o este publico vea, y este
satisfecho de que el V.^o Cab.^o de esta Sta Iglesia
Catedral, no puede ver con indiferencia, ni con ojs
esquitos los males de sus desgraciados semejantes.

Dexo ser asi; ¿ como podre subsistir, y su-
frir nuevas penas por espacio de tres meses
mas, en un lugar donde no tengo aditio, ni
me queda mas recurso q^o recurrir a la providen-
cia Divina?; Ah Señor! ¿ que; ¿ si algun dia (Dios
nolo permita) llega al estremo mi necesidad nu-
tricia, podra acaso V.S. oir con agrado los ma-
les que an acavado con mi existencia? O con al-
gun de mi familia, a causa de la falta de ali-
mentos? O talves, q^o la necesidad me conduce a
un fin desgraciado? no, no Señor. no espere V.S. a q^o
severifique lo que temo. En p^o nueva de mi situ-
cion digo a V.S. q^o la Sana de mi casa quenta
con esta fha 16 dias de estar en el hospital de
Belén, adonde la mandó pasar D. Pablo Guti-
erres, para evitar q^o muriera por la falta de
alimentos y de medicinas. Este es Señor el infelice
estado en que me hallo; esta es la desgraciada si-
tuac^o en que me veo; lleno de dependencias de
vil ye, y toda mi familia, vendiend paulatinam^{te}
algunas prendas p^o alimentarnos. ¿ que V.S. me
removiera a compacion? si, Yo creo que si; porq^o
las almas grandes, sienten como propias las
penas de sus hermanos, y su mayor compla-
cencia solo la allan en aquel felice momen-
to en q^o con pretera alagan, y estenden la

mano benéfica p.^a aliviar a las necesidades
como también p.^a que no les comprenda aque-
lla terrible sentencia del divino pues quando
digo tuve hambre y me disteis que comer &c.
Por tanto a V. S. Suplico y endicando. tenga la bondad
de acceder a esta mi solicitud en la que como
de que recibí merced y gracia, viviré perpe-
tuam.^{te} agradecido

Dios que a V. S. nos es Guadalupe
y Mayo 22 de 1829.

Santig.^o Diego de Herrera

Inventario de las obras de Musica que existen en el Archivo de la Santa Iglesia Cathedral de Guadalupe en 22 de Febrero de 1842.

Obras utiles.

+ Viperas, 3. Salmo y 1. Magnificat, 8. Responsorios y Maitines, Versos a Tercia y Misa sin Credo en Festividad a nra. Señora en su Asuncion. Compuestas por D. Mariano Elizaga. 45. cuadernos forrados en papel a color.

8. Responsorios de Maitines y Misa en Festividad de S. Juan Nepomuceno. Compositon de D. Antonio Gomez. Toda Orquesta en 4. bultos o Legajos, buena copia.

+ Por D. Narciso Sor un Oficio q. sirvio en las Monras a los Reyes Padres al Rey Fernando 7.º compuesto a las obras siguientes. Viperas Misa. Secuencia. Grande Orquesta, buena copia.

Una Misa con Credo, Gradual y una Salve Regina, toda Orquesta compuesta por el Sr. Batagafani, buena copia.

Un Credo por el Sr. Galupi } Toda Org. buena copia
Otro Credo por el Sr. Batagafani }

Misas sueltas, unas con Credo y otras sin el. Son cincuenta utiles, no en todas sus partes por q. se necesita copiar las mejores. 50.
Inutiles 18.

Oficio de Semana Santa util.

Vexilla Regie que sirve para la Soñá.
Fm Lamentationes del Miércoles Santo.
Un Responsorio por D^{no} Francisco Ayuda.
Misereere grande a labororia à todos
Opuestas.

Un O Cruz por D^{no} Fran^{co} la Ayuda
Motete Christus factus est. Buena copia.

Inutil. Nueva Lamentaciones, un
Vexilla Regie, una Terceira Palabra,
in Cena Domini.

Util. Oficio de Domingo a Ramos
Un Librete a solo voz y Páget

Oficio de Difuntos util.

- + Por el Sr. Garcia Ep^{to} Inviatorio haaca
Lecion Fet y Motete p. después a ellean 1.
- + Misia a Requiem por el Sr. Bassani 1.
- + " id por D^{no} Francisco 1.
- + " id por D^{no} Vicente Zarate 1.
- Domine ne infurere por Jerusalem 1.
- Id. por D^{no} Vicente Zarate 1.
- Id. por D^{no} Ignacio Zarate 1.
- + Tarse michi por Jerusalem 1.
- + Id. por D^{no} José Cell. 1.
- + Id. por el Sr. Murillo 1.
- + Id. por D^{no} Santiago Villase 1.
- + Id. por D^{no} Manuel Delgado 1.
- + Id. por D^{no} Vicente Zarate 1.

Utiles

- Sit nomem Domini Benedictus 1.
- Sanctus Deus 2.
- Domine ad adjuvandum 1.

Inutil.

- Piezas grandes a Villanien en castellano 60.
- Id. chicas 182.
- In estas se hallan Letanias 2.
- Misias a Autores antiguos 7.
- Varias Responsoria incompletos i Ambientos
a Difuntos y algunas piezas que no se pue-
den conocer por su Musica incompleta.

No está las Partituras que tiene a su cargo
el Padre Contreras; son Obras celestas y cua-
dernos en pasta. 13.

Libretos para las segundas clases a solo
Vozes y Págetos. 5.

das a dichos tiene Sr. Saray, uno para la
Cecarema y otro para las segundas clasa.

En el Archivo están un grande p.^a las seg.
clasa y otro p.^a las Perceidadas al año.
Otro Libro grande que contiene Himnos
del año y canonicos de la S^{ta} Virgen.

Utiles

Un Versos al Sr. Deum: Laudes por D^{no}
Vicente Zarate, buena copia, una obra. 1.



Un verso Fe ergo por D^{no} Pedro Rega-
lado 1.
Uno id id 1.

Salvos Regina viles.

Por D^{no} Pedro Martinez 1.
+ Por D^{no} Fomas Ochando 1.
+ Por D^{no} Joie Sobra 2.
+ Por D^{no} Vicente Zarate 4.
+ Por D^{no} Ignacio Zarate 3.
+ Por D^{no} Francisco Fco 1.
Otra sin Autor 1.
Inutiles 5.

Finis Operis.

Un Salvo Dominus proventi meo, 2o. pap.
(a) Una misa regalada que toca a la Iglesia
de S. Pablo de Madrid el Señor D. Llorca p.
D. Lobo Guiniga, y nada mas.

+ Una misa que se canta en S. Joaquin
Luna, con solo Llorca. 11 papeles, y tres papeles.

(a) + Otra misa nueva que toca a S. Melchor
de Madrid el Señor D. L. Guiniga. 12 papeles.
Credo, con el cual se completa también, es una sola.

+ Misiva de Don Juan Bautista. 2 papeles.
Misa de S. Juan singular. 3 papeles y una
otra vuelta con un solo.

Misiva de Don Juan Lora, donacion de S.
Martín. 4. y 2. Misiva Barajas.

+ Un Salvo de Xona p.^a la Ascension del
Sr. Por D. J. Luna. 12 papeles.

+ Una verso de 5.^a tono p.^a el mismo dia
+ p.^a el mismo autor. 11 papeles.

+ Un Credo de Righini con 17 papeles y
Partitura, la cual consta apuntada en
el inventario de Ciprés.

+ En un Coponete.
Misiva de Sr. J. Jose p.^a D. J. Lopez,
Leng. de don. (segun se dice arriba) el Sr. Dr.
Don Pedro Barajas. Con 4 voces duplicadas,
Violinos duplicados. Partitura y 2 flautas,
2 Clarines, Bugle, Oboe, Fagot, Trompa,
Bajo org. Timb. y Bajo continuo. 26 pap.

(a) Estas dos misas y coponete, son en misa nueva, y coponete, 2.^a de
 el mismo autor, a S. de Guiniga, en San Joaquin. 10. Misiva de
 + Misiva de Barajas.

Appendix G: ADGH: 1834-42, Libro Capitular 19 (September 11 1834 Musicians and Singers behavior 6 verso-7 recto/verso)

Francisco Guerrero, Teodoro D^o Vicente Michel, Andrés D^o Juan José Hernandez, Antonito D^o Francisco Mendez, Teocaliste D^o Vicente Sarada, Fala D^o Miguel Romo, Lepie D^o Juan Francisco Sabalo, Lago D^o Bernabe Torres.

Cuenta de gastos erogados en la función de acción de gracias que se celebró el día veinte y ocho a catorce de agosto último, y presentaron con sus documentos los S^{res}. Comisionados D^o D^o Pedro Ocampo y Lic^o D^o Francisco Espinosa: acordaron se pases al Contador para su revisión, y concluido los puntos de la Cédula, se tomó en consideración que hay muchos abusos en el coro, respecto a los cantores y músicos, que faltan continuamente los sábados a la Misa, y en la tarde a la Salve, por lo que acordaron, se pasara orden al Padre Apuntador, para que si continúan en dichas faltas, a más del punto en que incurrían, se les ponga la multa de un peso: y que respecto a los Padres Capellanes que recusaron cantar la Misa, sin atender a que son auxiliares, para lo que no pueden hacer los S^{res}. Capitulares, y por lo mismo deben desempeñar las Misas: procediera a señalar al Padre Capellan que vigie, y remediando a cantarla después de haberse sele esta orden del Ven^o Cabildo, quedaba multado en un peso, para que agregado este al honorario de doce reales, que actualmente gozan, se tomara rebajado de su renta, para el Padre que cantara la Misa, y que cuando a dichos Padres Capellanes los toque llevar la Capa, deben bajar a quinceavela hasta donde lo hacen los S^{res} Capitulares, pues de lo contrario en las bancas seran multados en un peso.

Archivo

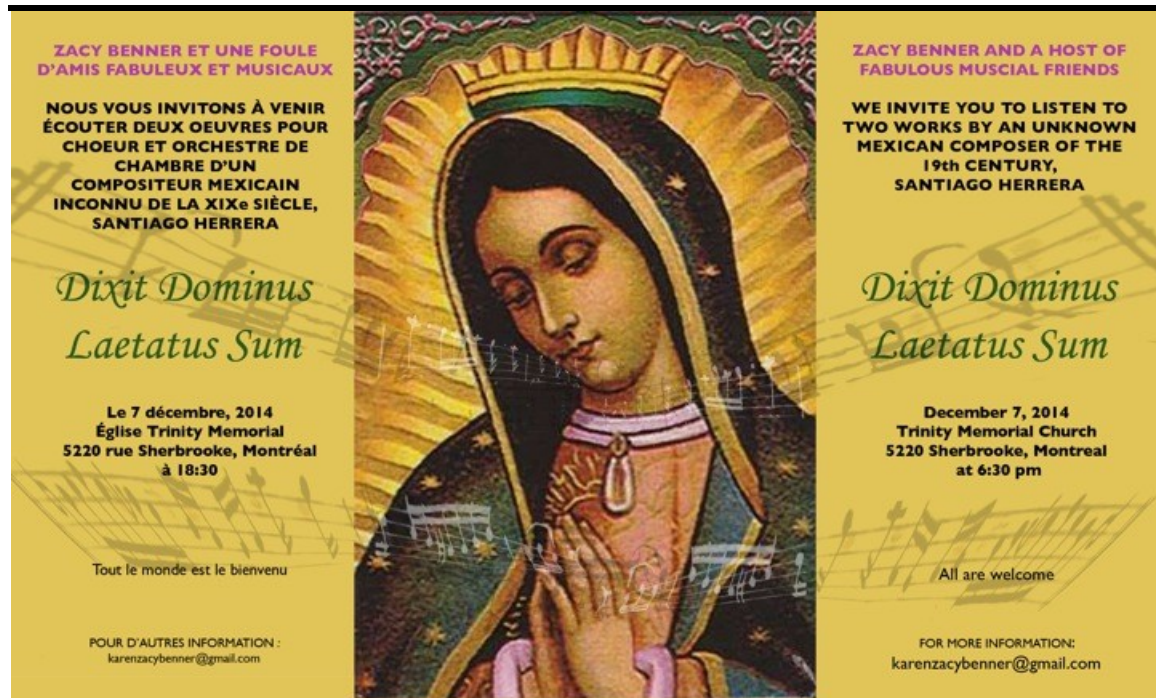
todo lo que se hará saber al Padre Apuntador para su inteligencia y cumplimiento. Ten virtud de que por ahora conviene nombrar Organista que sirva a Guadalupe.

Organista
D^o Guadalupe Gudiño.

Organista, acordaron nombrar a D^o Guadalupe Gudiño con renta de veintidos pesos anuales, en la inteligencia de que ha de servir siempre que se use del Organito en la Iglesia, sin compañero que pague Semanar. A lo acordaron mandaron y firmaron de que doi fees.

José M. Hidalgo

Appendix H: Invitation to performance (December 7 2014), and letter from Maria Ezcurra.



From: Maria Ezcurra **Sent:** December 7, 2014 PM
To: 'Zacy Benner' **Subject:** Thoughts about your concert

Querida Zacy,

I decided to write my comment about your concert now, that the experience is still fresh. I hope they work for you, although they might be a little unprofessional... haha!

...I don't know much about music..., so I realized that I was a little bit worried when I started thinking what to tell you about tonight's concert... Before starting this text, I was thinking the difference for me between going to a concert and to an art show (my ears vs. my eyes). Being a highly visual person (who has also trained her eyes to function closely connected to her brain in certain contexts), I find it hard sometimes to just relax and enjoy an exhibition. I am always terribly analytical when I am looking at things, even if I don't want to or don't have the appropriate skills to do so.

However, with music is different. My relation to it is much more intuitive. It is a physical, more than cerebral, one. I took music lessons as a child and it was evident from the beginning that it was not my strongest point in life. I cannot learn a song's lyric or rhythm even if I hear it a thousand times! And I sing terribly badly. But I love to dance. I don't care if I am good

at it or not. I just react to certain kinds of music with my whole body. My relation to music is a sensual one. I am glad I grew up in Mexico, because it was dancing that I seduced most of my boyfriends...and I have not danced in a party in Montreal in the four years that I have been here! (I am not sure though if the problem is geographical or temporal!). But it is not always so joyful. Music is also one of the few things that makes me cry. Sometimes the tears are the carefully-planned-result of the almost-corny-musical-background of a sentimental movie, and some other times they come to me unexpectedly, almost violently, when a song suddenly travels in time just to catch me off guard on the radio or the street.

If I am saying all this, is because that is how I felt tonight. The music that you played wrapped me up slowly, nicely. It was really cold when we got in the church and you just started playing. It took me some minutes to put myself in “the right mood” for the concert. My mind and body were out of phase, but through the music they eventually coincided there.... I was feeling warmer, both physically and emotionally. Then, I was suddenly surprised, as the music became more intense and emotional.

I cannot separate the personal relationship that I have with you from my reaction to the concert. I don't want to either. I (we) went there, in the first place, because we are friends, and as a result of that I know and love the amazing story of how you and John discovered the manuscripts... I went there expecting a nice and professional concert, which I feared might be musically complex, if not challenging, for me. But it definitely was much more than that. It was really nice (as simple as it sounds, I don't find another word for it). Suddenly I was looking at this amazing “dance” between you and John, in which you were attractively moving together between the rest of the musicians as a way to direct them, and this made us all somehow participate in the movement. The first piece was deeply touching for me. A couple of times I felt really moved by it, emotional. It was the female voices that—for some reason that I can probably not explain—I liked the most. ...

All this makes me think that music, no matter what style, reflects not only the moment in which it was created (of which in this case I have no clue, to be honest), but our own context. My interpretation of what I heard tonight is at the end a subjective reaction to it. And I reacted to it affected by many personal, social and cultural things. I was actually thinking about it during the beginning of the second piece (which I started in a more rational mood and visual tendency again after the little pause between pieces). I was suddenly thinking in how ironic it was that I, a Mexican person, was listening to this music in Montreal. I was listening to music that was written in Mexico but that has probably not been played in there for many years. Then I was trying to imagine how the singers would have looked like in Mexico when they sang this music

for the first time? And how the church was? And what kind of public listened to it, in contrast to us? And what would have those musicians thought about having a female priest in the church? Anyway, I slowly managed to turn those thoughts off, to enjoy the music once more. I really enjoyed it but it also made me very sad. It made me think of Mexico... No, actually it made me feel Mexico, which lately hurts a lot.

Muchas gracias Zacy.

Un abrazo,

M a r i a E z c u r r a

Appendix I: Performance on December 7, 2014



Appendix J: Electronic Remix and Painting Event at Trinity Memorial Church, (October 24 2015).





Appendix K: Traces of Herrera in Advent Altar-Cloth



Psalmo Dixit Dominus
a cuatro Voces, dos Violines, dos
Clarinetes, dos Trompas y Bajjo

Compuesto p.r don Santg.o
Díaz de Herrera

Allegro

Clarinet in B \flat

Horns in F

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Allegro

Violin I

Violin II

Contrabass

Cl. *f*

Hn. *f*

S. Dí - xit Dó-mi-nus, Dí - xit Dó-mi-nus Dó-mi-no, Dó - mi - no

A. Dí - xit Dó-mi-nus, Dí - xit Dó-mi-nus Dó-mi-no, Dó - mi - no

T. Dí - xit Dó-mi-nus, Dí - xit Dó-mi-nus Dó-mi-no, Dó - mi - no

B. Dí - xit Dó-mi-nus, Dí - xit Dó-mi-nus Dó-mi-no, Dó-mi-no

Vln. I *f*

Vln. II *f*

Cb. *f sf sf sf*

Cl. 

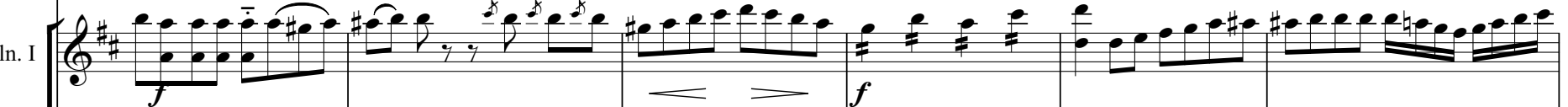
Hn. 

S. 

A. 

T. 

B. 

Vln. I 

Vln. II 

Cb. 

Cl.

Musical notation for Clarinet (Cl.) in G major, starting at measure 18. The staff shows a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and some rests.

Hn.

Musical notation for Horn (Hn.) in G major, starting at measure 18. The staff shows a harmonic accompaniment with chords and eighth-note patterns.

S.

déx - tris, a déx - tris mé - - is. Dí - xit Dó - mi - nus Dó - mi - no

A.

déx - tris, a déx - tris mé - - is. Dí - xit Dó - mi - nus

T.

déx - tris, a déx - tris mé - - is. Dí - xit Dó - mi - nus Dó - mi - no

B.

déx - tris, a déx - tris mé - - is, sé - - - - de a

Vln. I

Musical notation for Violin I (Vln. I) in G major, starting at measure 18. The staff shows a fast, rhythmic accompaniment with sixteenth-note patterns.

Vln. II

Musical notation for Violin II (Vln. II) in G major, starting at measure 18. The staff shows a harmonic accompaniment with chords.

Cb.

Musical notation for Cello (Cb.) in G major, starting at measure 18. The staff shows a harmonic accompaniment with chords and eighth-note patterns.

Cl.

Musical staff for Clarinet (Cl.) in G major, featuring a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes and some slurs.

Hn.

Musical staff for Horn (Hn.) in G major, featuring a harmonic accompaniment of chords and dyads.

S.

Musical staff for Soprano (S.) in G major, featuring a vocal line with lyrics: "mé - is. Sé - de a déx - tris, a déx - tris mé - - - - -".

A.

Musical staff for Alto (A.) in G major, featuring a vocal line with lyrics: "Dó - mi - no mé - o: Sé - de a déx - tris mé -".

T.

Musical staff for Tenor (T.) in G major, featuring a vocal line with lyrics: "mé - is. Sé - de a déx - tris, a déx - tris mé - - - - -".

B.

Musical staff for Bass (B.) in G major, featuring a vocal line with lyrics: "déx - - tris mé - - - - -".

Vln. I

Musical staff for Violin I (Vln. I) in G major, featuring a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes and slurs.

Vln. II

Musical staff for Violin II (Vln. II) in G major, featuring a harmonic accompaniment of chords and dyads.

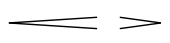
Cb.

Musical staff for Cello (Cb.) in G major, featuring a harmonic accompaniment of chords and dyads.

Cl.

Musical notation for Clarinet 2 (Cl. 2) in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The staff contains several measures of music, including rests and melodic lines with slurs and accents. A dynamic marking of *p* (piano) is present.

Cl. 2 *p*



Hn.

Musical notation for Horn (Hn.) in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps. The staff contains rests followed by a melodic line in the final measures.

S.

Musical notation for Soprano (S.) in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps. The staff contains rests.

- is.

A.

Musical notation for Alto (A.) in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps. The staff contains rests followed by a melodic line in the final measures.

- is.

vir - tú - tis tú - ae,

T.

Musical notation for Tenor (T.) in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps. The staff contains rests.

- is.

B.

Musical notation for Bass (B.) in bass clef with a key signature of two sharps. The staff contains rests followed by a melodic line in the final measures.

- is.

Vir - gam vir - tú - tis

Vln. I

Musical notation for Violin I (Vln. I) in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps. The staff contains a continuous eighth-note accompaniment.

Vln. II

Musical notation for Violin II (Vln. II) in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps. The staff contains a continuous eighth-note accompaniment.

Cb.

Musical notation for Cello (Cb.) in bass clef with a key signature of two sharps. The staff contains rests followed by a melodic line in the final measures.

Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

39

Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

-ni - mi - có - rum tuó - rum, do - mi - ná - re in___ mé - di-o i - ni - mi - có - rum tuó - rum.

có - rum___ tuó - rum,

i - ni - mi - có - rum___ tuó - rum. Vir-gam vir

-ni - mi - có - rum tuó - rum, do - mi - ná - re in___ mé - di-o i - ni - mi - có - rum tuó - rum.

tu - ó - rum,

tu - ó - rum.

sf

sf

Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

Vir - ga vir tú - tis, vir tú-tus tú - ae e - mít-tet Dó - mi - nus ex Sí - on: do - mi - ná - re in

tú - tis, vir tú-tis tú - ae e-mít-tet Dó-mi-nus ex Sí - on: do - mi - ná - re, do - mi - ná - re in

Vir - ga vir tú - tis, vir tú-tis tú - ae e - mít-tet Dó - mi - nus ex Sí - on: do - mi - ná - re in

i - ni - mí - có - rum tuó - rum, do - mi - ná - re, do - mi - ná - re in

cresc.

cresc.

Cl. *f* *p dol.*

Hn. *f*

S. mé - dio i - ni-mi - có - rum tú - ó - - rum.

A. mé - di-o i - ni-mi - có - rum, i - ni-mi - có - rum tuó - rum.

T. mé - dio i - ni-mi - có - rum tú - o - - rum.

B. mé - dio i - ni-mi - có - rum tu - ó - - rum. Vír - gam vir

Vln. I *f*

Vln. II *f*

Cb. *f*

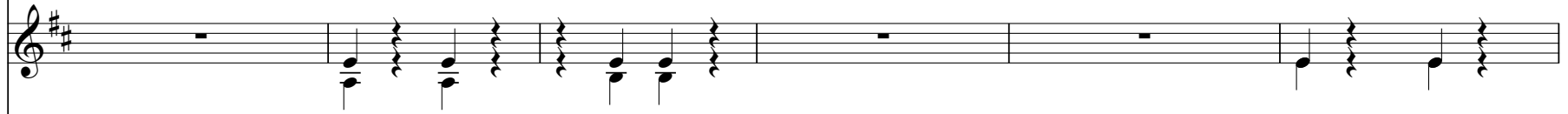
57

Cl.



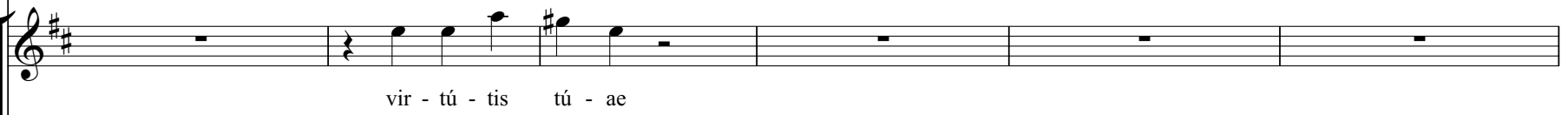
Musical notation for Clarinet (Cl.) in G major, starting at measure 57. The part features a melodic line with slurs and accents, and dynamic markings including *Cl. 2 p dol*.

Hn.



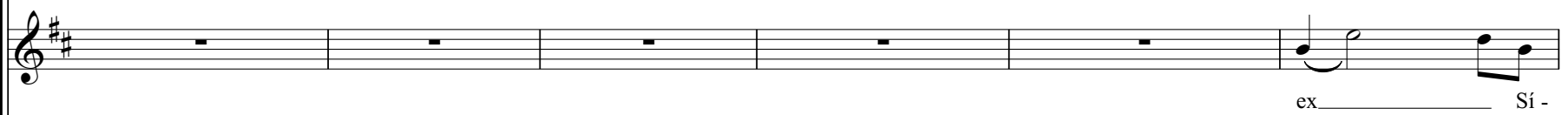
Musical notation for Horn (Hn.) in G major, featuring a harmonic accompaniment of chords.

S.



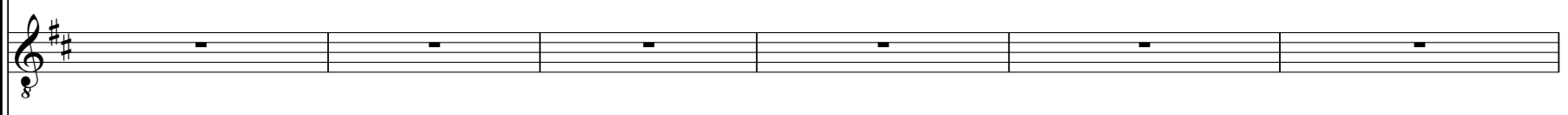
Musical notation for Soprano (S.) in G major, with lyrics: vir - tú - tis tú - ae

A.



Musical notation for Alto (A.) in G major, with lyrics: ex Sí -

T.



Musical notation for Tenor (T.) in G major, which is currently silent.

B.



Musical notation for Bass (B.) in G major, with lyrics: tú - tis e - mít - tet Dó-mi-nus

Vln. I



Musical notation for Violin I (Vln. I) in G major, featuring a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes.

Vln. II



Musical notation for Violin II (Vln. II) in G major, featuring a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes.

Cb.



Musical notation for Cello (Cb.) in G major, featuring a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes.

Cl.

Hn.

S.

do - mi - ná - re in___ mé-di-o i - ni - mi - có - rum tuó - rum, do - mi - ná - re in___

A.

on: i - ni - mi - có - rum___ tuó - rum,

T.

do - mi - ná - re in___ mé-di-o i - ni - mi - có - rum tuó - rum, do - mi - ná - re in___

B.

tu - ó - rum,

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

69

Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

mé-di-o i - ni - mi - có - rum tuó-rum. Vír-gam vir-tú - tis, vir - tú-tis tú - ae e - mít-tet Dó - mi-

i - ni-mi - có - rum tuó-rum Vír-gam vir - tú - tis, Vír-gam vir - tu - tis, e-mít-tet Dó - mi-nus ex Sí-

mé-di-o i - ni - mi - có - rum tuo-rum. Vír-gam vir-tú - tis, vir - tú-tis tú - ae e - mít-tet Dó - mi-

tu - ó - rum, i - ni - mi - có - rum

f

f

Cl. 

Hn. 

S. 

A. 

T. 

B. 

Vln. I 

Vln. II 

Cb. 

Cl. *f*

Musical notation for Clarinet (Cl.) in G major, starting at measure 81. The staff shows a series of chords and eighth-note patterns, marked with a forte (*f*) dynamic.

Hn. *f*

Musical notation for Horn (Hn.) in G major, starting at measure 81. The staff shows a series of chords and eighth-note patterns, marked with a forte (*f*) dynamic.

S. rum, i - ni - mi - có - rum tu - ó - rum, i - ni - mi - có - rum tu - ó -

Musical notation for Soprano (S.) in G major, starting at measure 81. The staff shows a vocal line with lyrics, marked with a forte (*f*) dynamic.

A. rum, i - ni - mi - có - rum tu - ó - rum, i - ni - mi - có - rum tu - ó -

Musical notation for Alto (A.) in G major, starting at measure 81. The staff shows a vocal line with lyrics, marked with a forte (*f*) dynamic.

T. rum, i - ni - mi - có - rum tu - ó - rum, i - ni - mi - có - rum tu - ó -

Musical notation for Tenor (T.) in G major, starting at measure 81. The staff shows a vocal line with lyrics, marked with a forte (*f*) dynamic.

B. rum, i - ni - mi - có - rum tu - ó - rum, i - ni - mi - có - rum tu - ó -

Musical notation for Bass (B.) in G major, starting at measure 81. The staff shows a vocal line with lyrics, marked with a forte (*f*) dynamic.

Vln. I *ff*

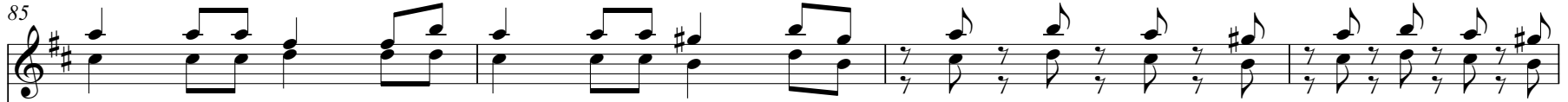
Musical notation for Violin I (Vln. I.) in G major, starting at measure 81. The staff shows a fast, rhythmic pattern, marked with fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic.

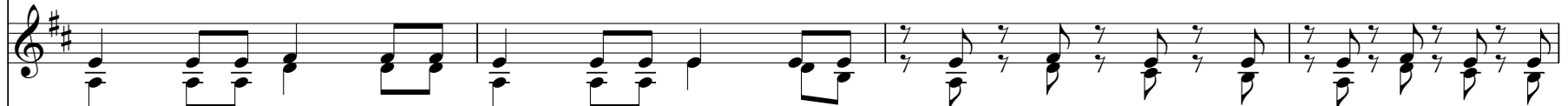
Vln. II *ff*

Musical notation for Violin II (Vln. II.) in G major, starting at measure 81. The staff shows a fast, rhythmic pattern, marked with fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic.

Cb.

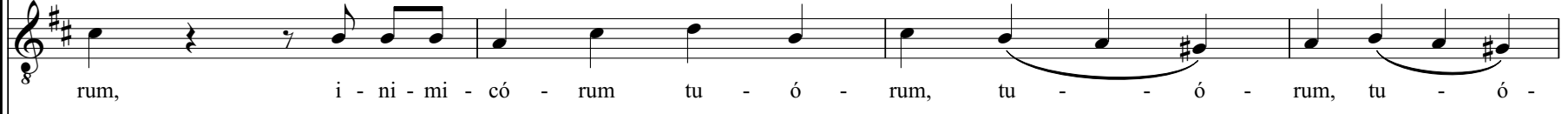
Musical notation for Cello (Cb.) in G major, starting at measure 81. The staff shows a series of chords and eighth-note patterns.

Cl. 

Hn. 

S. 
rum, i - ni - mi - có - rum tu - ó - rum, tu - ó - rum, tu - ó -

A. 
rum, i - ni - mi - có - rum tu - ó - rum, tu - ó - rum, tu - ó -

T. 
rum, i - ni - mi - có - rum tu - ó - rum, tu - ó - rum, tu - ó -

B. 
rum, i - ni - mi - có - rum tu - ó - rum, tu - ó - rum, tu - ó -

Vln. I 

Vln. II 

Cb. 

Andante

89 Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Andante

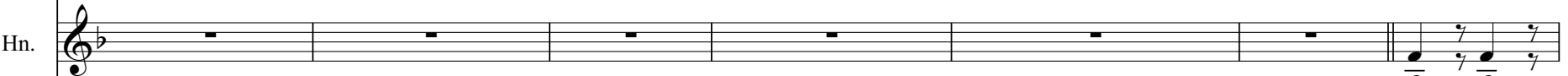
Vln. I

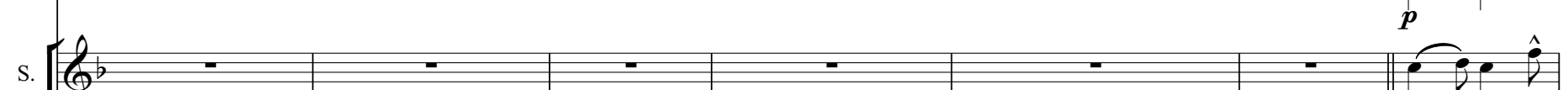
Vln. II

Cb.

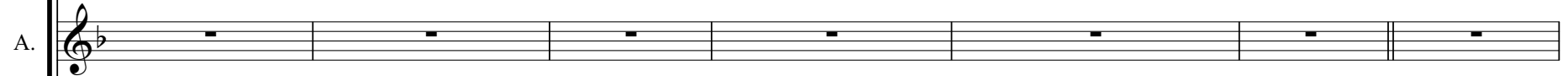
97

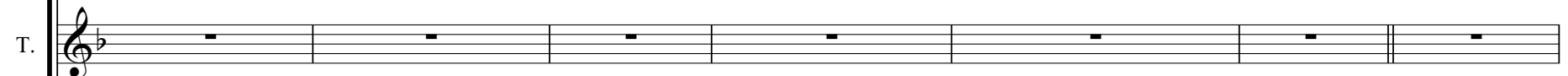
Cl. 

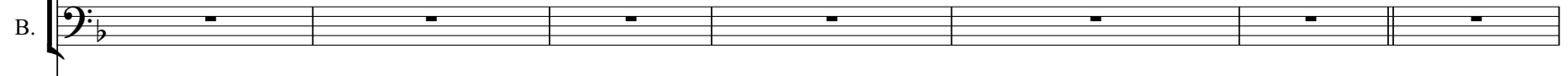
Hn. 

S. 

Té - cum prin

A. 

T. 

B. 

Vln. I 

Vln. II 

Cb. 

Cl. *p* *p* *f*

Hn. *f*

S. cí - pi - um in dí - e vir - tú - tis tú - ae in s - plen - dó - ri - bus, in s - plen - dó - ri - bus, in s - plen - dó - ri - bus sanc -

A.

T.

B.

Vln. I *f* *f*

Vln. II *f* *f*

Cb. *sf* *f* *p* *f*

Cl. *p*

Hn.

S. -tó - rum.

A. Té - cum prin - cí - pi - um in dí - e vir - tú - tis tú - > ae in, in s - plen *sf*

T.

B.

Vln. I *cresc.....f*

Vln. II *cresc.....f*

Cb. *cresc.*

Cl. *f* *dolce*

Hn. *f*

S. ex ú - te-ro an - te

A. dó-ri-bus, in s-plen - dó-ri-bus, in s-plen-dó-ri-bus sanc - tó - rum: ex ú - te-ro an - te

T.

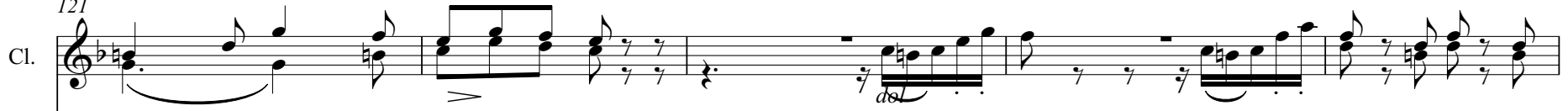
B.

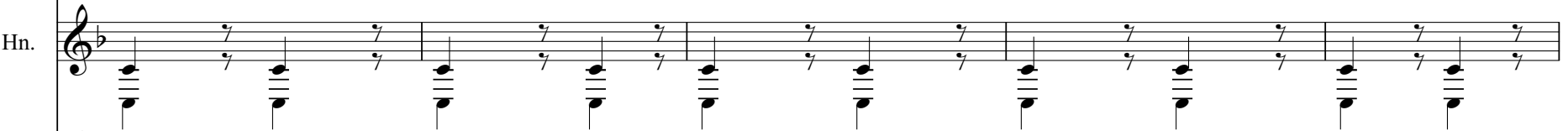
Vln. I *f*


Vln. II *sf*

Cb.

Detailed description: This is a page of a musical score, page 116. It features eight staves. The top staff is for Clarinet (Cl.), followed by Horn (Hn.), Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), Bass (B.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), and Cello (Cb.). The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. The Soprano and Alto parts have lyrics in Latin. The Alto part includes the lyrics: 'dó-ri-bus, in s-plen - dó-ri-bus, in s-plen-dó-ri-bus sanc - tó - rum: ex ú - te-ro an - te'. The Soprano part includes the lyrics: 'ex ú - te-ro an - te'. The Clarinet part starts with a forte (*f*) dynamic and a *dolce* marking. The Horn part starts with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The Violin I part starts with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The Violin II part starts with a sforzando (*sf*) dynamic. The Tenor and Bass parts are currently silent.

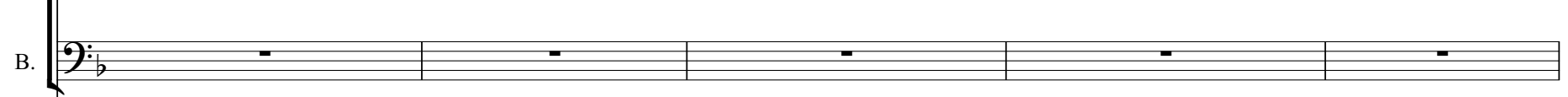
Cl. 

Hn. 

S. 
lu - - - cí - fe - rum, ex ú - te - ro, ex ú - te - ro an - te - - - - - lu-

A. 
lú - - - - - ci - fe - rum, ex ú - te - ro, ex ú - te - ro an - te - - - - - lu-

T. 

B. 

Vln. I 

Vln. II 

Cb. 

Cl.

Hn.

S.
 cí - fe-rum, an-te lu - cí - fe-rum, an-te lu - cí - fe-rum, an-te lu - cí - fe-rum, an-te lu - cí - fe-rum gé - nui
sf

A.
 cí - fe-rum, an-te lu - cí - fe-rum, an-te lu - cí - fe-rum, an-te lu - cí - fe-rum, an-te lu - cí - fe-rum gé - nui
sf

T.

B.

Vln. I
cresc.....

Vln. II
cresc.....

Cb.
cresc.....

Cl.

Musical notation for Clarinet (Cl.) in G major, 4/4 time. The staff contains several measures of music, including sixteenth-note patterns and chords. A dynamic marking of *p* (piano) is present. A breath mark (>) is also visible.

Hn.

Musical notation for Horn (Hn.) in G major, 4/4 time. The staff contains several measures of music, including chords and eighth-note patterns. A dynamic marking of *p* (piano) is present.

S.

te, gé - nu - i te, gé - - nu - i te gé - nu - i te gé

A.

te, gé - nu - i te, gé - - nu - i te gé - nu - i te gé -

T.

B.

Vln. I

Musical notation for Violin I (Vln. I) in G major, 4/4 time. The staff contains several measures of music, including sixteenth-note patterns and chords. A dynamic marking of *sf* (sforzando) is present.

Vln. II

Musical notation for Violin II (Vln. II) in G major, 4/4 time. The staff contains several measures of music, including sixteenth-note patterns and chords. A dynamic marking of *sf* (sforzando) is present.

Cb.

Musical notation for Cello (Cb.) in G major, 4/4 time. The staff contains several measures of music, including eighth-note patterns and chords. Dynamic markings of *f* (forte) and *p* (piano) are present.

Cl. 

Hn. 

S. 

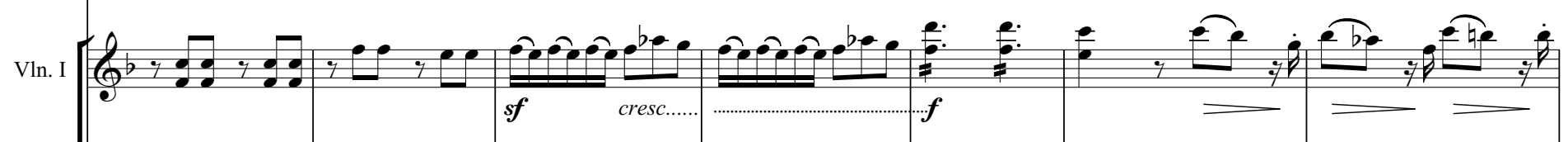
-nu - i te *p* gé - nu - i te, gé - nu - i te, *f* gé - nu - i te, gé - nui te, an -

A. 

nui te, *p* gé - nu - i te, gé - nu - i te, *f* gé - nu - i te, gé - - nui te,, an -

T. 

B. 

Vln. I 

Vln. II 

Cb. 

Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

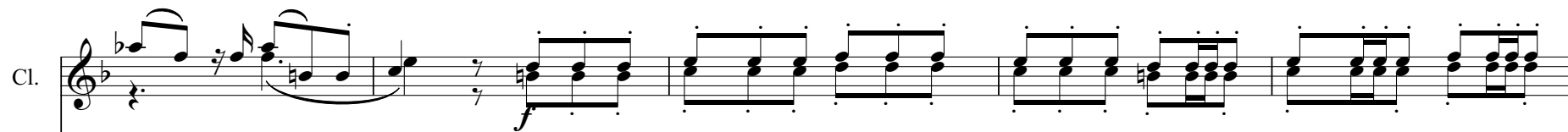
T.

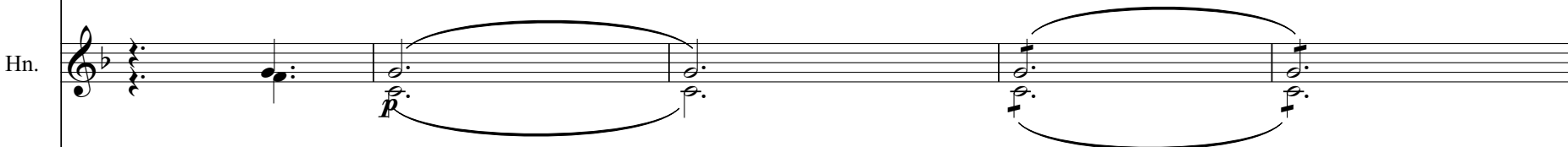
B.

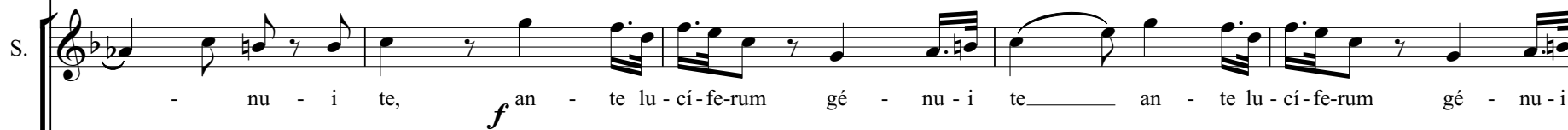
Vln. I

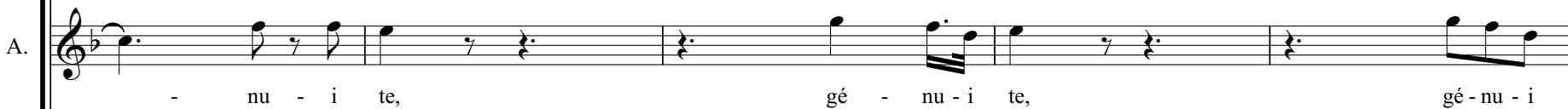
Vln. II

Cb.

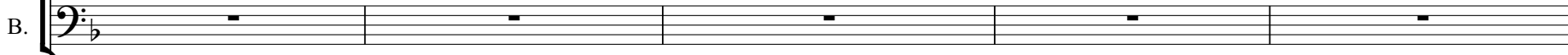
Cl. 

Hn. 

S. 
- nu - i te, *f* an - te lu - cí - fe - rum gé - nu - i te an - te lu - cí - fe - rum gé - nu - i

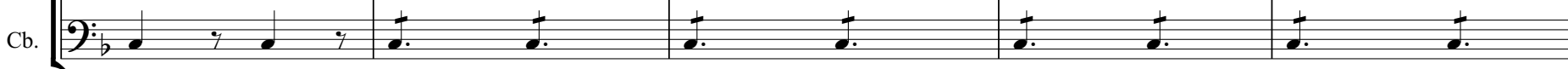
A. 
- nu - i te, gé - nu - i te, gé - nu - i

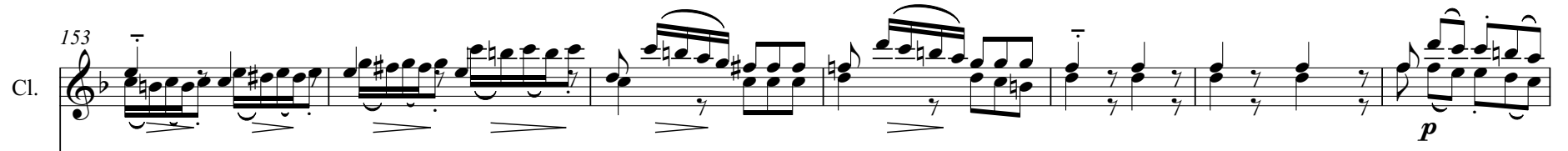
T. 

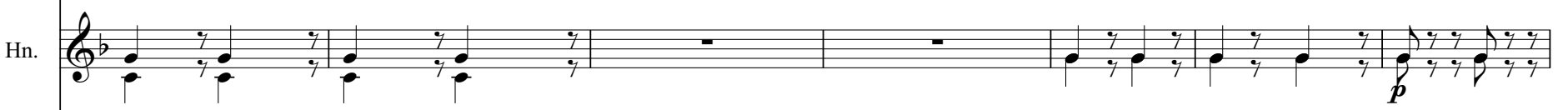
B. 

Vln. I 

Vln. II 


Cb. 

Cl. 

Hn. 

S. 
te. ex ú - te - ro an - te lu - cí - fe - rum gé - nui te, gé -

A. 
te. ex ú - te - ro an - te lu - cí - fe - rum gé - nui te, gé -

T. 

B. 

Vln. I 

Vln. II 

Cb. 

Cl.

Hn.

S. - nu - i te, gé - nui, gé - nui, gé - nu - i te, gé - nu - i

A. - nu - i te, gé - nui, gé - nui, gé - nu - i te, gé - nu - i

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

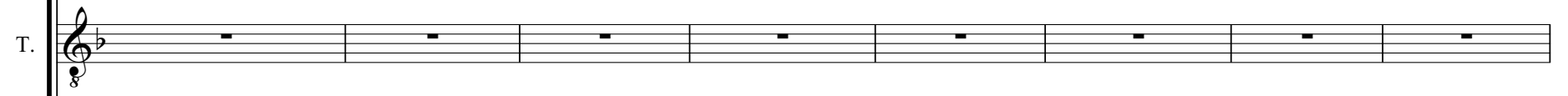
Cb.

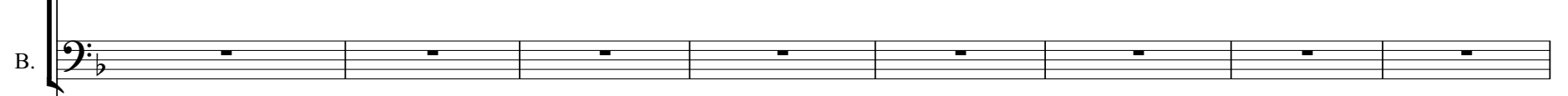
Cl.  *p dolce*

Hn. 

S. 
te, gé - - nu - i te, gé-nu-i te, gé-nu-i te, gé-nu-i te, gé-nu-i te.

A. 
te, gé - - nu - i - te, gé-nu-i te, gé-nu-i te, gé-nu-i te, gé-nu-i te.

T. 

B. 

Vln. I  *f*

Vln. II  *f*

Cb. 

Cl.

Musical notation for Clarinet (Cl.) in G-flat major, 4/4 time. The staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of two flats. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. Dynamics include *cresc.*, *f*, *p*, and *p*. There is a whole rest in the fifth measure.

Hn.

Musical notation for Horn (Hn.) in G-flat major, 4/4 time. The staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of two flats. The music consists of a series of chords and short melodic fragments. Dynamics include *p* and *p*.

S.

Musical notation for Soprano (S.) in G-flat major, 4/4 time. The staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of two flats. The vocal line starts with a whole rest for the first four measures, then enters with the lyrics: "Ju - rá - vit Dó - mi-nus, et non pae - ni - té - bit".

A.

Musical notation for Alto (A.) in G-flat major, 4/4 time. The staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of two flats. The vocal line starts with a whole rest for the first four measures, then enters with the lyrics: "Ju - rá - bit Dó - mi-nus et non pae - ni - té - bit".

T.

Musical notation for Tenor (T.) in G-flat major, 4/4 time. The staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of two flats. The staff contains whole rests for all measures.

B.

Musical notation for Bass (B.) in G-flat major, 4/4 time. The staff begins with a bass clef and a key signature of two flats. The staff contains whole rests for all measures.

Vln. I

Musical notation for Violin I (Vln. I) in G-flat major, 4/4 time. The staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of two flats. The music features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. Dynamics include *cresc.....f*.

Vln. II

Musical notation for Violin II (Vln. II) in G-flat major, 4/4 time. The staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of two flats. The music features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. Dynamics include *cresc.....f*.

Cb.

Musical notation for Cello (Cb.) in G-flat major, 4/4 time. The staff begins with a bass clef and a key signature of two flats. The music features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. Dynamics include *sf* and *cresc.....f*.

Cl. *f* *dol*

Hn. *f* *p*

S. *é - um: Tu tu es sa - cér - dos, tu es sa - cér - dos, tu es sa - cér - dos in ae - tér - num se - -*

A. *é - um: Tu es sa - cér - dos, tu es sa - cér - dos, tu es sa - cér - dos in ae - tér - num se - -*

T.

B.

Vln. I *sf*

Vln. II *sf*

Cb. *sf*

Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

Cl.

Hn.

S.
 dech, _____ tu es sa - cér - dos, tu es sa - cér - dos in ae - tér - num, in ae-tér - num se-cún - dum

A.
 dech, _____ tu es sa - cér - dos, tu es sa - cér - dos in ae - tér - num, in ae-tér - num se-cún - dum

T.

B.

Vln. I
cresc.....

Vln. II
cresc.....

Cb.
cresc.....f

Cl. *p*

Hn. *f* *p*

S.
ór - di-nem Mel - chi - se - dech, se - cún-dum_ ór - di - nem_ Mel - chi - se-dech, Mel - chi - se -

A.
ór - di-nem Mel - chi - se - dech, se - cún-dum_ ór - di - nem_ Mel - chi - se-dech, Tu es sa-cér-dos in ae -

T.

B.

Vln. I *p* 3 3

Vln. II

Cb. *p*

Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

Cl.

Hn.

S. dech, *P* se - cún - dum ór - di - nem Mel - chi - se - dech, se - cún - dum ór - di -

A. dech, *P* se - cún - dum ór - di - nem Mel - chi - se - dech, se - cún - dum ór - di -

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

Cl.

Hn.

S.

nem Mel - chi - se - dech, in ae - tér-num,

f

A.

nem Mel - chi - se - dech, *f* Tu es sa - cér - dos in ae - tér-num, se - cún-dum

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

Cl. *p*

Hn.

S. Mel - chi - se - dech, se - cún - dum

A. ór - di - nem Mel - chi - se dech, se - cún - dum

T.

B.

Vln. I *f* *poco f* *f*

Vln. II *f* *poco f* *f*

Cb. *f* *sf*

Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

Cl.

Hn.

S. dech. Tu es sa - cér - dos in___ ae - tér-dum se-cún-dum ór-di-nem Mel-chi-se-dech, tu es sa-cér-dos in ae-tér-num se-cún-dum

A. dech. Tu es sa - cér - dos in___ ae - tér-num se-cún-dum ór-di-nem Mel-chi-se-dech, se - cún - dum ór - di-nem

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

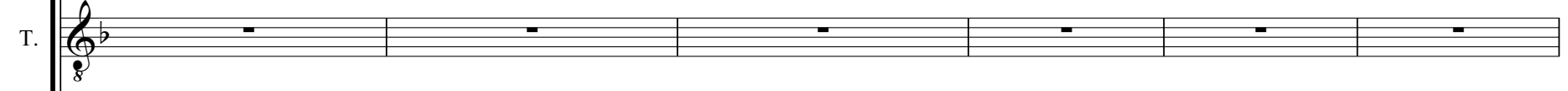
Cb.

Cl. 


Hn. 

S. 

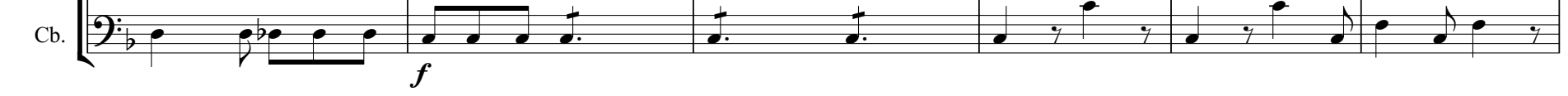
A. 

T. 

B. 

Vln. I 

Vln. II 

Cb. 

Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II


Cb.

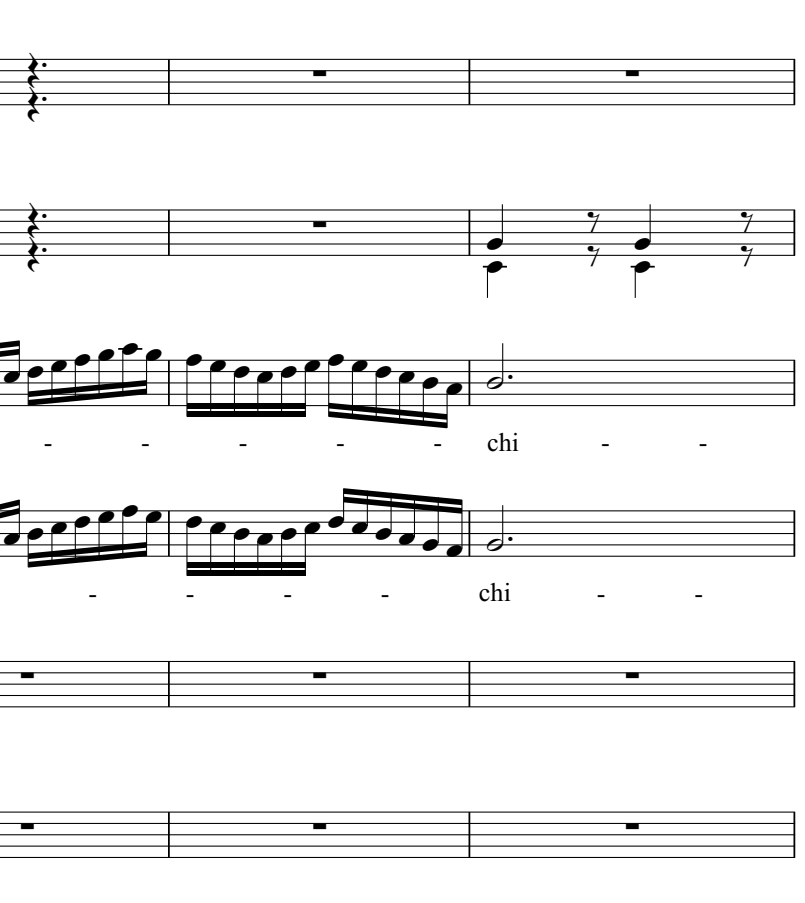
Cl. 

Hn. 

S. 

A. 

T. 

B. 


Vln. I 

Vln. II 

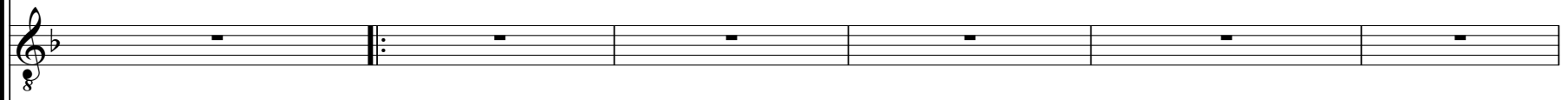
Cb. 


Cl. 

Hn. 

S. 
- se - dech, tu es sa - cér-dos in ae - tér-num, Mel-chi - se- dech, Mel -

A. 
se dech, in ae - tér-num se-cún-dum ór-di-nem Mel-chi - se- dech, Mel -


T. 

B. 


Vln. I 

Vln. II 

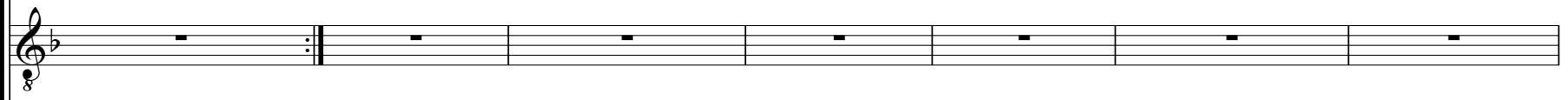
Cb. 

Cl. 

Hn. 

S. 
chi - se - dech, Mel - chi - se - dech, Mel - chi - se - - dech.

A. 
chi - se - dech, Mel - chi - se - dech, Mel - chi - se - - dech.

T. 

B. 

Vln. I 

Vln. II 

Cb. 

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278 **Allegro**

Cl.

Hn.

S.

Dó - mi - nus a déx - tris

A.

Dó - mi - nus a déx - tris

T.

Dó - mi - nus a déx - tris

B.

Dó - mi - nus a déx - tris

Allegro

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

f

Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

Cl.

Hn.

S. í-rae sú - ae ré - ges, sú - ae ré - ges. Dó-mi-

A. í-rae sú - ae ré - ges, sú - ae ré - ges. Dó-mi-

T. í-rae sú - as ré - ges, sú - ae ré - ges. Dó-mi-

B. í-rae sú - ae ré - ges, sú - ae ré - ges. Dó-mi-

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

Cl. *f*

Hn.

S.
nus a déx - tris tú - is, Dó-mi - nus a déx - tris tú - is, con - fré-git in dí - e í - rae,

A.
nus a déx - tris tú - is, Dó-mi - nus a déx - tris tú - is, con - fré-git in dí - e í - rae,

T.
nus a déx - tris tú - is, Dó-mi - nus a déx - tris tú - is, con - fré-gir in dí - e í - rae,

B.
nus a déx - tris tú - is, Dó-mi - nus a déx - tris tú - is, con - fré-git in dí - e í - rae,

Vln. I *sf*

Vln. II *sf*

Cb. *f*

Detailed description: This page of a musical score, numbered 295, features a choral and instrumental ensemble. The vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) sing the Latin text: "nus a déx - tris tú - is, Dó-mi - nus a déx - tris tú - is, con - fré-git in dí - e í - rae,". The instrumental parts include Clarinet (Cl.), Horns (Hn.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), and Contrabass (Cb.). The Clarinet and Horns play chords, with the Clarinet marked *f*. The Violin I part has a melodic line with *sf* markings. The Violin II part plays a rhythmic accompaniment with *sf* markings. The Contrabass part has a melodic line with *f* markings. The score is in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature.

Cl.

Hn.

S.
con - fré-git in dí - e í - rae, í-rae sú - ae, sú - ae ré - ges, í-rae

A.
con - fré-git in dí - e í - rae, í-rae sú - ae, sú - ae ré - ges, í-rae

T.
con - fré-git in dí - e í - rae, í-rae sú - ae, sú - ae ré - ges, í-rae

B.
con - fré-git in dí - e í - rae, í-rae sú - ae, sú - ae ré - ges, í-rae

Vln. I
sf sf f f sf sf

Vln. II

Cb.
f

Cl. *f*

Musical notation for Clarinet (Cl.) in G major, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The staff shows a series of chords and melodic fragments.

Hn.

Musical notation for Horn (Hn.) in G major, featuring a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

S.
sú - ae, sú-ae ré - - - ges.

Musical notation for Soprano (S.) in G major, with lyrics: "sú - ae, sú-ae ré - - - ges."

A.
sú - ae, sú-ae ré - - - ges.

Musical notation for Alto (A.) in G major, with lyrics: "sú - ae, sú-ae ré - - - ges."

T.
sú - ae, sú-ae ré - - - ges.

Musical notation for Tenor (T.) in G major, with lyrics: "sú - ae, sú-ae ré - - - ges."

B.
sú - ae, sú-ae ré - - - ges.

Musical notation for Bass (B.) in G major, with lyrics: "sú - ae, sú-ae ré - - - ges."

Vln. I *f*

Musical notation for Violin I (Vln. I) in G major, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic.

Vln. II *f*

Musical notation for Violin II (Vln. II) in G major, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic.

Cb. *f*

Musical notation for Contrabass (Cb.) in G major, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic.

Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

Cl. *sf*

Hn. *sf* *sf* *sf*

S.
im - plé - bit rui - nas, im - plé - bit rui - nas, im - plé - bit rui - nas, Ju-di-

A.
im - plé - bit rui - nas, im - plé - bit rui - nas, im - plé - bit rui - nas, Ju-di-

T.
im - plé - bit rui - nas, im - plé - bit rui - nas, im - plé - bit, plé - bit rui - nas, Ju-di-

B.
im - plé - bit rui - nas, im - plé - bit rui - nas, im - plé - bit rui - nas, Ju-di-

Vln. I *sf* *sf*

Vln. II *sf* *sf*

Cb. *sf* *sf*

Cl. Musical notation for Clarinet part, featuring a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, starting with a dynamic marking of *p*.

Hn. Musical notation for Horn part, consisting of a series of sustained notes and rests.

S. Musical notation for Soprano vocal part, showing a vocal line with lyrics.

cá - bit in na - tió - ni-bus im - plé - bit rui - nas: *p* con - quas - sá - bit

A. Musical notation for Alto vocal part, showing a vocal line with lyrics.

cá - bit in na - tió - ni-bus im - plé - bit rui - nas *p* con - quas - sá - bit

T. Musical notation for Tenor vocal part, showing a vocal line with lyrics.

cá - bit in na - tió - ni-bus im - plé - bit rui - nas *p* con - quas - sá - bit

B. Musical notation for Bass vocal part, showing a vocal line with lyrics.

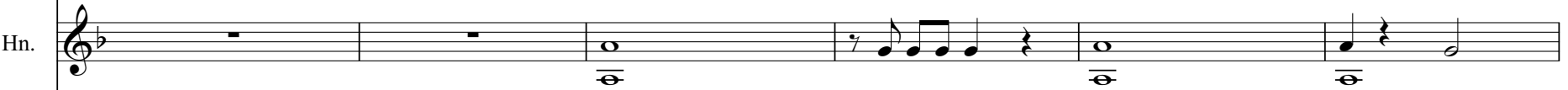
cá - bit in na - tió - ni-bus im - plé - bit rui - nas *p* con - quas - sá - bit

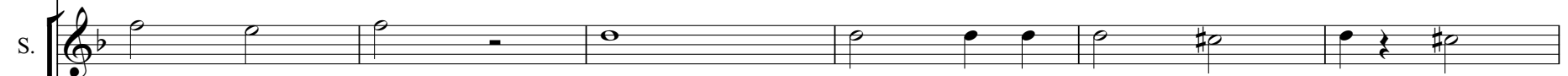
Vln. I Musical notation for Violin I part, featuring a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes and chords, with a dynamic marking of *p*.

Vln. II Musical notation for Violin II part, featuring a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes and chords, with a dynamic marking of *p*.

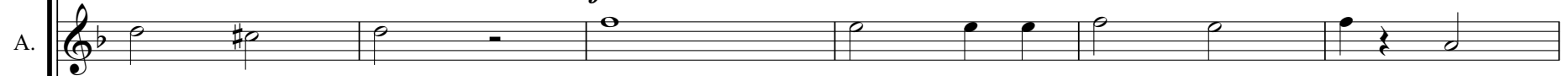
Cb. Musical notation for Cello part, featuring a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes and chords, with a dynamic marking of *p*.

Cl. 

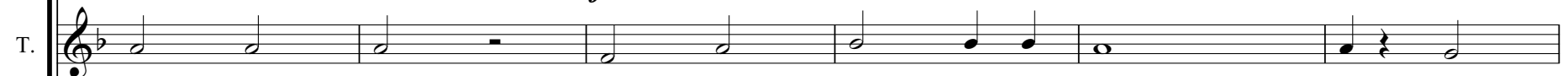
Hn. 

S. 

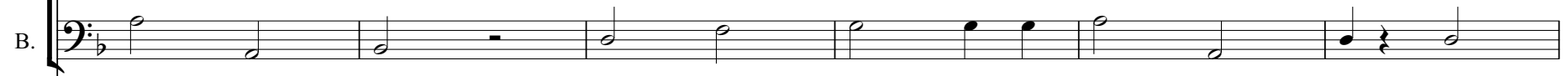
cá - pi - ta in *f* tér - ra mul - tó - - rum, in

A. 

cá - pi - ta in *f* tér - ra - mul - tó - - rum, in

T. 

cá - pi - ta in *f* tér - ra mul - tó - - rum, in

B. 

cá - pi - ta in *f* tér - ra mul - tó - - rum, in

Vln. I 

Vln. II 

Cb. 

Cl. Musical notation for Clarinet (Cl.) in G major, featuring a melodic line with slurs and dynamic markings (< and >).

Hn. Musical notation for Horn (Hn.) in G major, featuring a sustained harmonic accompaniment with a piano (*p*) dynamic marking.

S. Musical notation for Soprano (S.) with lyrics: tér - ra mul - tó - - - rum,

A. Musical notation for Alto (A.) with lyrics: tér - ra mul - tó - - - rum.

T. Musical notation for Tenor (T.) with lyrics: tér - ra mul - tó - - - rum.

B. Musical notation for Bass (B.) with lyrics: tér - ra mul - tó - - - rum. De - - - tor - rén - te,

Vln. I Musical notation for Violin I (Vln. I) in G major, featuring a rhythmic accompaniment.

Vln. II Musical notation for Violin II (Vln. II) in G major, featuring a rhythmic accompaniment.

Cb. Musical notation for Cello (Cb.) in G major, featuring a rhythmic accompaniment.

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Cl. *dol* *dol*

Hn.

S. in, in ví-a bí - bet:

A. De tor - rén - te,

T. in ví - a bí - bet:

B. De tor -

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

Cl.

Hn.

S.

in___ ví - a bí - bet:

A.

De___ tor - rén - te

T.

in ví - a bí - bet:

B.

-rén - te

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

Cl. *p* *cresc.*

Hn. *p* *cresc.*

S. *p* *cresc.*
 prop - - té - rea *cresc.* e - xal - tá - bit cá - put, prop - - té - re - a e - xal - tá - bit

A. *p* *cresc.*
 prop - - té - rea *cresc.* e - xal - tá - bit cá - put, prop - - té - re - a e - xal - tá - bit

T. *p* *cresc.*
 prop - - té - rea *cresc.* e - xal - tá - bit cá - put, prop - - té - re - a e - xal - tá - bit

B. *p* *cresc.*
 prop - - té - rea *cresc.* e - xal - tá - bit cá - put, prop - - té - re - a e - xal - tá - bit

Vln. I *p* *cresc.*

Vln. II *p* *cresc.*

Cb. *p*

Cl. *f* *<* *f* *<* *f* *<* *f* *<*

Hn. *f*

S. *f*

f cá - put, prop - té - re - a, prop - té - re - a e - xal - tá - bit, e - xal - tá - bit cá - -

A. *f*

f cá - put, prop - té - re - a, prop - té - re - a e - xal - tá - bit, e - xal - tá - bit cá - -

T. *f*

f cá - put, prop - té - re - a, prop - té - re - a e - xal - tá - bit, e - xal - tá - bit cá - -

B. *f*

f cá - put, prop - té - re - a, prop - té - re - a e - xal - tá - bit, e - xal - tá - bit cá - -

Vln. I *f* *sf*

Vln. II *f* *sf*

Cb. *f*

Cl.

Hn.

S.

put, e-xal - tá-bit, e-xak - tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit cá - put, e-xal - tá-bit, e-xal-

A.

put, e-xal - tá-bit, e-xal - tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit cá - put, e-xal - tá-bit, e-xal-

T.

put, e-xal-tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit cá - - put, e-xal-tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit


B.

put, e-xal-tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit cá - - put, e-xal-tá-bit e-xal-tá-bit

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

Cl. 

Hn. 

S. 
tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit cá - put, e-xal-tá-bit, e-xal - tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit cá - put,

A. 
tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit cá - put, e-xal-tá-bit, e-xal - tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit cá - put,

T. 
cá - - put, e-xal-tá-bit, e-xal - tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit cá - put,

B. 
cá - - put, e-xal-tá-bit, e-xal - tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit cá - put,

Vln. I 

Vln. II 

Cb. 

Cl. Musical notation for Clarinet part, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It features a melodic line with various dynamics including *p* and *f*.

Hn. Musical notation for Horn part, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It features a rhythmic accompaniment with chords.

S. Musical notation for Soprano part, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It includes the lyrics: e-xal-tá-bit, e-xal - tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit cá - put, prop - té-rea e - xal - tá-bit, e-xal-

A. Musical notation for Alto part, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It includes the lyrics: e-xal-tá-bit, e-xal - tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit cá - put, prop - té-rea e - xal - tá-bit, e-xal-

T. Musical notation for Tenor part, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It includes the lyrics: e-xal-tá-bit, e-xal - tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit cá - put, prop - té-rea e - xal - tá-bit, e-xal-

B. Musical notation for Bass part, starting with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. It includes the lyrics: e-xal-tá-bit, e-xal - tá-bit, e-xal-tá-bit cá - put, prop - té-rea e - xal - tá-bit, e-xal-

Vln. I Musical notation for Violin I part, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It features a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and dynamics including *sf*.

Vln. II Musical notation for Violin II part, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It features a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and dynamics including *sf*.

Cb. Musical notation for Cello part, starting with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. It features a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and dynamics including *f*.

Cl. *f*

Hn.

S.
tá-bit cá-put, cá - put, e - xal - tá - bit cá - - put,

A.
tá-bit cá-put, cá - put, e - xal - tá - bit cá - - put,

T.
tá-bit cá-put, cá - put, e - xal - tá - bit cá - - put,

B.
tá-bir cá-put, cá - put, e - xal - tá - bit cá - - put,

Vln. I *f*

Vln. II *sf* *f*

Cb. *sf*

Cl.

Hn.

S.
e - xal - tá - bit cá - - put, e - xal -

A.
e - xal - tá - bit cá - - put, e - xal -

T.
e - xal - tá - bit cá - - put, e - xal -

B.
e - xal - tá - bit cá - - put, e - xal -

Vln. I
f

Vln. II

Cb.

Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

410

Cl. Musical staff for Clarinet (Cl.) in G major, 3/4 time. It begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note chord (F4, A4) and a quarter note chord (F4, A4). At measure 414, it features a triplet of eighth notes (F4, A4, C5) and a quarter note (F4).

Hn. Musical staff for Horn (Hn.) in G major, 3/4 time. It begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note chord (F4, A4) and a quarter note chord (F4, A4). At measure 414, it features a triplet of eighth notes (F4, A4, C5) and a quarter note (F4).

S. Musical staff for Soprano (S.) in G major, 3/4 time. It begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note chord (F4, A4) and a quarter note chord (F4, A4). At measure 414, it features a triplet of eighth notes (F4, A4, C5) and a quarter note (F4). The lyrics "Gló-ri - a, Gló-ri - a" are written below the staff.

A. Musical staff for Alto (A.) in G major, 3/4 time. It begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note chord (F4, A4) and a quarter note chord (F4, A4). At measure 414, it features a triplet of eighth notes (F4, A4, C5) and a quarter note (F4).

T. Musical staff for Tenor (T.) in G major, 3/4 time. It begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note chord (F4, A4) and a quarter note chord (F4, A4). At measure 414, it features a triplet of eighth notes (F4, A4, C5) and a quarter note (F4).

B. Musical staff for Bass (B.) in G major, 3/4 time. It begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note chord (F4, A4) and a quarter note chord (F4, A4). At measure 414, it features a triplet of eighth notes (F4, A4, C5) and a quarter note (F4).

414 **Andantino**

Vln. I Musical staff for Violin I (Vln. I) in G major, 3/4 time. It begins with a quarter note (G4), followed by a half note (A4), and a quarter note (B4). At measure 414, it features a triplet of eighth notes (G4, A4, B4) and a quarter note (G4). The tempo marking "Andantino" is written above the staff.

Vln. II Musical staff for Violin II (Vln. II) in G major, 3/4 time. It begins with a quarter note (G4), followed by a half note (A4), and a quarter note (B4). At measure 414, it features a triplet of eighth notes (G4, A4, B4) and a quarter note (G4).

Cb. Musical staff for Cello (Cb.) in G major, 3/4 time. It begins with a quarter note (G2), followed by a half note (A2), and a quarter note (B2). At measure 414, it features a triplet of eighth notes (G2, A2, B2) and a quarter note (G2).

Cl.

Musical notation for Clarinet (Cl.) in G major. The staff shows rests for the first two measures, followed by a triplet of eighth notes in the third measure. The fourth measure contains a dynamic marking of *sf* and a triplet of eighth notes. The fifth and sixth measures contain eighth notes. The seventh and eighth measures contain triplets of eighth notes.

Hn.

Musical notation for Horn (Hn.) in G major. The staff shows rests for the first two measures, followed by a triplet of eighth notes in the third measure. The fourth measure contains a dynamic marking of *sf* and a triplet of eighth notes. The fifth and sixth measures contain eighth notes. The seventh and eighth measures contain triplets of eighth notes.

S.

Pá-tri, Pá-tri, et Fí-lio, et Fí-li - o, et Spí - ri-tui, et Spí - ri-tui, et Spí-ri-tui Sánc - to,

Vocal line for Soprano (S.) in G major. The melody consists of eighth and quarter notes. There are dynamic markings of *f* and *sf*. There are several triplet markings over eighth notes.

A.

Musical notation for Alto (A.) in G major. The staff shows rests for all eight measures.

T.

Musical notation for Tenor (T.) in G major. The staff shows rests for all eight measures.

B.

Musical notation for Bass (B.) in G major. The staff shows rests for all eight measures.

Vln. I

Musical notation for Violin I (Vln. I) in G major. The staff shows eighth notes and quarter notes. There are dynamic markings of *f* and *sf*. There are triplet markings over eighth notes.

Vln. II

Musical notation for Violin II (Vln. II) in G major. The staff shows eighth notes and quarter notes. There are dynamic markings of *f* and *sf*. There are triplet markings over eighth notes.

Cb.

Musical notation for Cello (Cb.) in G major. The staff shows quarter notes and eighth notes. There are dynamic markings of *f* and *sf*. There are triplet markings over eighth notes.

Cl.

Musical staff for Clarinet (Cl.) in G major. The staff contains several measures of music, including a *p* dynamic marking and triplet markings.

Hn.

Musical staff for Horn (Hn.) in G major. The staff contains several measures of music, including triplet markings.

S.

Musical staff for Soprano (S.) in G major. The staff contains several measures of music with lyrics: *Gló - ri-a Pá - - tri, Pá - tri, et Fí - li-o, et Spí - ri - tui Sánto,*. The staff includes triplet markings and a *p* dynamic marking.

A.

Musical staff for Alto (A.) in G major. The staff is currently empty.

T.

Musical staff for Tenor (T.) in G major. The staff is currently empty.

B.

Musical staff for Bass (B.) in G major. The staff is currently empty.

Vln. I

Musical staff for Violin I (Vln. I.) in G major. The staff contains several measures of music, including triplet markings and a *f* dynamic marking.

Vln. II

Musical staff for Violin II (Vln. II.) in G major. The staff contains several measures of music, including triplet markings.

Cb.

Musical staff for Cello (Cb.) in G major. The staff contains several measures of music, including triplet markings and a *f* dynamic marking.


430

Cl. 

Hn. 

S. 
et Spí - ri - tui Sánc - to, et Spí - ri - tui Sánc - to, Sánc -

A. 

T. 

B. 

Vln. I 

Vln. II 

Cb. 

437

440 **Allegro**

Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Allegro

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.

Cl. Musical notation for Clarinet part, starting with a dynamic marking of *f*.

Hn. Musical notation for Horn part.

S. Musical notation for Soprano part with lyrics: *sém - per, et in saé - cu - la sae - cu - ló - rum. A - - men, et in saé - cu - la*

A. Musical notation for Alto part with lyrics: *sém - per, et in saé - cu - la sae - cu - ló - rum. A - - men, et in saé - cu - la*

T. Musical notation for Tenor part with lyrics: *sém - per, et in saé - cu - la sae - cu - ló - rum. A - - men, et in saé - cu - la*

B. Musical notation for Bass part with lyrics: *sém - per, et in saé - cu - la sae - cu - ló - rum. A - - men, et in saé - cu - la*

Vln. I Musical notation for Violin I part, starting with a dynamic marking of *f*.

Vln. II Musical notation for Violin II part, starting with a dynamic marking of *f*.

Cb. Musical notation for Cello part.

Cl.

Hn.

S.
sae - cu - ló - rum. A - men, A - men, si - cut é - rat in prin - cí - pi-o, et

A.
sae - cu - ló - rum. A - men, A - men, si - cut é - rat in prin - cí - pi-o, et

T.
sae - cu - ló - rum. A - men, A - men, et núnc, et sé - m - per, et in

B.
sae - cu - ló - rum. A - men, A - men, et núnc, et sé - m - per, et in

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cb.
sf *sf* *sf*

Detailed description of the musical score: The score is for page 449 and is in the key of D major (two sharps). It features a vocal ensemble and a chamber orchestra. The vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) sing the Latin text: "sae - cu - ló - rum. A - men, A - men, si - cut é - rat in prin - cí - pi-o, et". The instrumental parts include Clarinet (Cl.), Horn (Hn.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), and Cello (Cb.). The Cello part has dynamic markings of *sf* (sforzando) at the beginning of the second, third, and fourth measures. The vocal parts have trills and triplets indicated by the number '3' above the notes. The instrumental parts provide harmonic support and texture.

Cl.

Hn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. I


Vln. II


Cb.

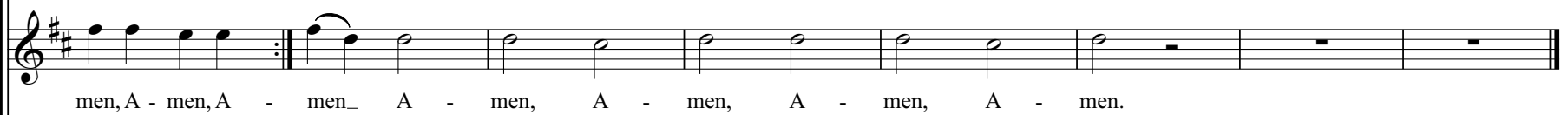
nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen, A -
nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen, A -
saecula saeculorum. Amen, Amen, Amen, A -
saecula saeculorum. A - - - men, A -

sf


Cl. 

Hn. 

S. 
men, A - men, A - men, A - men, A - men, A - men, A - men.

A. 
men, A - men, A - men, A - men, A - men, A - men, A - men.

T. 
men, A - men, A - men, A - men, A - men, A - men, A - men.

B. 
men, A - men, A - men, A - men, A - men, A - men, A - men.

Vln. I 

Vln. II 

Cb. 

Salmo Letatus Sum

por

Dn. Santiago Herrera

con Dos Violines, dos Clarinetes, dos Trompas
y Cuatro Voces

Salmo Letatus Sum

HERRERA, Santiago

Allegro moderato

Clarinets in B \flat

Musical staff for Clarinets in B \flat . The staff is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat. It features a series of chords and rests, with some notes marked with accents.

Horns in F

Musical staff for Horns in F. The staff is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a dynamic marking of *f* and contains a series of chords and rests.

Soprano

Musical staff for Soprano. The staff is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat. It contains rests for most of the piece, followed by three notes in the final measure.

Le - ta - tus

Alto

Musical staff for Alto. The staff is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat. It contains rests for most of the piece, followed by three notes in the final measure.

Le - ta - tus

Tenor

Musical staff for Tenor. The staff is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat. It contains rests for most of the piece, followed by three notes in the final measure.

Le - te - tus

Bass

Musical staff for Bass. The staff is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat. It contains rests for most of the piece, followed by three notes in the final measure.

Le - ta - tus

Allegro moderato

Violin II

Musical staff for Violin II. The staff is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a dynamic marking of *f* and contains a series of chords and rests. A hairpin symbol is present above the final measure.

Violin I

Musical staff for Violin I. The staff is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a dynamic marking of *f* and contains a series of chords and rests, with some melodic lines.

Contrabass

Musical staff for Contrabass. The staff is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat. It contains a series of chords and rests.

10

Cl.

Hrn.

S.
sum Le - ta - tus sum in his, que dic-ta sunt mi - - hi

A.
sum Le - ta - tus sum in his, que dic-ta sunt mi - - hi

T.
sum Le - ta - tus sum in his, que dic-ta sunt mi - - hi

B.
sum Le - ta - tus sum in his, que dic-ta sunt mi - - hi Le - ta - tus_ pizz.

Vln. II

Vln. I
pizz.

Cb.

18

Cl.

Hrn.

S.
Le - ta - tus_ sum_ sum_ mi - hi:

A.
Le - te - tus_ sum_ sum_ mi - hi:

T.

B.
sum_ in_ his_ que_ dic - ta

Vln. II
arco

Vln. I
arco

Cb.

Detailed description: This page of a musical score covers measures 18 through 24. It features a vocal ensemble consisting of Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B.), along with instrumental parts for Clarinet (Cl.), Horns (Hrn.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), and Cello (Cb.). The vocal parts have lyrics in Latin: 'Le - ta - tus_ sum_ sum_ mi - hi:' for Soprano and Alto, and 'sum_ in_ his_ que_ dic - ta' for Bass. The instrumental parts include a Clarinet part with rests and a final chord, Horns with a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes, Violins I and II playing chords marked 'arco', and a Cello part with a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. The score is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C).

25

Cl.

Musical staff for Clarinet (Cl.) in G major, 4/4 time. The staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including triplet markings. The dynamic marking *ff* is present at the end of the staff.

Hrn.

Musical staff for Horn (Hrn.) in G major, 4/4 time. The staff contains a harmonic accompaniment of chords and eighth notes. The dynamic marking *f* is present at the beginning, and *sf* is present at the end.

S.

Musical staff for Soprano (S.) in G major, 4/4 time. The staff contains the vocal line with lyrics: *Le-ta - tus sum Le-ta-tus sum in his, que dic-ta sunt mi - hi: In Do -*

A.

Musical staff for Alto (A.) in G major, 4/4 time. The staff contains the vocal line with lyrics: *Le-ta - tus sum Le-ta-tus sum in his, que dic-ta sunt mi - hi: In Do -*

T.

Musical staff for Tenor (T.) in G major, 4/4 time. The staff contains the vocal line with lyrics: *Le-ta - tus sum Le-ta-tus sum in his, que dic-ta sunt mi - hi: In Do -*

B.

Musical staff for Bass (B.) in G major, 4/4 time. The staff contains the vocal line with lyrics: *Le-ta - tus sum Le-ta-tus sum in his, que dic-ta sunt mi - hi: In Do -*

Vln. II

Musical staff for Violin II (Vln. II) in G major, 4/4 time. The staff contains a harmonic accompaniment of chords. The dynamic marking *f* is present at the beginning, and *ff* is present at the end.

Vln. I

Musical staff for Violin I (Vln. I) in G major, 4/4 time. The staff contains a harmonic accompaniment of chords. The dynamic marking *f* is present at the beginning, and *ff* is present at the end.

Cb.

Musical staff for Cello (Cb.) in G major, 4/4 time. The staff contains a harmonic accompaniment of chords.

34

Cl. *ff sf sf sf*

Hrn. *sf sf sf*

S. *mum Do - mi - ni i - bi - mus i - bi - mus i - bi - mus i - bi - mus*

A. *mum Do - mi - ni i - bi - mus i - bi - mus*

T. *mum Do - mi - ni i - bi - mus i - bi - mus i - bi - mus i - bi - mus*

B. *mum Do - mi - ni i - bis mus i - bi - mus i - bi - mus i - bi - mus*

Vln. II *ff sf sf*

Vln. I *ff sf sf*

Cb.

41

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

In *Do - mum*
p

47

Cl. *p*

Hrn.

S. *p*
In - - - - - Do - - - - - mum Do - mi-ni i - - - - - bi - mus.

A. *3 3 3*
Do - - - - - mi-ni in Do - mum Do - mi-ni i - bi - mus in - - - - - Do - mum

T. *p*
In - - - - - Do - mum Do - *3 3* - - - - - mi-ni in Do - mum Do - mi-ni i - bi - mus

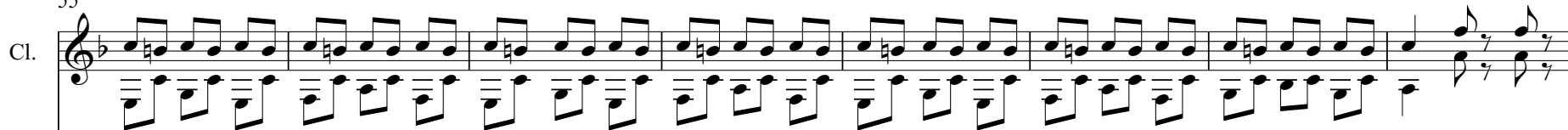
B. *p*
In Do - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni i - - - - - bi - mus

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

55

Cl. 

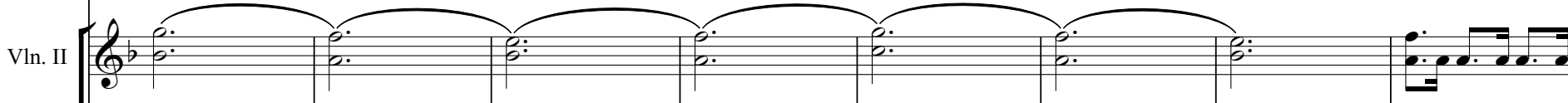
Hrn. 

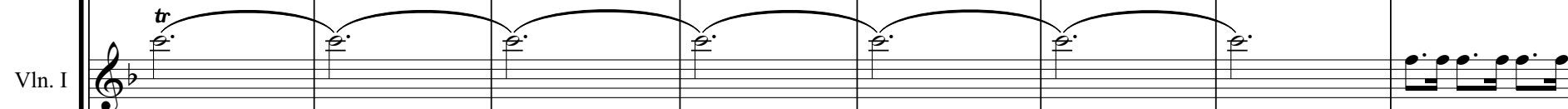
S. 
in Do - mum Do - mi-ni i - - - bi - mus.

A. 
Do - - mi-ni in Do - mum Do - mi-ni i - bi - mus.

T. 
in Do - mum Do - - mi-ni i - - - bi - mus.

B. 
in Do - mum Do - mi-ni i - - - bi - mus.

Vln. II 

Vln. I 

Cb. 

63

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

Stan - tes e - rant pe - des

Stan - tes e - rant pe - des nos - tri

Stan - tes e - rant pe - des nos - tri

Stan - tes e - rant pe - des

73

Cl.

Hrn.

S. *nos - tri* Stan - tes e - rant pe - des_

A. *Stan - tes e - rant pe - des nos tri*

T. *Stan - tes e - rant pe - des nos tri*

B. *nos - tri* Stan - tes e - rant pe - des

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

81

Cl.
Hrn.
S.
A.
T.
B.
Vln. II
Vln. I
Cb.

nos - tri Stan - tes e - rant pe - des nos - tri pe - des

Stan - tes e - rant pe - des nos - tri pe - des

Stan - tes e - rant pe - des nos - tri pe - des

nos - tri Stan - tes e - ran pe - des nos - tri pe - des

86

Cl.

Hrn.

S.
nos - tri pe - des nos - tri pe - des nos - tri pe - des nos - tri

A.
nos - tri pe - des nos - tri pe - des nos - tri pe - des nos - tri

T.
nos - tri pe - des nos - tri pe - des nos - tri pe - des nos - tri

B.
nos - tri pe - des nos - tri pe - des nos - tri pe - des nos - tri

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

sf

sf

sf

sf

sf

93

Cl. *f*

Hrn. *f*

S. *f*
in a - tris tu - is, Je - ru - sa - lem Je -

A. *f*
in a - tris

T. *f*
Je -

B. *f*
Je -

Vln. II *f*

Vln. I *f*

Cb. *f*

Detailed description: This is a page of a musical score, page 14, starting at measure 93. The score is for a full orchestra and a vocal ensemble. The instruments listed are Clarinet (Cl.), Horn (Hrn.), Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), Bass (B.), Violin II (Vln. II), Violin I (Vln. I), and Cello (Cb.). The vocal parts (S., A., T., B.) have lyrics in Latin: "in a - tris tu - is, Je - ru - sa - lem Je -" for Soprano, "in a - tris" for Alto, "Je -" for Tenor, and "Je -" for Bass. The instrumental parts are marked with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and articulation marks.

101

Cl.

Hrn.

S.
ru - sa - lem *p* in a - tris tu - is, in a - tris tu is, in a - tris tu - is, Je - ru - sa

A.
tu - is Je - ru - sa - lem *p* in a - tris tu - is in a - tris tu - is in a - tris tu - *f*is, Je - ru - sa

T.
ru - sa - lem *p* in a - tris tu - is in a - tris tu - is in a - tris tu - *f*is Je - ru - sa

B.
ru - sa - lem *p* in a - tris tu - is in a - tris tu - is in a - tri tu - is Je - ru - sa

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

111

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

lem Je-ru - sa - lem Je-ru - sa - lem Je - - -

lem Je-ru - sa - lem Je-ru - sa - lem Je - - -

lem Je-ru - sa - lem Je-ru - sa - lem Je - - -

lem Je-ru - sa - lem Je-ru - sa - lem Je - - -

115

Cl.

Hrn.

S. -ru - - sa - lem

A. ru - - sa - lem

T. ru - - sa - lem

B. -ru - - sa - lem

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

123

Cl. *f*

Hrn.

S.
Je Je Je - - - ru - - - - sa -

A.
in a - tris tu - is tu - is Je - ru - - - - sa - lem Je -

T.
Je Je Je - - - - - - - -

B.
Je Je Je - - - - - - - - ru - - -

Vln. II *f* *f* *f*

Vln. I *f* *f* *f*

Cb.

130

Cl. *sf sf*

Hrn. *sf*

S. *lem in a - tris tu - is, in a - tris tu - is, Je - - - ru - - - sa -*

A. *-ru - sa - lem Je Je Je - ru - sa - lem - Je - ru - sa -*

T. *-ru - sa - lem Je Je Je - ru - sa - lem - Je - ru - sa -*

B. *sa - - - lem Je Je Je - - - ru - - - sa -*

Vln. II *sf*

Vln. I *sf*

Cb.

146

Cl.

Hrn.

S.
lem Je-ru-sa - lem Je - ru - sa - lem Je - ru - sa - lem Je - ru - sa - lem

A.
lem Je-ru-sa - lem Je - ru - sa - lem Je - ru - sa - lem Je - ru - sa - lem

T.
lem Je-ru-sa - lem Je - ru - sa - lem Je - ru - sa - lem Je - ru - sa - lem

B.
lem Je-ru-sa - lem Je - ru - sa - lem Je - ru - sa - lem Je - ru - sa - lem

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

152

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

Je - ru - sa -

Je - ru - sa -

Je - ru - sa -

Je - ru - sa -

Je - ru - sa -

161

Cl.

Hrn.

S.
lem Je - ru - sa - lem, que e - di - fi - ca - tur ut ci - vi - tas

A.
lem Je - ru - sa - lem que e - di - fi - ca - tur ut ci - vi - tas

T.
8 lem Je - ru - sa - lem que e - di - fi - ca - tur ut ci - vi - tas

B.
lem Je - ru - sa - lem que e - di - fi - ca - tur ut ci - vi - tas

Vln. II


Vln. I


Cb.


168 **Andante**

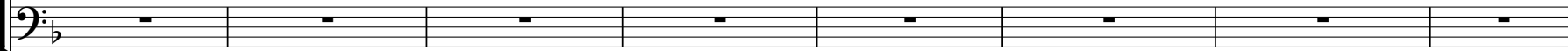
Cl. 

Hrn. 

S. 

A. 

T. 

B. 

Andante

Vln. II 

Vln. I 

Cb. 

184

Cl. *p* *f*

Hrn. *f* *p*

S. Je - ru - sa-lem que e - di - fi - ca - tur e - di - fi - ca - tur ut - ci - vi - tas cu - jupanti - ci

A.

T.

B. Je - ru - sa-lem que e - di - fi - ca - tur e - di - fi - ca - tur ut - ci - vi - tas cu - jupanti - ci

Vln. II *f*

Vln. I *f*

Cb.

193

Cl.

Musical notation for Clarinet (Cl.) in G-flat major, 3/4 time. The staff shows a melodic line with rests, followed by a triplet of eighth notes marked *f*, and then a triplet of eighth notes marked *p*.

Hrn.

Musical notation for Horn (Hrn.) in G-flat major, 3/4 time. The staff shows a melodic line with rests, followed by a triplet of eighth notes marked *f*, and then a triplet of eighth notes marked *p*.

S.

Musical notation for Soprano (S.) in G-flat major, 3/4 time. The staff shows a melodic line with rests, followed by a triplet of eighth notes marked *f*, and then a triplet of eighth notes marked *p*.

pa - tio e - jus e - jus in - i - dip - sum Il - luc e - nim

A.

Musical notation for Alto (A.) in G-flat major, 3/4 time. The staff shows a melodic line with rests, followed by a triplet of eighth notes marked *f*, and then a triplet of eighth notes marked *p*.

Il - luc e - nim

T.

Musical notation for Tenor (T.) in G-flat major, 3/4 time. The staff shows a melodic line with rests, followed by a triplet of eighth notes marked *f*, and then a triplet of eighth notes marked *p*.

Il - luc e - nim

B.

Musical notation for Bass (B.) in G-flat major, 3/4 time. The staff shows a melodic line with rests, followed by a triplet of eighth notes marked *f*, and then a triplet of eighth notes marked *p*.

pa - tio e - jus e - jus in - i - dip - sum Il - luc e - nim

Vln. II

Musical notation for Violin II (Vln. II) in G-flat major, 3/4 time. The staff shows a melodic line with rests, followed by a triplet of eighth notes marked *f*, and then a triplet of eighth notes marked *p*.

p

Vln. I

Musical notation for Violin I (Vln. I) in G-flat major, 3/4 time. The staff shows a melodic line with rests, followed by a triplet of eighth notes marked *f*, and then a triplet of eighth notes marked *p*.

f

p

Cb.

Musical notation for Contrabass (Cb.) in G-flat major, 3/4 time. The staff shows a melodic line with rests, followed by a triplet of eighth notes marked *f*, and then a triplet of eighth notes marked *p*.

f

198

Cl. *f* *sf*

Hrn. *f* *ff* *p*

S.
as - - cen - de - runt tri - bus, tri - bus, Do - - - mi -

A.
as - - cen - de - runt tri - bus, tri bus, Do - - - mi -

T.
as - - cen - de - runt tri - bus, tri - bus, Do - - - mi -

B.
as - cen - - de - runt tri - bus, tri - bus, Do - - - mi -

Vln. II *f* *f*

Vln. I *f* *ff*

Cb. *f*

217

Cl. *ad con - fi - ten - dum ad con - fi - ten - dum no - - - - - mi -*

Hrn. *ad con - fi - ten - dum ad con - fi - ten - dum no - - - - - mi -*

S. *ad con - fi - ten - dum ad con - fi - ten - dum no - - - - - mi -*

A. *ad con - fi - ten - dum ad con - fi - ten - dum no - - - - - mi -*

T. *ad con - fi - ten - dum ad con - fi - ten - dum no - - - - - mi -*

B. *ad con - fi - ten - dum ad con - fi - ten - dum no - - - - - mi -*

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

224

Cl. *ni Do - mi - ni Do - mi - ni Do - mi - ni.*

Hrn. *ni Do - mi - ni Do - mi - ni Do - mi - ni.*

S. *ni Do - mi - ni Do - mi - ni Do - mi - ni.*

A. *ni Do - mi - ni Do - mi - ni Do - mi - ni.*

T. *ni Do - mi - ni Do - mi - ni Do - mi - ni.*

B. *ni Do - mi - ni Do - mi - ni Do - mi - ni.*

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

232

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

Se - des se - des se - des se - des

A.

Qui - a il - lic se - de - runt se - des in ju - di - ci - o se - des

T.

Se - des se - des se - des se - des

B.

Se - des se - des se - des se - des

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

241

Cl.

Hrn.

S.
su - per su - per su - per su - per su - - -

A.
su - per se - des su - per se - des su - per se - des su - per se - des su - - -

T.
su - per su - per su - per su - per su - - -

B.
su - per su - per su - per su - per su - - -

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

251

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

258

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

vid super Do - mum super Do - mum super Do - mum Da - vid super Do - mum super

vid super Do - mum super Do - mum super Do - mum Da - vid super Do - mum super

vid super Do - mun super Do - mum super Do - mum Da - vid super Do - mum super

vid super Do - mum super Do - mum super Do - mum Da - vid super Do - mum super

265

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

Do - mum su - per Do - mum Da - vid Da - vid Da -

Do - mum su - per Do - mum Da - vid Da - vid Da -

Do - mum su - per Do - mum Da - vid Da - vid Da -

Do - mum su - per Do - mum Da - vid Da - - - vid Da - -

269

Cl.

Hrn.

S.
-vid Da - vid

A.
-vid Da - vid

T.
-vid Da - - vid

B.
- vid Da - - vid

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

Andante

Cl. *p*

Hrn. *p*

S. *p* Ro - ga - te ro

A.

T.

B.

Detailed description: This block contains the upper vocal and woodwind staves. The Cl. and Hrn. parts feature a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and rests, marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The Soprano (S.) part has a vocal line with the lyrics "Ro - ga - te ro" starting in the final measure. The Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B.) parts are currently silent.

Andante

Vln. II *p*

Vln. I *dolce* *sf* *dolce* *tr* *sf* *sf* *p*

Cb. *p*

Detailed description: This block contains the lower string and double bass staves. The Vln. II part plays a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes, marked piano (*p*). The Vln. I part features a more melodic line with dynamics ranging from *dolce* to *sf* (sforzando), including a trill (*tr*) in the fifth measure. The Cb. part provides a bass line with eighth-note patterns, marked piano (*p*).

284

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

p *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*

ga - te que ad pa cem que ad pa - cem que ad pa cem e - ru - sa lem Je - ru - sa - lem

293

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

et a-bun-dan-ti-a di-li-gen-ti-bus-te

303

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

et a-bun-dan-tia di-li-gen-ti-bus te Ro-ga-te Ro-ga-te

Ro-ga-te Ro-ga-te ro-ga-te quead

Ro-ga-te Ro-ga-te

Ro-ga-te Ro-ga-te

311

Cl. *que ad pacem sunt Je - ru - salem Je - ru - sa - lem lem et a - bun - dan - tia*

Hrn. *pacem que ad pacem sunt Je - ru - salem Je - ru - sa - lem lem et ab - bun - dan - tia*

S. *que ad pacem sunt Je - ru - salem Je - ru - sa - lem lem et a - bun - dan - tia*

A. *que ad pa - cem sunt Je - ru - salem Je - ru - sa - lem lem et a - bun - dan - tia*

T. *que ad pa - cem sunt Je - ru - salem Je - ru - sa - lem lem et a - bun - dan - tia*

B. *que ad pa - cem sunt Je - ru - salem Je - ru - sa - lem lem et a - bun - dan - tia*

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

320

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

di - li gen tibus te et a - bun - dan - ti - a di li - gen - ti - bus te. Fi - at fi - at pax in vir - tu - te

di - li - gen tibus te et a - bun - dan - ti - a di li - gen ti - bus te.

di - li gen - tibus te et a - bun - dan - ti - a di li - gen ti - bus te. Fi - at fi - at pax in vir - tu - te

di - li gen - tibus te et a - bun - dan - ti - a di li - gen - ti - bus te.

329

Cl. 

Hrn. 

S. 

A. 

T. 

B. 

Vln. II 

Vln. I 

Cb. 

339

Cl. *p* *f* *f*

Hrn. *pp* *f* *f*

S. *et a - bun - dan - tia in tur - ri - bus tu - is*

A. *Fi - at fi - at pax in - vir - tu - te tu - a et a - bun - dan - ti - a in tur - ri - bus tu - is et*

T. *et a - bun - dan - ti - a in tur - ri - bus tu - is*

B. *Fi - at fi - at pax in - vir - tu - te tu - a et a - bun - dan - ti - a in tur - ri - bus tu - is*

Vln. II *p* *p* *f* *p* *f*

Vln. I *p* *p* *f* *p* *f*

Cb. *p*

347

Cl. *tr* *dolce* *tr*

Hrn.

S.
in tur - ri - bus tu - is tur - ri - bus tu - is,

A.
ab - undant ti - a in turri bus in tur - ri - bus tu - is

T.
in tur - ri - bus tu - is tur - ri - bus tu - is

B.
in tur - ri - bus tu - is tur - ri - bus tu - is

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

357

Cl. 

Hrn. 

S. 

A. 

T. 

B. 

Vln. II 

Vln. I 

Cb. 

366

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

me - - os, Lo - que-bar pa - cem pa - cem de te lo - que - bar pa - cem de te

- - os, Lo - que-bar pa - cem pa - cem de te lo - que - bar pa - cem de te

me - - os Lo - que-bar pa - cem pa - cem de te lo - que - bar pa - cem de te

me - - os Lo - que-bar pa - cem pa - cem de te lo - que - bar pa - cem de te

374

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

f

f

f

f

pa - cem de-te lo - que - bar pa - cem pa - cem de te - - pa-cem pa-cem

pa - cem de-te lo - que - bar pa - cem pa - cem de te - pa-cem pa-cem

pa - cem de-te lo - que - bar pa - cem pa - cem de te _____ pa-cem pa-cem

pa - cem de-te lo - que - bar pa - cem pa - cem de te _____ pa-cem pa-cem

f

f

f

f

382

Mas vivo

Cl.

Hrn.

S.
de_____ te prop - ter Do - mum

A.
de_____ te prop - ter Domum

T.
de_____ te prop - ter Domum

B.
de_____ te Prop - ter Do - mum prop - ter Domum prop - ter Do - mum

Mas vivo

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

390

Cl.
Hrn.
S.
A.
T.
B.
Vln. II
Vln. I
Cb.

prop - ter Do - mum De - i nos - tri

prop - ter Do - mum De - i nos - tri

prop - ter Do - mum De - i nos tri

prop - ter Do - mum Do - - mini De - i nos tri Do - - mini

398

Cl.

Hrn.

S.
De - i nos - tri quae - si - vi bo - na ti - bi ti - bi

A.
De - i nos - tri quae si - vi bo - na ti - bi ti - bi

T.
De - i nos - tri quae - si - vi bo - na ti - bi ti - bi

B.
De - i nos - tri que - si - vi bo - na bo - na bo - na ti - bi bo - na ti - bi

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

407

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

que - si - vi bo - na

que si - vi bo - na

que - si - vi bo - na

que - si - vi bo - na

f

412

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

417

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

-bi que - si - vi bo - na ti - bi ti - -

bi que - si - vi bo - na ti - bi ti - -

bi que - si - vi bo - na ti - bi ti - -

bi ti - bi bo - na bo - na bo - na ti - bi bo - na ti -

423

Cl.

Clarinet part with complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and rests.

Hrn.

Horn part with rests and a melodic phrase consisting of two eighth notes.

S.

bi

que - si - vi

A.

bi

que - si - vi

T.

-bi

que - si - vi

B.

bi

que - si - vi

Vln. II

Violin II part with rests and a melodic phrase consisting of eighth notes.

Vln. I

Violin I part with rests and a melodic phrase consisting of eighth notes, marked with a forte *f* dynamic.

Cb.

Cello part with rests and a melodic phrase consisting of eighth notes.

429

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

bo - na bo - na ti - bi bo - na ti - - - - bi bona ti -

bo - na bo - na ti - bi bo - na ti - - - - bi bona ti -

bo - na bo - na ti - bi bo - na ti - - - - bi bona ti -

bo - na bo - na ti - bi bo - na ti - - - - bi bona ti -

436

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

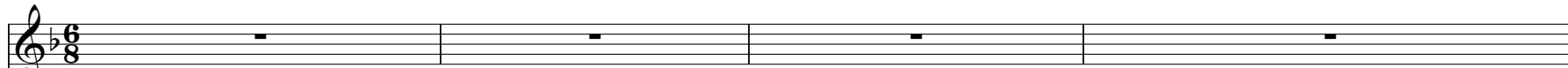
Vln. II

Vln. I

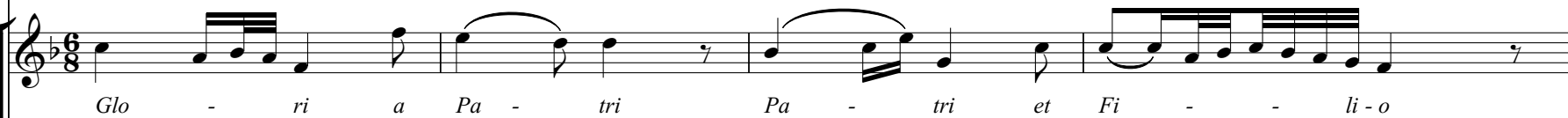
Cb.

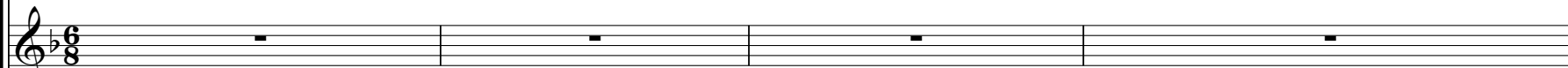
The musical score consists of nine staves. The woodwind section (Cl., Hrn., S., A., T., B.) and vocal soloists (S., A., T., B.) are in the upper half, while the string section (Vln. II, Vln. I, Cb.) is in the lower half. The woodwinds and strings play complex rhythmic patterns, often with slurs and accents. The vocal soloists sing the lyrics: *-bi bona ti - bi ti - bi.* The score concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs.

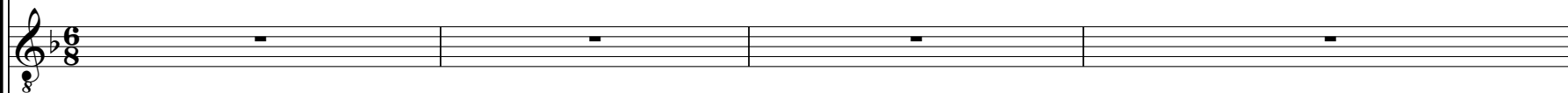
444 **Andante**

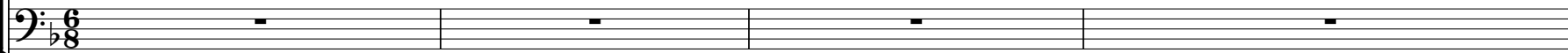
Cl. 

Hrn. 

S. 
Glo - ri a Pa - tri Pa - tri et Fi - - li - o

A. 

T. 

B. 

Andante

Vln. II 

Vln. I 

Cb. 

452

Cl.

Hrn.

S.
Spi - ri - tu-i Sanc - - - - - to Glori-a Pa-tri Patri et Fi - liœt Spi - - - -

A.

T.

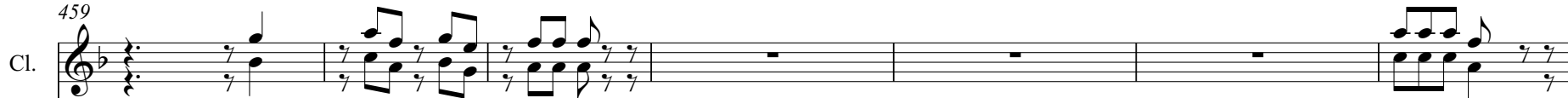
B.

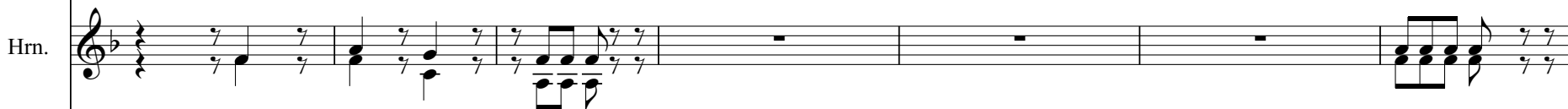
Vln. II
p *sf* *f*

Vln. I
p *sf* *f*

Cb.
p *sf*

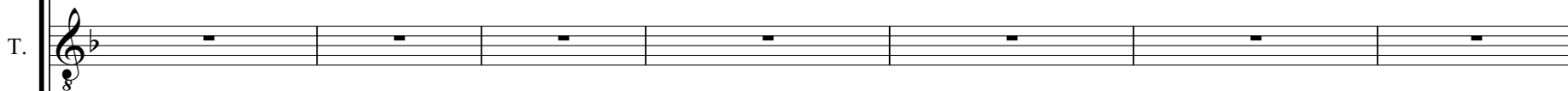
459

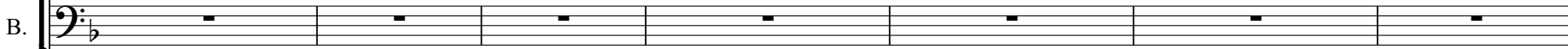
Cl. 

Hrn. 

S. 
3 ri tu i Sanc to et Spi ri tu i Sanc

A. 

T. 

B. 

Vln. II 

Vln. I 

Cb. 

472

Cl. Musical staff for Clarinet (Cl.) in G-flat major, showing rests for the first five measures and a final measure with a forte (f) dynamic marking.

Hrn. Musical staff for Horn (Hrn.) in G-flat major, showing rests for the first five measures and a final measure with a forte (f) dynamic marking.

S. Musical staff for Soprano (S.) in G-flat major, featuring a melodic line with lyrics "to et Spi" starting in the final measure.

A. Musical staff for Alto (A.) in G-flat major, showing rests for all six measures.

T. Musical staff for Tenor (T.) in G-flat major, showing rests for all six measures.

B. Musical staff for Bass (B.) in G-flat major, showing rests for all six measures.

Vln. II Musical staff for Violin II (Vln. II) in G-flat major, playing a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes, with a forte (f) dynamic marking in the final measure.

Vln. I Musical staff for Violin I (Vln. I) in G-flat major, playing a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes, with a forte (f) dynamic marking in the final measure.

Cb. Musical staff for Cello (Cb.) in G-flat major, playing a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes, with the instruction "arco" above the staff and a forte (f) dynamic marking in the final measure.

478

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

p

f

p

p

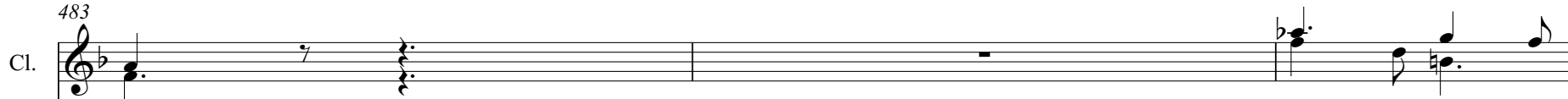
ri - tui - Sanc

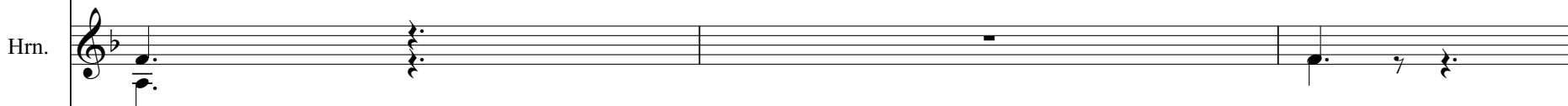
3

3

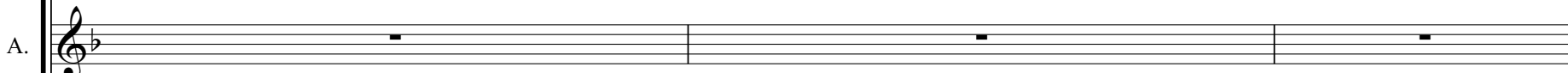
3

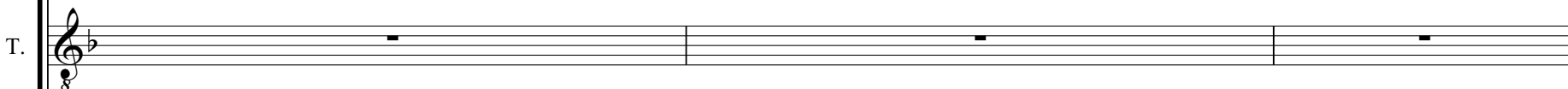
483

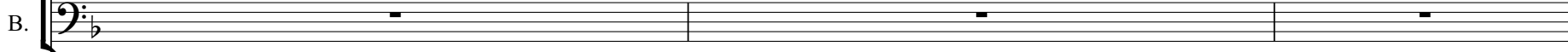
Cl. 

Hrn. 

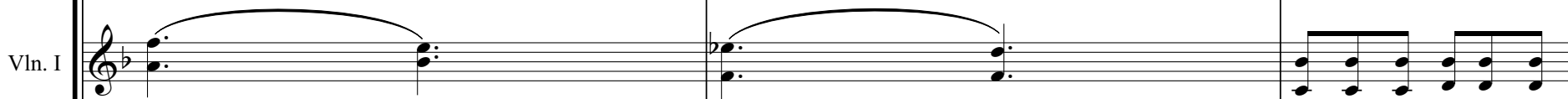
S. 

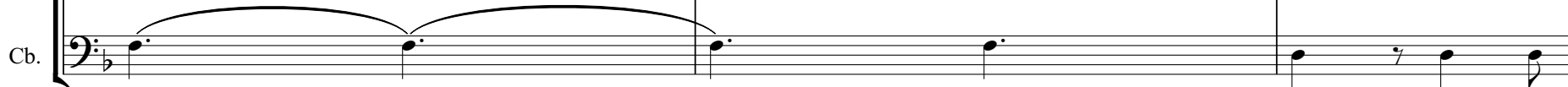
A. 

T. 

B. 

Vln. II 

Vln. I 

Cb. 

486

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

f

to Sanc

487

Cl.

Musical staff for Clarinet (Cl.) in G major, showing notes and rests for measures 487-489.

Hrn.

Musical staff for Horn (Hrn.) in G major, showing notes and rests for measures 487-489.

S.

Musical staff for Saxophone (S.) in G major, featuring a melodic line with a triplet of eighth notes and a fermata. The lyrics "to." are written below the staff.

A.

Musical staff for Alto Saxophone (A.) in G major, showing rests for measures 487-489.

T.

Musical staff for Tenor Saxophone (T.) in G major, showing rests for measures 487-489.

B.

Musical staff for Bass Saxophone (B.) in G major, showing rests for measures 487-489.

Vln. II

Musical staff for Violin II (Vln. II) in G major, showing notes and rests for measures 487-489.

Vln. I

Musical staff for Violin I (Vln. I) in G major, showing notes and rests for measures 487-489.

Cb.

Musical staff for Cello (Cb.) in G major, showing notes and rests for measures 487-489.

498

Cl.

Hrn.

S.
ci - pi-o enuncet sem - per se - cu - lo - rum

A.
ci - pi-o enuncet sem - per se - cu - lo - rum

T.
ci - pi-o enuncet sem - per

B.
ci - pi-o enuncet sem - per et in se - cula se - cu

Vln. II

Vln. I
f

Cb.

506

Cl.

Hrn.

S.
A - men_ Si - cut e-rat in prin - ci - pi o et nunc et sem per et

A.
A - men Si - cut e-rat in prin - ci - pi o et nunc et sem per et

T.
Si cut e-rat in prin - ci - pi o et nunc et sem per et

B.
lo - rum si - cut e-rat in prin - ci - pi o et nunc et sem per et

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

f

f

f

515

Cl.

Hrn.

S.
sem - per et in se - cu - la se cu - lo - rum A - men se - cu - lo - rum se - cu -

A.
sem - per et in se - cu - la se cu - lo - rum A - men se - cu - lo - rum se - cu -

T.
sem - per et in se - cu - la se cu - lo - rum A - men se - cu - lo - rum se - cu -

B.
sem - per et in se - cu - la se cu - lo - rum A - men se - cu - lo - rum se - cu -

Vln. II
f

Vln. I

Cb.

524

Cl.
Hrn.
S.
A.
T.
B.
Vln. II
Vln. I
Cb.

lo - rum A - - - - - men se - cu - lo - rum

lo - rum A - - - - - men se - cu - lo - rum

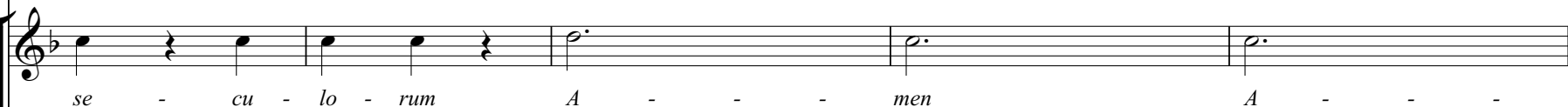
lo - rum A - - - - - men se - cu - lo - rum

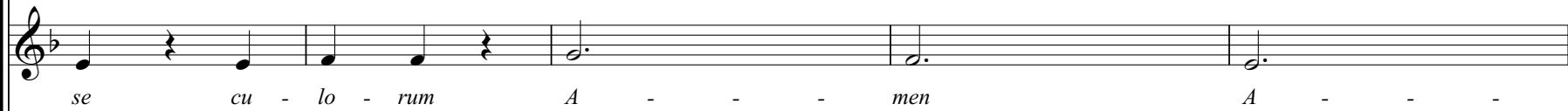
lo - rum A - - - - - men se cu - lo - rum

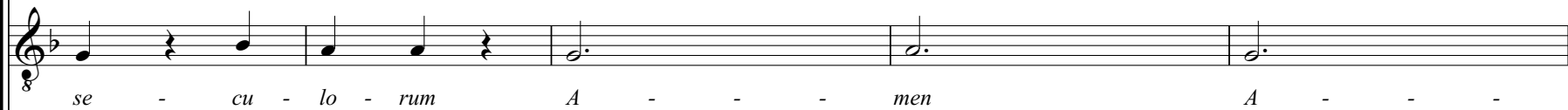
531

Cl. 

Hrn. 

S. 

A. 

T. 

B. 

Vln. II 

Vln. I 

Cb. 

536

Cl.

Hrn.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. II

Vln. I

Cb.

men A - men A - men A - men.

men A - men A - men A - men.

men A - men A - men A - men.

men A - men A - men A - men.