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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

Spanish Colonial Liturgical Music in the Philippines:
Inventing a Tradition

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

by

David Joseph Kendall

June 2010

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Rogerio Budasz, Chairperson

Dr. Walter Clark

Dr. René Lysloff

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The Dissertation of David Joseph Kendall is approved:

Committee Chairperson

Acknowledgements

A project like this one represents a formal transition from one side of the desk to the other, from a scholar in training to a scholar in practice, from an identity as student to one as colleague. As such, there are many who have had a hand in this transition.

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Dedication

To Dad:
Miles Elwyn Topham (1947-2006)

To Sister:
Melinda Ann Landis Whedon (1978-2009)

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Spanish Colonial Liturgical Music in the Philippines:
Inventing a Tradition

by

David Joseph Kendall

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Music
University of California, Riverside, June 2010
Dr. Rogerio Budasz, Chairperson

Spanish colonial music, both sacred and secular, enjoyed a long and widespread performance tradition in the Philippines from 1565 to 1898, but this has largely been forgotten or obscured in scholarship of the last hundred years. Musical practices that survive from the colonial period with an intact performance tradition are often reworked, or invented, to serve modern institutional and nationalist purposes, and work indicators of Philippine nationality both in the Philippines and abroad. This state of affairs is the result of both American and Post-independence era historiographies that sought to minimize or erase the perceived Spanish cultural influence on the country. Spanish liturgical music has not been a part of these invented cultural traditions, but recent interest in the form is driving scholarship that may serve as an impetus toward such an invention. Liturgical music is an interesting case among other arts that demonstrate a high level of syncretism with the various additional cultural influences surrounding the Spanish colony: Mexican, Chinese, and Islamic as well as Spanish. The extent to which it exhibits Philippine-ness will go a long way toward determining its existence as a practice among the nationally

accepted and exported cultural practices. The music is part of an international parish style common throughout the colonial Iberian world and there are many common repertoires that exist between the Old World, the New World, and the Philippines.

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Introduction: Philippine History and the Invention of Tradition

On a warm, sunny day in August of 2006 I visited the island province of Bohol together with my wife and mother. My wife, a Filipina¹ from Davao City (the largest city on the southern Philippine island of Mindanao), had heard that the island was very beautiful and was an out-of-the-way travel destination not yet overrun by tourists. None of us had ever been to Bohol, and it was touted as an island paradise in the travel books with descriptions of its famous Chocolate Hills, Philippine tarsier monkeys, and old Spanish stone churches. I was happy to get another perspective on the Philippines, as I had spent my previous several trips there with my wife's family in Davao or in crowded Manila. As part of a tour package, we were driven to the main tourist attractions, among them the museum housed in the Baclayon parish church about 7 kilometers east of the provincial capital of Tagbilaran City (see map in Chapter 3, Figure 17). Among the vestments, chalices and *santos* displayed in the museum were a few large choirbooks written in old square and diamond notation. Though I knew that Spain had occupied the Philippines for a number of centuries, it had simply never occurred to me that they would have brought their liturgical musical traditions as well, though it made perfect sense on further reflection given what I knew about the Spanish colonies in Latin America. I had never heard anything about liturgical music in the Philippines, and now that I was aware of their existence I found precious little to further my newfound interest. On our return to

¹ Residents of (and expatriates from) the Philippines are known collectively as *Filipinos*. When speaking of individuals, a man will be called a *Filipino* and a woman a *Filipina*.

the United States I continued my master's studies at the University of California Riverside (UCR), where I consulted with my thesis advisor Dr. Walter Clark. When he asked what I was considering as a dissertation topic for my upcoming doctoral studies, I replied that my interest had been piqued by music that I had seen in the Philippines, but that I did not know where to look for more information. Dr. Clark immediately got me in touch with his friend, colleague and Philippine specialist William Summers at Dartmouth College, while also informing me that the next year's (2007) annual UCR Music Department *Encuentros/Encounters* conference would feature the Philippines and include several Filipino scholars. This fortunate convergence of events has led directly to this study.

Another fortunate convergence, concurrent with the one just described, had to do with my development as a scholar and the scholarly traditions from which I would draw my inspiration. I am a historical musicologist by heart and by training, and I was thrilled that work in primary documentary research of the kind² needed in the Philippines still existed. But I am lucky to have studied in a music department like the one at UCR, where the faculty and students in the three concentrations of musicology, ethnomusicology and composition freely collaborate and associate; an excellent state of affairs that unfortunately is not duplicated in all graduate music programs. This reality allowed me to study with multiple professors across these disciplines, including musicologists skilled in Latin and Iberian American music and ethnomusicologists

² This is often referred to as positivistic research, and I use the term without the negative connotations with which it has become associated in recent decades.

specializing in the musics of Southeast Asia. This has led to a blending of foci and methodology that is in my view quite appropriate to the subject of the Spanish colonial church music of the Philippines. Musicology brings with it a particular expertise in physical source material and archival technique, the Catholic Church and all its history and influence, Spain and Western Europe, stylistic analysis, and the making of critical editions. Ethnomusicology provides a focus on local and contextual practices, culture and society, non-Western languages, and ethnography. The music of the Spanish church in the Philippines presents an ideal meeting of these disciplines and one that to my mind has not been done very satisfactorily to date. Too often ethnomusicology in the Philippines has stopped at the door of the church and musicology has likewise neglected to look westward over the Atlantic Ocean, much less the Pacific.

Philippine History as Topography

The Philippines is an impressive country; spread out over several thousand islands, boasting of more than 90 million residents speaking scores of different languages, with additional millions living or working outside its boundaries. The modern (recorded) history of the Philippines is likewise an impressive place; spread out over several centuries, a land conquered and colonized by a number of powers with varying interests, each superimposing a little or a lot of its own culture onto preexisting ones. The description of Philippine history as a “place” is intentional. It has a terrain, a topography, and areas on which edifices may be built and like a physical space, landmasses can be altered, structures can be added to, destroyed, or fall into ruin.

Philippine history is full of such alterations to its landscape. The following general history of the Philippines includes much that is or may prove to be fanciful and much that has subsequently been disproven in scholarship but still holds some official and/or popular currency. It is not an exercise in condescension to highlight the historical and fanciful side by side; as an American I know that my own history is full of the legendary exploits of founding fathers and other heroes, much of which is fictional or hyperbolic. But these accounts are such a part of our culture and collective consciousness that they hold the power of truth in many circumstances.

Southeast Asia

Before we focus on Philippine history *per se*, it may be useful to focus outward to the region of greater Southeast Asia with which the Philippines is generally associated. The uniqueness of the Philippines is often touted in much of the historiography of the country (a point to which we will return at length in the next chapter) but what is often not treated in a systematic fashion in that historiography are the commonalities shared among the modern-day nation-states in the region. Geographically, Southeast Asia can be defined as the mainland and island regions south of China and east of the Indian subcontinent and include what is now Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, the Philippines, Indonesia, Brunei, East Timor, Malaysia and Singapore. Like other regions



Figure 1: The Philippine archipelago and its three main regions: Luzon, the Visayas, and Mindanao.

of the world³, Southeast Asia is bound together by a number of shared realities. While language and architecture differs as one travels across the region, one can find historical commonalities such as wet rice cultivation in lowlands and deltas, slash-and-burn agriculture in highland areas, mountains and other physical barriers defining polities, populations concentrated in plains and deltas, and a general dependence on the yearly monsoonal cycle.⁴ The ecosystems are typically fertile yet fragile, being especially susceptible to human destruction and natural disasters. Wet rice cultivation in the fertile plains support large population centers and centers of power not seen in the less fertile and more sparsely peopled mountainous areas. The system underlying these more densely populated centers of power have often been called *negara*, a term which refers to political power that radiates outward from a central point, lessening in influence with increased distance from that center. Areas between competing spheres of influence negotiated affiliations and loyalties among these centers. National boundaries, in the modern sense of mapped lines defining specific geographical ownership, often did not exist. An interesting example of this is the account of a Vietnamese Lê emperor and a Lao king negotiating the allegiances of their subjects in the upper Mekong River area. The agreement was that all those who lived in houses built on stilts were subject to Laos

³ I am well aware of the limitations posed by a regional focus, as there are always incongruities and inconsistencies due to a multitude of factors. However, regions are generally contiguous by land, ocean currents and/or trade wind patterns, and people within them tend to have more contact with each other than with those in other regions, so there is some value in examining them as such.

⁴ David Joel Steinberg, ed., *In Search of Southeast Asia* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 5.

and those with earthen floors were subject to Vietnam, regardless of their relative geographical position.⁵ While this previous example works by painting an identity of Southeast Asia in very broad strokes, there are a number of additional smaller, sub-regional characteristics that bind some groups together within the region. These are what I will call “homogenizing influences,” and they include language and particularly religion, especially in the cases of Islam and Christianity. I will treat these and other homogenizing influences more specifically in Chapter 2.

Pre-Hispanic Polities, Philippine Nationalism and Subjective Antiquity

The history of the Philippines can be described as three broad periods: pre-Hispanic, Spanish colonial, and American colonial/independence. The lines between these periods are often blurred and fixing specific dates to them is not always useful. But before we move on to a historical sketch of the Philippines, we need to problematize some key issues of nomenclature. One of these is a term that I have used consistently so far: the “Philippines.” This name, though seemingly innocuous in itself, is the result of much posturing and political machination over hundreds of years. That a group of thousands of islands whose residents had relatively little contact with one another and included many different culture and language groups, that were visited by groups of Spanish explorers and missionaries who named them after a Spanish prince who would never see them would eventually become a modern nation-state with set borders, a national language and a strong central government would seem laughable. Laughable,

⁵ Ibid, 6.

except for the fact that it happened so many times in the aftermath of the dissolutions of the great colonial and imperial powers. As implausible as this may seem to the outside observer, the fact that a strong homegrown nationalistic fervor could be conjured from these amalgams seems even more unlikely. The concept of the Philippines as a nation springs from this nationalistic fervor that asserted itself in the last decades of the nineteenth century, which fueled the Philippine Revolution and Republic (and the subsequent Philippine-American War) and continues today. The Philippines as a nation would not be problematic if the concept was admitted in nationalistic thought and scholarship to be a recent (i.e. late nineteenth century) construct, but this is not the case. The Philippines as a nation is, in many popular and academic contexts, extended back beyond even Western contact. Benedict Anderson comments on this inconsistency when he states that

...theorists of nationalism have often been perplexed, not to say irritated, by these...paradoxes: The objective modernity of nation to the historian's eye vs. their subjective antiquity in the eyes of nationalists...[and] the 'political' power of nationalisms vs. their philosophical poverty and even incoherence.⁶

This subjective antiquity allows a nationalistic program to import or appropriate certain characters, legends, events and objects in support of the nation while disregarding or denying others that do not support the national concept. Folklore is often used in this fashion, and Regina Bendix points out that

⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, Rev. and extended ed., 2nd ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 5.

...textualized expressive culture such as songs and tales can, with the aid of the rhetoric of authenticity, be transformed from an experience of individual transcendence to a symbol of the inevitability of national unity.⁷

In certain cases, gaps in legends and events can simply be filled in with modern creations.

Ernest Gellner offers his view on nationalism rather more forcefully when he notes

...nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist.⁸

Philippine nationalism has been quite successful in its ability to promote the idea of the nation to its diverse population. Certainly the concept of “we are all Filipinos” is reinforced through the homogenizing process of the educational system in which study of the national language of *Tagalog* (or *Filipino*⁹) is required and the language of instruction of all other subjects, from elementary school to college, is English. This demand for homogeneity in language is further illustrated by signs that I have seen on school campuses, which warn students that they may not speak their local language on campus or face a monetary fine.¹⁰ The concept of homogeneity gains an interesting twist in the

⁷ Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 20.

⁸ Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 169.

⁹ The national language as it is taught in public schools in the Philippines is known as *Filipino*, but is a language based on *Tagalog*, the language of the capital region and surrounding provinces.

¹⁰ I have seen such signs in Bohol and in Davao City, warning students against using the Visayan language on campus.

light of *mestizaje*¹¹ in which heterogeneity becomes a new kind of homogeneity. A common saying among Filipinos and on signs and bumper stickers is any number of variations on “33% Malay, 33% Chinese, 33% Spanish = 100% Filipino.” Regardless of the percentages involved, the strength of the Filipino national concept is seen to flow from its mixed racial qualities. This construct also occurs in Mexico where

...mestizaje [is] the defining condition of the emergent nation [and stresses] the value of Mexico’s pre-Conquest past and the vitality of its racial stock.¹²

This marker of identity comes about because

...the indigenous past was what most truly differentiated Mexico from Spain and substantiated Mexican claims regarding their unique identity.¹³

This attitude is expressed in the Philippines in which *mestizo* culture is valorized but where pre-Spanish sources are consistently called upon for inspiration (Lapu-Lapu, Si Katuna, etc.).

Benedict Anderson provides more insight into the power of nationalism and its concept of nation, that

...it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that

¹¹ This term refers generally to the “mixing” of racial characteristics due to sexual contact between racial/ethnic groups. It refers also to the mixing of cultural characteristics, typically in a colonial or post-colonial context.

¹² Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), 88.

¹³ *Ibid*, 96.

makes it possible...for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willing to die for such limited imaginings.¹⁴

Anderson makes a good point and one that is quite applicable to the Philippines, in which massive inequities exist between rich and poor, capital and province, center and periphery. An example of an official attitude toward nationalistic fervor is summed up in the words of the great modern Filipino martyr Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino, Jr.¹⁵, who was assassinated on the tarmac of the Manila International Airport (now the Ninoy Aquino International Airport) in 1983: “the Filipino is worth dying for.” These words are placed



Figure 2: Philippine 500 Peso bill.

¹⁴ Anderson, 6.

¹⁵ Ninoy Aquino’s widow Corazon Aquino eventually ousted Ferdinand Marcos from power and became President of the Philippines from 1986 to 1992. Recently (2010), the son of Ninoy and Corazon was elected as President.

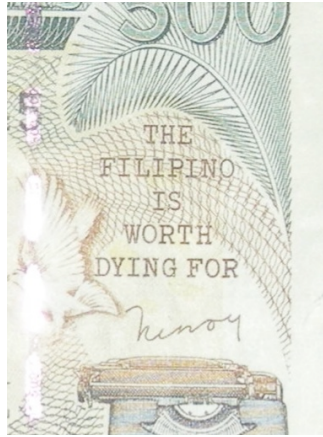


Figure 3: Detail of Philippine 500 Peso bill.

with a portrait of the former Senator on the 500-peso bill (see Figure 2 and Figure 3); the subtle irony is that the high-denomination bill is equal to about a week's wages for a typical worker and is inaccessible to many Filipinos.

Another irony that exists in the subjective antiquity of a pre-Hispanic Philippines sought by nationalists is that the terms of this history are distinctly Spanish in character. Apart from the name of the nation and its people (Philippines, Filipinos) that were created by Spain, general terms for polities and rulers are also derived from Spanish ones. Kings, kingdoms, princes and principalities are terms used by nationalist historians to characterize pre-Hispanic polities, often in order to legitimize the pre-Hispanic past and confer on it a complex social and political life, at least in a European sense. Again, Benedict Anderson puts it well when he says that these classifications exist because the earliest Spanish explorers projected onto the Philippines their own terminologies and classifications. He goes one to say

...the fact is that wherever in the islands the earliest clerics and conquistadors ventured they espied, on shore, *principales*, *hidalgos*, *pecheros*, and *esclavos* (princes, noblemen, commoners and slaves) – quasi-estates adapted from the social classifications of late mediaeval Iberia.¹⁶

European concepts of kingdom and principality assume a direct physical control over the resources and population of a significant area of land with an assumption of certain hereditary ties to that land, both for the rulers as well as for workers and other residents. While some of these concepts can be said to have existed in the Philippines prior to European contact, there is no real evidence to suggest that they existed to the extent and the degree that they did on the Iberian Peninsula. The King of Cebu as described by Magellan almost certainly did not control the entire island of Cebu (in the European sense of direct physical ownership of land, resources and population), and cannot reasonably be compared with the King of Spain or of Portugal in terms of that particular type of temporal authority. But nationalist programs consider these descriptions as important because they pre-suppose both the political boundaries that legitimize what would become the nation of the Philippines and the existing political systems based on European models.

Nationalist programs in the Philippines do not only seek to associate the country with a subjective antiquity aligned with Europe. Another facet of this nationalism is one that decries the adoption of modern Western political institutions as incongruous with already-existing (and generally unnamed and undescribed) native institutions. As Mary Arlene Pe Chongson says,

¹⁶ Anderson, 167.

...in essence, the Philippines borrowed foreign political systems that locals substituted for the one from their traditional legacy. [This] approach left the country with a misguided direction.¹⁷

What is not clear from this statement is what would put the country back on track from its misguided direction. A return to a very localized *barangay/datu*¹⁸ system? In that case, the Philippines would no longer be a country in the modern sense. History is full of newer political systems being transplanted and replacing older ones and it is difficult to guess what outside system would have come to dominate the archipelago had the Europeans not arrived in the early sixteenth century; but it is quite certain that an outside system would have come eventually. Islam had by that time already made significant advances as far as Manila, and the Philippines would likely have become a series of sultanates similar to those seen in Indonesia. But to take the argument further, would we consider the importation of Islam to Indonesia and the southern Philippines prior to European contact as a series of events that put those areas on a misguided direction? Is it outside influence in general, or European influence in particular, that leads the Philippines astray?

¹⁷ Mary Arlene Pe Chongson, *Pasyon and Holy Week: a Study of Music, Acculturation, and Local Catholicism in the Philippines* (PhD diss.: University of Texas Austin, 2000), 226.

¹⁸ A *datu* refers to a chieftain or ruler. A *barangay* refers to a boat that a small group of early settlers in the Philippines would have used. Today the *barangay* refers to an organizational subdivision of a town, city or municipality and is roughly equivalent to a district or ward of a town. A *barangay* may be further subdivided into neighborhood-sized units known as *purok* or *sitio*.

Returning to the idea of pre-Hispanic culture, we can probably say for certain that the reality in the Philippines was somewhere between the extremes of an advanced and highly organized civilizations on one hand, and no political or social organization on the other. While it may be tempting to blame early Spanish colonialists and their colonial historiography for a lack of an accounting of a more organized civilization in the Philippines, we should remember that the earliest Spanish explorers and conquistadors had no inhibitions in describing the highly advanced civilizations in Mexico and Peru.

José Luis Porras said

...that when Spain did come to this Archipelago, there were already cultural, social and spiritual tendencies in existence among the peoples who lived here. What happened then was that it was Spain that enhanced and promoted these tendencies consolidating all the factors that in time would constitute the coming Philippine nationality.¹⁹

Anthropological, archeological and linguistic scholarship has told us that the Philippine islands were populated through a number of migratory waves in the centuries and millennia before Spanish contact. There have also been over the years historical and scholarly materials that may be considered somewhat more fanciful additions to the historical landscape. One author, while making the apt point that the Spaniards actually “discovered” nothing (as many people had been living and moving about that area of the world long before Magellan), further traces the history of the Filipino people:

...the archipelago already was discovered by the Pacific Armenoids who originally came from Mesopotamia (later called Babylonia, and still later named

¹⁹ José Luis Porras, tr. Barranco, et al, *The Synod of Manila of 1582* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1990), 1.

Baghdad) long after the Babel diaspora. It was they who came earlier and became our ancestors.²⁰

These same Armenoids were said to have settled all over the Pacific area, mainly on a large continent known as Mu or Lemuria. This continent sunk into the ocean in much that same way as Atlantis, leaving only scattered islands (the Philippines and other nearby archipelagos).²¹ The Philippines later became a part of the larger Hellenistic empire under Alexander the Great (ca. 323 B.C.), then for the next several centuries a part of a large Indo-Persian empire. From the seventh to the fourteenth centuries, the archipelago was controlled by an Indo-Malayan empire called Sri-Vishayas, followed at the end of the fourteenth century by the Madjapahit Empire. The history goes on, naming various sultanates and Chinese dynasties until the sixteenth century, when the Philippines reverted to the local *barangay* political system found by the conquering Spaniards.²² It is not my intent to use Luengo's unorthodox history as a straw man to be knocked down, but rather as an example of the varied topographies existing on the Philippine historical landscape, as well as an example of a highly nationalist historiography (to which I will return in depth in the next chapter).

²⁰ Jose Maria Luengo, *A History of the Philippines: a focus on the Christianization of Bohol 1521-1991* (Tubigon, Philippines: Mater Dei, 1992), 1.

²¹ Ibid, 12-13.

²² Ibid, 20-21. An interesting point in this imperial lineage is that the final pre-Hispanic political system is far less advanced than the previous ones. It does not follow that nearly two thousand years of purported large-scale imperial-style control would be immediately followed by a loosely affiliated, local kinship system.

What is known for certain is that the islands were part of a large trading network that depended on the yearly monsoonal flows, and that there was some contact among most of the peoples in the region. This is illustrated by the presence of religious artifacts and other pre-Hispanic objects and implements in the Philippines, and the presence of writing systems and religion(s) that existed elsewhere in Southeast Asia. The presence of governmental systems and political power centers are possible, but there is little evidence for highly centralized polities pre-dating the Spanish colonial era. The Augustinian Recollect historian Emmanuel Luis Romanillos puts it well in the following passage:

Pre-Hispanic Philippines was archipelagic in geography, economics, religion, language and politics. Each island, each settlement or barangay in an island was headed by a ruler who held sway over his subjects—independent, self-governing, self-reliant, separate from one another. The barangays might form a larger area of more barangays, bound together by some sort of federation or league. Our ancestors owed no allegiance to one another. Their religious belief greatly differed, as our forefathers were either Muslim, pagan or animistic. Pagan natives had varied religious observances and practices. The existence of several dialects and languages further hampered easy intercommunication among the peoples in a very serious manner...

Our ancestors did not have a common government, a common religion, a common language. Neither did they possess a consciousness of belonging to one another. Hence they did not constitute a nation. The consciousness of nationhood, of national unity as a people, was non-existent before the Spanish explorers reached this archipelago.²³

²³ Emmanuel Luis A. Romanillos, *The Augustinian Recollects in the Philippines: Hagiography and History* (Quezon City: Recoletos Communications, Inc., 2001), 101-2.

Spanish Colonial History

We will now turn to the Spanish colonial history of the Philippines. This historical sketch is meant to inform those who are not familiar with these periods and is not intended to be exhaustive. There are many works that treat these periods in depth and many of them can be found in the bibliography of this study. By all accounts, the Spanish period opens in the year 1521²⁴ during Ferdinand Magellan's voyage to circumnavigate the globe. Magellan was killed by the Cebuano chieftain Lapu-Lapu after becoming involved in a local conflict, and Magellan's men left soon thereafter. Though there were additional voyages to the islands, permanent Spanish settlement did not begin until 1565 when an expedition under the command of Miguel López de Legazpi founded the city of Cebú, just across a narrow channel from Mactan, where Magellan met his fate. Due to pressures such as the lack of reliable food sources and pressure from other foreign powers, the main settlement and capital was moved to Manila in 1571. From that point on, the rest of the Philippines was gradually subdued and evangelized (see chapter 3 for more on the political and religious organization of the colony) by the Spanish, with a brief lapse between 1762 and 1764 when the British captured Manila as part of the larger Seven Years' War. Trade was established early on with large numbers of Chinese merchants visiting and settling in and around Manila. They exchanged their goods for the Mexican silver that was transported from Acapulco via the cross-Pacific

²⁴ The Spanish period could not to be said to "begin" in the sense that Spain asserted any sort of real control over the people and the land of the archipelago. Rather, with this first contact and claim of the islands for Spain, a process was initiated that resulted in the colonization of the Philippines. It was the beginning of the beginning.

galleon trade. By the late nineteenth century, Spain's international position had weakened significantly and with the advent of the Spanish-American War in 1896 she had lost nearly all of her world-spanning colonial empire.

An important aspect of the Spanish colonial period and one that is not congruous with the situations in Spain's other colonies was the general lack of Spaniards in the Philippines. This is due to many factors, among them the distances involved²⁵ and the lack of lucrative industries like ranching and mining. This relatively low number of private citizens, soldiers and other non-bureaucratic Spaniards will be documented at different times in the course of this study. Among ecclesiastics, the shortage of priests and lay brothers to minister to the newly converted Filipinos was at almost all times acute. This was due also to the prohibitive distances, as well as the risk of Philippines-bound priests to be siphoned off in Mexico. Those priests who did finally make the journey suffered high rates of mortality due to the climate and their evangelization efforts that brought them into various dangers, not least sheer exhaustion. Among these religious workers were many who were assigned to the Philippines but dreamed of the fabled mission fields of China and Japan, and would embark there whenever possible, often in secret.²⁶

²⁵ A trip to the Philippines entailed a long sea voyage over the Atlantic from Spain to the New World, a cross-continental trip on land, followed by an even longer voyage across the Pacific to the Philippine islands.

²⁶ John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses 1565-1700* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 5.

American Colonial History

The aftermath of the Spanish-American War brought many changes to the Philippines, as well as to Philippine history. The dawn of the American colonial period represented a topographical shift of great proportions in the sense that much of the Spanish past would disappear from official history (a fascinating process that will be treated in depth in the next chapter). In short, the Treaty of Paris signed in late 1898 (ratified by the U.S. Senate in 1899) ceded the Philippines to the United States in exchange for 20 million dollars. The First Philippine Republic was also proclaimed in 1898, with Emilio Aguinaldo as the first president. Tensions between the newly-proclaimed republic and the newly-arrived colonial government escalated, resulting in the Philippine-American War²⁷ which began in 1899 and lasted until 1901 when Emilio Aguinaldo was captured, though there were skirmishes and scattered guerilla action well into the next decade. The Philippines then existed as an American territory governed from the United States until the creation of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935. This allowed for a certain measure of self-government and a specified timetable leading to full independence. The Japanese attack on the Philippines in December of 1941 put a temporary halt to this process with the creation of the Japanese-sponsored Second Republic under President Jose Laurel. The Philippines was retaken during 1944 and 1945 and the country achieved full independence from the United States on July 4, 1946.

²⁷ This war was commonly referred to as the “Philippine Insurrection” in earlier American literature.

Spanish Music in the Philippines: Lost in Translation?

One would assume that the very first contact any of the inhabitants of the Philippines had with Western music was in Mass celebrations conducted by priests accompanying Magellan's expedition. Since it is a matter of record that Magellan was able to convert a number of chieftains on his trip through the Visayan islands, we can reasonably assume that many people heard Mass sung, at least partially, though there was almost certainly not anything elaborate done such as florid polyphony or instrumental music. But these celebrations, while undoubtedly impressive to observers (as they were designed to be), likely did not make much of a lasting impression on musical practices in those areas because it was not sustained, or left in a form that could be perpetuated. More influential, likely because it was a physical object, was an image of the Santo Niño left by Magellan's men in 1521 and discovered by a member of Legazpi's crew in 1565. It had apparently been venerated during the intervening 44 years, and the current Cebu cathedral is said to be built on the very spot where the Sto. Niño was found.²⁸

We might expect to see some more lasting impressions during and after Legazpi's colonizing expedition of 1565, when he and his accompanying priests erected and staffed churches and chapels in and around Cebu. For the early days of the *musical* colonization of the Philippines, we must look to Spanish sources, most of them accounts of the spiritual life and missionary work in the Philippines. While these are valuable in themselves, we must take care when reading them. Consider that most of these accounts

²⁸ This image of the Holy Child is still venerated and can be seen in the cathedral, if one is willing to wait in the long lines of devotees.

were not only exercises in record-keeping, but were accounts (or *relaciones*) of the spiritual work in the islands intended to be read by ecclesiastical authorities in Spain and in Rome, often accompanied by pleas for more men and resources. So while we may choose to take statements as to the phenomenal innate musical ability and devotion of Filipino converts at face value, we should keep in mind the sources of such accounts and their intended recipients, and the responses they were intended to evoke. This is not to say that Spanish accounts of the liturgical and devotional life of the Philippines are false or overly hyperbolic. Indeed, where else but from Western sources would we learn about the quality of Western music practiced in a colony with no previous contact with such music? Another potential pitfall to avoid while reading the Spanish accounts, and one more insidious than mere editorial slant, is inaccuracies that arise in translating musical terms.²⁹ I use the term insidious purposefully, as mistranslations have been known to survive through several generations of scholarship untouched and have exercised undue influence on attitudes related to Spanish music in the Philippines. I will treat a number of representative examples below.

Of particular interest among early accounts is the *relación* of Pedro Chirino, a Spanish Jesuit priest who served as a missionary in the Philippines from 1590 to 1602, working in and visiting Luzon, Panay, Leyte, Cebu, Bohol and Mindanao. He also compiled accounts from other missionary priests in making his account, which he wrote

²⁹ I assume that this problem is not limited only to translation of musical terms and concepts, but may exist in any field whose terminology is esoteric or otherwise specialized.

and published in Rome in 1604.³⁰ This account is musically important because it illustrates the impact that Spanish liturgical and devotional music had on the Philippines in the first decades of evangelization, and on the first generations of converts. Chirino's perspective is that of a truly spiritual and committed missionary devoted to the conversion and salvation of the people in his missions. He includes the good and the bad in his account: successes as well as failures. This leads me to consider the descriptions to be accurate as he experienced them, even if the good is attributed to divine providence and the bad to the devil. This early account is also valuable as it lets us see what devotional music was like in these decades of initial contact. It appears that music was an integral part of religious life both in the capital Manila and in the outlying provinces and islands, it being used in both solemn settings like high masses and as an informal instructional and evangelical tool. Examples of the latter include many accounts of children being taught to sing the *Doctrina*³¹, in turn teaching their parents and elders. It was common for a procession of children to leave the church at vespers singing prayers throughout the streets, collecting the elders who would follow them back to the church for their own recitation of the doctrines.³² In other places, people would remain awake

³⁰ This work was republished in the original Spanish with an English translation and introduction. Pedro Chirino, S.J., trans. Ramón Echevarria, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas: The Philippines in 1600* (Makati: Historical Conservation Society, 1969).

³¹ The *Doctrina* refers to the basic doctrines and prayers of the church: the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, the Credo, the Salve Regina, the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, Commandments of the Holy Church, the Sacraments of the Church, the Seven Mortal Sins, the Fourteen Works of Charity, the Confession and the Catechism.

all night singing and reciting.³³ In Tigbauan on Panay (near Arévalo, which is now part of modern-day Iloilo City), a large school for boys was constructed in which was taught reading, writing and music. Two boys went out every week from Tigbauan to each surrounding village to lead the people in singing the *Doctrina*.³⁴ Regarding masses and other solemn occasions, it appears that they were celebrated with pomp and ceremony much as in other Christianized areas in the New World or the Old. Unfortunately, some translations of musical terms obscure the original meaning of the descriptions. In some cases, the translator has inconsistently translated musical terms in different places. For example, the phrase *capilla de música* is in one place translated as “choir”³⁵ and in another as a “band of musicians.”³⁶ While the general meaning may be relatively clear in the English translation, the sense of a *capilla de música* is somewhat more grand or regal than a simple “band of musicians.” In another place, the translator adds a meaning to a term where it may not be warranted. In describing the veneration of religious relics in a church in Manila, the author mentions “*la Salve cantada por la capilla y compañada con la música de los menestres*.”³⁷ This passage is translated as “the praises that were sung

³² Angel Martinez Cuesta, tr. Alfonso Felix, Jr. and Sor Caritas Sevilla, *History of Negros* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1980), 87.

³³ Chirino, 428.

³⁴ Ibid, 263.

³⁵ Ibid, 286.

³⁶ Ibid, 392.

³⁷ Ibid, 51.

by the choir to the accompaniment of pipe music.”³⁸ First, the *Salve* is the *Salve*³⁹ and not merely “praises,” though that might be an apt description of its devotional content, and the translation of *menestriles* to “pipe music” may be a bit of editorial license. *Menestriles*, like “minstrels,” may refer to any group of musicians and not specifically to pipes.⁴⁰ Another inaccuracy, which is more widespread and dangerous, involves translations the word *organo*. In a number of different in a number of places the term *á punto de órgano* is given as “organ music.”⁴¹ This term is encountered in the context of the singing of solemn masses, and I believe it is accurate to call this “polyphonic music,” though organs certainly may have been involved.⁴² I consider this mistranslation to be dangerous because it does not only obscure the instruments used or the name of a liturgical element, it obscures the very kind of music that was being performed. Organ music may be polyphonic, but it is *not* polyphony. The next source also demonstrates a difficulty with the word *organo*.

³⁸ Ibid, 286.

³⁹ This is the *Salve Regina*, an antiphon in praise of the Virgin Mary.

⁴⁰ Almonte Howell notes that old cathedral accounts refer to *ministriles* as wind instrument players specifically, at least as late as the *Escuela Musica* treatise of Pablo Nasarre published in 1724. Almonte C. Howell, Jr., “Pablo Nasarre’s *Escuela Musica*: a Reappraisal” in James W. Pruett, ed., *Studies in Musicology: Essays in the History, Style, and Bibliography of Music in Memory of Glen Haydon* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 96.

⁴¹ Ibid, 291, 392, 403.

⁴² Many thanks to Dr. Leonora Saavedra for her helpful advice with this translation.

Among important early American scholarship is the massive and influential 55-volume set of translated (when applicable) documents and accounts of the Philippines by Emma Blair and James Robertson. This monumental work was originally intended to cover events to 1803, but the series later expanded to the end of the Spanish colonial era in 1898. It was compiled and published from 1903 to 1909. Due to its massive size and comprehensive nature, it served as the primary source of material for many years and still is an important reference. Unfortunately for purely musical scholarship, some of the musical terms are not accurately translated. These translations have found their way into a number of respected and important works. The most famous of these musical mistranslations is the transformation of *canto llano y canto de órgano* to “plainchant and chant accompanied by the organ.” The correct translation should be “plainchant and polyphony.” The incorrect version can be found in many musical and general histories of the Philippines.

This problem is not restricted to scholarship on the Philippines. Translations of documents related to the Spanish Catholic missions in California suffer from identical and similar musical missteps. As Craig Russell notes in his recently published work on the California Missions, the tacit acceptance and repetition of these translation errors compound themselves over time, in whatever country or region they exist. Russell puts it well when he states

...these mistakes, like arrows loosed from a bow, have taken on trajectories that fly farther from their point of origin with each passing year and with each repetition...errors having been told again so many times that they have grown in veracity and magnitude with each retelling.⁴³

American and Post-Independence Musical Scholarship

In the American period and the post-independence era there have been a number of important and influential works written on the history of the arts of the Philippines, many exclusively on music or with substantial sections devoted to it. Though positive because of the focus they place on the arts, these works are generally organized in such a way that they illustrate the need for new and better musical research of the Spanish colonial period. They are generally set in the traditional chronological pattern: pre-history, Spanish colonization, revolution, the American era and (depending on the date of publication) the post-independence period. Earlier publications have a brief pre-historical outline, often taken from the Blair and Robertson or similar sources, while later works published from the 1950s and 60s (when ethnomusicology as a discipline was gaining in prominence) typically open with a longer section on pre-history, usually with a lengthy organological treatise as well. William Pfeiffer's 1976 work⁴⁴ is such an example. In all sources, the treatment of the Spanish colonial era is short, representing only a very small percentage of the total work and seemingly out of proportion to the length of time and impact represented by that era. Furthermore, in passages treating the colonial era, only a small percentage of space is given to religious or liturgical music with much more space devoted to secular or folk musics. Within the very small place allotted

⁴³ Craig H. Russell, *From Serra to Sancho: Music and Pageantry in the California Missions* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2009), 5-6.

⁴⁴ William R. Pfeiffer, *Filipino Music: Indigenous, Folk, Modern* (Dumaguete City: Silliman Music Foundation, Inc., 1976). Pfeiffer's book is not specifically a history, but it does include a brief historical survey including the Spanish colonial period.

to liturgical and devotional music, most attention is given to the very late Spanish period, nearly always focusing on Marcelo Adonay.⁴⁵ Earlier musical events are typically limited to the same few facts and anecdotes and are common to nearly every source.⁴⁶ Sections devoted to the American and independence periods are lengthy with numerous biographies of composers, especially those who completed “firsts,” such as the first Filipino opera, first Filipino Symphony, etc.⁴⁷

The Importance of Translation

There are a number of points that we can take away from the above discussions of Philippine musical history, incomplete and anecdotal as they are. One of them emphasizes the need for accuracy in translating Spanish language accounts, especially where specialized musical terminology is used. Patricia Brillantes-Silvestre considers a command of Spanish to be essential for the Filipino scholar, and all other scholars of the colonial Philippines:

⁴⁵ Marcelo Adonay was a Filipino musician active in the church of San Agustin in Manila during the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first ever collected edition of the works of a Filipino composer was recently published. See Elena Rivera Mirano, Corazon Dioquino, et al., *The Life and Works of Marcelo Adonay* (Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2009).

⁴⁶ These facts and anecdotes usually refer to a singing school being opened in a certain year in a certain town, or accounts of Filipinos being skilled at certain instruments, and others of that sort. Most of the accounts are recounted (and in some cases corrected) in this study.

⁴⁷ See both editions of Raymundo Bañas book. Raymundo Bañas y Castillo, *The Music and Theater of the Filipino People* (Manila: the Author, 1924) and Raymundo Bañas y Castillo, *Pilipino Music and Theater* (Quezon City: Manlapaz Publishing Co., 1970).

I would like to emphasize the crucial need for a special literacy that I feel the Filipino musicologist working in the area of the Hispanic heritage in Philippine music must have—the knowledge of the Spanish language. The backbone of all historical writings on Philippine music in the colonial era is the primary source—dating from the era itself to the 1930s. A staggering quantity of musicologically relevant literature in Spanish exists, including historical volumes, ecclesiastic journals, travel chronicles, official documents, catalogues and inventories, newspaper reports and other archival materials. Any attempt to resurrect and relive history through primary sources results in an experimental closeness with the subject, and a unique sense of wonder and fulfillment at having relived and experienced the *actual* past. A definite advantage it certainly would be for the musicologist trained in Spanish, for translating the documents first-hand will enable him/her to extract *cultural*, i.e., *musicological* meaning and insight, simultaneously with the *literal* meaning.⁴⁸

Even among musicologists trained in Spanish there may be variations of understanding and differences of opinion as we can see in the several examples above, but the command of the language is an essential tool in beginning a reasoned dialogue and coming to deeper understandings of musical life in the Philippines.

The Invention of Tradition

This study on Spanish-era liturgical music in the Philippines will be tied together by a unifying concept: the invention of tradition. The term is coined in a book edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger entitled *The Invention of Tradition*.⁴⁹ Briefly stated, an invented tradition is

⁴⁸ Ma. Patricia Brillantes-Silvestre, “Music in the Heart of Manila: Quiapo from the Colonial Period to Contemporary Times: Tradition, Change, Continuity” in *Diagonal: Journal of the Center for Iberian and Latin American Music*. Volume IV (2008): 13-14. The journal is published online by the University of California Riverside and may be accessed at <http://www.cilam.ucr.edu/diagonal/index.html>.

...a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.⁵⁰

In cases in which there is a strong measure of existing continuity with the past (in the Philippines, the Catholic Church represents one kind of continuity, for example), invented traditions are adaptable by using “old models for new purposes” or “old uses in new conditions.”⁵¹ And what are the new purposes and new conditions that make invented traditions necessary? What is the past that now needs a continuous progression to the present? Hobsbawm and Ranger note that among the types of invented traditions is one that will “establish or symbolize social cohesion or membership of groups, real or artificial communities”⁵² and another that works by “establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority.”⁵³ As we have already seen (and will explore more deeply in the following chapter), the Spanish past has largely been deemed as unacceptable as a template for Philippine nationhood. Much of the scholarship of the American period and the post-independence era was focused on finding a pre-European Filipino identity and was inspired by the Filipino nationalism of the late nineteenth

⁴⁹ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁵⁰ Ibid, 1.

⁵¹ Ibid, 5.

⁵² Ibid, 1.

⁵³ Ibid, 1.

century. This identity was asserted without a realization of the irony that the concept of the “Filipino” and the “Philippines” is an expressly European construct that did not exist before contact with the West.⁵⁴ Benedict Anderson characterizes the last century or so of Philippine scholarship as the pursuit of “an aboriginal Eden.”⁵⁵ But this denial of the European past is changing, as we have seen in recent limited support of Spanish-era music, as well as in art, architecture, history and in other areas. Rather than shunning the European past in favor of the pre-European one, the embracing of the Spanish era is now often being used to confer a cosmopolitan European culture and past on the country, allowing the Philippines to more closely align itself to the West. By doing this, modern governmental institutions, which are strongly based on European and American models, are culturally legitimized. This process is, however, an expressly top-down phenomenon, in that it generally occurs at a national or other *administrative* level and is marketed from there to the constituents.

⁵⁴ Josemaria Luengo, in his work discussed above, did draw attention to this irony.

⁵⁵ Anderson, 166. It seems that the longing for a golden, untroubled past is a hallmark of movements resisting either the present or another, unacceptable, past. Pemberton relates the sensibilities of Javanese villagers who remember a time when “rice stalks were greener and taller...fruits fatter, food tastier, and village life as a whole somehow richer.” John Pemberton, *On the Subject of “Java”*. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 236. Oddly, this past in which everything was better was the Dutch colonial past and not prehistory. This is one past competing with another past: the past experienced since independence.

Culturation and the Creation of Cultural Artifacts

Another useful way of looking at the kind of top-down invention of tradition we are talking about is the theoretical concept of *culturation* illustrated by Arjun Appadurai in his book *Modernity at Large*.⁵⁶ Culturation is a term that we usually encounter with a prefix, as in *acculturation*, *biculture*, *interculture* and *multiculture*. Appadurai uses the term culturation “to designate a feature of movements involving identities consciously in the making.”⁵⁷ The word *consciously* is important, because it implies the deliberate nature of culturation, which is the creation of identity at the level of the nation-state. Appadurai applies this concept mainly to groups within nation-states asserting their identities toward that state and I believe we can apply this concept to the Philippines in its relationships with internal groups and (especially after its independence) with other nations. The Philippines was in the 1930s a Commonwealth of the United States preparing for independence, and in 1946 was a newly formed nation-state and newcomer to the global community of sovereign states. As such, it was seeking to define its identity, while, as a former American colony, was also careful to remain under American influence. As we will soon see, the assertion of this identity has been largely anti-Hispanic in character, whether by dubious historiography or by omission. This is how the principle of culturation works. The Philippines is able to declare political independence, and also cultural independence from the massive Spanish influence on the

⁵⁶ Arjun Appadurai. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 15. Emphasis supplied.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 15.

country (but ironically, not the American influence). Cultural artifacts are then chosen and assembled at the level of the national institution. My purpose is not to question or criticize the legitimacy of such institutions, but rather I am interested in the way that these institutions select cultural artifacts that are considered national in character. The process of culture selection (culturation) as a way of inventing traditions will be an import vein running through this study. Another way to phrase the concept is “culturation *through* the invention of traditions.”

Summary of Chapters

While the scholarship, material and organizational matrices contained in this work are demonstrably my own, I must note a few of the major influences that have left an indelible mark on it. The current study was more than half-written before I was able to get my hands on a copy of Craig Russell’s *From Sancho to Serra*⁵⁸, though I had been anticipating its arrival since Russell’s presentations and performances at the 2009 *Encuentros/Encounters* conference at the University of California Riverside. Discussions we had together at the conference inspired my organization of this study, especially the latter chapters. Any resemblance between my work and his is merely a case of imitation as the highest form of flattery; Russell’s scholarship, especially as it keeps one foot in the oft-neglected but vitally important realm of practical performance, is excellent. Bill Summers of Dartmouth College (who presented at the same 2009 *Encuentros/Encounters*

⁵⁸ Craig H. Russell, *From Serra to Sancho: Music and Pageantry in the California Missions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

conference, and in 2007 as well) has also strongly influenced this work in his articles and through numerous conversations both in the Philippines and the United States. The pioneering work of Sandy Chua, and our discussions together over many meals in Manila has also had a strong impact, as have the suggestions and promptings of Fr. Milan Ted Torralba. The following paragraphs will outline the general organization of focus of this study.

Chapter 1 will begin with a brief survey of surviving sources and archives before moving on to questions as to why and how the sources have been neglected. This neglect, both passive and active, and at the local and institutional levels, has resulted in the destruction of much of the archival musical material that once existed in the Philippines. Much of this neglect can be linked to a pervasive attitude of indifference or hostility that one can trace to the treatment of Spanish-derived cultural practices in the Philippine colony at the time of the American occupation. This chapter is largely concerned with the historiography, the writing of histories, that comes from this early American colonial period, as well as the more nationalist historiographies produced after Philippine independence in 1946. We also examine the influence of musical historiographies in Spain and in the Philippines, including the manner by which cultural practices like music are appropriated for nationalistic purposes.

Chapter 2 follows the thread of the previous chapter in considering how practices that are considered Spanish or Filipino come to be labeled as such, and examines the multitude of ethnic, linguistic, colonial and artistic factors that comprise the arts in the Philippines. These syncretic or mixed practices are discussed specifically in terms of

architecture, art and music. Catholic liturgical practices, which are extremely important and influential given the Philippines' status as a Catholic nation, are also examined in other Southeast Asian contexts. In the Philippines, these multiple influences do not result in a homogenous syncretic reality, but rather pockets of heterogeneous practice. While these pockets are not necessarily geographical in nature, they do represent spheres of common practice, what I call "homogenizing influences." These influences and how they likewise influence the inventions of traditions and the appropriations of cultural practices become increasingly important.

Chapter 3 moves the discussion from the largely theoretical to the historical in an outline of the political and religious organization of the Spanish Philippines, with special emphasis on the island of Bohol and the Augustinian Recollect order that administered there from 1768 until 1898. The Recollect's interests in industry, particularly cattle ranching, as well as their devotion to music, formed an environment in which music flourished. The study then moves to a detailed examination of the production environment of the music sources, in particular the parchment *cantoriales*. A number of parishes and particular parish priests took the lead in promoting a high level of music on Bohol. We examine in detail the musical expenditures recorded in parish archives, as well as surviving musical instruments, especially the pipe organs.

Chapter 4 treats in depth the musical and historical background of the musical style found in the *cantoriales*. This is done by examination of the Spanish- and Portuguese-language theoretical texts contemporary with the early-nineteenth century performance tradition in Bohol, and a comparison of those theoretical principles with the

musical resources of the choirbook sources. Also important are the variations found among sources both among the *cantorales* of Bohol, but also other sources elsewhere in the Philippines and even Mexico and the rest of the Spanish colonial world. The style of music found in Bohol is similar to that found in other parish church settings in Spain and her colonies, with significant room for local variation.

Chapter 5 serves as an introduction to the editions found in the appendices of this study, and also as a chance to investigate the concept of authenticity, which is such an important, if loaded, concept when considering the performance or revival of a previous performance practice. We examine the concept of authority and authorial intent and its special applications in the context of sacred liturgy. The chapter continues with a discussion on authenticity as it relates to performance, providing a few case studies of modern musical reconstructions of Spanish colonial music. The study then moves on to a practical discussion of performance techniques as realized in the editions, specifically pitch, organ accompaniment and registration, use of other instruments, vocal techniques and personnel.

Chapter 6 summarizes the conclusions made in the study as well as focusing on modern liturgical practices and provincial musical repertoires.

The appendices contain editions of mass settings as found in the island province of Bohol. They include a copy edition, critical edition and performance editions of selected works.

Chapter 1: Philippine Historiography and the Invention of Tradition

The Sources

Based on the length of the Spanish colonial administration of the Philippines and the success it had in converting the population to Christianity, and given the particular importance of music in Catholic religious life, we might expect to find a treasure trove of music manuscripts, records, biographical information and musical instruments from the Spanish colonial period, in quantities and conditions proportional to those found in Mexico, Peru or other large Spanish colonial centers. Unfortunately, this is not the case. If we did not have a number of general written accounts of the widespread cultivation of liturgical and devotional music, the paucity of extant sources would make it difficult to believe that such music had ever flourished in any meaningful way in the Philippines. Sources have been lost or destroyed due to war, natural disasters, climatic conditions and neglect, but those that do remain confirm the high status that religious liturgical music had in the archipelago under Spain. Among the more durable of these sources are medium and large choirbooks or *cantorales* made of either paper or vellum that contain liturgical music to accompany both the Mass and services of the Divine Offices. The surviving *cantorales* that I have been able to examine closely and that can be dated with certainty date from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.⁵⁹ These books, many of which are quite large and too heavy to move with ease would rest on a *facistol*, a large four-sided rotating wooden lectern usually placed in the choirloft at the rear of the

⁵⁹ This study is concerned largely with the *cantorales* of the Visayan island of Bohol in the central Philippines. These sources date from the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

church. As a further testament to the widespread presence of liturgical music, many churches still possess a dusty or broken *facistol* in the choirloft, with few churches lacking a choirloft. As for instruments used to accompany these liturgical services, there are not many that survive today, though church records indicate that numbers of clarinets, horns, flutes, violins, basses, bassoons, pipe organs and other instruments were present. In some



Figure 4: Choirloft in *La Iglesia de la Purísima Concepción de la Virgen María*, in Baclayon, Bohol. Note the triangular *facistol* against the wall.

choirlofts evidence can be seen that a pipe organ once stood there, and several organs survive today relatively intact, due largely to their sheer size and lack of portability. A number of churches have raised the funds necessary to have their organs restored and these grand instruments again accompany the liturgy. Other extant sources that we can

consult include church records, inventories, and books of receipts and purchases. In them we can observe in detail the facts and figures of the musical life of Philippine churches: payments made to musicians, instruments purchased and repaired, and special celebrations and events.

These are the sources that exist, and with few exceptions they are scattered and largely incomplete. It is a rarity to find a church with a set of *cantorales*, an organ and other instruments, *and* detailed records. Parish churches that possess these things often preserve them in local parish church museums, but most churches have only one or a part or none of these things. However, the sum total of these incomplete pieces of information can provide us with glimpses of vibrant religious musical communities throughout the Philippines during the Spanish era. This study will be largely concerned with *cantorales* and the musical environments immediately surrounding them. We will often range quite far afield after various concepts and ideas, but we will always return to the *cantorales* that are the actual physical surviving sources of Philippine colonial liturgy.

The Question of Why

A question that is commonly asked by some but often neglected by scholars is, “why?” Why is a subject or field of study worthy of scholarly scrutiny and importantly, why should resources be expended on it? As scholars, we are often fortunate enough to study those things that interest us and do not seriously consider the “why?” question as asked by an outside observer. Often, our snappy response is “why not?” which does not always convince laypeople (or funding institutions) of the importance of our research

topics. At a deeper level, we are often not aware of the personal or philosophical positions of those who for one reason or another may be *opposed* to the study of a particular field or subject. Strange as it may seem on a surface level, such opposition has existed regarding study of Spanish liturgy, in the context of an opposition to the study of Spanish colonial culture in general. We will examine some of the roots of this attitude later in this chapter, but for various and complex political and historical reasons, there has been opposition to the study and expending of resources on studies of the Spanish colonial past in the Philippines. These attitudes can be found in the general public, as well as in educated, religious or scholarly communities. As recently as 1995 in a conference on cultural preservation in the Philippines, a Filipino Jesuit priest made the following comment to the delegates:

Why should we preserve and restore churches when they are symbols of oppression, injustice and inequality?⁶⁰

Why indeed? But a more important question is, how did the sentiments that lie in the background of this question come to be? The statement can be linked both directly and indirectly to conscious and concerted efforts by those with a vested interest in suppressing or obscuring this Spanish colonial past, characterizing it as a dark period of oppression. My purpose is to show that this past, while as a colonial venture was itself certainly not free from oppression, injustice and inequality, did include many legitimate instances of flowering culture that were important and meaningful to those who took part, and are indeed worth studying.

⁶⁰ This account was related to me by Fr. Milan Ted Torralba, who was present at the conference.

Institutional Interest

So as not to paint too bleak a picture at the outset, we can see a number of recent positive signs relating to attitudes toward this field. One of them is the growing institutional awareness and support of this and other related fields. Before the late 1990s examples of scholarship of Western music of any kind in the Spanish Philippines could be counted on a very few fingers. The few books, theses and dissertations written at least peripherally on the subject did not include much new documentary research and there was little to add to the canon of the Blair and Robertson volumes, though a number of new and improved translations of Spanish-era documents and accounts saw limited circulation and exposure. But the 1990s saw a relative explosion of new musical scholarship, both inside and outside of the Philippines. This scholarly push was led primarily by William Summers, with significant contributions from David Irving, Sandy Chua, Maria Patricia Silvestre-Brillantes, Fr. Ted Torralba, Regalado Trota Jose and Elena Mirano. These scholars have helped to spark the creation of institutional supports for musical scholarship within the Philippines. Among these supports is the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines' Permanent Committee for the Cultural Heritage of the Church, which holds a biennial national convention on church heritage. Each diocese has a chairperson for church cultural heritage, and many individual parishes have priests, nuns and laypersons interested and active in heritage and preservation. Additionally, the University of Santo Tomas provides facilities for archival research and sponsors faculty research positions in music. More recently, the Intramuros Administration has sponsored significant events and performances.

We should note that the kind of heritage we are talking about is that which is contained in physical archives, or as permanent physical structures like church buildings. These heritage objects are inherently tangible. International organizations such as UNESCO have designated a number of structures in the Philippines as World Heritage Sites, but the dilemma encountered by such organizations whose goal is heritage preservation is what to do with examples of intangible heritage: that which can not be stored in archives. Intangible heritage is generally performative in nature and their preservation programs typically deal with the maintenance of traditional performance practices.⁶¹ How organizations like UNESCO handle intangible heritage preservation opens up questions of salvage ethnography and authenticity, a concept to which we will return. This is a trenchant topic in the context of the current study, which among other things seeks to revive a liturgical performance tradition while at the same time seeks to preserve physical archival material.

Disappearing Sources

Despite positive institutional involvement as noted above, the reasons for studying this musical tradition are unfortunately very practical. As already mentioned, sources are disappearing due to neglect, vandalism, and natural disasters. Probably the most devastating event in Philippine history as far as documentary research in any field is

⁶¹ Taylor, 23.

concerned was the near-total destruction of the *Intramuros*⁶² during the American siege to retake Manila from the Japanese at the end of World War II. American forces under the overall command of Douglas MacArthur surrounded and trapped Japanese forces within the ancient walled city, which was then some of the most concentrated religious space in the world. Countless numbers of churches, convents, schools and other religious structures were destroyed in a constant bombardment over several days, and many of those buildings that remained were demolished after the fighting to make way for modern structures. The only church that remains from the *Intramuros* is the Church of San Agustin, which possesses a wealth of manuscripts and other documents. Surviving pre-war documents and inventories from other churches and religious institutions give us a tantalizing glance at a rich but largely undocumented history, pulverized during the final days of the war.

More recently, natural disasters have claimed a number of sources. In a country where volcanic eruptions, typhoons, earthquakes and landslides are common, many structures and documents have been lost. Many more have been lost due to the moist climate and the ravages of insects. In the mid-1990s a typhoon struck the central Philippines, carrying away several boxes of music in its floodwaters.⁶³ The music had not been documented or studied. Even today, insects are eating the *cantorales* and

⁶² *Intramuros* means, literally, “inside the walls,” referring to the ancient walled city of Manila (which still exists as a district within the larger municipality of Manila).

⁶³ This story was related to me by Sandy Chua.

church records housed in the Bishop's residence in Laoag, Ilocos Norte and other music manuscripts in the Tagbilaran Cathedral in Bohol.

Unfortunately, vandalism has also had a negative impact on sources that have otherwise survived. In the parish church of Garcia-Hernandez on the southern coast of Bohol there were found a number of loose sheets belonging to a set of *cantorales*.⁶⁴ Many of these sheets had been written on with a blue marker with vulgar pictures and phrases. This appears to have been done in just the last twenty or so years. Another complete folio was found being used as a drumhead.

As far as neglect is concerned, there are two kinds of neglect that contribute to the loss of source material. One is the kind of neglect that is commonly defined as such, a passive neglect due to an unawareness of either the value of a source or of a source's preservation requirements. This can usually be remedied by the application of financial resources and/or expertise. Another kind of neglect is active neglect due to political or philosophical ideals and their incongruence with the existence or preservation of a source or the application of resources toward the same. The Spanish colonial history of the Philippines has largely been treated with this kind of active neglect, and this process is treated in some depth below. The interesting thing about active neglect, which takes a certain amount of effort and resources to implement, is that it eventually breeds passive neglect that needs no effort or resources to maintain. A good example of passive neglect

⁶⁴ We do not know at this time if the *cantoral* fragments come from a set of books produced particularly for the Garcia-Hernandez parish, as there are no title pages among the surviving sheets. The remaining sheets are housed in the Chancery at the Tagbilaran Cathedral.

is the case of the *cantorales* of the Dimiao parish church in the province of Bohol. While conducting research in that parish in 2008, I spoke to a parishioner who remembered that a set of choirbooks like those in other Boholano parishes had existed there at least until the 1960s or 70s. When I asked what had become of them, she replied that the members of the parish did not know them for what they were, and they were used as impromptu kneeling benches in the church and the vellum pages were eventually torn out, some to shield parishioners from rain and others to wrap fish in the wet market.⁶⁵ There are today no traces of the *cantorales* left in Dimiao; they literally disappeared, piece by piece.⁶⁶ Now that interest in the sources has been renewed on Bohol, musicians in the parish do value these sources, but unfortunately too late to save the choirbooks. As we can see from this discussion, for purely practical reasons the music from this period in the Philippines needs to be documented and studied before it disappears altogether.

This rather depressing account should not make one assume that sacred music performance is now dead in the Philippines. Rather, music has always been an important part of the devotional life of Catholic Filipinos, and the post-Vatican II climate sparked a flowering of sacred music composition. Many of these newer liturgical works seem to have a kind of folk-song character, with many songs in triple meter that (to me) resemble some of the older songs and dances of the Philippines. As much of the *cantoral* repertory

⁶⁵ Interview with Elvira Magadan Madjus. September 3, 2008. Additional parts of the interview with Mrs. Madjus will be treated in the final chapter.

⁶⁶ However, a very valuable piece of musical evidence, an organ accompaniment book, was found in the Dimiao parish. It is the only trace of accompaniment for some of the mass settings contained in the *cantorales* of Bohol.

is likewise in triple meter and some could be considered dance-like if played at the proper tempo, I would be interested to see if there are any strong similarities between the two. That, however, will have to be the subject of a further study. This modern liturgical repertoire is fully international in scope due to the large presence of expatriate Filipinos and those working abroad around the world. My first experience with this music was learning it (in Tagalog, the national language of the Philippines) for the 2006 celebration of *Simbang Gabi*⁶⁷ as a member of the Filipino choir at the Corpus Christi parish church in Corona, California. These songs, including *Halina, Hesus*⁶⁸ (*Come, Jesus*) and *Ang Panginoon ang aking Pastol* (*The Lord is my Shepherd*) among many others, became well known to me through these subsequent masses sung at Corpus Christi. I was pleasantly surprised when attending daily masses as part of a May 2009 conference in a number of the provincial churches in the northern Philippine provinces of Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur that I knew about 75% of the songs sung during the services. So this new repertory of sacred music is alive and well, and seems to enjoy an international scope in Filipino Catholic communities. But the purpose of this study is the liturgical practices of Spanish colonial era, and it is to the historical treatment of that era that we now return.

⁶⁷ The *Simbang Gabi* is a novena, or series of nine night masses celebrated on the nine days before Christmas.

⁶⁸ This song was written by Rene Javellana and Eduardo Hontiveros, both Jesuit priests. Javellana is also a respected historical scholar of the Philippines. Hontiveros was well known for his liturgical music and involvement with the Jesuit Music Ministry, a music production and publishing body based in the Philippines. Jesuit composers are active enough in the Philippines that modern liturgical and devotional music is referred to generally as “Jesuit Music.”

The Problem of Historiography

Historiography is, simply, the writing of history. It also refers to the methods, theories and techniques relating to historical writing and presentation. While we will not spend much time with theories of historiography, we will look more closely at methodology and especially at the presentation of history, which is key to the arguments presented in this study. The way that history is written, with what tone, as well decisions as to what is left in or left out is of paramount importance to scholarly and popular attitudes about historic events and cultural artifacts, particularly as time passes and older historical accounts become entrenched.⁶⁹ Witness the musical example of *canto de organo* from the Blair and Robertson volumes (treated in the previous chapter) and the progression of that mistake through subsequent generations of scholarship. That example was merely a single instance of a poor translation and was not an ideological decision. Blair and Robertson certainly did not intend to convey specifically the notion that the important European practice of polyphonic music did not transmit to the Philippines. But later writers with a more political perspective could certainly take it to mean that the Spanish cultural impact on the country was more limited than elsewhere, which can be the cornerstone of an ideological historiography. As such, I am asserting that ideological stances are often an integral component in historiographies that can have profound and

⁶⁹ Though “entrenched” is a strong word to use here (given its military connection), it is not an inaccurate description of the power that time and use can give a favored story or historical account. Popular fables of Columbus’ discovery of the Americas or the actions of the founding fathers of United States can often gain the status of conventional wisdom regardless of accuracy of the historical details.

far-reaching consequences on subsequent scholarship and popular opinion. In no place in Philippine scholarship is this more apparent than in the decades just before and after the turn of the twentieth century.

The Propaganda Movement

The nineteenth century in the Philippines saw a number of relatively important changes, such as a reduction in the numbers of friars and an increase in secular priests, among them many Filipino clergymen. A burgeoning nationalist movement was sparked in the last quarter of the century, largely by the efforts of a number of wealthy, educated Filipino expatriates in Europe known as the *ilustrados* (“enlightened ones”). Other events back in the Philippines also served as catalysts activating this nationalistic group, which was known generally as the Propaganda Movement. Chief among these catalysts was the Cavite Mutiny of 1872, a revolt of soldiers in the arsenal and fort of Cavite on January 20 of that year. The revolt was quickly put down and among those immediately swept up by the Spanish authorities were the Filipino priests Mariano Gómez, José Burgos and Jacinto Zamora (the three have since been known collectively as “Gomburza”) who were later executed for their alleged roles in the mutiny.⁷⁰ This nationalist movement eventually led to open revolt and revolution by 1896. In 1898, just before the Philippines was ceded by Spain to the United States, the Malolos Republic (or

⁷⁰ John N. Schumacher, S.J., *Revolutionary Clergy: The Filipino Clergy and the Nationalist Movement, 1850-1903* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1981), 23-24.

First Republic) was proclaimed with Emilio Aguinaldo as president. This short-lived government was largely destroyed by 1901 when Aguinaldo was captured by American forces.

An influential earlier work on Southeast Asia described the Propaganda Movement led by the *ilustrados* as emphasizing a nationalist program that included, with important implications for the next century of Philippine historiography

...a marked element of cultural nationalism, including emphasis on Tagalog literature and the arts, pre-Spanish Philippine history, and a self-conscious effort to search out and identify the national character.⁷¹

This program was borne of the Propagandist's⁷² desire to enjoy status equal to that of other citizens of Spain, as well as official representation in the government and other liberal reforms, including a reduction in the power of the Catholic Church and the religious orders.⁷³ None of these desires came to fruition under Spanish colonial rule due in part to resistance on the part of the government and the Church, and in part because of infighting among the Propagandists. Though the liberal reforms sought by the *ilustrados* generally did not come about, the seeds of a nascent Filipino nationalist consciousness

⁷¹ Steinberg, *et al*, 259.

⁷² The term Propagandist refers to a member of or activist for the larger Propaganda Movement.

⁷³ Frequent references are made, even today, to the “friartocracy” in the Philippines during this period. “The *ilustrados* blamed the friars for the evils of the Spanish colonial system, because the friars were the most visible, most conservative, most able, and most permanent segment of the Spanish community.” Steinberg, *et al*, 259.

were sown. Raquel Reyes puts it well when she describes their influence on the next century of Philippine historiography:

In art, poetry, prose, journalism, speeches and scholarly essays on history, language and folklore, the propagandistas were the first to craft a specific nationalist vocabulary and to create a body of work that signaled, for the first time, a self-conscious effort to speak of a common heritage and a common destiny, to depict a particular, authentic and recognizably Filipino character and identity.⁷⁴

This program was analogous in many ways to what was happening in a number of European centers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with emphases on national and regional character and identities, often epitomized in the scholarly collection of stories, folk tunes, and other cultural artifacts. As the *ilustrados* had been educated and trained in Europe, it makes sense that they would have been exposed to and been influenced by these liberal and revolutionary elements with which they were in contact. It is interesting that the Propagandists were in Europe at a time when nationalist folklore was having such an impact in music, from Wagner to Bartok to Smetana and Vaughan Williams. While a historiography that stems from nationalist sentiment is understandable, especially in a colonial context, it is not without its problems and contradictions. The Propagandists often expressed their nationalist sentiments in terms of equality with Europe; equality of the value of the culture, of the depth of the language, the profundity of the literature, the roots of the nation in deep history.⁷⁵ The seeking of

⁷⁴ Raquel A.G. Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine Propaganda Movement, 1882-1892* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008), xx.

⁷⁵ This particular point speaks to the issue of subjective antiquity treated in the previous chapter.

equality for the Philippine nation in the same terms as those employed by the Spanish nation⁷⁶ made for some unavoidable hyperbole and bias. Examples of this include the Philippine national hero José Rizal's 1890 annotated edition of Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*, an account of the Philippine colony originally published in 1609. Through a selective reading and commentary on the de Morga work, Rizal was able to create a strong, established Filipino national identity back to the earliest days of Spanish colonization with the tacit assumption that it pre-dated colonial contact. To do this, Rizal had to obscure or gloss over accounts in the de Morga that contradicted this nationalist reading.⁷⁷ Even Rizal's contemporary Isabelo de los Reyes, while lauding his patriotism, criticized his exaggerations on the level of civilization present in the pre-Spanish Philippines.⁷⁸

Interestingly enough, other writers much more sympathetic to Spain also extend the concept of national consciousness to the early colonial period (but not before), thought with different explanations as to the reasons. According to this view, the concept of nationhood was imported by the Spanish colonizers and missionaries who would never

⁷⁶ I do not mean to imply that the Spanish nation enjoyed any more depth or value than that aspired to by the *ilustrados*, just that Spain had much more time to codify and solidify these values, not to mention export them across the globe.

⁷⁷ Reyes, 207. Reyes draws from and expands on Resil Mojares, "Rizal Reading Pigafetta," in *Waiting for Mariang Makiling: essays in Philippine cultural history* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002), 61-2.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* De los Reyes' criticisms are found in Isabelo de los Reyes, *Historia de Ilocos* (Manila: Establecimiento tipográfico La Opinion, 1890), 103.

have been able to conquer the Philippines with the very small military contingents at their disposal, had the Filipinos at that time thought of themselves as a nation.⁷⁹ The Archbishop of Cebu, Msgr. Julio (later Cardinal) Rosales said in 1965 that

...all Christians...will agree that the greatest and most significant event in our history was the evangelization of our people...As Filipinos, that year [1565, the beginning of Spanish colonization] is also of great significance to us, because that was the year when the Philippines as a nation came into being. As the Gospel was brought from one island to another, the Philippines as a country, as a nation emerged. Before that, in these islands there were only small kingdoms and tribes, one independent from the other...⁸⁰

This view makes two general assertions. One, that the idea of nationhood (in the European sense) was not endemic to the Philippines and the concept came over with the Spaniards. Two, that the concept of a national consciousness in the Philippines is inextricably linked with Christianity. The second statement does not take into account the presence and influence of Islam, which may or may not have had an influence in fostering a concept of national consciousness at or before the time of Spanish colonization in the mid-sixteenth century, but which certainly enjoys such influence today. We will return to this concept as it relates to Islam in some depth in the following chapter.

⁷⁹ Porras, 2.

⁸⁰ Msgr. Julio Rosales, *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas*, XXXIX (1965): 5-8 quoted in *Ibid*, 8-9.

American Historiography and the Black Legend

With the passing of the Spanish sovereignty to the Americans, a new era has begun in the Philippines. Already the old Spanish rule seems so far removed that we can begin to think of it without feeling and study it without prejudice.⁸¹

This passage from a 1905 history textbook (written for students in the Philippines, no less) exhibits quite a utopian ideal of historiography, making the assumption that the new American regime could and would be entirely objective in its view of the Spanish past. This was the past of a Spain that it had just defeated in a war and whose colonial administration the Americans were replacing with their own. Though a truly noble concept, this conceptual objectivity did not exist on a practical level, given the actions of the colonial administration in the first years of American occupation. In 1900, Secretary of War Elihu Root wrote a document, later signed and formalized by President McKinley, stating that the new colonial government should not be set up for its own satisfaction, but should take into account the customs, habits and prejudices of the Filipino population. The same document asserts however, that there are “certain great principles” of American-style governance that will be imposed based upon sound, enlightened principles.⁸² These principles of American governance and society turned out to be decidedly pro-American and anti-Spanish in character, though this binary opposition was often hidden behind other issues and arguments.

⁸¹ David P. Barrows, *A History of the Philippines* (New York: American Book Company, 1905), 314.

⁸² Lewis Gleeck, *American Institutions in the Philippines, 1898 – 1941* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1976), 2.

This reality seems in many ways quite natural as one colonial power needed to supplant another while legitimizing itself, but few American officials were willing to cede to Spain any credit for her earlier civilizing enterprise or any congruencies between the Spanish colonial program and the American one, though they certainly did exist.

Lewis Gleeck notes that

...to most Americans, including nearly all of the ablest administrators, the Spaniards and the Malays represented values in direct conflict with those which they intended to introduce. Moreover, they had a naïve and ethnocentric [sic] contempt for Spain which had been nourished by the American jingo press during the war against Spain.⁸³

Furthermore, the demonization of the Spanish colonial past, with the generally (but not always) unstated assumption that Filipinos were unfit for self-government as a result of this past unless they accepted proper American tutelage, is typical of the literature of the period. This condescending policy was often couched in terms of the necessity of replacing current Filipino value systems with American ones, though at the back of these arguments is that the Spanish were to blame for any perceived deficiencies in the Filipino character. To early Americans in the Philippines, negative Filipino values included dishonesty (the tendency to steal learned from Spanish officials), laziness (love of leisure

⁸³ Gleeck, 274.

learned from Spanish officials) and a lack of thrift (tendency to gamble)⁸⁴, with these differences too often couched in terms of absolute good and evil.⁸⁵

This misrepresentation of the Spanish era has had far-reaching consequences, particularly in regard to education. Reading many American-era and post-independence historical works, one gets the sense that there was little or no education system at all during the 333 years of Spanish colonial rule. The roots of this state of affairs trace back to the early American period, when the new colonial regime was setting up its own (secular public) educational system. The following excerpt is from the high school history textbook quoted above, and which was intended for Filipino students in the new public school system. This section of the textbook outlines the new relationship between the Philippines and the United States, under the heading “System of Public Schools.”

Probably no feature of the American government in the Islands has attracted more attention than the system of public schools. Popular education, while by no means wholly neglected under the Spanish government, was inadequate, and was continually opposed by the clerical and conservative Spanish forces, who feared that the liberalizing of the Filipino people would be the loosening of the control of both Spanish state and church. On the contrary, the success of the American government, as of any government in which the people participate, depends upon the intelligence and education of the people. Thus, the American government is as anxious to destroy ignorance and poverty *as the Spanish government and the Spanish church were desirous of preserving these deeply unfortunate conditions.*⁸⁶ [emphasis supplied]

⁸⁴ Gleck, 29-32.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 23. There were however, a number of American teachers and officials who mourned the loss of one virtue learned from the Spanish: courtesy and polished manners that were disappearing under American influence. Gleck, 120-21.

⁸⁶ Barrows, 314. At first glance, this textbook seems to hold Spain in a fairly positive light, giving them credit for reforms and early educational policies. But the prevailing tone throughout the text is one of a population yearning for illumination against a

The characterization of a colonial and religious regime anxious to preserve ignorance and poverty could certainly, over time, create a history in which education did not exist. This is especially true when the current colonial regime has a vested interest in promoting that perception. However, the seeds of this criticism existed some time before the American administration of the Philippines, as did the need for writers to combat this assertion.

Jean Mallat writing in 1846 says,

...one sees that in the Philippines, education of sons of the country as well as of mestizos and Indios of both sexes is not as neglected *as certain persons claim* and that, on the contrary, the colony has from the start made the greatest efforts for the education of the people. Even in the smallest villages, Indios find facilities for learning to read and write; everywhere there are primary schools paid by the pueblo...

As a consequence, the education of the Indios is far from backward, if it is compared to that of the lower classes in Europe...⁸⁷ [emphasis supplied]

Another prejudice apparent in the American historiography of the Spanish past is a religious tension between Catholics and Protestants, and the attitude relating to religion's role in government. There are constant references to problems in the Spanish colonial regime due to conflicts between church and state, and the lack of separation between the two. This concern comes out of an American Protestant concept of the separation of church and state which, though not codified in any official founding

conservative, recalcitrant, pompous, inept and backward government (however well-meaning). The church receives the most criticism (with the interesting exception of the Jesuits, who receive praise), and one of the more common headings in the latter half of the textbook is some variation on "The Opposition of the Friars."

⁸⁷ Jean Mallat, tr. Pura Santillan-Castrence, *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1983), 434.

document, is generally vigorously defended in the United States. Another textbook intended for use in elementary schools, was written by Adeline Knapp, one of the original teachers who came over on the *Thomas*.⁸⁸ Her short book, *Story of the Philippines*, was ultimately rejected because it “contained many inaccuracies, many misconceptions of Spanish rule in the islands, much Protestant propaganda, and was without merits of style of clarity.”⁸⁹ The later production of textbooks included many that featured Filipino characters, environments and subjects that led Lewis Gleck to remark,

Textbook material for the elementary grades therefore was overwhelmingly Filipino. The values represented by the selection, however, were unmistakably American, the values which the public school system was pledged to propagate.⁹⁰

This adds an interesting element when examining this educational system. It appears that to a certain extent, nationalist and patriotic elements that had been fostered under the Propaganda Movement were co-opted into the American public school curriculum. Traditional American values were transformed to become traditional Filipino values and it seems that American educators were able to foster the useful concept that to be a patriotic Filipino was also to be a good American.

⁸⁸ Because the first wave of American teachers came to the Philippines on a ship named the *Thomas*, early American teachers in general became known as *Thomasites*.

⁸⁹ Sr. Mary Dorita Clifford, “Religion and the Public Schools in the Philippines: 1899-1906” in Gerald Anderson, ed., *Studies in Philippine Church History* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1969), 319.

⁹⁰ Gleck, 109-111.

If a lack of education during the Spanish period was the perceived problem for the Americans, education was to be the biggest part of the solution. In addition to setting up public primary and secondary schools, the Americans founded the University of the Philippines in 1908, in part to compete with the University of Santo Tomas and other Catholic universities that up to that time dominated higher education.⁹¹ This alternative to Catholic higher education was considered the final step in the creation of a parallel, publicly funded, public education through primary, secondary and tertiary levels. This new university system became a locus of nationalist thought as well as an important political center⁹², a status that it maintains to the present time. The Catholic response to the University of the Philippines system and the undue influence that the Vatican felt Protestants enjoyed in the public schools was the assignment of twenty mostly Irish-American priests to the Ateneo de Manila (a Jesuit college, now Ateneo de Manila University) campus in 1921. These priests were, according to Gleeck, “apostles of Americanism as well as Catholicism”⁹³ and chosen for their unwavering devotion to the Church as well as to the American regime. Their mission was to transform the institution

⁹¹ Bonifacio S. Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule* (New York: 1968), 92, quoted in Gleeck, 53. I would assert that the Catholic Universities continue to dominate higher education in the Philippines, though the University of the Philippines operates with them at the highest tier.

⁹² Gleeck, 55.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 81-82.

into a top-level university in the Jesuit tradition. The university is now a multi-campus system and is generally considered a top institution in the Philippines and Asia.⁹⁴

Though often couched in terms of the binary opposition between church and state, the elephant in the room in this discussion remains the subject of religion. The United States at the turn of the century was a very Protestant country, and the issue of a Protestant regime⁹⁵ supplanting a Catholic one is very important to the study of this period. The election of a Catholic president like John F. Kennedy would have been unthinkable at the turn of the twentieth century in the United States, and it is important to examine Protestant views and aims for the overwhelmingly Catholic Philippines in which Protestants suddenly had free access.⁹⁶ It is interesting to note that early Protestant

⁹⁴ In the interest of full disclosure, my wife is a 2000 graduate of the Ateneo de Davao University.

⁹⁵ It may not be entirely appropriate to cast the ostensibly secular United States as a Protestant regime, though the fact remains that it was very friendly to Protestant missionary endeavors and Protestant politicians in the United States had a significant amount of clout, often exclusive of or contrary to Catholic interests.

⁹⁶ While it is tempting to cast the Protestant vs. Catholic polemic as absolute, there were a number of commentators on both sides, as well as American colonial officials between them, who attempted even-handed and reasonable accommodations. In the controversy regarding the new public school system and the accusation by many Catholics that Protestants were given preference in receiving teaching assignments in the Philippines, colonial officials actually attempted to give preference to American Catholic teachers. However, it seems that very few Catholic schoolteachers were willing to go to the Philippines while Protestant teachers applied for positions in droves. For a good study of this controversy, see Gleeck, 301-324. The presence of published works debating both Catholic and Protestant sides of the issues outlined in this chapter show that both had a voice, if not equal political power. I treat the Anti-Catholic and Anti-Spanish sources in more depth because this viewpoint is the one that eventually won out in the later national Philippine historiography. Other historiographies exist, such as the Spanish accounts of the loss of the colony, as well as Filipino historians in the early American period. For a

officials and missionaries had a number of willing Filipino allies for an anti-Catholic campaign. These were largely disaffected elites and members of the *Federalista* party, which was decidedly anti-friar.⁹⁷ This anti-friar sentiment was common among the elite classes during the late Spanish period, and it found fertile ground in which to grow during the American era. In the construction of the new Filipino history, the friars were presented as the antagonists (educated, landed, elite, powerful) against whom the protagonists, the *ilustrados* (educated, landed, elite, powerful) were ironically set and who stood to gain from American assistance. We will continue to return to this theme because it has been so influential in all aspects of Philippine historiography. Reynaldo Ileto makes a valuable statement regarding this creation of the friar antagonist:

It is a very reassuring history, indeed, that pictures the friar as the epitome of evil and backwardness, whom the masses repudiate in regaining their ancient liberty. While there is some validity in this, depending on the region we are studying, it is an ilustrado construction pure and simple. It is repeated again and again in modern writings without its original context in nineteenth century liberalism being understood...In the first place, was the Spanish friar really that powerful? Isn't this merely a perception by the up-and-coming principalia living next door to the conventos, a perception exaggerated to make possible the construction of a "dark age"?⁹⁸

further discussion of Spanish responses to the American takeover of the Philippines, see Bernardita Reyes Churchill, "Historiography of 1898 and a Critical Bibliography" in Florentino Rodao and Felice Noelle Rodriguez, eds., *The Philippine Revolution of 1896: Ordinary Lives in Extraordinary Times* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2001), 277-93.

⁹⁷ Gleeck, 58-59.

⁹⁸ This passage is quoted in Lino L. Dizon, *East of Pinatubo: former Recollect missions in Tarlac and Pampanga (1712-1898)* (Angeles City, Philippines: PIMA Press, 1996 [1998]), 108 but is only cited as R. Ileto, "Critical Questions on Nationalism: A Historian's View". Professorial Lecture No. 3. De la Salle University, p. 8-9. No date for this lecture is given.

The work of fostering pro-American and anti-Spanish sentiment was not only the work of the “jingo” press, but was also largely carried forward by Protestant missionaries to the Philippines who roundly criticized the Catholic Spanish through evangelistic efforts and in print. This antagonism has its roots in the Protestant Reformation of the early sixteenth century (or perhaps earlier) in Europe and from the earliest days of English colonialism in North America. Anti-Catholic publications like *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs* (first published in 1554) and other such accounts were widely known in the United States in the late nineteenth century. The publications that specifically criticize the Spanish and focus on their supposed atrocities in the colonization of the Americas as well as in the Spanish Inquisition can be classified as belonging to *La Leyenda Negra* or the Black Legend of the Spaniards.⁹⁹ The account of the Spaniard Bartolomé de las Casas¹⁰⁰, published in 1552, became influential and his work painstakingly and imaginatively illustrated by the Protestant engraver Theodore de Bry at the end of the century. This work details the brutality of Spanish conquistadors in the

⁹⁹ The term *La Leyenda Negra* is coined in the book by Julián Juderías, *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica: Contribución al estudio del concepto de España en Europa, de las causas de este concepto y de la tolerancia religiosa y política en los países civilizados* (Madrid: s.n., 1914). I will refer to these kinds of works simply as Black Legend.

¹⁰⁰ The story of Bartolomé de las Casas is an interesting one. All sides admit that he was a tireless defender of the *indios* in the New World, though as a jurist, his views were not widely respected or regarded by other contemporary Spanish jurists. However, he seemed to have the favor and financial support of the Spanish royalty, and he was even elevated to the bishopric of Chiapas near the end of his life. He did influence early colonial policy in the Philippines, and his works were respected by Domingo de Salazar, the first Bishop of Manila who convened the first general synod (in 1582) in the Philippines. For more, see Porras, 20-24.

New World and was reprinted scores of times in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially in the Netherlands, where the Dutch were attempting to gain independence from Spanish political control. All of these accounts and sentiments found their way easily to the fore of political and religious debate at the outset of the Spanish-American War, helping to prime the American public for its upcoming colonial endeavor. This Reformation-era attitude has been very much in play even until recently. Alfonso Felix, Jr. disputes the assumption that the Philippines was ruled with an iron fist, with rampant rape, murder and theft, and without the consent of the Filipinos. In his introduction to Ana Maria Llorente's history of the Batanes islands¹⁰¹, he notes:

I make this point chiefly in order to emphasize what any student of one history will concede, namely, that fundamentally, I repeat, fundamentally, not in all respects, and by no means in all cases, but fundamentally, this country has been governed with respect for human rights and with love for the governed.

I know that in making this statement, I am going against the great body of professorial opinion in this country but nevertheless, I will stand by that statement.¹⁰²

Given the history of the United States and its historical criticism of imperialistic endeavors, there is a certain amount of cognitive dissonance that must have occurred in America's new colonial reality after the Spanish-American War. The difficult position of

¹⁰¹ The Batanes are a group of islands north of Luzon and represent the northernmost reaches of the Philippines before one comes to Taiwan.

¹⁰² Ana Maria Madrigal Llorente, *A Blending of Cultures: The Batanes 1686-1898* (Manila: The Historical Conservation Society, 1983), viii. Felix also makes the argument that Spain only colonized the Philippines after receiving permission from the natives to govern them and that Spanish kings were very concerned with received consent for their rules to be legitimate. He notes that the arbitrary Divine Right of Kings is a distinctly Protestant concept.

simultaneously valorizing and demonizing colonial enterprises was not lost on all commentators of this transition period at the turn of the last century. Some of them met this, and anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish sentiment head on:

English and American non-catholic writers seem to have made it an article of faith, that the Kings of Spain and all their official representatives, were imbued with the mere idea of conquest and aggrandizement. This accepted belief, however, is very far from the real truth of the situation...Spain and Portugal, Catholic countries, perhaps the most Catholic, with the military power they could then command, and the fervent ambition for discovery which was infused into the very soul of so many of their navigators, were in a position, which we might, in all truth, call the right hand of the Church militant: going on before to discover the many islands of the then unknown world and to subdue their savage and barbarous inhabitants, paving the way for the reception of the gospel: the first step towards their salvation and civilization. And thus Spain stand [sic] before the world to-day, as a Nation which, in centuries past, acted the part of the civilizing forerunner of the great commercial nations of modern times, who are little fit for civilizing other people and some of whom would be the better for a taste of the early civilizing influence which Spain spread throughout the world. To judge a nation of three hundred years ago by what we consider the standard of perfection of modern times is, to say the least, unjust.¹⁰³

The author's last point (made in 1901) is quite progressive and thoughtful even today and illustrates that it is useful for modern scholars to consider time, place and prevailing attitudes when treating historical subject matter of this kind. Other passages in the book attest to a need to consider time and place: the author, while defending the Spanish civilizing program, also defends the very concept of a civilizing program due to the inherent savageness of inferior races.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, he considers the propagation of the

¹⁰³ W. Breckonck-Watson, *VEXATA QUAESTO or What Shall We Do With The Friar?* (Manila: Imp. "Amigos del Pais", 1901), 10-11.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 15.

Black Legend¹⁰⁵ to be the work of Freemasonry and misguided and violent American policies:

The history of the world has no conquest of territory to record to us in which less or as little force was used as in the conquest of the Philippines; and modern history will one day show us that what was performed with difficulty by the U.S. with some 60.000 men was done by a General, a Captain, and a handful of men by the early conquerors of the Archipelago [sic]. And this because the one came to bring peace and the other a sword; the one accompanied by a few friars who taught the people one noble idea, to love one another; and the other with protestant chaplains who labored but to subvert the too confiding native and rob him of his faith, teaching him and preaching to him an anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish doctrine which emanated [sic] from the depths of the masonic lodges.¹⁰⁶

The author also confronts the issue of education during the Spanish period. This issue, discussed briefly above, centers on the argument that education did not exist during that era. He quotes a number of passages from historical documents held in the archives of different religious orders relating to education¹⁰⁷ and makes the general observation that

¹⁰⁵ Breckonck-Watson does not use the term Black Legend, though it is obvious that he is referring to the same religious-political campaign.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 14.

¹⁰⁷ While the author chooses but few examples, even among the relatively few historical accounts that exist there are very many references to the education of the natives of the Philippines. A corollary to the no-education argument seems to have been that the existing education was only a superficial religious indoctrination. The author goes on to state,

Much has been written and declaimed in the last three or four years on this subject of the education of the native. As a general rule the ideas expressed have been the opinions of bigoted anti-Spaniards who, to depreciate Spain in the eyes of the world, have written regardless of the truth, and have magnified mole-hills into mountains. Ibid, 28.

most natives, being as they were farmers, had no desire for education but could easily obtain it if wanted.¹⁰⁸

That American Protestant missionaries would propagate the Black Legend is not surprising, given that they were competing directly with the powerful Catholic Church for souls in the Philippines. But not all missionaries thought it appropriate to convert Christians to Christianity. One Episcopal pioneer, Fr. John Staunton, felt that

...few if any Catholic Filipinos wanted to join the Episcopal Church. On the contrary, he found that the people were, by and large, very religious and attached to their traditional church, a church that had on balance served them well.¹⁰⁹

A significant minority of missionaries felt similarly, emphasizing mission work among foreigners in the Philippines and in the relatively inaccessible mountain and Muslim regions that had not already been Christianized by the Spanish. Still others felt that the Catholic Church had suffered from superficial judgments by the Americans, and that it had done much to raise the people from savagery.¹¹⁰ But this was not the prevailing attitude among Protestant missionaries, as most felt that the Catholic Church was unrecoverable as a Christian entity and some even considered Buddhism as being closer to righteousness than Catholicism.¹¹¹ As such, many missionaries did not even consider

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 28-29.

¹⁰⁹ Kenton J. Clymer, *Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines, 1898-1916: An Inquiry into the American Colonial Mentality* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 106.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 101.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 105.

Catholic Filipinos to be Christians. Another Catholic apologist laments this state of affairs:

As might be expected, the Protestant missionary bodies have inaugurated a movement for sending out missionaries of their own to the Archipelago...[Rev. Hykes of the American Bible Society] submitted his report in a very short time, having made up his mind on the religious needs of the people, the scandalous lives of the Friars, and the superstition of their benighted parishioners with incredible rapidity...Mr. Hykes, who never went beyond Manila, presumes to judge, in a few days or weeks, or the spiritual condition of six millions of Christians, and more than a thousand priests, scattered over the whole Philippine Archipelago...

In an American Protestant missionary review, there is an article on the Philippines...It puts down the Christian population as seven million *Romanists*; the writer denies the ordinary title of Christian to Catholics...Throughout the paper Catholics are not once designated Christian. It speaks of the nineteenth century being the first century of Christian missions, ignoring all the apostolic work of the Catholic Church...At any rate, it will be news to the Filipinos to hear for the first time from these enlightened men that they are not Christians.¹¹²

The alleged sexual excesses of Spanish Catholic priests quickly became the stuff of legend, and by legend we mean that there was plenty of enthusiastic discussion about it in the literature and a number of anecdotes, but very little specific evidence or documentation. This kind of innuendo was common in the dissemination of the Black Legend regarding violent acts which were intended to shock and disgust, and also regarding sexual acts which were intended to do the same, though it seemed that in the latter case the titillation of the readers of such accounts was also important. For example,

¹¹² Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O.P., *The Friars in the Philippines* (Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co., 1899), 100-104. While it is possible to dismiss Coleman's arguments as a partisan defense from a priest, his contention that Catholics were not considered Christian is borne out by the fact that the distinction is still made today in some quarters in the Philippines and beyond. I have had Catholic colleagues tell me "I am not a Christian, I am a Catholic" and *vice versa* from Protestant colleagues.

girls in Daet¹¹³ were said to be very light-skinned and beautiful due to the infusion of Spanish genes courtesy of the local parish priest.¹¹⁴ Accounts of this sort, rather than being regarded as partisan or slanted, became accepted as historical fact, as we will see below in our discussion of post-independence historiography.¹¹⁵ Though many of the historiographies forwarded by Protestant interests settled into the national consciousness, the Protestant evangelization endeavor itself was a relative failure in that it did not result in the wholesale Protestant conversion of the American Philippine colony, though many foreign as well as homegrown denominations did make significant inroads. If anything, the opening of the Philippines to Protestant missionaries helped to energize Catholics around supporting and reforming their financial, organizational and educational institutions in the Philippines, in which they were largely successful.¹¹⁶

Anti-Spanish American historiography existed even after Philippine independence in 1946. Perhaps to assuage any potential guilt over her recently concluded colonial experiment, one American writer wrote:

They [the friars] were the progeny of the Inquisition. All was faith, or it was heresy. As they spread through the islands, they quickly took control of

¹¹³ Daet is the capital of the province of Camarines Norte, in the Bicol Region in southeast Luzon.

¹¹⁴ Clyman, 97.

¹¹⁵ I do not intend to suggest that no sexual indiscretions were committed by the Spanish clergy in the Philippines; just that such accounts were gleefully passed on in numerous publications as fact by Protestant missionaries with a vested interest in characterizing Spanish priests in the worst possible light.

¹¹⁶ Gleeck, 117.

village life. *Encomendereos* [sic] might wax fat on slave labor, but the Church waxed even richer on its control of the minds and spirits of the simple people it had converted...

In the villages, the friars were supreme. They had built their great churches, their monasteries... No matter was too trivial for the parish priest. No civil official dared oppose him. He controlled whatever public instruction was available, always alert to crush any liberal tendencies...

...the friar was always a Spaniard; and he had inherited the Spanish tradition of arrogance toward the subject race. No matter how devout a Christian he might be, no Filipino could possibly rise within the hierarchy of the Church. He was a second-class citizen with a second-class soul.¹¹⁷

While not all of this kind of writing was openly hostile to Spain, the complements were certainly backhanded. Speaking of the Filipino's propensity for foolish bravery, learned from Spanish officials, the author states,

Whatever else may be said of the Spaniards, they were not cowards; since the golden days of Legaspi, they may have been greedy, shortsighted, arrogant, stupid, but they were not cowards.¹¹⁸

The results of this kind of historiography were often realized in a certain attitude of condescension by the United States, even after Philippine independence. The same author quoted above sums up this attitude when he notes

...help from America [is] the only way the Filipinos can establish their nation effectively. It is no derogation to them to suggest that they need this help. They need it in the same way that a blind man whose sight has been restored needs help when first he walks into the bright light.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ David Bernstein, *The Philippine Story* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Co., 1947), 49-50.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 38.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 269.

Post-Independence Historiography in the Philippines

The next major period in Philippine historiography comes with independence from the United States in 1946. The Philippines, finding itself an undisputedly sovereign and independent nation for the first time, found that it had a history to write. These histories, unsurprisingly, followed many of the same patterns as those from the American colonial period. Among the first generation of post-independence historians was Teodoro Agoncillo, a preeminent Filipino scholar and intellectual active from the 1950s until the 1980s who produced a number of influential works, among them *The History of the Filipino People* written with Oscar Alfonso in 1960. This work has seen (and continues to see) widespread use in the Philippines as a history textbook. Agoncillo added modern fuel to the anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic sentiment in a passage in another of his books. He is describing a “typical” scene at a church *fiesta*, catching in one sweeping glance all of the injustices meted out by Spanish priests:

Capping the festivities was the procession which, amidst the clangorous peals of the huge bells, came pompously out of the church and onto the narrow streets lined with men, women, and children who crossed themselves and mumbled unintelligible Latin prayers, as the brightly lit carriages of the magnificent and bejeweled images of the saints were pulled and pushed by the lay brothers and sisters, whose necks were heavily weighted with dirty scapulars, and whose only ambition in life was to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. The chanting parish priest, splendid in his beautifully embroidered vestments, walked with measured steps, the pious sacristan dutifully wafting the aromatic smoke of incense toward him, but once in a while the town’s gay blades caught the priest stealing furtive but meaningful glances at the devout beauties walking slowly with bowed heads, left hands clasping prayer books.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *A Short History of the Philippines* (New York and Toronto: The New American Library, 1975), 52. Interestingly, this book is adapted from Agoncillo’s 1969 work *A Short Story of the Philippines*, which seems appropriate given the narrative quality of the quoted passage. The adaptation of the work from a *story* to a

Apart from this kind of Black Legend narrative, Agoncillo and Alfonso deal a strong blow to the study of Spanish colonial history in the Philippines with the following preface to the first edition of *The History of the Filipino People*, where they are explaining the organization of the text.

Those who have been reared in the traditional textbooks on Philippine history will be surprised, if not shocked, to find that the Spanish colonial period has been limited to three chapters...It has been [the author's] belief, expressed on many occasions both in and outside the University, that with few exceptions the documents of the pre-1872 Philippines deal almost exclusively with the history of Spain in the Philippines. In the three centuries before the outbreak of the Revolution in 1896, the Filipinos played, or were compelled to play, a passive role in the development of their polity, namely, that of slaves or near-slaves in spite of the generally humane Spanish laws regarding the Christian treatment of the "natives." Since this book deals with the history of the Philippines, that is to say, of the Filipino people, the senior author thought it illogical and irrelevant to discuss lengthily the innumerable events in which the Filipinos had not direct or indirect participation.

...First, [this book] considers Philippine history before 1872, in the main, a lost history. Second, because the point of view taken is that of a Filipino. This does not mean that the authors distorted or twisted the facts in order to be nationalistic. Nationalism is not involved here. It is a travesty to call a historian "nationalistic" simply because he adopts a Filipino point of view, for nationalism implies "country first and last." History is concerned with the truth first and last.¹²¹

While I will not argue whether or not adopting a Filipino point of view constitutes "truth"¹²², the fact that Agoncillo and Alfonso strike from consideration historical data

history is an interesting choice, which seems to lend more scholarly authority to the work due to perceived differences between literature and history.

¹²¹ Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Oscar M. Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People*. Rev. ed. (Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1967), vi – vii.

¹²² I am of the opinion that eliminating Spanish history eliminates Filipinos as well as Spaniards, which will likely not lead us to the "truth."

prior to 1872 is extremely important. It means that the overwhelming balance of the Spanish colonial era will not exist in Philippine history and will be eliminated from the Filipino worldview, regardless of the constant reminders of this past woven into the fabric of Philippine life (colonial churches, personal names and surnames, innumerable loan words and place names, etc.). This seems to me to be one of the final acts of the Black Legend in the Philippines, which began with the vilification of the Catholic Spanish and ends with a kind of denial of their existence. While there were, as we have seen, views opposed to the anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish Black Legend campaign, it was by no means a widespread opinion in published works in the English language, which is important as English was to become, and remains, the language of instruction in the Philippines.¹²³ The acceptance and propagation of the Black Legend which served to demonize Spain, together with the Propagandist's valorization of a largely fictional pre-Spanish Philippine culture that served to eliminate Spain from consideration in Philippine history, contrary to Agoncillo's assertions otherwise, fostered a nationalist historiography that acknowledged Spain's presence (eventually not even that) but not her full impact.¹²⁴

¹²³ For an interesting discussion on the issues and impacts of English instruction in the Philippines in the American period, see Gleek, 40-46.

¹²⁴ Seemingly off-hand comments in scholarship sometimes amplify this reality. Chongson speaks of the Spanish period lasting almost 400 years. Chongson, 223-24. If one counts from Magellan (1521) then it adds up to 377 years, but Magellan did not conquer the Philippines or colonize it. Legazpi did that in 1565 (in only a very small part of the Philippines), leaving us 333 years. This kind of statement, found in a number of sources, distorts the length and impact of the Spanish colonial regime. Again, this serves to emphasize the negatives (400 dark years of oppression), while leaving any positives out of the equation.

Josemaria Luengo's 1992 work that was briefly treated in the introductory chapter and included a glorious political history for Filipinos¹²⁵ going back to at least Alexander the Great, also commented on colonial identity, taking Agoncillo's assertions one step further:

A contemporary "Filipino" should not be contented with his colonial past, but to trace his lineage back to the Maharlikas and even to the Indo-European Aryan Race. To be called "Filipino" is stigmatic of being colonized in this age of sovereignty. In fact, the only nation in the ASEAN¹²⁶ region and in the entire continent of Asia, bearing a colonial name is the Philippines, the 7,100 islands of Philip II. While the Ceylones through their indigenous Parliament had changed the British-imposed Ceylon to SRI-LANKA, and the Burmese changed Burma to Myanmar, yet our country continues to be called by the name that means "sons of Felipe." This ancient archipelago should have been named "Sri-Vidjaya or Maharlika."

... Either Maharlika or Sri-Vidjaya would be a better name of the archipelago, reflecting its great and glorious past rather than using a name reflective of subjugation by a foreign power and veneration of a person not truly deserving of such honor.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Luengo's purpose, while anti-Spanish, is certainly not anti-Catholic. A priest himself, he traces the lineage of Filipinos to Semitic peoples in Mesopotamia with some knowledge of God (and of a Messiah and virgin birth), so that they would be receptive to Christianity when it was introduced. Luengo, 6-7, 17-19.

¹²⁶ ASEAN stands for Association on Southeast Asian Nations and includes the ten countries of the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

¹²⁷ Luengo, 2-3. The irony in this statement is that, by using the names of other pre-Hispanic empires (listed in the previous chapter), the country would still be reflecting subjugation by outside powers.

Spain in Textbooks

In Agoncillo's books and in other general histories of the Philippines we can see an organizational pattern emerge that parallels those encountered in the musical histories examined in the previous chapter. A relatively extensive pre-historical sketch is provided (relatively extensive considering what little we know about this period), followed by a very superficial account of the Spanish colonial era and ending with an extensive account of the Revolutionary period and American occupation through independence. Agoncillo, true to his word, devotes only about fifty pages out of nearly 700 in *The History of the Filipino People* to the Spanish era (about 75 pages if one includes the chapter about Filipino nationalism and revolutionary actions against Spain). Those sections and chapters that do treat the Spanish era are generally devoted to criticisms of the colonial regime. In *A Short History of the Philippines*, Agoncillo gives more than half of the space provided for Spain (about 35 out of 300 pages) over to a chapter entitled "Achievements and Shortcomings." This chapter is quite long on the shortcomings of the Spanish and very short on the achievements and seems mainly an attempt to paint a clearer picture of the antagonist. The suggestive passage from the description of the typical town *fiesta* quoted above is from this chapter.

An important counterbalance to the general neglect of Spanish cultural history in the Philippines outlined thus far is the many publications of the Historical Conservation Society, including translations of Spanish language documents and accounts, and studies of specific regions or time periods. These publications have been a boon for scholars, who may read rare or difficult to obtain sources, often in both the original Spanish and an

attached English translation.¹²⁸ Unfortunately, these books do not seem to have had a very broad general circulation, as they had potential impact on prevailing scholarly attitudes in Philippine historiography.

Among its other drawbacks, a fundamental problem with the kind of nationalist historiography we have been examining is its exclusionary potential. As Reyes points out, “Southeast Asian nationalist historiographies have particularly tended to exclude the perspective of certain marginalized groups in their construction of a nation’s history.”¹²⁹ This can be any group: a gender, a class, ethnic minorities, language groups, etc. In constructing an image of “the Filipino”, replete with specific characteristics and attitudes, there is much that exists in the pluralistic reality of Philippine life that will not belong in the newly constructed and official national consciousness. Unfortunately, in the Philippines as in many places, identity is determined by and at the main source(s) of power, and in the Philippines that is Manila and the surrounding provinces of central Luzon. Since independence, nearly all of the presidents of the Philippines have come from Luzon. The Senate is elected at-large (rather than at the regional or provincial level) with the result that most are from Luzon and Manila.¹³⁰ This, with the fact that much of the tax revenue does not make it back to the outlying provinces has caused some

¹²⁸ This multilingual approach is important for checking translations of musical terms, a need outlined in the previous chapter.

¹²⁹ Reyes, xxiii.

¹³⁰ The members of the lower house, the House of Representatives, are elected regionally in Congressional districts.

to use the term “imperial Manila” to identify the capital city with previous colonial powers. The use of Tagalog as the national language of the country from as far back as the 1930s, despite the fact that was not the most widely spoken native language in the Philippines¹³¹, is often used as an example of such “imperial” behavior.¹³² This highly centralized cultural system tends to exclude or distort the identities and contributions of marginal groups¹³³, though it is interesting to note that while deemed “marginal,” I would venture to guess that such groups represent a vast majority of the Philippine population.

Ramón Echevarria, in the introduction to his 1969 translation of Pedro Chirino’s *Relación de la Islas Filipinas* of 1604, provides a clear and succinct commentary on this

¹³¹ Gleeck, 42-43.

¹³² There is an interesting counterpoint to this argument in early Portuguese accounts of the environment around Malacca (before Magellan’s visit to the Philippines). There were relatively large numbers of people in the area called *Luçoes*, assumedly people from Luzon, and they appeared to be engaged in regional travel and trade. Their language, Tagalog, was later seen by the Spanish to be understood somewhat outside of the traditional Tagalog lowlands in southern Luzon. However, this did not stop the partitioning of the Spanish colony along linguistic lines, with each priestly order taking on one or more language areas, as opposed to fostering regional language development. During the Revolution of 1896, the Spanish did not initially consider the revolt to be a large issue outside of the Tagalog areas and they even termed the uprising *Revolución Tagala*. This was also the attitude of General Emilio Aguinaldo and the members of the early Republic, who conflated “Tagalog” with “Filipino.” Leonard Y. Andaya, “Ethnicity in the Philippine Revolution,” in Florentino Rodao and Felice Noelle Rodriguez, eds., *The Philippine Revolution of 1896: Ordinary Lives in Extraordinary Times* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2001), 49-75.

¹³³ Examples of this include many unfortunate representations in popular media. In television, print and radio, Visayan-speaking people are typically portrayed as illiterate housemaids and simpletons and always have much darker skin than Tagalog-speakers; the island of Mindanao is always lawless and dangerous, as are the people from there; Chinese Filipinos are stingy and greedy, etc. All of these stereotypical characters are identified by their particular mispronunciations of Tagalog.

historiographical state of affairs, which is important because it was written in the same political and social milieu in which Teodoro Agoncillo was working. It is a clear and even-handed statement incorporating the importance of Filipino-driven pre-1872 events as well as the Spanish past:

An indigenous society, vaguely recognizable as ancestral to our own, is under the catalytic and cohesive influence of a new faith and a different culture being transmuted, for better or for worse, into something we can unhesitatingly recognize as Filipino. Values are being refashioned, age-old institutions are being exchanged. A new way of life is evolving, and scattered and independent tribal communities are being unified into a nation. Dimly but unmistakably we are in the presence of the beginnings of our history.

It is now perhaps a little unfashionable to look back to the half century immediately following the arrival of Legaspi's fleet for the roots of our national identity. For the fulfillment of our nationhood we can look back only a hundred years to Burgos its progenitor and to Rizal its prophet and to the men who led and won the revolutionary war against Spain and then led and lost the war of independence against the United States. This recent era encompasses our fulfillment as a nation, but the *roots* of our Filipinism were planted two centuries earlier, at the time when an adventuresome, vigorous but fragmented race inhabiting this archipelago now called the Philippines came into vibrant contact with the burning faith and energy of sixteenth-century Spain.

To deny this historical fact is to deny ourselves. To pretend that other cultural elements – the Chinese or the American, for example – are as essential in the Filipino as his Spanish heritage is to distort our own identity. We were Filipinos before America ever came to these shores, and remove the Chinese veneer from our culture and we still remain Filipinos; but extirpate the mind and manners of Spain that have become intimately our own and we cease to be what we are. To disclaim our Hispanic inheritance merely in order to repudiate all debts to the nation that once conquered this land is to misunderstand our own history.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Chirino, trans. Echevarria, ix-x. This quote is taken from the translator's introduction.

The Spanish writer José Luis Porras puts it equally clearly when he states “had Spain not come to the Philippines, the Philippines as it is today would not exist.”¹³⁵ Responding to the Black Legend attitudes prevailing even in modern research, Martin Noone says in a rather romantic passage,

...as long as English-speaking people admire Spaniards for their bravery and hate them for their cruelty and greed, they know nothing about them; that it is only when one comes to admire their human weakness, their fundamental respect for others and readiness to treat them, especially non-Europeans, as equals, that one comes to understand the record of this great and perplexing people.¹³⁶

Musical Historiography – Spain and Mexico

Musical historiography of Spain and the Spanish colonial world resembles the patterns we have already detected in the course of this chapter. The search for (or creation of) an exceptional or unique national identity is often concentrated particularly on the arts. In the following pages, we will look at a few examples of musical historiography in Spain and Latin America and how it has affected subsequent scholarship. The first example will come from Mexico, which was then the Spanish colonial viceroyalty of *Nueva España* (New Spain). The eminent musicologist and pioneering researcher of music in Spain and Latin America Robert Stevenson published some of the earliest comprehensive works on music of the Spanish colonial era in Mexico. In his research, he discusses the music of Ignacio Jerusalém, an Italian

¹³⁵ Porras, 1.

¹³⁶ Martin J. Noone, *The Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines (1521 – 1581)* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1986), xviii.

composer who moved to Mexico City in the mid-eighteenth century and worked in the *Coliseo* and later became *maestro de capilla* at the Mexico City cathedral. Stevenson found the highly Italianate style of Jerusalém objectionable, perhaps because he was looking for music with a more overtly Spanish or Mexican character. We can now make the case that this Italianate style was common currency throughout the Western musical world by the eighteenth century. Yet Stevenson found that it did not merit serious consideration, not fitting into the expected mold, and called Jerusalém a “purveyor of vapid inanities.”¹³⁷ Luckily for the works of Jerusalém, Stevenson’s 1952 assessment did not ultimately discourage scholarship into his music and scholars have since produced many quality and influential editions of the composer’s works. Craig Russell began publishing editions from the early 1990s that have been recorded and performed widely, and today Jerusalém’s music might be considered as “Mexican” as his predecessor at the Mexico City cathedral, Manuel de Zumaya.

Another example of an ideological historiography (actually, a string of ideological stances) that reaches even further is a case involving Spanish theoretical music treatises. Treatises are also important to this particular discussion of music in the Philippines because they were the theoretical works that were known to the priests who first evangelized the new Spanish colony and in some cases, these works made their way there. The works particularly in question are Juan Bermudo’s *Declaración de los instrumentos* of 1555 (this work was a compilation of two earlier works: the *Declaración*

¹³⁷ Robert M. Stevenson, *Music in Mexico, a historical survey* (New York: Crowell, 1952), 155.

of 1549 and the *Tripharia* of 1550), Pedro Cerone's *El Melopeo y El Maestro* of 1613, Andrés Lorente's *El Porque de la Música* of 1672, Pablo Nasarre's *Escuela Música* of 1724 and Antonio Soler's *Llave de Modulación* of 1762. While there is much that is different about these works, one concept they had in common was a concern with learned, "cathedral-style" counterpoint. In the earlier treatises, this was still a practical matter as much music that was widely composed and performed included these kinds of learned contrapuntal devices. During the time that the later treatises were written however, the dominant cathedral style included more homophonic, concerted settings of liturgical texts. Despite this, both the cathedral exams for chapelmaster positions and the theoretical treatises maintained a focus on very complex contrapuntal issues.

Antonio Soler's *Llave de Modulación* was a *tour de force* of this traditional contrapuntal artifice, and described different means of modulating between different keys, no matter how distantly related. This work started a debate over the proper use of such contrapuntal devices. Practical composers and theorists found it entirely outdated and useless, while its proponents defended it on theoretical grounds. Apart from chapelmaster examinations (examinations were heavily weighted toward these kinds of exercises¹³⁸), there were amateur's clubs that sponsored contests as to who could contrive the most interesting and intricate puzzle. One of the major partisans in the debate was Antonio Eximeno y Pujades, a Spanish Jesuit who had previously jostled with Giovanni

¹³⁸ Robert Stevenson, *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 26 and Mark Brill, "The Oaxaca Cathedral *Examen de oposición*: The Quest for a Modern Style" in *Revista de Música Latinoamericana*, Volume 26, no. 1 (Spring 2005), 1-2.

Battista Martini in Italy over the use of abstract, Palestrina-style *stile antico* counterpoint, and also over the origins of psalmody. He published a theoretical work in 1774 (published in Spanish with revisions in 1796) blasting the practice as pedantic, and later penned a novel entitled *Don Lazarillo Vizcardi*. The novel was written in the style of Don Quixote and describes a chapelmaster who is driven insane by excessive contrapuntal games and by reading too much Cerone and Nasarre.¹³⁹

This leaves us now in the nineteenth century and the nascent scholarship on Spanish music history now emerging with the work of Mariano Soriano Fuertes and Hilarión Eslava¹⁴⁰, followed by Felipe Pedrell. Pedrell's scholarship is colored (according to Stevenson, Howell and Tello) by his acceptance and retransmission of Eximeno's prejudices, including a marked distaste for Cerone and Nasarre (which Howell maintains is the reason for the poor understanding of these theoreticians), and of counterpoint in general. Stevenson illustrates this when discussing accompaniment conventions in his *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*. Pedrell, he states, keeps the continuo line unrealized purposefully to avoid any extra (or unneeded) contrapuntal lines.¹⁴¹ These prejudices are forwarded to later scholars such as Mary Neal Hamilton and Jose Subirá, who repeat and amplify them. Hamilton takes the polemic a step further

¹³⁹ Howell, 82. The novel was circulated about the turn of the nineteenth century by Eximeno but was not published and distributed in two volumes between 1872 and 1873.

¹⁴⁰ Eslava was also a noted composer, and a number of his works are found in the Philippines.

¹⁴¹ Stevenson, *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*, 24, 25.

by characterizing Soler's work as "childish and futile" as a crossword puzzle.¹⁴² This anti-Cerone, Nassare, Soler, etc. stance appears to have been current until the work of Stevenson, Garcia, Howell, Tello and others from the 1960s and 1970s and onward.

One interesting consequence of nineteenth-century Spanish musical scholarship is the invention of a historic national style that would provide a unique place for Spain in European music. These early scholars described the "Spanish school" of polyphony (with sixteenth-century Spanish composer Cristobal de Morales as chief) characterized by a highly austere, highly expressive nature.¹⁴³ Belgian scholars disputed this, arguing that Morales' music sounded exactly like that composed in the (Spanish-controlled) Netherlands at that time. However, Felipe Pedrell continued this line of thought, later echoed by Henri Collet, positing that Spain's musical style was one that was eminently "mystical," especially in the compositions of Tomas Luis de Victoria.¹⁴⁴ This mysticism often had a distinct nationalist tinge, as Rafael Mitjana considered Spanish polyphony as the most pure expression of Christian sentiments, while Italian polyphony had an

¹⁴² Mary Neal Hamilton, *Music in Eighteenth Century Spain* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 232.

¹⁴³ Emilio Ros-Fábregas, "Cristóbal de Morales: A Problem of Musical Mysticism and National Identity in the Historiography of the Renaissance" in Owen Rees and Bernadette Nelson, eds., *Cristóbal de Morales: Sources, Influences, Reception* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 220.

¹⁴⁴ This mysticism was rooted in a purported dark and melancholy character. Interestingly, João IV of Portugal, who had an extensive library of Victoria's works considered his music to be cheerful. Even in generally austere Holy Week settings, João IV said that cheerfulness was never far away in Victoria's compositions.

irredeemable underlying paganism.¹⁴⁵ Flemish polyphony, on the other hand, was considered “dry and artificial” compared the “expressivity” inherent in Spanish counterpoint.¹⁴⁶ This creation, not so much of a musical style, but of an inspirational framework underlying the style, is an invented tradition of the kind described in the previous chapter. The new use for which it is adapted has little to do with the music itself, but the potentially unique place that the music can give Spain in the arts and their development in modern Europe.

Musical Historiography - Philippines

If we look at musical historiography in the Philippines, we will notice the same general neglect of the Spanish period seen in purely historical works (rather than open opposition). What *is* included and studied to a much greater degree (especially after independence) are non-Spanish ethnic traditions, for reasons that resemble much of the anti-Spanish sentiment examined above.¹⁴⁷ Corazon Dioquino, in her 1982 article entitled “Musicology in the Philippines,” gives a picture of the state of musicological studies since 1950:

¹⁴⁵ Ros-Fabregas, 225.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 230.

¹⁴⁷ I do not mean to suggest that there is not a good reason to study ethnic and oral musical traditions. Indeed there are, for many of same the reasons that I am pursuing the music of the Spanish period. Both fields have suffered lacunae under the influence of a colonial regime (Spanish or American) and there is a desire to reconstruct each of these traditions, which involved Filipinos in equally deep and meaningful ways.

It includes studies on music transmitted by oral tradition (ethnomusicological) as well as research done on written music (musicological). Young Filipinos who received further musical training in the United States and Europe during the pre- and post-World War II eras concentrated mostly on the performing and creative musical arts or on music education. Of the handful who received training in musicology, only one majored in ethnomusicology. The rest did work on Western music and music traditions. Thus, it is only from about 1950 that specially trained researchers undertook true scholarly and scientific study of Philippine music.¹⁴⁸

This is a fairly reasonable statement and there is little with which to find fault. I do however wish to make a few points regarding definitions of terms. Dioquino makes the assertion that oral traditions are ethnomusicological in scope, while written traditions are musicological in scope (with both generally subsumed under the field of musicology). I understand that this is a common distinction between the two fields, but must it be so? I suspect that both fields might benefit from some methodical cross-pollination, which is what this study (very incompletely) is trying to accomplish. Another point that Dioquino makes is that, after one student undertook a study of ethnomusicology (around 1950), the truly scientific and scholarly study of Philippine music began. Other students worked on Western music traditions. Now I know that Dioquino is likely speaking of Bach, Mozart and Beethoven when speaking of Western music traditions, but could this statement be taken to mean that the (Western) Spanish traditions of the Philippines are likewise not a part of Philippine music? Given the previous historiographical currents regarding the Spanish period, it is hard not to make that connection.

¹⁴⁸ Corazon C. Dioquino, "Musicology in the Philippines," *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 54 (Jan. – Dec., 1982), 124.

Another published work by Francisco Santiago (a former director of the University of the Philippines Conservatory of Music) from the American colonial era is more specific as to the value of Spanish cultural practices in the Philippines, though with a few interesting twists. Santiago speaks of the original, or oral traditions of Filipinos:

The autochthonous¹⁴⁹, original and primitive music is found preserved even to these days in all its pristine beauty and purity among the groups of Philippine population which did not entirely yield to foreign domination and who now inhabit the mountain fastnesses of the northern provinces of the Island of Luzon and the forest regions of the Island of Mindanao. Among the Christian groups, however, autochthonous music has practically disappeared, having succumbed to the influences of Spanish and American musical airs and forms. There is, however, noticeable today, in the wake of a growing sense of nationalistic spirit, a growing tendency to purge this autochthonous music of its foreign essence.¹⁵⁰

The first part of the quote is the very thing that Benedict Anderson described when describing a search for a primordial Eden, discussed in the previous chapter. The rest of the passage is reasonable enough in its description of the desire to purge Filipino music of the Western, foreign components that have crept in as a result of colonialism, except that this is not exactly what Santiago means, as can be seen in the following passage:

However, the contact with western civilization, while it wrought disaster to the fountain of purity of four [sic] autochthonous music, marked the beginning of the cultivation of music as a fine art.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ This term refers to a practice that is original or indigenous, originating in the place where it is first encountered.

¹⁵⁰ Francisco Santiago, *The Development of Music in the Philippine Islands* (Manila: The Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931), 2.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, 10.

The contradictions that Santiago is trying to reconcile are the effects of imported foreign music (bad) but the subsequent elevation of native Philippine music to the status of a fine art (good). This discrepancy is not difficult to understand when we remember that Francisco Santiago was at this time the acting director of the Conservatory of Music at the University of the Philippines, and the propagation of music cultivated as a fine art was the very reason he had a job! He later goes on to address Spanish practices that have become internalized in the lives of Filipinos:

...the ignorance of some writers led them to accept as typical customs of the country what are nothing but customs imported from Spain and which the native adopted and kept. The habit of singing a kind of a *fandango* during the labor of sowing palay is one such instance. This music, according to him [Walls-Merino], is eminently Spanish, and still observed in some rural communities of Spain.¹⁵²

What then shall we do with these customs imported from Spain but which have become thoroughly incorporated into the culture of Filipinos? To whom does it belong? Santiago ends his essay with a lengthy passage that seems to further contradict his earlier statements of the purity and unspoiled nature of native music and the necessity of returning to that pure state:

The earliest Filipino music was savage, naked, tribal as befitted the primitive stage of their civilization. But the essence of musical rhythm was there. With the advent of Spanish sovereignty, the Filipinos could not, in the process of assimilation, escape the Spanish influence in their music. Again, when the Spanish rule was superseded by the American, the Filipino music could not altogether resist the peculiarities of American music.

Despite these Latin and Anglo-Saxon influences, Filipinos have music of their own, and to preserve it for posterity should constitute one of our national

¹⁵² Ibid, 12.

endeavors. Of course, in the present stage of civilization and progress of the Philippines, it should not be our aim to return to primitive music, as this would be tantamount to retrogression, a historical absurdity. Music is affected by environment, and progress in civilization reflects in the progress of music.

A wave of tense nationalism is sweeping over the country. Nationalism in Filipino music does not and cannot mean the empty and vain attempt to return to the simple music of days gone-by, but the preservation of this essence for posterity, improved and enriched with the best elements of Spanish and American forms, keeping alive and vigorous the traits and peculiarities which broadly distinguish Filipino music as such.¹⁵³

Santiago ends on the middle ground by rejecting the notion that a return to pre-Spanish forms is possible or desirable and by admitting that the Western influence on Filipino music is a *fait accompli* (with the apparent exception of some areas of northern Luzon and Mindanao) and should be used to improve and enrich Philippine society. I cannot help but detect a certain amount of cultural evolutionism in this passage, with the characterization of the Philippines and Filipinos as the realm of the savage, naked and primitive (he uses the word “backward” in another part of the essay), and Spain and America as the home of advanced civilization and progress. Again, Santiago is walking a very fine line, seemingly between the “wave of tense nationalism...sweeping over the country” and the reality that he is employed by the American colonial government.

Moving back to a general look at Philippine musical historiography, Teodoro Agoncillo’s assertion that pre-1872 history is not Filipino seems to have, consciously or not, a following in many musical histories of the Philippines and the result is a general disinterestedness in the period. The result of this is the relative space and weight given to

¹⁵³ Ibid, 20.

music of the Spanish period in the histories outlined in the previous chapter. However, this state of affairs is not strictly a Philippine phenomenon. To focus on another peripheral area in the Spanish colonial sphere, California, we see similar realities. Craig Russell laments,

If one reads any of the recent books on “American music” or some of the standard histories of nineteenth-century California, one gets the impression that its music was—at best—peripheral or an inconsequential nonentity, unworthy of any real research or discussion. The most common reaction to California’s musical traditions in modern musicological studies is that of omission. A general lack of intellectual curiosity perpetuates a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy, where ignorance of the repertoire or of its existence produces no sense of awe or wonder, so there is little incentive to dig in and examine the music in any depth. And the uncurious mind then simply assumes, “Because *I* know nothing of interest about California music during the mission period, there wasn’t anything of value.” And the cycle repeats itself in blissful laxity and inattention.¹⁵⁴

All of the above discussions can be distilled, in a practical way, to one more anecdote from the Philippines that illustrates the views that were current until very recently regarding the efficacy of Spanish-era musical research. Sandy Chua related to me her experience of researching the *cantorales* of Bohol as part of her master’s thesis in musicology at the University of the Philippines, which she completed in 2000. During that time, the eminent music scholar José Maceda told her that she should not pursue the study because the music was Spanish and not Filipino. This shows us the extent to which the idea has spread that only that which can be classified as Filipino was worthy of study, and Spanish music does not qualify.

¹⁵⁴ Russell, 4.

David Irving, in his recent dissertation on colonial music in Manila, provides a good summary of the musical realities actually present in the Philippines during the colonial era, despite historiographical attempts to prove otherwise:

...the Spanish colonial period was a dominant and pervasive influence in the cultural formation of the Philippine people, especially in the domain of music. The colonial musical culture of Manila and the Philippines was a result of importation and transplantation of foreign practices, and of interaction and fusion with local traditions. Many European practices were embraced by non-European performing artists through complex processes of transculturation and syncretism.¹⁵⁵

These processes of transculturation and syncretism are central to what is classified as Filipino and what is not, and they are what we will treat in the following chapter.

¹⁵⁵ David R.M. Irving, *Colonial musical culture in early modern Manila* (PhD dissertation: University of Cambridge, 2007), 325.

Chapter 2: Syncretism and the Search for the Spanish and the Filipino

Syncretism is a topic with much interest in colonial and post-colonial contexts, and is a concept that has had shifting meanings over time. In the Philippines, syncretism in music can refer to the concept of a “mixed” practice: a musical practice or tradition that incorporates elements of local customs, languages, instruments, pitch systems, and religious standards in some sort of combination with imported and ostensibly dominant colonial musical standards, languages, instruments, pitch systems, etc. Sometimes this combination can be known as a “local practice.” Bruno Nettl gives us a good, broad definition in the context of anthropology that we can use here “to explain the growth of culturally mixed phenomena when the elements are similar or compatible.”¹⁵⁶ The ways that cultural elements can be similar and/or compatible in a mixed setting is an interesting concept as it allows for practices that can be seen to be relatively analogous or equivalent across cultures to substitute, one for another. This is an important issue in the context of the religious conversion of the Philippine archipelago in that it raises the question of just what were the analogous or substitutive practices that caused Roman Catholicism to be so widely accepted in a relatively short amount of time?¹⁵⁷ Though answers to this question

¹⁵⁶ Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts*. 2nd ed. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 440-41.

¹⁵⁷ I am not inclined to believe, as some do, that Christianity was accepted only grudgingly at the point of a sword or the barrel of a musket. There were simply too many people in the new colony and far too few Spaniards to make the kinds of impressive displays of force that entail a large-scale conversion borne purely of fear. It seems that there must have been something attractive, or equivalent, in the new religion.

are not the expressed purpose of this study, it is nonetheless an important issue to keep in mind.

Syncretism in Philippine Art and Architecture

It is understandable to assume that some level of syncretism must exist in the Philippines across a broad spectrum due to the long periods of colonial contact. We do see evidence of this in a number of areas of study in the Philippines. The most widely spoken Philippine languages, Tagalog and Visayan, have a great many Spanish and English loan words, and Chavacano (or Chabacano, spoken in a number of provinces in the Philippines) is considered a Spanish Creole language.¹⁵⁸ In art, there are certainly hints of syncretism even (or especially) in the most commonplace of representations. For example, a scene of the Last Supper, which is ubiquitous in Catholic Filipino households in the Philippines and abroad, can show locally relevant details. A 1789 engraving of the last supper in Regalado Trota Jose's book *Simbahan*¹⁵⁹ shows, among other things, knives and cutting boards on the table instead of western cutlery and ironically, a crucifixion scene hanging on the wall behind Christ.¹⁶⁰ These are distinctively Filipino elements and indicative of a syncretic religious practice that incorporates local imagery

¹⁵⁸ John M. Lipski, "New Thoughts on the Origins of Zamboangueno (Philippine Creole Spanish)" in *Language Sciences* (vol. 4, no. 3: July 1992).

¹⁵⁹ Regalado Trota Jose, *Simbahan: Church Art in Colonial Philippines, 1565 – 1898* (Manila: Ayala Museum, 1991), 144-45.

¹⁶⁰ I have never visited a Catholic Filipino household either inside or outside of the Philippines, that does not feature a crucifix and a Last Supper scene.

even in the most standardized of religious images. In architecture, there are numerous surviving examples of mixed practices, especially in church buildings. The façade of the Miag-ao church in Iloilo is a prime example, as it depicts St. Christopher carrying the Infant Jesus across a river (a standard representation), though surrounded by coconut trees and other local plants that place the scene directly in the local Philippine environment. Some of the syncretic styles are practical, such as the use of “earthquake Baroque” construction methods (see the Paoay Church in Figures 6 and 7) while others are religious and social, such as the St. James (Santiago Apostol) Church in Batuan, Bohol (see Figure 5). This church, constructed after Philippine independence in 1946, evokes a very mosque-like flavor due to its peaked windows and onion domes. While the authoritative source¹⁶¹ on Boholano churches does not mention the reason for this particular style, local tour guides say that the church was built that way so as not to offend Muslims who lived nearby. Other examples of Islamic-influenced church architecture, featuring onion domes and mosaics, may be found in nearby Cebu (Carcar and Naga parish churches).¹⁶² There are many other such examples to be found throughout the Philippines. This general state of affairs regarding syncretism in art, carving and architecture is laid out well by Fernando Zóbel de Ayala in his work on religious imagery in the Spanish colony:

¹⁶¹ Regalado Trota Jose, *Visita Iglesia Bohol: a Guide to Historic Churches* (Manila: National Commission on Culture and the Arts, 2001).

¹⁶² Alicia M. L. Coseteng, *Spanish Churches in the Philippines* (Quezon City: New Mercury Printing Press, 1972), 11, 92-5 and Pedro G. Galende, OSA, *Philippine Church Façades* (Quezon City: filipinana.net and San Agustin Museum, 2007), 290, 298.

Though the models for these buildings are Spanish, the solidity of the walls, required as protection against human enemies, frequent earthquakes and typhoons, and the steep and widely overhanging roofs demanded by six months of heavy rainfall, gave them a very characteristic appearance...

Latin American models and these models range in style from the late renaissance to the rococo, though the baroque predominates. The Philippine classical style also shows a strong Chinese influence, particularly in the use of decorative motifs... Finally, there is a stylistic element, different from the Hispanic or the Chinese, that I think can be correctly called purely Filipino... These three elements harmoniously combined make up the classical style.¹⁶³



Figure 5: St. James the Apostle (*Santiago Apostol*) Church, Batuan, Bohol

¹⁶³ Fernando Zóbel de Ayala, *Philippine Religious Imagery* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila, 1963), 28-9. The first paragraph of this quote is largely about architecture, while the second is predominantly about sculpture; Ayala obviously considers the two to be closely related.

Ayala asserts that the combination of Spanish, Latin American, Chinese and Filipino characteristics (I would include Islamic characteristics) create a uniquely local style. However, Ayala does not elaborate on what it is that makes the architecture or sculpture “purely Filipino”, whether it be the sum total of all of the influences, their collective interactions one with the others, or something else. Alicia Coseteng gracefully explores the concept of a distinctively Filipino architectural character in a passage about the Paoay Church in Ilocos Norte that I will quote at some length:

One of the most enchanting churches in the Ilocos, and one which seems to have grasped that elusive Filipino colonial style, is the church in Paoay...

The church is loosely interpreted by most colonial architecture critics as ‘earthquake baroque’, while the more romantic are impressed by its oriental, exotic quality. But all this cannot really be definitive of the Paoay church. The bell-tower, for instance, remotely recalls the Grijalde in Seville, Spain, the pinnacles of the church are reminiscent of the crenellations of the medieval architecture, and the humps of the lateral buttresses are unconsciously endowed with baroque intentions. Neither can it be denied that the vertical orientation of the church, and the agitated mass and broken surfaces are more Gothic in effect than baroque; nor that the earthy, sensuous quality of the structure, and its simple, primitive form are evocative of the natural landscape.

The ambiguity and the indecisiveness of the architecture, apparently, are reflective of the hybrid creation. But the elusive charm of the church is proof enough how an original approach and a little imagination can impart their own brand of artistic integrity to a massive, barn-like structure. Almost unconsciously, one is given an insight into a more authentic form of Filipino colonial architecture.

The church, a simple, rectangular structure is ingeniously organized and so embellished that what is achieved is not only a unique three-dimensional perspective, but also a distinctively local artistic form. The lateral buttresses have suspiciously the same kind of visual simulation as flying buttresses, the crenellations and the niches are suggestive of Southeast Asian temples and pyramids.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Coseteng, 77.

“Elusive Filipino colonial style,” “simple, primitive form...evocative of the natural landscape,” “hybrid creation,” “authentic form of Filipino colonial architecture,” and “distinctively local artistic form” are all statements evocative of the “Filipino” in the church architecture, with touches suggestive of a greater Southeast Asian influence. The



Figure 6: Paoay Church, Ilocos Norte. Example of "earthquake baroque" architecture.



Figure 7: Paoay Church (detail). Scroll design on buttress.

previous lengthy quotations are but two of a number of possible conceptions of Philippine colonial syncretism; others are certainly possible. For more excellent scholarship on Philippine architecture, consult any of the works of Regalado Trota Jose and Fr. Pedro Galende, OSA found in the bibliography of this study.



Figure 8: Chinese *Fu*-dog below façade of San Agustin Church, *Intramuros*, Manila.

Syncretism in the Liturgy – the Philippines and Southeast Asia

Based on the above architectural examples, not to mention hundreds or thousands of others to be found in the Philippines in any artistic field, it is reasonable to ask if Spanish colonial music is likewise syncretic and to what degree. Indeed, this question

was often asked me when I presented on Spanish colonial liturgical music at the 6th Biennial National Convention of Church Cultural Heritage Workers in Laoag, Ilocos Norte in May of 2009. While my tentative answers to those questions will appear later in this chapter, it was interesting and informative to meet so many people at that conference who hailed from all over the Philippines. They were mostly priests and lay church workers actively working on preserving the cultural heritage of the Catholic Church and some who were actively engaged in creating modern syncretic liturgical practices. One such person was Fr. Marcial Castañeda, a priest working in Sadanga, Bontoc in the Mountain Province of the northern Philippines, in a parish church largely comprised of Isadanga, Bontoc and Kalinga Igorot parishioners. He is actively engaged in using native Igorot instruments (various flutes, drums and gongs) in liturgical celebrations along with Western instruments like drum set and guitars. Fr. Castañeda considers the Catholic liturgy to align itself well with the existing traditional chants handed down from community elders, and the modern instruments and musical styles further appeal to the younger members of the community. He and his parishioners recently produced a CD recording of this syncretic liturgical music.¹⁶⁵

Syncretism in the liturgy deals with relatively fixed texts and orders of service, but attempts to make them relevant to a time and place. After the Vatican II council it has been much easier to do this, with widespread celebration of liturgy in local languages using local and/or popular musical idioms, such as the folk and rock masses popularized

¹⁶⁵ Fr. Marcial Castañeda and Bruno Hübscher, *Ayyeng: Indigenous Music in the Liturgy* (Marcsongs, 2008). Selections include *Apo Maseg-angka* (Kyrie) and *Tay Kuam* (Doxology).

from the 1960s. There are additional examples of syncretic liturgies celebrated elsewhere in Southeast Asia. In Catholic communities in Indonesia, commercial recordings exist of masses and other liturgical music sung by choir and accompanied by a full gamelan ensemble.¹⁶⁶ The potential significance of this blending is profound, as it represents a meeting of two established traditions, each with its own deep cultural significance. The choir sings sections of liturgical music in solo and in unison, as well as in two- and three-part harmony, in both homorhythmic and polyphonic settings. The scale used is the *pélog*, one of the two scales (*sléndro* is the other) used in traditional gamelan music, but retuned to Western equal temperament and intervals. The result is a six-note scale (F#, G, A, C#, D and E¹⁶⁷, of which only the first five notes are used in the recording). Despite the seeming harmonic limitations of a pentatonic scale, the available pitches allow for quite a bit of variety with an available major triad (D-F#-A), a minor triad (F#-A-C#), and a seventh chord (D-F#-A-C#) as well as a number of possibilities for suspensions (G-F#, D-C#, A-G), nearly all of which are used in the choral settings. The gamelan accompaniment does not follow the same Western-style melodic and voice-leading conventions used by the choir. Thus, there is much that is familiar to the Western ear along with much that may be familiar to those well versed in gamelan performance

¹⁶⁶ *Sewaka Bakti*, PML [*Pusat Music Liturgi*] 54 (Yogyakarta, Indonesia [1980]). Among these liturgical pieces are ones entitled *Kumohon ya Tuhan* (Kyrie), *Kudus* (Sanctus) and *Anakdomba Allah* (Agnus Dei).

¹⁶⁷ Either the first scale degree (F#) or the last (E) is left out based on the modal characteristics of the song. All of the Mass movements in the *Sewaka Bakti* recording use F#. Thanks to Dr. René Lysloff for his detailed overview of gamelan performance practices, as well as providing the recording.

practice. The liturgical texts are sung in Indonesian, which is an interesting choice given that Javanese is the language considered more “classical” in characters and has often been the choice for setting biblical and liturgical texts. It could be that Indonesian was chosen because of its status as the national language, providing a broader appeal and market for the recording. In any case, the recording I was able to consult is not a unique example of syncretic liturgy in Indonesia. Within Catholic circles, there are also other sources that cite the blending of gamelan with Gregorian chant.¹⁶⁸ It is also interesting that the gamelan has also been a part of Protestant missionary efforts (by and for the Balinese) from the 1940s, used as part of an effort to evangelize using local media.¹⁶⁹

There are also potential examples of liturgical syncretism in the former Portuguese colony of Goa on the Indian Subcontinent, where there remains a distinct and pervasive Catholic presence. By means of taking a step back to look at the larger picture, it is interesting that the some of very same issues of identity and historiography treated in the previous chapter of this study exist in Goan musicology:

Musicological neglect of this area until now is not difficult to understand. Despite the richness of Portuguese and Spanish Renaissance music, scholars of Iberian music have worked in a vacuum for years due to the Anglo-Franco and Italo-centric canons that have persisted in musicology. Portuguese musicology has not instigated this kind of work until recently, and Indian music historians have generally not focused their attention to music outside the Indian classical

¹⁶⁸ Margaret J. Kartomi, “Musical Strata in Sumatra, Java, and Bali” in Elizabeth May, ed., *Musics of Many Cultures: an Introduction* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 129.

¹⁶⁹ Mark P. Bangert, “Liturgical Music, Culturally Tuned” in Robin A. Leaver and Joyce Ann Zimmerman, eds., *Liturgy and Music: lifetime learning* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Order of St. Benedict, Inc., 1998), 373.

tradition; western music history in India is still largely dependent on the academic work of the British.¹⁷⁰

Many of these statements are directly applicable to the condition of colonial musicology in the Philippines. The issue of syncretism in Goanese music in particular is explored in the introduction to Manuel Morais's edition of motets from the former colony. He asserts that the Goan motet "fuses elements of the European tonal system and Indian music from Goa."¹⁷¹ According to Morais, the distinctly Goan properties of the motets are a lack of polyphony (they are largely homorhythmic in texture), and an emphasis on voice pairing, whether by voices or instruments, at the intervals of the 3rd and the 6th.¹⁷² While Morais does not go on to describe the underlying traditional Goan music that also features pairing at these intervals¹⁷³, it is interesting that this kind of voice pairing is also so

¹⁷⁰ Victor Anand Coelho, "Connecting Histories: Portuguese Music in Renaissance Goa" in Charles J. Borges and Helmut Feldmann, eds., *Goa and Portugal: Their Cultural Links* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1997), 132.

¹⁷¹ Manuel Morais, David Cranmer, tr., *The Polyphonic Holy Week Motets from Goa (19th & 20th centuries)* (Casal da Cambra: Caleidoscópio, 2007), 32.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, 32, 34.

¹⁷³ If traditional Goan music makes use of this kind of two-voice parallel structure at those particular intervals, it would be instructive to know what the indigenous musical practices were at the time of Portuguese colonization. Another possibility is that this practice was imported by the Portuguese and later became assimilated into local practice. This sort of syncretism, in which a practice that is introduced from outside a culture becomes internalized (and eventually is considered by observers to be endemic), is not unknown in the region. See the discussion of autochthonous music by Francisco Santiago near the end of the previous chapter, and a discussion of native and Spanish elements in the *Pasyon*, discussed in Chapter 4.

common as to be ubiquitous in Iberian music of the same general period and, as we will see in upcoming chapters, in liturgical music in the Philippines as well.¹⁷⁴

Before we move on, it is important to confront an issue that comes up in discussions about syncretism, particularly in previously-colonized areas, which is that of purity or authenticity. We have run into the term authenticity already in quoted passages and there will be a further extensive discussion of that concept as it relates to performance practice in Chapter 5. It is important that the idea (or ideal) of purity can strike a chord in the writing of nationalist historiographies. Many of the works examined in the previous chapter emphasize a pre-colonial period of assumed cultural and artistic purity undisturbed by Europeans with temporal or spiritual designs, and express to some degree a desire to return to the reality or the spirit of that period. But syncretic practices by their very nature cannot be pure or authentic in the way(s) often desired by all nationalists, or else they will no longer be practices as such because they will lose one or more of their integral parts. My attempt at breaking the *cantorales* down into their component Spanish and Filipino aspects is not an attempt to bleed out either the Spanish or Filipino elements in order to purify the other. As a strictly academic exercise, it is meant to prove that the *cantorales* do indeed possess essential elements from each of the cultures.

¹⁷⁴ This voice pairing appears to exist in extra-liturgical religious music in the Philippines as well, particularly the *Pasyon*. Chongson, 119. As this was a genre originally passed down by Spanish priests, it stands to reason that the practice of vocal pairing at the 3rd in the case of the *Pasyon* descends from Spanish practice, rather than as a vestige of a pre-Hispanic vocal style. This kind of parallel writing at the third or the sixth is also very common in instrumental accompaniments (violins, oboes, etc.), in Goa and Mexico as well as in Spain.

Spanish-ness in the *Cantorales*

The production methods, performance practices, and music of the *cantorales* include both Spanish and Philippine elements (though I admit that other elements are possible), and we will first examine the distinctly Spanish character of the sources. The *cantorales* were produced in a Spanish colonial context: a Spanish parish church in a Spanish colonial town, and production of liturgical materials that were assumedly overseen and directed by Spanish priests.¹⁷⁵ The vellum used in the production of the books was very likely procured from a church-owned cattle ranch, and the techniques used to create the inks were likely also imported by Spanish priests.¹⁷⁶ The books are intended to be used in Catholic liturgical settings, using the Latin Tridentine texts for services celebrated by Spanish Augustinian Recollects, in churches that had largely been built by Spanish Jesuits. The musical style is one that can be traced to parish practices in Spain and the New World and follow rules that are outlined in Spanish musical treatises. The pipe organs built to accompany the music of the *cantorales* are based on Spanish designs. The particulars of musical style and performance practice are outlined in some detail in Chapter 4, but suffice it to say that visitors from any part of the greater Iberian world, attending a mass celebration in which music from the *cantorales* was performed, would have felt right at home.

¹⁷⁵ These priests oversaw the procurement and maintenance of all church property, as can be seen in inventory records and books of purchases and receipts. More on those specifics in the following two chapters.

¹⁷⁶ The next chapter will examine the specifics on the production of the *cantorales* of Bohol in much more depth.

Philippine-ness in the *Cantorales*

The features of the *cantorales* that give them Philippine characteristics are mainly connected with the particulars of their (likely) local manufacture. Among these local features are the names of individual mass settings in the *Kirial*¹⁷⁷ books found in a number of parishes. Most of the titles of the mass settings are largely derived from places in Spain¹⁷⁸, liturgical events¹⁷⁹ and ranks.¹⁸⁰ However, one mass setting is entitled *Misa Baclayana*, an obvious reference to the parish of Baclayon where the first set of *cantorales* from Bohol was produced. As for other Philippine characteristics, we have to dig a bit deeper to find them. A primary clue that leads us to assign Philippine-ness to the sources is a linguistic one. In the *cantorales* of Baclayon, many of the titles of feasts and all of the instructional rubrics are in the Visayan language (see Figure 9 and Figure 10 below). These rubrics give basic instructions on the mechanics of the liturgical services, such as how many times a certain phrase should be sung, or directions to stop at a certain place if the celebrating priest has completed an element of the liturgy. While we do know that Spanish priests did learn the local languages of the parishes in which they served, it is not likely that they would have written rubrics in Visayan for themselves to

¹⁷⁷ The *Kirial* is a book containing settings of the Ordinary of the Mass. See the opening paragraphs of Chapter 4 for more specific information on the kinds of liturgical music books produced in the Philippines.

¹⁷⁸ *Misa Salamanca, Misa de Toledo, Misa Zaragozana, etc.*

¹⁷⁹ *Misa de Angeles, Misa de Advento y Quaresma, etc.*

¹⁸⁰ *Misa de Doble Mayor, Misa de Semidobles, etc.*

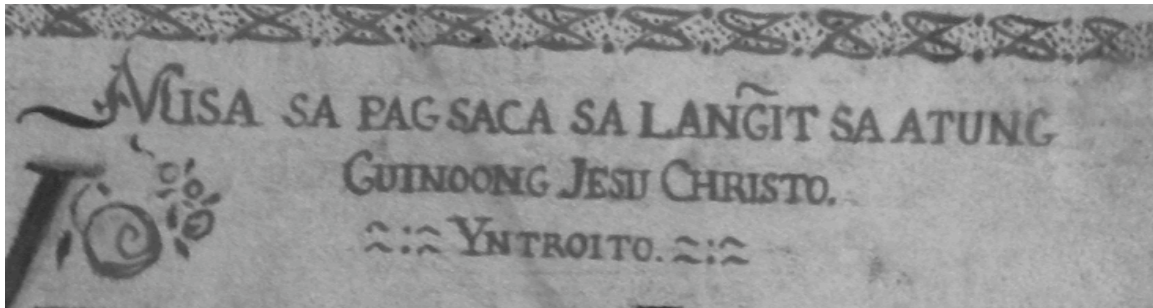


Figure 9: Detail from the *Misal de Baclayon, Misa sa Pagsaca sa Langit sa atung Guinoong Jesu Christo* (Mass for the Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ).

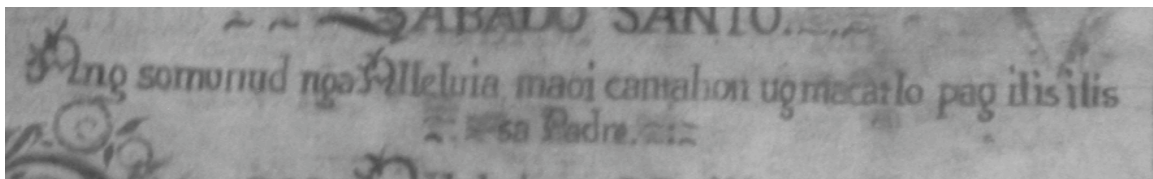


Figure 10: Detail from the *Sabado Santo* setting in the *Misal de Baclayon, Ang somonud nga Alleluia, maoi cantahon ug macatlo pag ilis ilis sa Padre* (the following Alleluia, is sung three times alternately with the priest).

read. If this were the case, we would expect the rubrics to be in Spanish or Latin, as is the case with most of the *cantoraes* that I have examined in the capital city of Manila. The fact that the rubrics are written in a local language supports the argument that the intended readers of these rubrics, the performers, were local Boholano *cantores* and parishioners. That local languages were used in official public devotion in the Philippines is nothing new to the nineteenth century. Indeed, as far back as 1611, a city-wide poetry contest was held in Manila to celebrate the beatification of Ignatius of Loyola, with entries in classical languages as well as in Tagalog and Visayan.¹⁸¹ Musical events that included native Filipinos go even further back. By 1596, the Jesuit church in

¹⁸¹ William Summers, “Listening for Historic Manila,” *Budhi: a journal of ideas and culture* (vol. 1 [1998]), 208.

Manila had a choir and orchestra of Tagalog parishioners who assisted in a number of liturgical functions.¹⁸² A treatise on plainchant was written in the Bicolano language of southeastern Luzon.¹⁸³ The obvious presence and stature of Filipino musicians in liturgical and devotional contexts in the Philippine colony was already an established tradition by the time the Boholano *cantorales* were produced.

Another argument in favor of the Philippine-ness of the *cantorales* is related to our records of the numbers of priests and parishes on Bohol in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By the end of the Jesuit administration of Bohol in 1768 there were nine parishes and the same number of priests to serve them. By the middle of the nineteenth century under the administration of the Augustinian Recollects, there were nineteen parishes with twenty-five priests.¹⁸⁴ As we can see from the numbers, there just were not enough priests in Bohol in order for them to perform this music exclusively. In other places, such as the California missions, a priest might be seen using a keyboard instrument as an Ersatz altar, while accompanying himself as he celebrated mass.¹⁸⁵ But there is no evidence that this took place in Bohol and no particular reason to think so, due to the simple physical fact that the priest had to celebrate mass at the altar and the organ was in the choir loft at the back of the church. As for the possibility that other lay

¹⁸² Ibid, 210.

¹⁸³ Ibid, 218.

¹⁸⁴ Chua, 14-15. These numbers were not always steady as there were fluctuations at times based on personnel and administration.

¹⁸⁵ Russell, 40. This is likely only an isolated yet amusing anecdote and not representative of music in the California Missions as a whole.

Spaniards may have been the performers, I consider it improbable. There were never very many Spaniards in the Philippines to begin with, especially in a relatively remote island like Bohol and any Spaniards who may have resided there were likely semi-aristocratic landowners. Even in a relatively important town like Baclayon as late as 1879, the only Spaniards listed in parish records for that year were six *mestizos españoles*.¹⁸⁶ The relative paucity of Spaniards in the colony and in the province, as well as the influence of the priests, is illustrated by a relatively contemporary (1846) account by a French observer:

What religion has done can be maintained by religion alone; indeed it is only too clear that the Philippines would be lost to Spain and to the Catholic religion if ever the priests who guard it so miraculously without the help of a single European soldier should be removed. May such a disastrous moment never come!¹⁸⁷

This sentiment is echoed by another contemporary Spanish observer:

...the inhabitants obey the voice of the friars...but I see no other way how a handful of Spaniards 6,000 leagues away, without Spanish troops can hold in obedience such a vast and rich country which has no need of us and where there are some elements desirous of independence and which is coveted by so many foreign nations.¹⁸⁸

While the first quote refers to armed soldiers, it seems likely that a lack of Spanish soldiers may also reflect the lack of a substantial Spanish population center and interests

¹⁸⁶ Chua, 17. It is also possible that Spanish landowners may not have been listed as a part of these kinds of parish records and existed there anyway. However, their “footprint” of influence seems relatively small.

¹⁸⁷ Mallat, 27. This book was originally published as *Les Philippines: Histoire, Géographie, Moers, Agriculture, Industrie et Commerce* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1846).

¹⁸⁸ Sinibaldo de Mas y Sanz, *et al*, *Informe Secreto de Sinibaldo de Mas = Secret Report of Sinibaldo de Mas* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1963), 150.

for those soldiers to protect.¹⁸⁹ I find it also improbable that any Spaniards in the area, whether soldiers or civilians, would have lowered themselves to accompanying a mass or vespers service in a local parish church.

While the above facts do not bestow an *overtly* Philippine character to the *cantorales*, the fact that this liturgical repertory was produced, interpreted and performed locally, and mostly or completely by local musicians is very important. The very fact that Bohol was so far removed from the main centers of ecclesiastical control make it very possible that there was a local practice or style unique to the province or to an individual parish. I will further treat this issue of the local and the peripheral later in this chapter.

Another possibility that we have not yet considered is the presence of Filipino priests as performers in this musical tradition. This might take care of the issue of the Visayan rubrics in the *cantorales*, if they were intended to be read by a Boholano priest, but there are problems with this point of view that may be insurmountable. We know that Filipino priests were ordained from the eighteenth century¹⁹⁰ with many more in the nineteenth century, but that these later men were typically secular priests, meaning not in religious orders like Augustinians or Dominicans, etc. Bohol was administered first by

¹⁸⁹ Mallat estimates that at mid-century, 1,500 European Spaniards (*peninsulares*), augmented by 3,500 “Locals” (probably Spaniards born in the Philippines, known then as Filipinos) and 20,000 Spanish mestizos comprised the entire Spanish population of the Philippines. This is a total of 25,000 pure and nominal Spaniards out of an estimated population of five million. Mallat, 62.

¹⁹⁰ Luciano Santiago, *The Hidden Light: the first Filipino priests* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1987), 154.

the Jesuit order and then the Augustinian Recollect order, and we know that there was a great amount of competition and sometimes animosity between religious orders and the secular priests (due largely to the issue of episcopal visitation). This in itself would make it unlikely that there would be Augustinian Recollect priests working with secular native priests, even as assistant curates or in other capacities, due to the fact that the two would ultimately answer to different superiors.¹⁹¹ I am not aware of the Augustinian Recollects ordaining any Filipino priests during this time, and there are no non-Europeans listed in the *Guias de Forasteros*, the guides that listed the parish priests in different provinces or other such records compiled by Regalado Trota Jose.¹⁹² However, these sources did not seem to list Filipino priests even though we know that they existed during the time that the guides were published; they may have simply been left out. So the possibility remains that Filipino priests had some role in performance of this music, which would give the music even more Philippine-ness, but it is not suggested or supported by documentary evidence. It will be exciting if further research on Augustinian Recollect archives can shed more light on this.

¹⁹¹ However, we should note that among the twenty-five priests mentioned above (see discussion above) were two diocesan (secular) priests. The intended process of evangelization in Spanish colonies was for religious priests (those in religious orders) to convert the natives and then turn over administration to the secular clergy (regular diocesan priests). For a number of reasons, this generally did not occur and members of religious orders found themselves functioning as diocesan priests.

¹⁹² Regalado Trota Jose, *Curas de Almas: a preliminary listing of parishes and parish priests in the 19th century Philippines based on the Guias de Forasteros, 1834-1898*. 4 vols. (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2008).

Homogenizing Influences

So far in this chapter I have been dealing with the concept of the syncretic while teasing out the Philippine and Spanish elements of the *cantorales*. In a definition above I considered syncretism in the context of a local practice on one hand and a dominant, imported practice on the other. This rather simplistic binary opposition may be useful when considering only the Spanish colonization of the Philippines, but we know from previous discussions of historical cultural contacts that there were many other potentially important influences. I would like to expand our discussion of syncretism to include these other elements that existed in the Philippines in the early nineteenth century and in many cases still exist today. These influences may be deemed “homogenizing” in nature, in that they involve cultural or political movements from one area to another that create a dominant or semi-dominant culture, which can then itself exercise influence over surrounding areas. It is also perfectly logical (and likely) that these influences, which are later considered homogenizing, may themselves have been syncretic in their own earlier manifestations.

Spanish Catholicism

The first and most obvious of the homogenizing influences in the context of the Spanish colonial Philippines are those influences that the Spanish colonizers brought with them. The most dominant and enduring of these was the importation of Christianity through Roman Catholicism. The Roman Catholicism that the Spanish brought with them was itself quite homogenous, or was well on the way to becoming so as a result of

the reforms adopted by the Council of Trent from 1545 to 1563. Among other things, the reforms led to a much greater standardization of the liturgy across the Catholic world (with certain exceptions). The surviving Philippine liturgical sources attest to this fact, as they conform to the Tridentine model. Regarding musical style, Spanish Catholicism had distinctive characteristics shared among parish churches (and different ones among cathedrals and other major churches with resources). These are detailed in Chapter 4.

Islam

One interesting possibility to consider is the influence of Islam in the Philippines in dialogue with previous Spanish encounters with the religion. The *Reconquista* and the elimination of the western flank of Muslim polities from the Iberian Peninsula had scarcely been completed before the Spanish encountered Islam again on its extreme eastern flank in the Philippines. I am particularly interested in the sources of Islamic influence in art and architecture in the southern regions of the Philippines, where the religion was more firmly established. A question that immediately arises is, to which flank of Islam can we ascribe the influences that can be noted in the church architecture discussed above? In peninsular Spain, we can note a number of “Moorish”¹⁹³ characteristics in architecture due to centuries of Islamic presence there, and we can be certain that some of them had become internalized (syncretized) and established as “Spanish.” These influences the Spanish colonizers may have brought with them to the

¹⁹³ Early Spanish explorers referred to Muslims they met in Asia as *moros* (moors), a name used to this day even by Muslims in the Philippines to refer to themselves (i.e. the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, etc.).

Philippines. There are also the much more immediate Muslim influences from the Indonesian archipelago to the southwest of the Philippines. By the time of colonization by Legazpi, Islam had made inroads all the way to Manila but had more established bases of power among the sultanates on the island of Mindanao and in the Sulu archipelago. So when we observe Islamic characteristics¹⁹⁴ in Spanish colonial church structures in the Philippines, can we say that they exist as a result of the Islamic influences in Spain and internalized by Spaniards, or as a result Islamic influences in the southern Philippines, which would have influenced the parishioners and builders of the parish churches? The latter explanation makes more sense given the proximity of the southern Philippines to the rest of the archipelago compared with the islands' distance from Spain. Indeed, Regalado Trota Jose has seen such influences from Jolo and Mindanao with carvings on sacristy furniture in churches on the southern coast of Bohol.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ I am aware of the fact that Islamic can often be incorrectly conflated with Arab or a generalized or stereotyped concept of the Middle East. In these cases, cultural practices considered Islamic might have nothing to do with Islam except that the majority of people in the culture are Muslims. Similar statements have been made about practices in Christian areas, including the Philippines. The term "lowland Christian Filipino" has been used to refer to an entire ethnic class of Filipinos. While I agree that the vast majority of Filipinos living in the lowland regions of Luzon and the Visayas are Christians, I am wary of the use of a religious affiliation to define a large group of people, when ethnic and linguistic factors may be more relevant. The same principle holds true of the use of the blanket term *moro* to define Muslim Filipinos, many of whom have greatly differing ethno-linguistic characteristics. In this context, I will take "Islamic characteristics" to mean the aspects of art and architecture that can be understood to be religious in derivation. Since we are talking about churches, it makes sense to limit the discussion to their overtly religious contexts. However, it is well to keep in mind that parish churches in the Philippines often had other functions. The most important of these was for the church to act as a fortress during pirate raids.

¹⁹⁵ Jose, *Visita Iglesia Bohol*, 45.

However, churches in the Philippines were generally built under the direction of a Spanish parish priest who would assumedly have veto power over any decorative decisions made by the builders. So in this case, Spain's influence looms larger through the agency of the parish priest, though a priest would likely have a more practical sense of the needs and desires of his parishioners as he typically spoke the local languages and often had long tenure¹⁹⁶ in a particular area. Given the widespread use of Islamic motifs and design elements in church designs over a long period of time, it would appear that parish priests were aware and tacitly approved of such designs. I do not attempt to give a definitive answer here, but the sources and contexts of Islamic influence in Philippine church architecture is something that asks for a closer look.

Chinese Influence

The islands of what are now the Philippines have been known to China for at least two thousand years, and there is evidence of extensive trade relations between them over the centuries.¹⁹⁷ The early Spanish explorers and colonizers encountered (and sometimes battled) Chinese trading vessels as well as Chinese expatriate merchants who lived in and

¹⁹⁶ Some examples of lengthy tenures in the Philippines: Manuel Bravo de la Concepción served the parish of Loay, Bohol for 35 years (1799-1834); Diego Cera de la Virgen del Carmen (of Bamboo Organ fame) served the parish of Las Piñas for 37 years; Fr. Blas de la Virgen del Carmen served the parish of Baclayon, Bohol for 20 years (1818-1838). There are many other examples of this sort to be found in the Philippines, though they should by no means be considered commonplace.

¹⁹⁷ For more information on trade and general Chinese-Philippine relations, see Alfonso Felix, Jr., ed., *The Chinese in the Philippines*. Vol. 1 (Manila: The Historical Conservation Society, 1966).

around the early Spanish settlements in Asia. The relationship between the Spanish colonists and the Chinese traders (and China in general) was always a complex one. The fabled riches of the Middle Kingdom as well as the unbaptized millions (representing riches of another kind) attracted strong commercial and religious interests. Spanish merchants were eager to gain a foothold in establishing direct trade with China for silks and other products highly lucrative in European and New World markets. Spanish priests were eager to evangelize the country, and many often saw the Philippines merely as a beachhead or stepping-stone to the greater and more desirable Chinese mission field. They did have some success in converting Chinese in the Philippines, and the first book printed there in 1593 was a *Doctrina Christiana* in Chinese.¹⁹⁸ Attempts at establishing direct trading links on the Chinese mainland were largely failures, and the vast majority of trade was carried out at Manila with numbers of Chinese trading junks arriving every year. Trade with Spain turned out to be equally lucrative for Chinese traders, who arrived and settled in and around Manila by the thousands to obtain valuable Mexican silver.¹⁹⁹ In the first thirty or so years from the founding of Manila, the Chinese population had swelled to 15,000 or more, by far dwarfing the military resources of a now-nervous Spanish colonial government. This immigrant population fluctuated wildly

¹⁹⁸ A *doctrina* in Spanish, *baybayin* (ancient Tagalog script) and Romanized Tagalog was published later that year.

¹⁹⁹ The relative value of silver to gold in different areas of the world in 1560 illustrates the eagerness with which Chinese merchants tried to obtain as much silver as possible. At that time, relative European values of gold to silver were 11 to 1 and in Mexico, 13 to 1. In China the values were only 4 to 1. Therefore, silver entering China immediately tripled its purchasing power. Rafael Bernal, "The Chinese Colony in Manila, 1570-1770" in *Ibid*, 46.

in the wake of a number of massacres and general expulsions of the Chinese population.²⁰⁰ Despite this uneasy political situation, the Chinese ultimately flourished in the Philippines, intermarrying with local Filipinos and creating a wealthy and influential *mestizo* class. These *mestizos*, often today referred to as “Tsinoy”²⁰¹, were important as land and business owners as well as being part of the educated class, the *ilustrados*, in the nineteenth century. During the Spanish colonial era, many Chinese artisans worked on church projects, building façades and other stonework, carving *santos*, and more.²⁰² Chinese words and phrases have entered the popular Filipino lexicon along with those from Spanish and English. These and others are examples of a pervasive Chinese influence on the Philippines.

Mexico

The particular geographical and political peculiarities of the Philippines made for interesting possibilities of influence, particularly in the archipelago’s governance structures. Due to the extreme distances involved, Spain was involved only peripherally in the affairs of the Philippine colony. The islands were administratively attached to New Spain²⁰³ and were ruled from Mexico City with the viceroy of New Spain exercising

²⁰⁰ Milagros C. Guerrero, “The Chinese in the Philippines” in *Ibid*, 25.

²⁰¹ This term is created by adding a local term for Filipino, “Pinoy”, with the consonant sound of *Ts*, which stood for “Chinese.” *Ts* is one way of writing the English *Ch*, much in the same way that the surname *Tsing* can also be spelled *Ching*.

²⁰² See the stone *Fu*-dogs under the façade of San Agustin Church in Figure 8 above.

considerable authority. All traffic to and from the Philippines was compelled (until Mexican independence) to disembark at the Mexican Caribbean coast, cross the continent, and re-board a ship on the Pacific coast before continuing the journey. Delegations from Spain with supplies and personnel intended for the Philippines were often “waylaid” by the viceroy or the archbishop in Mexico City and diverted to other uses.²⁰⁴ Additionally, the centuries-long galleon trade between Manila and Acapulco make significant cultural exchanges between Mexico and the Philippines a reality.²⁰⁵

While we may be tempted to look for overtly Mexican characteristics in artistic and cultural practices in the Philippines (and many seem to exist), Alicia Coseteng elaborates on the similarities between Mexican and Philippine church architecture in a much more subtle way. She describes the concept of *tequitqui*, a term in Náhuatl²⁰⁶ that refers to a payer of tribute. In this context, *tequitqui* was a syncretic artistic style among Nahua people in the decades after the early sixteenth century Spanish conquest of Mexico that blended together native and Spanish elements in an eloquent, if chaotic fashion. Coseteng asserts that *tequitqui* was an unconscious gesture of interpretation of the new Christian faith that included a sense of loss of the old religious life. This style faded as

²⁰³ This reality is the background to the oft-quoted saying that the Spanish colonial Philippines was “a colony of a colony.”

²⁰⁴ Horacio de la Costa’s delightful work *The Jesuits in the Philippines* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961) includes such accounts.

²⁰⁵ For a good overview of the galleon trade, see William Lytle Shurz, *The Manila Galleon* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1985).

²⁰⁶ A group of related languages and dialects spoken in central Mexico.

the culture became more assimilated into the new faith. Coseteng states that this concept had a revival from the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth centuries in the Philippines, in church architecture in a number of churches in Luzon and the Visayas. The link with the *tequitqui* movement is made because of the widespread use of local motifs and designs, and the local way of understanding them while remaining under the influence of a learned baroque architecture. Coseteng goes on to say that

...the validity of this analogy lies not so much in the anachronism and hybrid character of both the Mexican and Philippine creations, as in their originality of expression which seems to spring from an unconscious sense of freedom.²⁰⁷

While I am not entirely sure that I agree with her assertion that these artistic forms are the result of an unconscious sense of loss or freedom or even that we are able to reliably document or prove that assertion, it is an interesting take on the heavily syncretic and locally-interpreted aspects of colonial artistic expression and it will be helpful to keep it in mind when we discuss the concept of local and peripheral below.

Result of Homogenizing Influences

Though important and influential on their own, none of these homogenizing influences seem to result in the creation of a completely new homogenous reality. The influences interact and mediate with each other and each holds its own sphere(s) of influence that result in the emergence of new, syncretic and eminently local practices. But very often, the scholarly tendency is to assign total agency to external, colonizing forces and reducing to almost nothing the role and power of native societies and

²⁰⁷ Coseteng, 96-7.

institutions. It is true that the Philippines and many other areas in Southeast Asia have been subjected to more than the “average” amount of external contact, at least in the last several centuries. But this contact cannot be couched only in terms of West/East or colonizer/colonized. It can be very difficult within a society, especially one in flux, to determine what is foreign and what is indigenous; these can only be relative terms. Societal change due to cultural contact is so common that I would consider it normative, regardless of the nature of the contact, though its application is often uneven across a population which may itself be very heterogeneous. The following passage illustrates this point well:

The evolution of values and the concomitant development of social institutions in a society are a complicated aggregate of individual human reactions. Change takes place in a community because people interact—sometimes consciously, sometimes not—with those around them. Occasionally, new ways are adopted because they seem attractive or promise some reward; at other times, people are forced to accept change as a result of coercion or more subtle forms of compulsion. The dissemination of ideas and the development of institutions are gradual processes, involving a few key people at first and then gradually spreading to the larger population. Since there is always a wide variety of attitudes, and since most social organisms are constantly evolving, any attribution of consensus is arbitrary.²⁰⁸

The questions I asked above about the provenance of Islamic influence in Philippine church architecture, as well as the relative Philippine-ness and Spanish-ness of the *cantorales*, gain a new dimension in this light. One can make the argument that due to sustained contact with both Islam and Spain, both influences are now indigenous to the Philippines. It would be unthinkable for a Filipino devotee of Islam or Roman

²⁰⁸ Steinberg, ed, *et al*, 3-4. The paragraph previous to this quotation is also drawn from the same source.

Catholicism to consider their religious devotion as non-indigenous, unauthentic, or otherwise not an integral part of their personal identity. While I am reticent to apply this concept universally to all cultural contacts in the Philippines, however superficial, it does call into question what may be considered “native” or indigenous. This status seems ultimately to be a function of the choices and preferences of groups of people at local levels, rather than top-down, institutionally based decisions.²⁰⁹ Based on the syncretic and local elements found in the *cantorales*, can we consider them to be examples of “traditional Filipino music”?

Center and periphery

Though the Philippines was both a Spanish and a Catholic colony, it takes just a cursory look at a world map to realize that both Spain and Rome were as far from the colony as could possibly be conceived. In our discussion of the power of homogenizing influences, we should take into account the distances involved and the amounts of time necessary for communication. Though the Catholic Spanish had their “feet on the ground” in the Philippines (exercising religious and political control), decisions on colonial and religious policy that had to emanate from Spain or Rome could and did take years to make and implement. The relative importance of this colony sitting out on the furthest periphery of the Spanish empire, as far as the allocation of resources and personnel is concerned, is an important issue to consider.

²⁰⁹ Though institutions have a huge impact in the adoption of national customs and practices through education and media. But what is considered *native* (as opposed to *national*) is mediated at local levels.

Another important component of the dialogue between the colonial center in Spain and the Philippine periphery is the concept of real and perceived distance. The Philippines maintains a position far on the periphery of the Hispanic world (if it makes it onto the map at all), even today. While it may seem obvious that Spain occupied the position of “center” and the Philippines as “periphery”, the distance involved makes the concept of center and periphery a two-sided proposition. From the perspective of Manila, and even more so from the perspective of a relatively remote island like Bohol, Madrid was an impossible, almost fantastic distance. The dictates of Madrid, and of Rome when speaking strictly of church matters, were very remote and indeed, perhaps peripheral to the Philippines, despite the power of these centers in their own spheres of influence. Of much greater potential impact in the Philippines were local homogenizing influences, or more distant homogenizing influences, such Roman Catholicism, liturgy and European governance, as interpreted in their own local contexts. The dictates of the church or of the king were important, but more important was the interpretation and implementation of those dictates in the local context of the province, town, and parish church.

Ownership of Culture and the Invention of Tradition

As I noted above, there is a certain danger in seeking to separate indigenous elements from imported ones (though I at times attempt to do so) because it has the potential to influence the adoption or rejection of cultural practices out of hand due to the perceived alignment of those practices with a country, ethnicity or political ideology. Again, while there may be usefulness in studying such cultural practices at a deeper level

to better understand them, it is not useful to suggest that a syncretic or even demonstrably Spanish (or Western) practice is not indigenous. Cultural practices are constantly in flux and represent any number of influences over time. Whatever the varied backgrounds of such cultural practices, they belong to the places and times in which they are practiced, and to the people who practice them. However, there are some cultural practices that fall in or out of favor politically or institutionally, thus changing the way they are perceived and eventually how (or if) they are practiced. The previous chapter on nationalist historiography was just one instance of the negative aspects of this reality, but there are other cultural practices that have been retained or even created by the modern nation-state. This is the process of cultururation by the invention of tradition outlined in the introductory chapter.

One such cultural practice that, like liturgical music, comes from the Spanish colonial era, is the *rondalla* ensemble. The *rondalla* is usually a group of plucked string



Figure 11: Rondalla ensemble, San Nicolas, Ilocos Sur.

instruments of different sizes. Traditional *rondalla* groups are made up of the *bandurria*, *laud*, *octavina*, *guitar* and *bajo de uñas* (string bass), in any proportion or size. The size or composition of the ensemble is flexible. Note that in Figure 11, not all of the above-listed instruments are present, a violin is added, and a cello is standing in for the *bajo de uñas*. Regardless, the group is still quite distinctly a *rondalla*. What is interesting about *rondalla* vis-à-vis liturgical music is that it has been able to retain its status as a valued Filipino cultural tradition. Of course, the argument could be made that *rondalla* derives from popular music forms and liturgical music does not, and that music that is popular tends to survive. It is interesting to note that the *rondalla* was, during the American colonial and independence era, seen as a distinctively Filipino medium of expression and encouraged and supported as a means of expressing a distinctly Filipino identity. The fact that it is advertised and exported (there are many *rondalla* groups to be found in

Filipino expatriate communities worldwide) as a *uniquely* Filipino phenomenon is interesting, given the strong resemblances between the instruments and their music with those from Spain and other former Spanish colonies.²¹⁰ In a lecture by Antonio Molina that was later published as a pamphlet, the former conservatory dean notes,

...we had, in the Philippines, the development of a kind of music that relates to the tribal music, with its stringed instruments, and to Western music. I am speaking of the Rondalla. It's a very typical organization—I think it bears no similarity to any group in any other nation in the world. True, it is related—perhaps derived directly from Spanish “Bandurias.”²¹¹

Molina toes a very fine line between asserting the *rondalla* as unique and resembling no other musical ensemble, while still deriving from Spanish practices. That *rondalla* is generally owned as a local cultural practice and largely separated from its Spanish roots makes the concept of invented tradition quite interesting, in the sense of “old models for new purposes” and “old uses in new conditions.”²¹²

Another syncretic cultural practice that has become important as an invented tradition in the Philippine post-independence era is folk dance. Philippine folk dances likely existed long before Spanish contact but were influenced over the years by Spanish and other European forms, American forms, and likely other neighboring regional or

²¹⁰ The Spanish left behind string bands of many kinds wherever they had a colonial interest. A comparative study and analysis of these ensembles from the different former Spanish colonies is needed.

²¹¹ Antonio J. Molina, *Aspects of Philippine Culture: Music of the Philippines* (National Museum of the Philippines, 1967), 9.

²¹² Hobsbawm, 5.

provincial folk dances. But it was not until 1956 with the creation of the Bayanihan²¹³ Folk Dance Group at the Philippine Women's University that folk music study and performance became a serious academic project with a national and international reach. By 1957 the group was organized as the Bayanihan Folk Arts Center as a research entity with the Bayanihan Philippine Dance Company as the performance ensemble. The purpose of these entities, according to Bayanihan's website, is

...to research on and preserve indigenous Philippine art forms in music, dance, costumes and folklore; to restructure and enhance these research findings to evolve repertoires suited to the demands of contemporary theater; and to promote international goodwill through performances at home and abroad.²¹⁴

The important part of this statement of purpose is, that in the process of research intended to preserve a cultural practice, it is necessary to restructure the practice for purposes of contemporary performance conventions. The process of curation via invented tradition enters when the institution of the Bayanihan Dance Company "evolves the repertory." I am not aware of the preservational requirements of the dance repertoires researched by the Bayanihan Folk Arts Center or if the dance repertoires were being lost as practiced

²¹³ The term *bayanihan* is a Tagalog word that refers to a group of people working together, or a feeling of commonality among people. Specifically, the term refers to the tradition of a group of people in a community helping one family move their house. This is has a very literal meaning; the house is physically lifted off of its foundations by a large number of people with long bamboo poles, and moved to a new location. The moving family typically sponsors a *fiesta* for the participants in thanks for their help. The root of the word is *bayan*, which means "people," but with stronger communal, national and political connotations. It can be emotionally and politically charged, in much the same way that the word and concept of *America* is used during political campaigns in the United States.

²¹⁴ <http://www.bayanihannationaldanceco.ph/nationaltreasure.html> (accessed May 2, 2010).

traditions.²¹⁵ The point is, these dances are modified at the level of a national institution, from the top down. This becomes important in the wake of the work of Bayanihan in the subsequent 50 years. The company met with immediate success after their debut and it is now an internationally renowned and respected entity. Their performances have led to a great revival of folk dancing in the Philippines and in the many Philippine expatriate communities abroad.²¹⁶ Due to the reach and influence of Bayanihan, it is this “evolved” dance repertory that is widely performed and has become in effect, the new tradition.

The dance performances themselves are carefully divided into a number of regional suites with the express purpose of showcasing ethnic diversity in the Philippines. Common among them is the Tagalog or Maria Clara Suite²¹⁷, the Cordillera or Mountain Suite, the Tribal Suite and the Muslim or Moro Suite. Through this display of diversity (in which a group of generally Tagalog-speaking Filipinos don the costumes of different Philippine ethnic groups), there is generally a message of national unity; the “we are all Filipinos” sentiment mentioned in the opening chapter. I am not passing judgment on the

²¹⁵ This is certainly possible, as American dance crazes did (and do) routinely sweep the country.

²¹⁶ It is common for expatriate Filipino groups to present cultural shows in their communities (I am myself a member of *Makibahagi*, a Filipino culture group based in Corona, California). It is also common for the second-generation children of these expatriates to form such groups at high schools and universities. The cultural shows are sometimes known generally as “PCN” (Pilipino Culture Night). For a good study on the phenomenon, see Neal Matherne, “*Ang Bayan Niya*”: *Filipina/o American music making and cultural performance at home in Southern California* (MA Thesis: University of California Riverside, 2002).

²¹⁷ Sometimes this is referred to as the Spanish Suite, as the dances resemble those from Spain.

practice of updating or evolving folk practices or of displays of national unity. Rather I am interested in the process of selection of national cultural practices, particularly what is included and what is left out. This becomes important as we later examine Spanish-era liturgical music, one of the practices left out of the national cultural model.

Chapter 3: The Religious and Musical Milieu of the Colonial Philippines

Colonial Organization of the Philippines

The islands of the Spanish Philippine colony were organized into different administrative regions based largely on considerations of geography and the distribution of different language groups. Politically, there were originally twelve provinces (with some of the larger ones divided further into *corregimientos*).²¹⁸ These subdivisions are the forerunners of the eighty provinces that exist today. As soon as nominal political and military control was gained over these regions, they were assigned to one or another of the different religious orders to facilitate their evangelization. While the establishment of widespread political, economic and military control lagged, particularly in the mountainous interior regions of the several islands and in the south of the archipelago (where in some places military control was never established), religious conversion was generally faster and permanent. As noted in the previous chapters, peace and relative loyalty to Spain was established almost exclusively through the auspices of parish priests. The total number of Spaniards in the Philippines was at all times much lower than in Mexico or Peru.²¹⁹ This was important, as Spaniards (and Mexicans) in the Philippines were dwarfed by other ethnic groups, such as the Chinese.²²⁰ In 1584, there were

²¹⁸ Phelan, 128.

²¹⁹ Porras, 20.

²²⁰ Bernal, 46

reported only about 200 Spanish soldiers in Manila.²²¹ On the eve of the Philippine Revolution in the 1890s when Spain was increasing the numbers of Spanish regular soldiers and officers, she could only boast of 4,200 of them throughout the islands, largely concentrated in Manila. They were dwarfed by the numbers of native Filipino troops serving with and under them.²²² Likewise in short supply were Spanish priests to evangelize, convert and maintain the faith of the natives. In the earliest contacts, priests were reticent to baptize Filipinos if they could not guarantee that a priest would soon be sent to them to continue their Christian instruction. In Bohol, the interval between initial contact and formal evangelization was around 30 years, which caused one author to make the following charge:

This indisputable abuse committed against Bohol and the Boholanos was intentionally done by the Spaniards to prevent truth-loving people from realizing their potentials.²²³

This bizarre accusation fails to take into account the fact that all of the religious orders suffered shortages of personnel²²⁴ in addition to the almost superhuman commitment of the evangelizing priests toward converting the Filipinos (including Boholanos), very

²²¹ Lourdes Diaz-Trechuelo, “The Role of the Chinese in the Philippine Domestic Economy (1570-1770)” in *Ibid*, 177.

²²² Alfred W. McCoy, “The Colonial Origins of Philippine Military Traditions” in Florentino Rodao and Felice Noelle Rodriguez, eds., *The Philippine Revolution of 1896: Ordinary Lives in Extraordinary Times* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2001), 86.

²²³ Luengo, 59.

²²⁴ Officials of these religious orders made frequent appeals to Spain for more priests and lay brothers to assist in evangelization efforts.

often at the cost of their own lives. After the establishment of the cities of Cebu in 1565 and Manila in 1571, the colonial capital of Manila was established as a suffragan diocese of Mexico City in 1579. It was elevated to the rank of archdiocese in 1595. The new metropolitan archdiocese of Manila had three suffragan dioceses: Cebu²²⁵, Cagayan²²⁶, and Camarines.²²⁷ Another important early Spanish settlement was the city of Arévalo on the island of Panay in the western Visayas. The city was moved a number of times due to pirate raids, in and around what is now known as Iloilo City.²²⁸

Each of these provinces was populated by the several religious orders that came to the Philippines to evangelize the natives of the new colony. First were the Augustinians who arrived with Legazpi in 1565. They evangelized the Visayan islands, the Ilocos region, Pangasinan and Pampanga in central Luzon as well as the areas in and around Manila. Then came the Franciscans, who ministered in Manila, the Laguna de Bay and the Camarines, or Bicol region of southern Luzon. The Dominicans followed, working in Manila, Cagayan and Pangasinan. They were followed by the Jesuits who worked in parts of Manila and the Visayan islands of Cebu, Leyte, Samar and Bohol). Lastly came

²²⁵ The seat of the diocese was at Cebu City, which is located on the island of Cebu in the central Visayas.

²²⁶ The diocese was originally ruled from the city of Nueva Segovia (part of what is now the city of Lal-lo in northeastern Luzon). The set was eventually moved to Vigan in northwestern Luzon.

²²⁷ The diocese was ruled from the city of Nueva Cáceres in the Bicol region of southern Luzon, known today as Naga City.

²²⁸ Antonio de Morga, tr. James Sylvester Cummins, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Cambridge: University Press, 1972), 287-89.

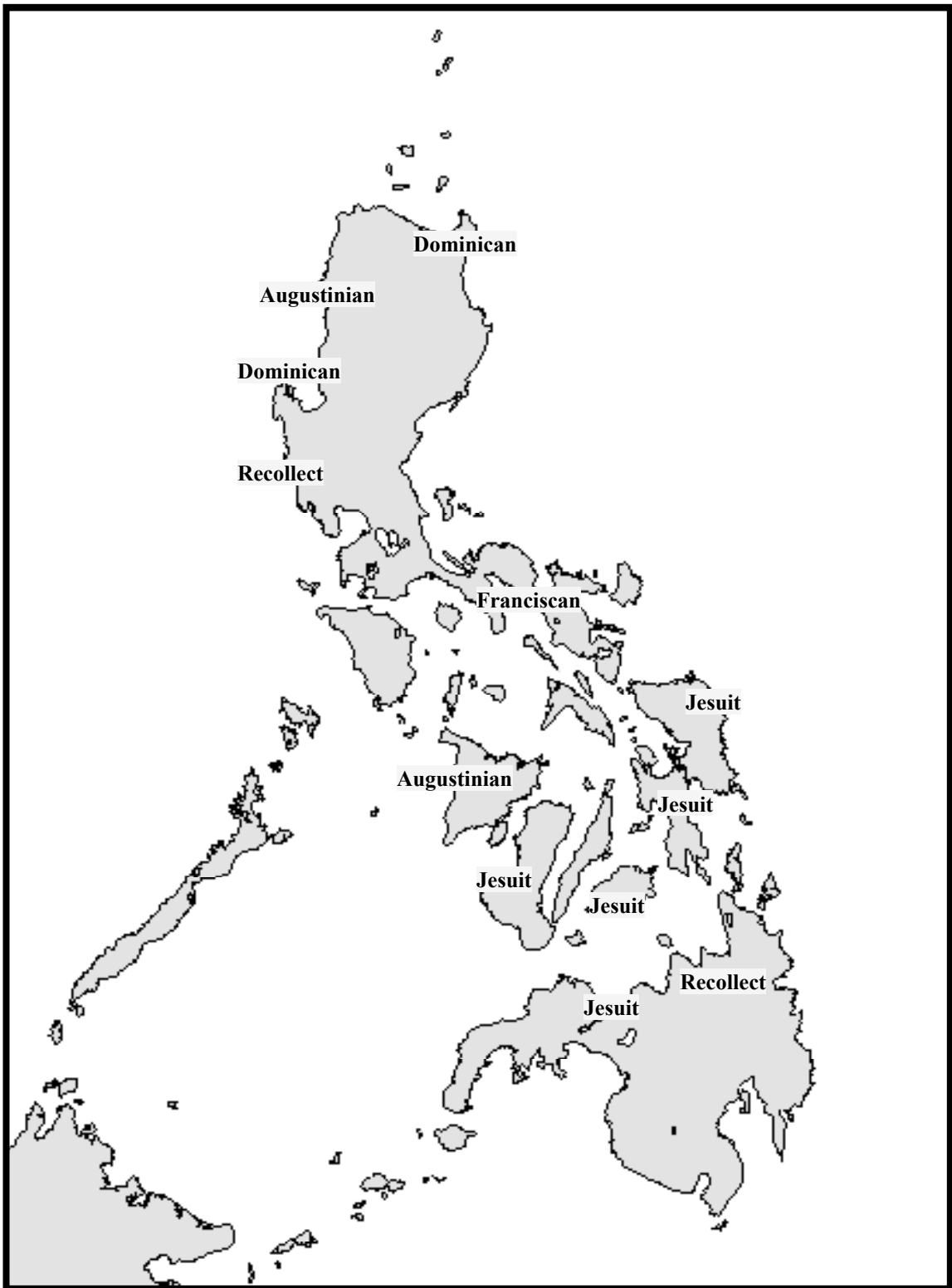


Figure 12: General Distribution of Religious Orders in the Philippines.

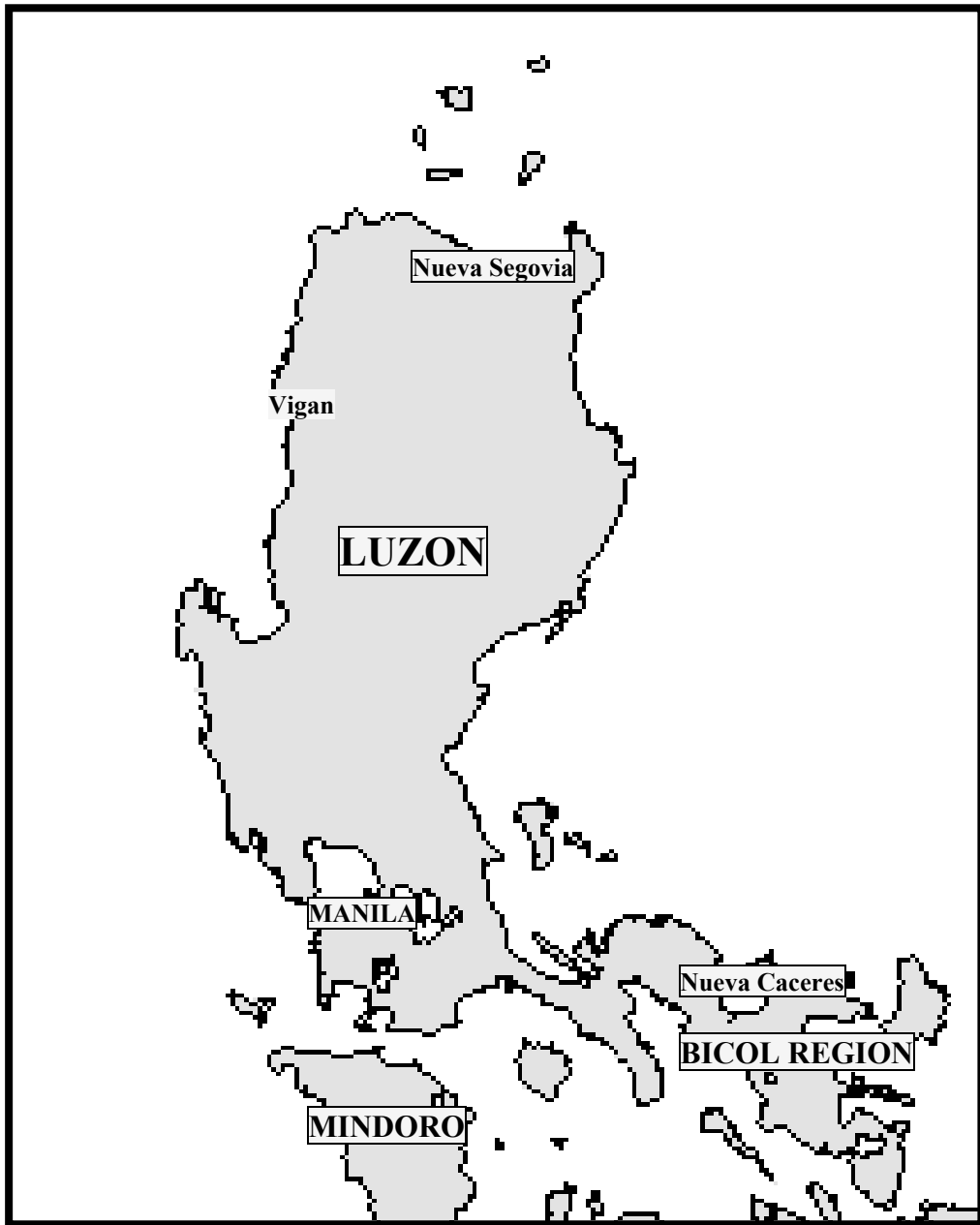


Figure 13: Luzon and surrounding islands.



Figure 14: The Visayas.

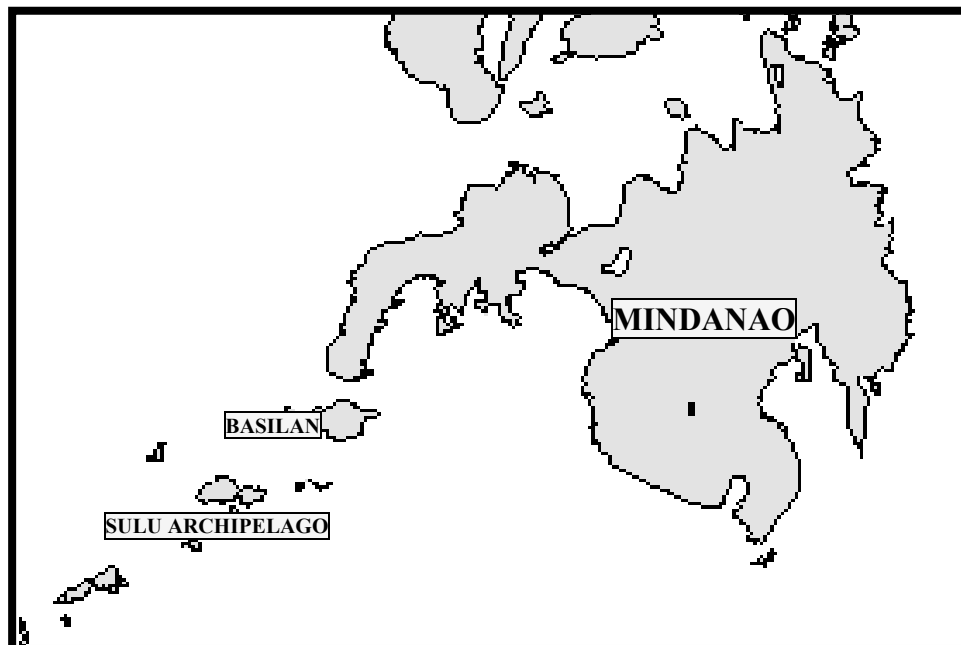


Figure 15: Mindanao and surrounding islands.

the Augustinian Recollects, a reform movement among Augustinians who served in various places in the Philippines.²²⁹ See the maps in Figures 12 through 5 above to get a general idea of the geographical distribution of the religious orders, as well as the locations of the various islands and regions.

Augustinian Recollects in the Philippines

The Augustinian Recollects were created as a reform movement within the Augustinian Order in 1588, with the goal of a return to (or a recollection of) a more austere practice of the Rule of St. Augustine.²³⁰ By 1621, Pope Gregory XV gave the movement the status of a congregation under a vicar general, but it was not until 1912 that Pope Pius X elevated the Recollect movement to the status of a separate religious order.²³¹ The Recollects arrived in the Philippines in 1606 as the last of the five major orders to enter the colony in its early decades of evangelization.

The Recollect ministers were very practical in their evangelization efforts, realizing the need to improve the temporal condition of their converts as well as their spiritual condition. They were active in church building and architecture, expanding and improving existing churches and building new ones. The presence of the Recollect friars

²²⁹ Morga, 289-91. The Recollects took over many of the Jesuit parishes when the Jesuit order was expelled from the Philippines in 1768, including all of the parishes on the island of Bohol.

²³⁰ Romanillos, 3-4. Other attempts at establishing a recollection were made in the sixteenth century, but were not successful.

²³¹ *Ibid*, 6-9.

was considered a positive influence in any Spanish colonial setting. The following quote is from a report in the mid-nineteenth century by the Spanish Captain-General to the King of Spain:

What is certain is that when a Recollect friar took charge of the parish, the town reformed and became submissive, whereas before the inhabitants were almost all bad as is notoriously known, thus and with the previous consent of the government, the construction of a beautiful church of strong materials began.²³²

The ability of the Recollects to construct durable churches and convents seemed to be one of the hallmarks of their ministry. The fact that so many Recollect structures have survived earthquakes and other natural disasters intact and in good condition is a testament to the priests' skill.

Regarding the temporal needs of their parishes, Recollect priests were skilled in managing various agricultural projects and were responsible for the creation of a number of important agricultural industries that exist to this day:

The Recolet [sic] parish priests were at once, architects and builders of churches, convents, etc, and instructors in agriculture and all descriptions of trades and industries connected therewith.²³³

The sugar industry of Negros looks back to the pioneering work of Father Fernando Cuenca of Talisay. Churches and cathedrals in Cavite, Negros, Misamis, Bohol and Palawan have withstood the ravages of time.²³⁴

²³² Mas, Calos Botor, 135. It is important to note that the Captain-General (D.R.M. Aguilar) is comparing the performance of Recollect friars with that of Filipino secular priests.

²³³ Breckonck-Watson, 22.

²³⁴ Romanillos, 6.

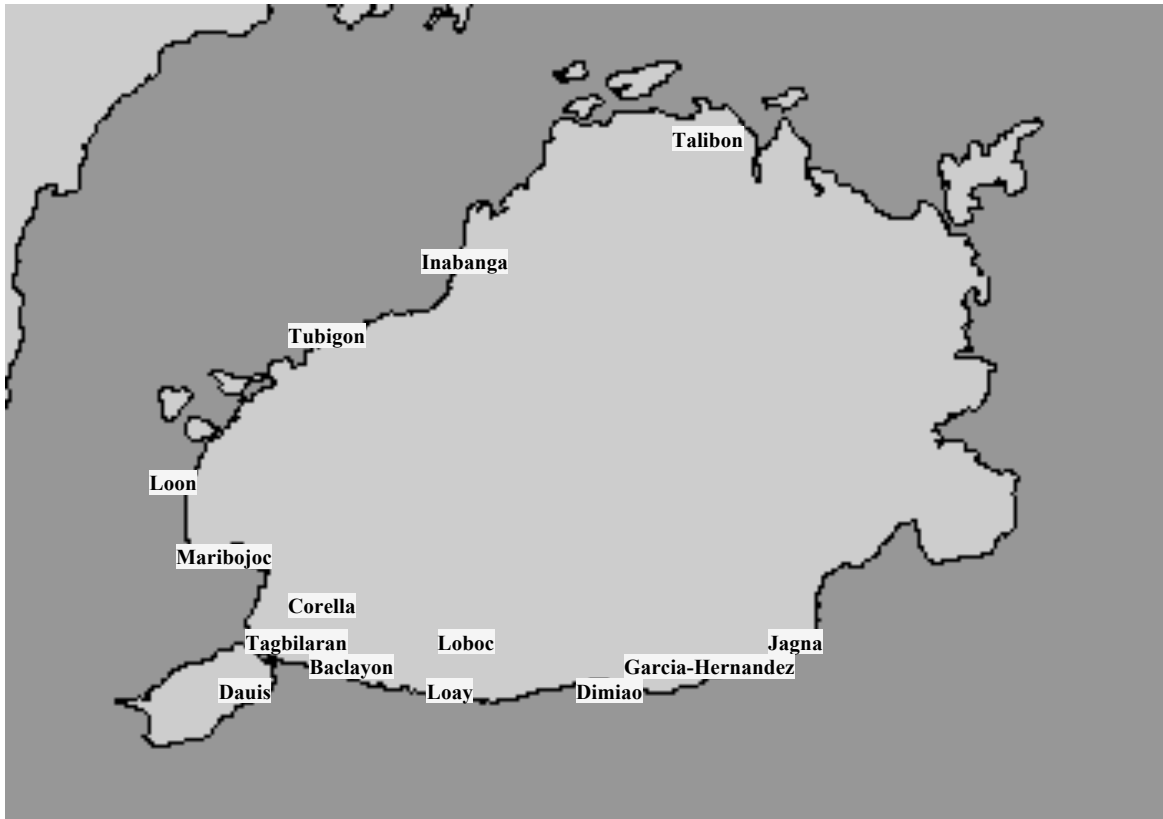


Figure 16: The island of Bohol.

Another industry that appeared to be widespread among Recollect priests was cattle raising. There were large herds in the vicinity of Manila and a sizable operation in Mindoro,²³⁵ as well as in Bohol.²³⁶

²³⁵ Henry Cabot Lodge, *Claims of Certain Religious Orders in the Philippine Islands* (U.S. Senate report no. 793 to accompany Senate Bill 8478, 60th Congress 2nd session, January 19, 1909), 7-8. This document proves that cattle ranching was taking place in Recollect lands until the Philippine-American War, since this Senate report covered damages to be paid to individual religious orders for property damages or destroyed during that time.

²³⁶ Chua 16-17.

Augustinian Recollects in Bohol

The Augustinian Recollects came to Bohol in 1768 as a result of the expulsion of the Jesuit order from the Philippines²³⁷, where they took over administration from the Jesuits who had been there from at least 1595.²³⁸ As in other provinces of the Philippines in which they were active, Recollect friars were deeply involved in identifying and nurturing local industries. The Bohol cattle herds, mentioned above, were grazed in the extensive grasslands in the interior of the island.²³⁹ The Recollects were also active in a number of agricultural industries in Bohol in the nineteenth century. They taught their parishioners new methods of rice cultivation, raising bananas, coconuts, cacao, coffee, abaca and sugar cane, as well as animal husbandry.²⁴⁰ They also set up at least one vocational school (in Jagna on the south coast of Bohol) that trained carpenters, leather tanners, construction workers, bricklayers and shoemakers.²⁴¹ The practice of leather tanning is particularly linked to the production of the *cantorales*. The long-serving curate

²³⁷ Romanillos, 135.

²³⁸ Ibid, 324.

²³⁹ Cecilio Putong, *Bohol and its People* (Manila: n.p., 1965), 2. I have been unable to find records pertaining to the size of the herds on Bohol. Records indicate that a typhoon and its related floods in Inabanga and Talibon (on the north coast of Bohol) killed more than 800 cows, carabao, horses and pigs, so we can surmise that the herds may have been considerable. Romanillos, 136.

²⁴⁰ Romanillos, 141.

²⁴¹ Ibid, 140.

of Jagna (served, with a few interruptions, from 1825 to 1855), Mariano Gutiérrez de los Dolores

...introduced the people of Jagna to the lucrative business of tanning hides of carabaos, horses, cows, big bats called *kawang*, highly valued in European markets, parchment and paper production as well as the manufacture of tints and ink.²⁴²

It is intriguing that the parish of Baclayon purchased the parchment for their *cantorales* in 1826 and 1827, just after the arrival of Gutiérrez de los Dolores to Jagna in 1825.

Another Recollect friar, Diego Cera de la Virgen del Carmen, who built the famous Bamboo Organ of Las Piñas (just south of Manila) also wrote knowledgeably about tanning hides and producing dyes in 1825.²⁴³ This could mean that the practice of making these products was well known in other parts of the Philippines and imported to Bohol, or that Fr. Gutiérrez de los Dolores introduced new or efficient methods of production to improve an already existing local industry.

Music in the Philippines and Bohol – Mid-Nineteenth Century

In the introductory chapter, I touched briefly on the place that music held in the early evangelization of the islands. While this is important because it represents the earliest exposures to Western music practices in the Philippines, the musical environment that is the subject of the rest of this study takes place mainly in the first half of the nineteenth century. Thus, it is important to find documentary evidence from this period

²⁴² Ibid, 140.

²⁴³ Chua, 38.

to augment the source material that survives, which we will examine in the next chapter. Luckily, we have a good eyewitness account of the Philippines from the middle of the century that includes several interesting accounts of musical practices at that time.²⁴⁴ Though the account is based on the author's relatively short time spent in the country, mostly in Manila²⁴⁵, it does provide a snapshot of what the casual observer would have seen around the year 1840. Regarding the Filipinos' love and aptitude for music, the following quote sums it up nicely:

In fact, everyone is inclined to music, and there are some who played five or six instrument [sic]; thus there is no village, however small, where a mass is not accompanied with music, though without an organ...

As we have just said, the Indios are born musicians; they...today cultivate European instruments with a love that reaches passion.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ Jean Mallat, tr. Pura Santillan – Castrence, *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce of the Spanish Colonies in Oceania*. (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1983). The original work in French was published in Paris in 1846.

²⁴⁵ Mallat took three trips to Manila while in Asia between 1838 and 1842.

²⁴⁶ Mallat, 435. This quote treats only the cultivation of religious or liturgical music; the following passages will illustrate that Filipinos (in Manila and environs at least) were well trained in popular European musical styles:

The military music of regiments in garrison in Manila and in some large pueblos in the province has reached an astonishing point of perfection; we have never heard better in Spain, not even in Madrid. In the plaza of the palace on Thursdays, Sundays and holidays at eight o'clock in the evening, when the tattoo is sounded, Manila society, foreigners and travelers, gather to listen to the *serenata*. The Indios play by memory for two or three hours alternately, grand overtures by Rossini and Meyerbeer or quadrilles and vaudeville songs. The great progress they have made since some time ago in military music they owe to French masters directing them...

Another way of digging for clues about musical life and attitudes in the Philippines is to find perceived abuses and official reactions to them. The *Superior Gobierno* in the colony issued a set of ordinances between 1758 and 1801 (and apparently in effect in 1842), some of which attempted to regulate the numbers of choir singers that would be allowed in each community. This was important as choir singers (*cantores*) were exempt from paying tribute taxes, and in Bohol at least, received monthly stipends plus honoraria for special services.²⁴⁷ Article 24 reads thus:

It is hereby ordered that towns of more than 500 tributes²⁴⁸ have only eight choir singers for church services...In towns of 400 tributes, there shall be only 6 choir singers, those of 300 shall only have 5; those of 200 shall only have four, which number shall not be diminished though the town is even smaller...²⁴⁹

Numerous orchestras of musicians are called, at all hours of the day, into the houses of Manila for all sorts of old and modern dances to be performed; the old rigodons, quadrillas, English country dances, waltzes, gallops, and no doubt the polka will not take long in being introduced there too. It is rare among Indios and especially among mestizos that a baptism, marriage, or some ceremony whatsoever is celebrated without music and without dancing. Ibid, 436-37.

The characterization of the military bands as highly skilled and surpassing even European groups is likely not an exaggeration. Filipino military bandsmen took the world by storm at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, gaining the admiration of an international audience. See Mary Talusan, "Music, Race, and Imperialism: The Philippine Constabulary Band at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair" in *Philippine Studies, Vol. 52, no. 4* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2004) and Augusto Bataclan, ed. *Philippine Bands* (Sta. Cruz, Manila: M.G. Zabat, Jr., 1977).

²⁴⁷ Specifics on payments and honoraria to church musicians are outlined in detail in the next chapter.

²⁴⁸ The tribute in the 1830s and 40s, according to Mallat, is described as a fee paid into the royal treasury by each family, determined by the number of family members of a certain age. Mallat, 61.

²⁴⁹ Sinibaldo de Mas, 151. The notes to the text state that these ordinances were enacted with the tacit approval of the *Audiencia*, though never formally endorsed by the Spanish crown.

It is difficult to tell if this ordinance was enforced throughout the Philippines, but we can see that in 1842 the number of tributes in the Baclayon parish church on Bohol was 2,121 ½ (from a total population of 10,607).²⁵⁰ The receipt books in Baclayon list a total of eight *cantores* employed by the church²⁵¹, so the spirit of the law was in effect in that parish church at least. I am not sure if the same rules applied for cathedral churches or for much larger towns. The fact that such a law existed shows that on one hand, many may have been attracted to the tribute exemption and aspired to status as a choir member. Along with the local civil officials, Filipinos who worked for the church as *cantores* or *sacristanes* enjoyed upper class status in the community.²⁵² For Boholano *cantores* at least, this prestige must have come with at least some amount of education, as they were literate in church Latin and could also read the Visayan-language rubrics in the *cantorales*.

The Production of *Cantorales*

The descriptions I gave above of cattle raising, hide tanning and the production of paper and ink show that all of the raw materials for producing musical manuscripts were

²⁵⁰ Mallat, 200.

²⁵¹ *Libro de Recibo y Gasto 1807-1856* in the Baclayon church archives. For more on the possible numbers of singers employed at Baclayon, see the discussion in Chapter 5 (footnote 50).

²⁵² Phelan, 126.

present in Bohol by the early nineteenth century. We can also surmise from church and inventory records that the island possessed musicians with aptitude for performance. But what about those with the specifically necessary skills for producing musical manuscripts: the scribes? Did they exist generally in the Philippines? Jean Mallat confirms this with the following passage:

Thus one finds among them several distinguished calligraphers, who know how to imitate all kinds of writing, of designs, of printing characters; among others, one cites a missal copied by an Indio which was sent to a king of Spain; it is claimed that it was impossible to distinguish it from the original. They also copy geographical maps with a rare exactitude.²⁵³

Numerous other accounts give details about the skills possessed by Filipinos for writing and drawing. A school of painting existed in the Baclayon parish of Bohol in early nineteenth century and many of the paintings still hang in the church. Many of the *santos* (carved images of saints) found in the church were also produced locally.²⁵⁴ Given the above pieces of information, it is nearly certain that the *cantorales* were produced in the Philippines, and very likely in Bohol itself. Baclayon parish records indicate that the church hired an *escribiente de solfa*²⁵⁵ (music scribe) for at least two separate sets of *cantorales* in 1821 and again in 1826, which indicates that there was likely a local

²⁵³ Mallat, 434.

²⁵⁴ Chua, 20.

²⁵⁵ Additionally, church records record large payments for a *Maestro de Musica*, who stayed in Baclayon for seven months in 1820. The unnamed musician must have provided instruction and training to the local musicians (though not on the organ, as that was not installed until 1824, unless the church owned a portable one not listed in the inventories) and perhaps composed some of the music in the 1820 set of *cantorales*, which may have served as a model for the 1826/27 set.

scriptorium that worked on these choirbooks. The time frame involved in producing the *cantorales* also points to a local operation, as Chua estimates that the first three books of the set of four took nearly a year to complete.²⁵⁶ The quality of the work is quite high, with very few visible mistakes, erasures or corrections. Sandy Chua states that this relative uniformity points to the work of only one scribe.²⁵⁷ Though the text is quite uniform, especially in settings of the Mass Ordinary (where the texts are invariable), there are other clues that cause me to reconsider the potential number of scribes working on the *cantorales*. In Figures 6 and 7 below, note the differences in rhythmic patterns in the middle measure of each passage. The relative inconsistency between the two examples is not generally important, but rather the *consistent* inconsistency of the rhythmic figures between folios. The rhythm in Figure 18²⁵⁸ is consistently notated that way throughout folio 16, which comprises the *Kirie* and part of the *Gloria*. The rhythmic figure on folio 17 (Figure 17²⁵⁹) is consistent throughout the folio, which includes the latter part of the *Gloria* and the first part of the *Credo*. By folio 18 (continuation of the *Credo*), neither rhythmic figure is encountered through the end of the mass setting. I believe that

²⁵⁶ Chua, 51.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 53.

²⁵⁸ This figure is generally associated with duple meter settings throughout the *cantorales*.

²⁵⁹ This rhythmic figure does not occur elsewhere in the *cantorales*.

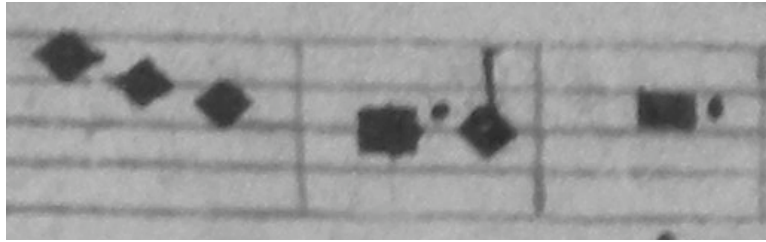


Figure 17: Detail from the *Gloria* from *Misa San Bernabe* in the *Kirial de Baclayon* (fol. 17).



Figure 18: Detail from the *Credo* from *Misa San Bernabe* in the *Kirial de Baclayon* (fol. 16).

this points to the presence of two or more scribes, possibly ones who had to make decisions about how to notate a specific rhythmic concept. Another possibility is that the inconsistency came from an earlier set of choirbooks from which the newest set was copied, and the differences were faithfully reproduced. An interesting additional clue comes from the *Kirial de Loay*²⁶⁰, produced in 1841 and very similar in appearance and repertory with the Baclayon sources. It is interesting to note that the inconsistencies found in the *Misa San Bernabe* are isolated to single folios in both the Baclayon and Loay sources, due to the differences in copying between the two sets of choirbooks (mass movements appear at different places on the page; in other words, the Loay source is a copy, but not a “photographic” copy in which everything appears in the same relative positions). A passage that would, in the Baclayon source, be on folio 16 and conform to

²⁶⁰ The town of Loay is on the southern coast of Bohol, about 11km east of Baclayon.

Figure 18, is on the next folio in the Loay source and conforms to Figure 17. So, the *consistent* inconsistency that I noted earlier *within* the Baclayon *cantoral*, is not consistent among the copies circulating in Bohol, or at least in Loay. This could again point to a pre-1826 source (perhaps the 1809 or 1820 Baclayon choirbooks) that required at least two scribes to differently interpret an odd rhythmic concept.

Other issues of notation and scribal practices, as well as analysis of the music itself, will be taken up in the next chapter. From the above discussion, I am inclined to suspect that a local *scriptorium* existed on Bohol and that very skilled multiple scribes worked on these *cantorales*, perhaps working side by side on facing pages.

Unfortunately, we do not have records that indicate the names of the scribes who copied the music, or the musician(s) who composed it. The names of the masses do not give us many clues, as the place names garnered from *Misa de Toledo*, *Misa de Salamanca*, and etc. point to Spain. There is one mass setting with a local name, the *Misa Baclayana*, which refers to the parish of Baclayon. It is unknown if this mass was written by a local musician, or if it was commissioned (though the payment records do not specify this). Perhaps the *Maestro de Musica* hired in 1820 composed this work as part of his seven-month stay in the parish. Though the *cantorales* do not include names of composers, the set produced for the parish of Maribojoc does include a name at the end of the table of contents in the *Antifonario*²⁶¹ (see figure below).

²⁶¹ The *Antifonario* contains specific feast-day settings for the Divine Offices.



Figure 19: Detail from *Antifonario de Maribojoc*.

This “signature” may refer to a parish priest of Maribojoc who presided over the production of the books. There was an Augustinian Recollect named Manuel Plaza de San Benito who served as parish priest of Maribojoc from 1846-50 and again from 1853-61.²⁶² It is very possible that the P.F. Manuel named in the *Antifonario* is this same priest. If we take his earlier tenure as priest as a guide, we can hypothesize that the Maribojoc set of *cantorales* were produced around the late 1840s which concords roughly with the dates of production for the other books that we can otherwise date with certainty (1826/27, 1835/37 and 1841).

Musical Priests of Bohol

We can also learn much from following the Recollect priests who administered the various parishes to find clues about musical production there. As many priests rotated often among different parishes, we can see that important musical purchases and

²⁶² Jose, *Curas de Almas*, Vol. 4, 267.

events followed certain priests from parish to parish. We will examine a few important cases in detail.



Figure 20: *Iglesia de La Purísima Concepción de la Virgen Maria, Baclayon*

Baclayon

Due to Sandy Chua's thesis on music in Baclayon, we have a much larger picture of musical practices there compared with other parishes, including biographical information on early Recollect parish priests. One of the first Recollect curates of the

Baclayon parish was Fr. Andres de la Santissima Trinidad, who served the town from 1776 to 1787. Originally from Toledo, he is said to have been the organist at his convent before coming to the Philippines. Chua suggests that the *cantorales* of 1809 (these were *inventoried*, rather than specifically produced in that year) may have been produced during Fr. Andres' tenure.²⁶³ We do not have a wealth of information regarding musical activities in the next years, and the next musical priest we encounter is Fr. Blas de la Virgen del Carmen. He served the parish for an impressive 20 years, from 1818 until

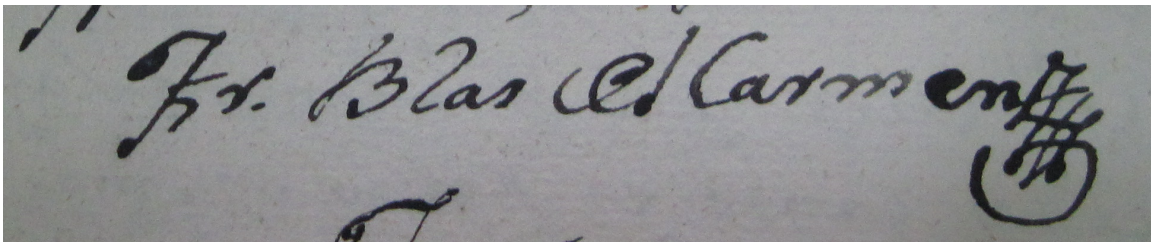
A photograph of a handwritten signature in black ink on a light-colored surface. The signature reads "Fr. Blas del Carmen" in a cursive script. To the right of the name is a circular monogram or seal, which appears to contain the letters "B" and "C" intertwined.

Figure 21: Signature of Fr. Blas del Carmen from an entry in the *Libro de Recibo y Gasto*

1838.²⁶⁴ A number of important musical events took place during this period, including the production of the 1820 and 1826/27 sets of *cantorales*, installation of the pipe organ, hiring of a *maestro de musica* and musical scribes (on two occasions) and the purchase of several musical instruments. Fr. Blas' death in 1838 was recorded by Fr. Antonio Ubeda

²⁶³ Chua, 29-30.

²⁶⁴ Chua, 42. Fr. Blas also had a number of other important posts before, and concurrent with, his tenure at Baclayon.

de la Santísima Trinidad who was then the parish priest of Loay, 11km to the east, and who later became the curate of Baclayon in two separate terms.

Following Fr. Blas, the next priest of Baclayon was Fr. Pedro Rodriguez de la Encarnación, who served from 1839 to 1840, and again from 1842 to 1855.²⁶⁵ This “gap”

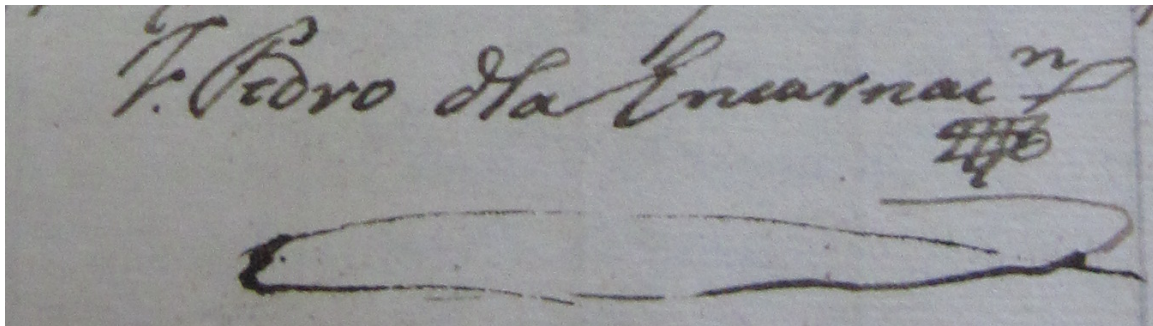


Figure 22: Signature of Fr. Pedro de la Encarnación from an entry in the *Libro de Recibo y Gasto*.

year of 1841 does not include a parish priest or an interim in available records, so perhaps another nearby priest took over the parochial duties for this time. During Fr. Pedro’s tenure we see the addition of extra pages to the *Kirial de Baclayon* (about 1846²⁶⁶), a new *Misal Romano* and two *Rituales de Solfa* as well as a major repair of the pipe organ.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ Jose, *Curas de Almas*, vol. 2, 81. Of course, the accuracy of information contained in the annual *Guías de Foresteros* (from which much of the material in *Curas de Almas* is drawn) was only as reliable as the reports sent to Manila as to the names and locations of priests. This information is a valuable guide, but it is possible for the dates to be incorrect by one or two years.

²⁶⁶ Chua, 62. 1846 was the date of the purchase of these extra pages, but the copying of the music may have taken some months to complete.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 45.

Following Fr. Pedro was Fr. Antonio Ubeda de la Santisima Trinidad, the former curate of Loay, who served Baclayon from 1857 to 1859 and again from 1863 to 1864.²⁶⁸ He purchased more printed *Misales* for the parish.²⁶⁹

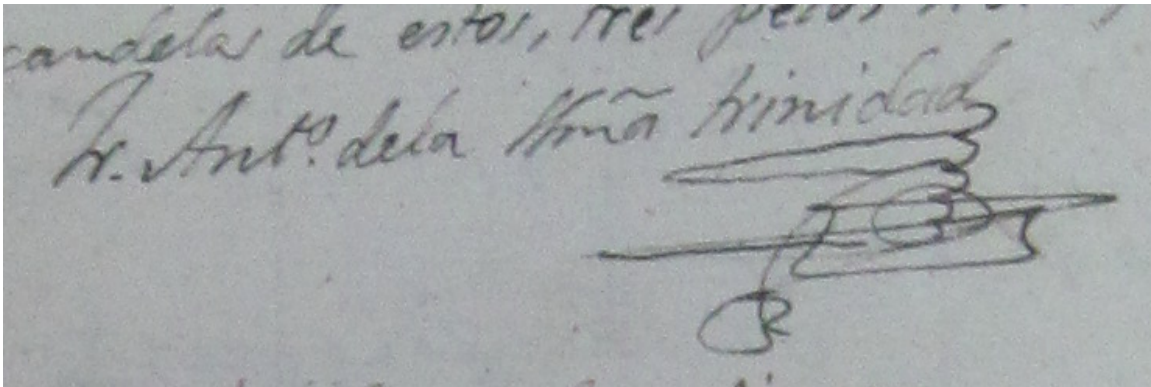


Figure 23: Signature of Fr. Antonio Ubeda de la Santisima Trinidad from an entry in the *Libro de Recibo y Gasto*.

From these purchases and records of maintenance on the parish instruments²⁷⁰, it is obvious that musical performance was very common and important in the parish.

²⁶⁸ Jose, *Curas de Almas*. Vol. 4, 81.

²⁶⁹ Chua, 45.

²⁷⁰ There are also a number of entries relating to purchases of strings for the violins, etc.



Figure 24: Iglesia de La Santisima Trinidad, Loay

Loay

The parish of Loay makes its musical mark in the year 1841. In this year the parish saw the production of a set of *cantorales*²⁷¹ and the installation of a pipe organ.²⁷²

²⁷¹ Chua, 69. Chua also mentions in her thesis that Baclayon made a number of large expenditures, among them two horns and a number of large outlays for *maestros de la obra* and *cantores* in the year 1841. There may have been a chance for these musical expenditures to relate in some way to the musical activities in Loay in that year. However, the entry in the *Libro de Recibo y Gasto* lists payments for *maestros de la obra* and *canteros*, which refer to construction workers (contractors and stonemasons) hired as part of frequent renovations and repairs to the church and convent in Baclayon.

Fr. Antonio Ubeda de la Santisima Trinidad (who reported the death of Baclayon curate Fr. Blas de la Virgen del Carmen and later became parish priest there) was the parish priest during this time.²⁷³ The quality of the *cantorales* of Loay is very high and the



Figure 25: Iglesia de San Pedro Apostol, Loboc

²⁷² As we will see later in this chapter, the *cantorales* of Baclayon were produced in 1826 and 1827, while the pipe organ was installed in 1824. We can make the general assumption that *cantorales* and pipe organs were obtained at about the same time. Though we do not have specific dates of installation for all of organs, we can cross-reference the dates we know of production of *cantorales* to get a general idea.

²⁷³ Fr. Antonio was first assigned in 1830 to Bilar in the interior of Bohol, and in 1835 to the Loay parish. Romanillos, 143.

parchment is much thinner and supple than the other sets. I would be interested to know if the sheets were more or less expensive than those in Baclayon, though I have not seen the church records of the Loay parish church, if they survive.

Loboc

The parish of Loboc is situated further inland than most of the other parishes, which sit on the coast. On the banks of the Loboc river several kilometers upriver from coastal Loay sits the imposing Jesuit church dedicated to the Apostle Peter. Loboc was the second mission established by the Jesuits after Baclayon²⁷⁴, who taught the children to sing the *doctrina* as they walked along the river. Today, music is still an extremely important priority in the parish, as evidenced by their award-winning children's choir and wind band. The Loboc church produced the second set of *cantorales* that we can date with any certainty, with fragments of a *Misal* dated 1835 and a *Kirial* dated 1837. As in Baclayon and Loay, I assume the organ was installed around that time as well in order to accompany the music of the new choirbooks. Interestingly, the books are not housed in the Loboc parish museum, but have found their way (along with the Maribojoc *cantorales*) to the Intramuros Administration²⁷⁵ archives.

²⁷⁴ Jose, *Visita Iglesia Bohol*, 68.

²⁷⁵ The Intramuros Administration is housed in the ancient walled city, next to the Manila Cathedral.

Other Churches

From research already conducted, we know that other sets of *cantorales* existed in one form or another in Dauis, Garcia-Hernandez, Maribojoc, Dimiao and Corella.²⁷⁶ A look at the above map of Bohol (Figure 5) shows the importance of the musical repertory found in the choirbooks, from the sheer concentration of those expensive liturgical materials alone. The presence of these sources (or at least records of their existence) show that music was an integral part of the life of the parish church. The physical, musical sources are a testament to this fact, as are the written archives of the church that can tell us even more.

Church Archives

Church records stored in the Baclayon Church Museum are a gold mine of information about the musical life of the parish, and allow us to make general assumptions about what was going on in other areas of Bohol and the region. Four well-preserved books of records of the parish church are stored there: the *Inventario de la Iglesia Baclayon 1795-1833*, the *Libro de Recibo y Gasto 1807-1856*, the *Libro de Cargo y Data 1856-1909*, and the *Libro de Cargo y Data 1909-1956*. These records give us a valuable look into the inventories and expenditures of the Baclayon church over one and a half centuries, and allow us to see the important place that music held in the day-to-day life of the parish. To get a sense of the musical environment in Baclayon, I will list

²⁷⁶ All of the surviving *cantorales* in Bohol are, like the Baclayon sources, made of cow skin. The only exception to this rule is in Corella, where there are small copies made of paper.

important and interesting entries gleaned from these four books in chronological order.

To give some context as to expenses, I will also mention the prices for common items that were routinely purchased for the church. The prices for these items did not change significantly in the course of the nineteenth century, so price figures can be assumed to be roughly equivalent. Below is a list of common items and their prices around the 1840s:

1 bottle of wine for masses: 2 reales²⁷⁷

1 measure of oil for church lamps: 2 pesos, 2 reales

1 sheet of parchment: 2 reales

Cost of washing all the fine linen in the church: 3 pesos

4 tables built by a carpenter²⁷⁸: 2 pesos, 4 reales

2 images of saints²⁷⁹: 474 pesos, 1 real, 6 granos

1 new missal: 15-20 pesos

With this in mind, we can put the musical expenditures of the Baclayon parish in some kind of context. A selected chronological list follows:

²⁷⁷ The unit of currency in the Philippines during most of the nineteenth century was the *peso*, which was divided into eight *reales* (i.e. “pieces of eight”). Each *real* was divided into 12 *granos*.

²⁷⁸ According to Phelan (Phelan, 103) and other sources, Filipinos were required to provide free labor for projects, including working as rowers and porters. This was common in the seventeenth century, but the sources are not clear that it applied to all kinds of skilled professions and in all situations. Throughout the *Libro de Recibo y Gasto* and *Libro de Cargo y Data*, there are examples of carpenters and stonemasons receiving pay for church building projects, as well as clothes-washers and porters who were on the regular monthly payroll. Obviously, realities were different in nineteenth century Bohol.

²⁷⁹ The saints were St. Veronica and S. Juan Evangelista, each with their silver and gold ornaments

June 1807 – one *violon*²⁸⁰ and two *rabeles*²⁸¹: 14 pesos
strings and bass strings²⁸²: 9 pesos, 6 reales

Nov./Dec. 1807 – singers and sacristans for a fiesta: 3 pesos, 4 reales

Mar./Apr. 1808 – singers and sacristans for Holy Week: 5 pesos, 4 reales

Sept./Dec. 1808 – singers/sacristans for feast of Patron Saint: 24 pesos, 6 reales

Inventory. 1809²⁸³ - 5 *violines*, 1 *violon*, 2 *clarinetes*, 2 *flautas*, 2 *oboi*, 2
*trompas*²⁸⁴

Nov./Dec. 1811 – strings for the *rabeles*: 2 pesos

November 1818 – two *rabeles*: 3 pesos
strings for them: 3 pesos, 6 reales²⁸⁵

²⁸⁰ Any one of a number of bass-range stringed instruments, like the *cello* (*violoncello*).

²⁸¹ A violin or similar high-pitched stringed instrument.

²⁸² These are *entorchados*, bass strings covered in silver wire, likely for the *violon*.

²⁸³ The *Inventario* is dated 1795-1833 and the foliation appears to be consecutive. However, the entries are not always in order and there are many blank pages between entries. For example, some inventories dated 1832 occur before inventories dated 1809. The musical inventory assumedly from 1809 is not dated (the second inventory is dated as 1833), but is found in a section of the *Inventario* in which other materials are dated 1809. I will assume that the list is contemporary to the section, but there is a good possibility that the particular musical inventory could from a different year. The fact that a bassoon was purchased in 1821, but appears on the 1809 inventory (but not in 1833) adds an element of doubt.

²⁸⁴ *Trompas*, generally considered to be french horns (not trumpets, despite the similarity in spelling). This entry from the *Inventario* also includes amendments: a bassoon (*fagato*) is scratched out, and the numbers of *clarinetes* and *flautas* are each reduced from four to two.

²⁸⁵ It is interesting that the strings for the *rabeles* cost more than the instruments themselves.

February 1820 – an *Antifonero*, *Misal* and *Quirial*, all of leather: 30 pesos
 an oboe: 1 peso, 4 reales
 a music scribe (*escribiente de solfa*): 2 pesos

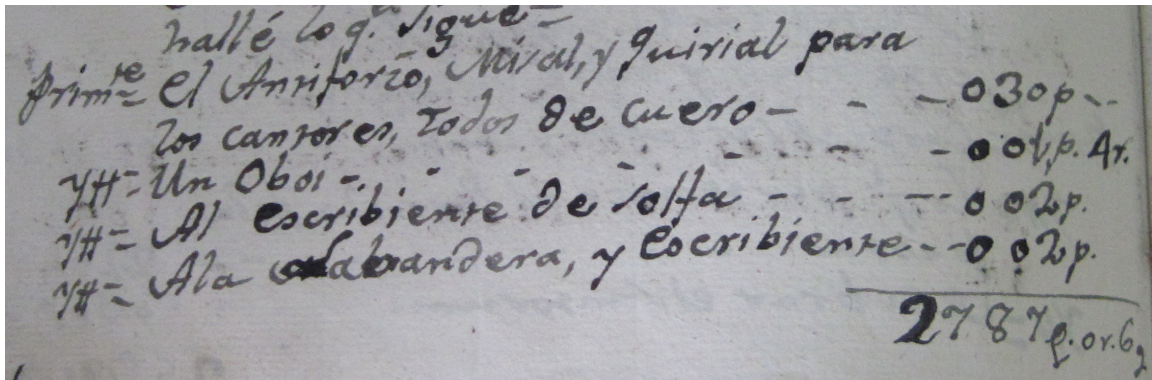


Figure 26: Detail from the February 1820 entry in the *Libro de Recibo y Gasto 1807-1856*

March 1820 – two flutes and one *rabel*: 8 pesos, 2 reales

April 1820 – Music master, 7 months, and to return him to his home²⁸⁶: 64 pesos

October 1820 – two horns (*trompas*) and two clarinets: 60 pesos
 two clarinets and two flutes: 13 pesos

December 1820 – Music master: 11 pesos

February 1821 – scribe for the choirbooks²⁸⁷: 16 pesos

March 1821 – a bassoon: 12 pesos

April 1821 – pay for singers/sacristans for the previous year²⁸⁸: 22 pesos

September 1824 – organist²⁸⁹: 1 peso

²⁸⁶ *Al Maestro de la musica por siete meses, y para bolberle a su casa.*

²⁸⁷ *Al escribiente de los libros de coro.*

²⁸⁸ *Sueldo á los cantores y sacristanes por el año pasado.* This payment for the singers and sacristans will be consistent every year until late in the century.

November 1824 – painting the organ: 10 pesos

August 1825 – for the organ, which cost 1211 pesos, paid in two installments. The first paid 729 pesos, 7 reales and the second paid 481 pesos, 1 real

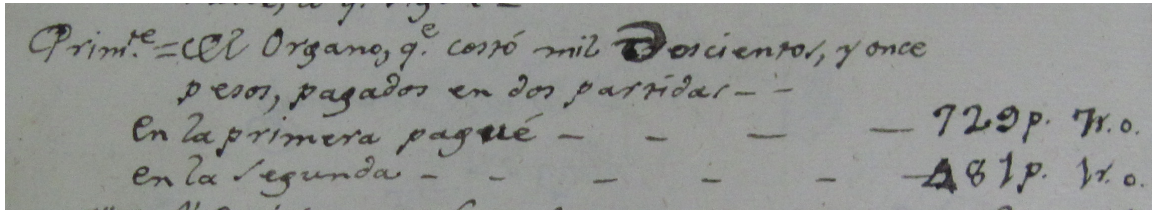


Figure 27: Detail from the August 1825 entry in the *Libro de Recibo y Gasto 1807-1856*

September 1825 – two organists²⁹⁰: 2 pesos

July 1826 – 160 pieces of parchment for choirbooks: 50 pesos

February 1827 – for writing the choirbooks: 19 pesos, 2 reales

April 1827 – 24 pieces of parchment: 15 pesos, 2 reales
painting and binding three choirbooks: 8 pesos, 6 reales

Inventory. 1833 – An organ with two manuals, 2 *trompas*, 2 *clarinetes*, 2 *flautas*, 2 *oboyes*, 1 *viola*²⁹¹, *rabeles*.²⁹²

January 1834 – payment for 8 singers for the past year: 22 pesos

²⁸⁹ This is the first reference to a paid organist (*organista*).

²⁹⁰ Two organists are retained for several decades.

²⁹¹ This instrument is likely the *violon* listed in the 1809 inventory.

²⁹² This entry is dated 1833 and signed by Fr. Blas del Carmen. An additional entry is written below and refers to two new horns and is signed by Fr. Pedro de la Encarnación, and most likely refers to the two horns purchased in 1841.

January 1835 – *por la cigüeña del rueda del organo*²⁹³: 25 pesos
un pico de plomo para el organo: 10 pesos
cares de estraño para el organo: 13 pesos, 3 reales, 6 granos

May 1835 – *de cueras para el Organo*: 14 pesos, 4 reales

June 1835 – Master Organ builder: 89 pesos, 4 reales, 6 granos

July 1835 – a piece of iron for the organ bellows: 3 pesos

May 1841 – for two horns: 12 pesos

June 1846 – for 14 pieces of parchment to add to the *Kirial*: 3 pesos, 4 reales

August 1848 – to renovate the organ bellows: 36 pesos, 4 reales

November 1848 – organbuilder to fix the organ, carpenter’s wages: 296 pesos

May 1850 – two *rituales de solfa* for the choir: 3 pesos, 2 reales

May/June 1857 – strings for the violins²⁹⁴: 1 pesos

July/Aug. 1858 – 20 sets of violin strings: 11 pesos, 4 reales

Jan./Feb. 1859 – repair to organ bellows: 1 pesos, 3 reales

August 1868 – for the organist: 4 pesos²⁹⁵

Nov./Dec. 1871 – for organ maintenance: 7 pesos, 4 reales

Nov./Dec. 1875 – to fix the organ: 215 pesos

Sept./Oct. 1887 – to fix the organ, tune it, and rebuild the bellows: 250 pesos

December 1910 – for the organist: 4 pesos

²⁹³ I am unable to translate most of the terms in this entry.

²⁹⁴ They are referred to as *violines* here.

²⁹⁵ The organist has eventually moved from 1 peso per month to four, and from this month there is only one organist on the payroll.

October 1922 – for the Harmonium: 240 pesos

December 1933 – for the organ (*preparación* = tuning?): 20 pesos

1947 – organist: 6 pesos/month

Archives – *Papeles de Musica*

Another part of the *Inventario* (immediately following the 1809 musical instrument inventory) lists the *papeles de musica*, or musical manuscripts, owned by the Baclayon church in the early nineteenth century. The list is as follows:

- Two choirbooks²⁹⁶: one contains 21 masses, and the other introits and vespers.
- Two musical notebooks (*quadernos de musica*) for the first clarinet: one has 8 masses, and the other has vespers and various *sones*.
- Two notebooks for the second clarinet: one with vespers and *sones*, the other with 6 masses.
- One notebook with some *sones* and vespers for the third clarinet.
- Two notebooks for the *violon*: one with 8 masses, the other with vespers and *sones*.
- Four notebooks for the two horns that contain the same as the *violon*.
- Two sheets of music for oboe that contain one mass and vespers.
- Four choirbooks made of parchment.

In addition to these inventoried books, there are a number of Missals from the eighteenth and nineteenth century, as well as a large amount of modern (twentieth century) music

²⁹⁶ These choirbooks were made of *papel grande de china*.

both printed and handwritten examples. Regarding choirbooks specifically, the inventory of *papeles de musica* shows six of them listed around 1809.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ As with the musical instrument inventory, the 1809 date is not entirely certain. While the list of *papeles de musica* is in the general vicinity of things dated 1809, the *Inventario* is not nearly so carefully chronological as the *Libro de Recibo y Gasto*. The list of *papeles de musica* is written in a hand that resembles that of the scribe(s) from the early part of Fr. Blas del Carmen's curacy (1818-1838), opening up the possibility that the choirbooks listed are the 1820 set (of which there were only three) or even that they are the set produced in 1826/27. This would place the date of the inventory quite a bit later, perhaps even the late 1820s, which is tenable given that we do not see any purchases for horns, flutes and clarinets until 1820. The two books of *papel grande de china* might be the choirbooks (only the *quirial* and *antifonario*) purchased in that year, and the musical notebooks may have been matched with those mass and vesper settings. This is more likely than the possibility of the musical notebooks corresponding to the 1826/27 set of *cantorales*, given that they do not include any *sones*.

Papeles de Musica

- Prim^{te} = Dos libros de papel grande
de China, para el coro: el uno *Palitikon*
conviene veinte, y una Misa;
y el otro los Introitos, y visperas. - 211
- YH = Dos quadernos de musica del pri-
mer clarinete: El uno tiene ocho
misas, y el otro, las visperas, y va-
rios sones. - - - - - 211
- YH = Dos ydem del clarinete se-
gundo el uno visperas, y sones,
y el otro seis misas. - - - - - 211
- YH = Uno ydem, con algunos sones,
y visperas del tercer clarinete. - 111
- YH = Dos ydem, del violon, el uno de
ocho misas, y el otro visperas, y
sones - - - - - 211
- YH = quatro ydem, de las dos trompas,
que convien lo mismo q. el vio-
lon - - - - - A
- YH = Dos pliegos musica del Oboi,
q. contiene una misa, y vis-
peras - - - - -
- YH = quatro libros de coro de pergamino -

Figure 28: Detail from *Inventario de la Iglesia Baclayon 1795-1833*

Archives - Organs and other Instruments

In addition to paper archives, there are also a number of pipe organs and other musical instruments in the Baclayon church museum. I will not, however, treat the other instruments in depth here as I have generally found them to date from the American period or later.²⁹⁸ The pipe organs, many of them relatively intact due to their sheer size (though few in playing condition) may be found in a number of parish churches on Bohol and records indicate that even more of them existed. The numbers and locations of these organs will be explored in more depth in the following chapter. At present, I would like to examine the Baclayon organ, since it has been the Boholano instrument most recently restored by the Diego Cera Organbuilders²⁹⁹, as well as an instrument that I have been able both to play and to hear played in a liturgical setting. As we can see from the Baclayon church records examined above, the organ was in a playable enough condition to justify the hiring of an organist in September of 1824. The instrument was painted in November of that year (see Figure 30 below) and was paid for in two installments in August of 1825. The organ is inventoried in 1833 as having two manuals, though at the time of its recent restoration, it had only one. According to correspondence with Cealwyn Tagle of Diego Cera Organbuilders, enough parts were found in the organ case

²⁹⁸ This based on instruments that have brand marks and serial numbers, as well as other records that allowed me to date them with some certainty.

²⁹⁹ Based in Las Piñas, the Diego Cera Organbuilders, Inc., headed by Cealwyn Tagle, has restored three pipe organs in Bohol: Baclayon, Loboc and Loay. The company (named after Fr. Diego Cera, the Recollect priest who built the famous bamboo organ of Las Piñas) also maintains the pipe organ in the San Agustin Church, as well as the organs of the Cebu and Manila Metropolitan cathedrals, and many others.

to point to a two-manual instrument.³⁰⁰ The original pitch of the organ was A=415Hz, but due to modern needs and conventions, the restored organ has been pitched at A=440Hz. After the Spanish parish organs after which it is patterned, there are a number of horizontal reeds just above the console (see Figure 29 below), along with a large



Figure 29: The author at the Baclayon church organ

³⁰⁰ Cite email conversation with Cealwyn



Figure 30: Details from Baclayon church organ case. Text reads: ESTE ORGANO SE HIZO EL AÑO DE 1824

Number of trumpet-like stops. Each manual is split at middle C, meaning that the left-hand stops are heard on the left side of the manual up to middle C, and the right-hand stops control the sounds heard from C# on up. The majority of the stops are connected to the upper manual, and a few stops control the lower manual. Many of the stops on one side have an equivalent on the right, so the organist can choose a well-blended sound. When used in combination, these typically drop an octave at middle C, meaning that if one plays a scale across the length of the manual, the pitch will drop one octave at the “split” at middle C on the keyboard. This is likely to keep the organist’s hands from crossing and allows the organist to play music with crossing inner voices without difficulty.³⁰¹ The double manual setup allows for the organist to make quick dynamic and timbral changes without having to quickly pull or push the stops. This is done by simply having both manuals prepared with the desired open stops, making a change from one registration to another as easy as moving the hands to another keyboard. See Figure

³⁰¹ The *violon* stops (stops 1 and 17) do not drop an octave at middle C.

20 to see the disposition of the different stops. The names of the stops and their positions are listed below:

Left-hand stops

Upper Manual

1. Violon
2. Tapado
3. Bajoncillo
4. Clarin Campaña
5. Quincena
6. 19 y 22
7. Llenu
8. Octava
9. Nasardo
10. Tambor
11. Tambor
12. (empty)

Lower Manual

13. Flautado
14. Octava
15. (empty)

Right-hand stops

Upper Manual

16. Flautado Mayor
17. Violon
18. Clarin Claro
19. Clarin Campaña
20. Octava
21. 12 y 15
22. Llenu
23. Traversa
24. Corneta
25. Flautado Tapado
26. Nasarte
27. Pajaritos
28. Rueda

Lower Manual

29. Octava
30. (empty)
31. Flautado
32. 12 y 15

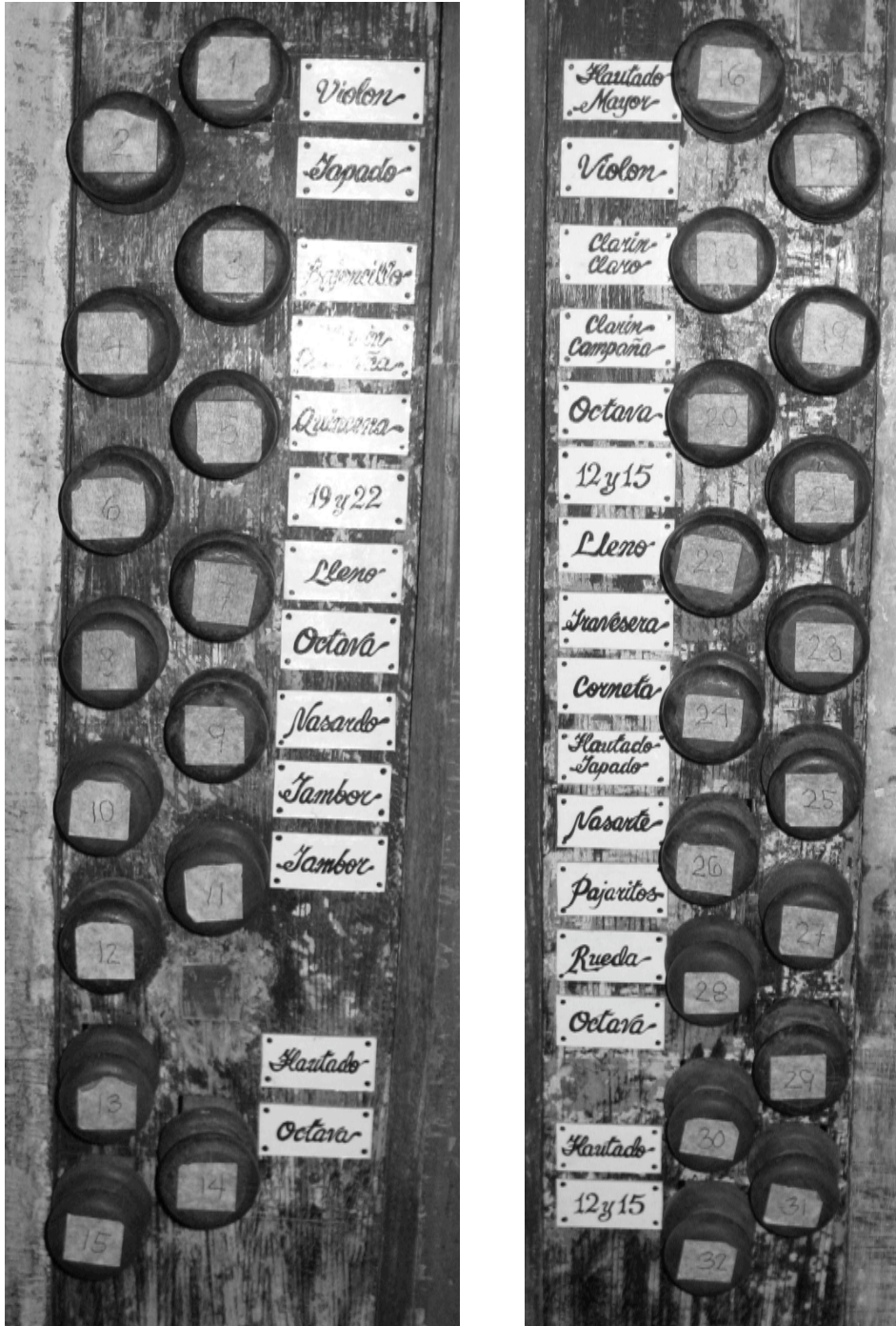


Figure 31: Details of the left- and right-hand stops on the Balcayon church organ. Subjective Antiquity and the Invention of Tradition

Regarding pedals, the organ has a 12-note chromatic pedalboard with pitches from C to B-natural. The pedals are not controlled by any stops.

Subjective Antiquity – Redux

We encountered the concept of subjective antiquity in the introductory chapter as it related to the creation of a national (and nationalist) identity in the Philippines. This can be and often is applied in local contexts, and for similar purposes. For example, the parish of Baclayon was established by a pair of Jesuit priests in 1595 and was the first town on Bohol founded by the Spanish.³⁰² The present stone church was built somewhat later, in the 1720s³⁰³ and was completed (with its present façade) under the Augustinian Recollect administration. This did not prevent the date 1595 from being placed on the façade (see Figure 32 below), assumedly to make the case that the present structure was built in that year. This is used as a marketing tool to promote Baclayon over the surrounding towns as a tourist destination having the “oldest church in the Philippines”. These local rivalries are common³⁰⁴ and also exist outside of the realm of strict antiquity. The site in which Si Katuna and Miguel López de Legazpi were said to have made their famous blood compact is marked by a shrine and statues on the highway between

³⁰² Putong, 90.

³⁰³ Jose, *Visita Iglesia Bohol*, 22.

³⁰⁴ Lest I be accused of condescension or scolding, these common rivalries are also harmless, other than forcing historians (like me) to work a bit harder to get at the truth as we see it (in documentary sources).

Tagbilaran and Baclayon. Loay, a few kilometers further east, boasts of a rival site advertised as “the Real Blood Compact Shrine”.³⁰⁵ The provinces of Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur (in northwestern Luzon) have a running rivalry over which province produces “true” *bibingka*.³⁰⁶



Figure 32: Detail of Baclayon church façade with the date 1595 added.

³⁰⁵ Most likely, the compact did not take place at all on land, but rather aboard Legazpi’s ship which was anchored near Loay.

³⁰⁶ *Bibingka* is a delicious dessert made from rice flour, sugar, butter, coconut milk and often strips of grated coconut or cassava. I was fortunate enough to benefit from this regional rivalry while at the 2009 CBCP 6th Biennial conference on Church Cultural Heritage, where we were shuttled between different areas of Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur and at each stop were given samples of the local variety.

These examples are but one way in which traditions are invented, usually through the process of ascribing antiquity to a place or object.³⁰⁷ A casual example of this is the date 1686 I saw written (with a modern ballpoint pen) in one of the *cantorales* in Baclayon. Was this an attempt to make the sources older than they really are, or was it just a simple act of vandalism? I do not know, but we can see that traditions are invented in a top-down manner not only at the national level, but at the provincial and local levels as well.

³⁰⁷ With subjective antiquity comes a sense of perceived value (monetary or cultural) of an object, and usually that is followed by the setting up of a museum to house and preserve it, and to collect on that perceived value through admission fees and donations. Fr. Milan Ted Torralba, himself a canon lawyer, notes that the presence of such museums often instill a sense of ownership in the local parishioners of the items and artifacts held there. However, these objects, though they may have been housed and intended to serve a particular parish church, are ultimately the property of the diocese, under the ultimate administrative authority of the Holy See. Fr. Milan Ted Torralba, *Proposed Institutional Plan for the Church Museums of the Diocese of Tagbilaran, Bohol: Towards a Normative Pastoral Governance System* (MCHS [Master of Cultural Heritage Studies] thesis: University of Santo Tomas, 2009), 44, 62.

Chapter 4: The Lineage and Style of the *Cantorales*

Liturgical Background

At their heart, the *cantorales* are books intended to be used in Roman Catholic religious services. As such, it may be useful to review the nature of those services and the place of music in them in order to gain an appreciation of the importance of the *cantorales*. The major services in Roman Catholicism are the Mass and the Divine Offices (or Liturgy of the Hours). The Mass is the celebration of the Eucharist, or the Lord's Supper and is the most important service attended by the members of a congregation, and is celebrated by one or more priests and assistants. The Mass has two major component parts as far as liturgical texts are concerned: the Mass Ordinary (the parts of the Mass in which the texts are generally, or "ordinarily" with a few exceptions, identical in each service) and the Mass Proper (the parts of the Mass in which the texts are variable depending on the particular feast or celebration of the day). The Mass Ordinary includes the texts of the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei (see Appendix for complete texts). The Mass Proper includes the Introit, Gradual, Alleluia or Tract (depending on the liturgical season), Sequence, Offertory and Communion. The Divine Offices are a daily set of services to be performed by priests and members of religious orders and communities, and are also less commonly celebrated by laypersons. There are eight separate "hours" or services: Matins (during night, also called Vigil or Nocturns), Lauds (at daybreak), Prime (at the "first" hour of the day, or 6 a.m.), Terce ("third" hour of the day, or 9 a.m.), Sext ("sixth" hour of the day, or noon), None ("ninth" hour of the day, or 3 p.m.), Vespers (at evening or sunset) and Compline (before retiring

for the night). These services feature a number of responsive prayers and hymns to be sung by the religious community, including quite a bit of chanting of the Psalms. The *cantorales* of Bohol were produced to provide musical settings of the texts for these services. In Bohol, parishes that possessed a set of *cantorales* typically had them in sets of four volumes. They were comprised of the *Kirial*, which included dozens of settings of the texts for the Mass Ordinary as well as a few other liturgical songs; the *Misal, o Yntroitos del Coro*, which contained musical settings of the Mass Proper for a number of major feasts and events in the liturgical year; the *Antifonario*, containing responsive songs and hymns for the Divine Offices; and the *Salterio*, which housed the texts of the Psalms. Each of the volumes is huge and much too cumbersome and heavy to be regularly taken up and down stairs to the choirlofts, or easily changed on a music stand or lectern. Parish churches possessed large four-sided lecterns called *facistols* that rotated, allowing multiple books to be used at once and changed easily depending on the element of the service.

Spanish Music Theory in Bohol

The keys to understanding the *cantorales* of Bohol and other similar musical manuscripts in the Philippines lie largely in Spain, particularly in Spanish theoretical treatises that we know were used in the Philippines and in other colonial contexts in the Americas. As I stated in the introductory chapter, much of the work of Craig Russell in the California Missions is concordant with this study of colonial music in the Philippines. As such, in this section on understanding the *cantorales*, I will draw much from his work

and conclusions, though I may disagree at certain points or expand on others. I will also occasionally examine this music in terms of another sacred chant tradition in the Philippines, that of the *Pasyon* (a narrative of the life and passion of Christ, interspersed with explanatory lessons³⁰⁸) which had its roots in the eighteenth century. The texts of these passion narratives were produced by Spanish priests who translated the biblical descriptions into the local languages, using local idioms and metaphors consistent with local norms.³⁰⁹ As such, the *Pasyon* represents a *non-liturgical* sacred chanting tradition, while the music of the *cantorales* represents a *liturgical* sacred chanting tradition. Both most likely share the same source: Spanish priests. As Jean Mallat noted,

...he [the priest] gathers them at certain times of the year to pray in common, and most of all during Lent to chant the Passion, translated into Tagalog verses; two persons chant it in the form of a dialogue and to a melody composed purposely for it. This practice has a particular charm for them, these peoples having remarkable taste for music; sometimes at the coming of Holy Week, they gather in large numbers and sing in chorus for a good part of the night, hardly worrying about disturbing sleeping neighbors.³¹⁰

There are a number of other similarities between the two traditions that will bear mentioning throughout this chapter. One such similarity is the size of some of the manuscript sources for each tradition. The *cantorales* of Bohol generally measure from about 25 to 30 inches in height and 17 to 22 inches in width and are illuminated in different colored inks, while Chongson relates that some books containing the texts of the

³⁰⁸ Chongson, 1.

³⁰⁹ Ibid, 124.

³¹⁰ Mallat, 241. It would be interesting to learn who composed the melodies and under what circumstances.

Pasyon are about 3 feet by 2 feet and are illuminated like the *cantorales* of the San Agustin Church in Manila.³¹¹

Returning to the music of the Boholano *cantorales*, the first clue as to the probable theoretical system(s) in play in the parishes of Bohol and elsewhere is to discover which theoretical treatises were known or were used in local parishes. There is one musical treatise in the Baclayon church museum, the *Arte, ó Compendio General del Canto-llano, Figurado, y Organo en Método Facil* by Francisco Marcos y Navas, first published in Madrid in 1776 and 1777³¹², again in 1816 and again in a revised and expanded edition in 1862. The copy in Baclayon is the 1862 edition, which presents a potential problem. Even the latest *cantorales* that can be dated with certainty were produced decades before 1862, but the music so conforms to the rules of that treatise that I suspect that perhaps an Augustinian Recollect priest possessed an earlier edition that was later replaced by the parish, or else another similar treatise. Among these possibilities for other treatises is the *Método Fácil y Breve* by Jaime Vila y Pasques, published in Barcelona in 1848. In this treatise, the author includes a number of Mass

³¹¹ Ibid, 125. A number of the *cantorales* in San Agustin, especially those on public display in the choirloft, are quite richly illuminated. I have attempted to contact Chongson about these *Pasyon* books, but have not been able to reach her.

³¹² There are bibliographic references to editions published both in 1776 and in 1777 (and others that state ca. 1776), so I am not sure if there were two separate printing runs by two different publishers (or a single publisher) in those two years. It is not unheard of for a treatise to enjoy this kind of popularity and demand. For a similar example in Portugal, see footnote 12 below.

Ordinary settings in *canto figurado*.³¹³ Some of these settings are nearly identical to a Mass setting³¹⁴ in the *Kirial de Baclayon*, though it is present in a part of the choirbook that was added later than the original 1826 production, but likely around 1846³¹⁵, before the Vila y Pasques treatise was published. This is intriguing, as it shows that either a Recollect priest had a copy of or access to Vila y Pasques treatise, or that the masses in question were well known generally throughout the Spanish world and came from other sources.³¹⁶ That would mean that Jaime Vila y Pasques would have copied these masses for use in his treatise. Despite this possibility, we have at the end of the day only the Marcos y Navas treatise in the archives and archival records do not point specifically to any other theoretical treatise. Thus, the evidence points most convincingly in that

³¹³ Jaime Vila y Pasques, *Método Fácil y Breve no solo para aprender de cantar arregladamente El Canto Llano y Figurado, si que tambien para componerle, manifestando con ejemplos todo cuanto se expone* (Barcelona: Imprenta de los Herederos de la V. Pla, calle de Cottoners, 1848), 293-345. Many thanks to Bill Summers for helping me find this source.

³¹⁴ The Mass setting, a *Misa de Quinto Tono* with an alternating *Coro* part, is nearly identical to the *Misa de Quinto Tono a Tres Voces alternando con el Coro* from the *Kirial de Baclayon*, except for the *Credo*. The *Credo* in the *Kirial* comes from the next Mass setting in the Vila y Pasqua treatise entitled *Misa de Sexto a Tres Voces y acompañamiento, alternando con el Coro*, and that *Credo* has an extended title: *Credo Pariesense á Duo y Coro*.

³¹⁵ Chua, 62. Though the purchase of parchment for the addition to the *Kirial* was made in 1846, we are not sure when the copying was done. The style of the text and notes is significantly different from the 1826-27 portion, and the quality of workmanship is somewhat lower. Perhaps the work was done by an apprentice or a layperson, or even the parish priest himself?

³¹⁶ Another possibility is that the Vila y Pasques treatise existed in an earlier edition, though I have been as yet unable to find either the editions or any bibliographic references to one.

direction and I will describe and analyze the music in the context of the Marcos y Navas work, including points and similarities between the two treatises (and others) when applicable. Again, as Marcos y Navas also saw widespread use in the California Missions as described by Craig Russell, I will likely draw some similar connections and conclusions.³¹⁷ I will occasionally consult other theoretical treatises from the same period (late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century³¹⁸) published in the Spanish world, and

³¹⁷ However, as documented by Bill Summers, the Jaime Vila y Pasques work was also known in the California Missions. In any case, the style of both of these treatises and the compositions connected to them are what Bill Summers called “one type of widely-distributed ‘common coin’ music employed in churches and convents with modest financial resources and a limited talent pool of singers both in Spain and New Spain.” William J. Summers, “The *Misa Viscaína*: an Eighteenth-Century Musical Odyssey” in David Crawford and G. Grayson Wagstaff, eds., *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Memory of Robert J. Snow* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 133-34.

³¹⁸ A cursory search through bibliographies will show that musical treatises and tutors from this time period covering the musical styles encountered in the *cantorales* lay quite thick on the ground in Spain. The treatises that I was able to consult (and are by no means exhaustive) include Bernardo Comes, *Fragmentos Musicos. Audalosa Fuente Gregoriana, en el arte de canto llano. Cuyos fundamentos, teorica, reglas, practice, y exemplos, copiosamente se explican sobre los ocho tonos, con sus entradas, clausulaciones finales, y diversidad de seculorums, que en la Obra se manifiestan* (Barcelona?: Imprenta de los Herederos de Juan Pablo, y Maria Martí, administrada por Mauro Martí, 1739); Francisco Marcos y Navas, *Arte, ó Compendio General del Canto-llano, Figurado, y Organo, en método facil, ilustrado con algunos documentos, ó capítulos muy precisos para el aprovechamiento, y enseñaza* (Madrid: Por D. Joachin Ibarra, 1777); Ignacio Ramoneda, *Arte de Canto-llano en compendio breve, y methodo muy facil para que los particulares que deben saberlo, adquieran con brevedad, y poco trabajo la inteligencia, y destreza conveniente* (Madrid: Imprenta de Pedro Marin, 1778); Don Daniel Traveria, *Ensayo Gregoriano, ó estudio practico del canto-llano y figurado en metodo facil, ilustrado con algunas cosas curiosas para el aprovechamiento, y enseñanza de los que siguen los concursos en las Santas Iglesias Catedrales de España á las Sochantrías, Plazas de Salmistas, y Capellanías de Coro* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Don Joachin Ibarra, 1794); Pedro Carrera, *Rudimentos de Música divididos en cinco instrucciones que facilitan la mas pronta inteligencia* (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Josef Doblado, 1805); Don Joaquin Eleuterio García y Castañer, *Elementos Prácticos de*

in some cases, outside of it.³¹⁹ This seems to show that this largely *canto figurado*-driven style was truly international during this period. The musical resources of this and other styles are treated in depth in the next section of this chapter. The style itself, in a nutshell, is one in which the liturgical texts are set syllabically, with limited range, simple harmonies based on tonic, dominant and subdominant triads, parallel thirds, simple sequences and other melodic devices, and *alternatim* performance between relatively small groups of singers.³²⁰ As the following portions of the chapter will show, this description is a very accurate portrayal of the style of the music in the *cantoriales* of Bohol, though it was intended in the above-cited statement to describe the *estilo misional*

Canto-llano y figurado, con varias noticias históricas relativas al mismo. (Madrid: Oficina de Don Francisco Martínez Dávila, 1827); José Ignacio de Larramendi, *Método Nuevo para aprender con facilidad el canto-llano y la salmodia, seguido de algunas reglas de canto figurado y melodía, para uso de las Iglesias catedrales, parroquias y comunidades religiosas* (Madrid: Por la hija de Don Francisco Martínez Dávila, 1828); Jaime Vila y Pasques, *Método Fácil y Breve no solo para aprender de cantar arregladamente El Canto Llano y Figurado, si que tambien para componerle, manifestando con ejemplos todo cuanto se expone* (Barcelona: Imprenta de los Herederos de la V. Pla, calle de Cotoners, 1848); Antonio María Claret, *Arte de Canto Eclesiástico y Cantoral para uso de los Seminarios* (Madrid: Imprenta y Librería de D. Eusebio Aguado, 1861).

³¹⁹ A non-Spanish source to which I will occasionally refer is the *Theatro Ecclesiastico* of Domingos do Rosario published in Lisbon in several editions (1743, 1765, 1774, 1779, 1782, 1786 and 1817). The notational and melodic/harmonic systems are identical to those found in the Spanish treatises of the same period. As an interesting aside, it appears that Domingos de Rosario (a Dominican priest, lived 1595-1662) had some colonial mission experience in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique in southeast Africa. George McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa: collected in various libraries and archive departments in Europe*, vol. 4 (London: William Clowes and Sons, Ltd, 1899) 337-38.

³²⁰ Russell, 51. Gleaned from Leonardo Waisman, “¡Viva María! La música para la Virgen en las misiones de Chiquitos.” *Latin American Music Review*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1992), 213-25.

of the Jesuit missions in Bolivia. This “mission style” is a useful term, though one that I feel is too limiting in its reach and focus. Certainly the style is found in mission churches through the Iberian world, but the Bohol *cantorales* are found in established settlements that had enjoyed full status as parishes and incorporated towns for upwards of two centuries at the time that the musical sources were produced. The special status of the Philippines being largely spiritually administered by religious orders (and not by secular priests) though nearly all of its colonial history does make the case for an extended “mission period,” though I suspect that the mission music style had a broader reach. I would not expect so many musical treatises to be written (and republished) over more than a century only for a limited missionary market. The fact that some of this music can be found in large metropolitan churches (even the provincial mother-church of Augustinian Recollects: San Agustin in Manila) shows that the music was widely used in many liturgical contexts in parish churches outside of mission settings. As more is discovered about this music and as more archives are uncovered, the stronger will be the case for the adoption of a broad-based *estilo parroquial* as an important international sacred tradition.

Musical symbols and resources

The title of the Marcos y Navas treatise describes the three kinds of singing that he covers in the work: *canto-llano*, *canto figurado* and *canto de organo*. Certain issues related to translating these terms were covered in the initial chapter, but we should emphasize that *canto-llano* is best described as plainchant (with rhythm determined by

the text, rather than by a regular, prevailing meter), *canto figurado* as a simple metrical style (or a “metrical chant”, with relatively few options for note lengths and ornamentation), and *canto de organo* as the full spectrum of musical possibilities through meter, note length, range, and ornamentation. Other theorists classify *canto figurado* as a sub-genre of *canto de organo*³²¹ or simply do not describe it at all as a separate musical phenomenon.³²² All three styles (arguably) are present in the *cantorales*, and in many cases there are combinations of styles within the same mass setting. We will now examine the major note shapes, clefs and other marks related to each of the styles as they are outlined in the Marcos y Navas treatise³²³ and compare them to what is found in the *cantorales* of Bohol.

Canto-llano. As the figure below illustrates, there are a number of note heads that may potentially be used in *canto-llano*, just as there are in the more well-known Gregorian Chants in the *Liber Usualis*. Though it may appear that so many choices will result in a rich rhythmic variety, Marcos y Navas states that, in general, each individual

³²¹ This is due to the fact that all of notes shapes, values, etc. that exist in *canto figurado* also exist in *canto de organo*. The defining characteristics of *canto figurado* revolve around what is left out, rather than any unique properties.

³²² Russell, 42-43. José de Torres described *canto figurado* as any music using the newer mensuration symbols, as opposed to *canto llano* that used the older neumatic notation. Under this system, *canto de organo* would be subsumed under *canto figurado*. Paul Murphy, *José de Torres's Treatise of 1736: General Rules for Accompanying on the Organ, harpsichord, and the Harp, by Knowing only How to Sing the Part, or a Bass in Canto Figurado* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), xviii.

³²³ These note shapes and other symbols (though sometimes classified under different names) are nearly identical in the eighteenth and nineteenth century theoretical treatises that I was able to consult.

note head receives one beat, regardless of shape.³²⁴ In the Boholano sources using *canto-llano*, we encounter *breves* and *triangulados* almost exclusively, while *longos* and *doblados* occur much less frequently.



Figure 33: Detail from *Arte, ó Compendio General del Canto-llano, Figurado y Organo* by Francisco Marcos y Navas (p. 67).

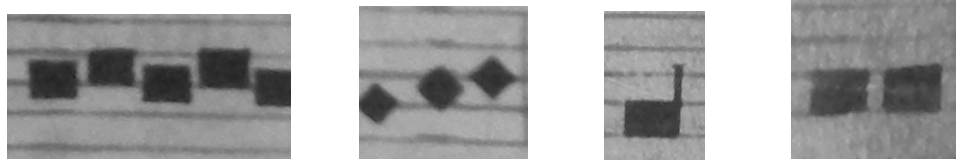


Figure 34: Examples of *breves*, *triangulados* (*semibreves*), *longos* and *doblados* from the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

³²⁴ Marcos y Navas, 67-8.

There are also a number of options for clefs to use in *canto-llano* (the clefs are the same in *canto figurado* in Marcos y Navas). The first two examples in Figure 35 are F-clefs (the right-hand dots stand on either side of F below middle C) and the last two are C-clefs (the “arms” of which surround middle C).



Figure 35: Detail from *Arte* by Marcos y Navas (p. 60).

In the *cantorales*, all of these four clefs are used in some fashion. Each of the clefs has the ability to move to any of the lines of the staff in order to keep the music within the staff wherever possible.³²⁵ The F-clef shown on the left of Figure 36 below (with three diamonds) is by far the most widely used, though there are a few variants (the second and third examples). Interestingly, the C-clefs in the Bohol sources are “backwards” when compared to the examples from the treatise, with the “arms” facing left, and sometimes differing angles in their parallel lines (see the last two examples below).

³²⁵ As odd as this practice may seem to music students and performers in an age where paper is very nearly free and ledger lines are common, musicians in previous centuries were used to constantly moving clefs, often in awkward places, to avoid ledger lines. Given the sheer number of cows that had to be slaughtered to make *cantorales* of the size encountered in Bohol, multiple ledger lines were just not a viable option.

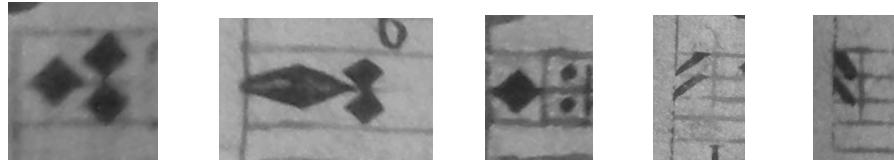


Figure 36: Examples of various clefs found in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

Canto figurado. As noted above, *canto figurado* can be thought of as a subset of *canto de organo*, but with limitations as to the note values and ornamental figures allowed. According to Marcos y Navas, *canto figurado* allows for only four values,

Teórica , y Práctica del Canto Figurado.

P. Quántas son las figuras , ó notas que se hallan en el Canto Figurado?

R. Quatro.

P. Quáles son?

R. Longa , breve , semibreve , y mínima.

P. Cómo se figuran?

R. Como se vé en el siguiente

E X E M P L O.

L o n g a .	B r e v e .	S e m i b r e v e .	M í n i m a .
-------------	-------------	---------------------	---------------

 A musical staff with four measures, each containing a single note. The notes are: 1. A square note on the second line (Longa). 2. A square note on the second line with a horizontal line extending to the right (Breve). 3. A diamond-shaped note on the second line with a vertical line extending upwards (Semibreve). 4. A diamond-shaped note on the second line with a vertical line extending downwards (Mínima).

Figure 37: Detail from *Arte* by Marcos y Navas (p. 278).

shown above in Figure 37.³²⁶ The *figurado* settings in the *cantorales* generally only include the *breve*, *semibreve* and occasionally the *minima*. The *longa* is encountered in rare examples when it is the final note of a section or of a mass movement. See Figure 38 below.

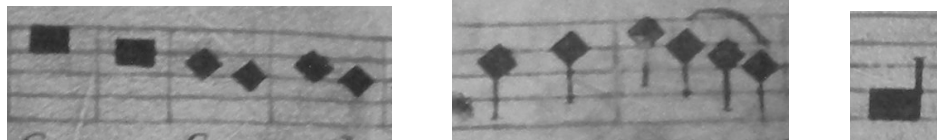


Figure 38: Examples of *breves*, *semibreves*, *minimas* and *longas* from the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

Marcos y Navas also limits the available meters in *figurado* to simple binary (duple) and ternary (triple).³²⁷ Note that the binary meter is indicated as such with no symbol at all, while the triple meter can utilize two different symbols (see Figure 39 below).

³²⁶ The text in Figure 5 can be translated as follows:

- Q. How many figures or notes are there in *canto figurado*?
- A. Four.
- Q. What are they?
- A. Longa, breve, semibreve, and minima.
- Q. How are they written?
- A. As one can see in the following example.

³²⁷ Other contemporary treatises distinguish between *binario menor* and *mayor*, and *ternario menor* and *mayor*. *Binario menor* is a meter with one breve per measure; *binario mayor* has two breves per measure; *ternario menor* has three semibreves per measure; *ternario mayor* includes six semibreves (or three breves) per measure. In practice, only *binario menor* and *ternario menor* are encountered in the *cantorales*.



Figure 39: Detail from *Arte* by Marcos y Navas (p. 279).

In the *cantorales*, a duple meter is nearly never indicated by a blank as in the left-most example above. Rather, the “cut-time” symbol that is used is one that Marcos y Navas reserves only for *canto de organo*. Triple meter in the *cantorales* is always indicated by the second of the possible ternary symbols, as in the following example.

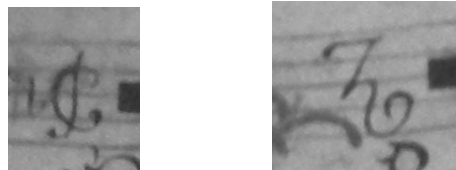


Figure 40: Examples of binary and ternary meters in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

Additionally, Marcos y Navas allows for a relatively full spectrum of rests, flats, sharps, naturals, dots (to add half the value of the previous note) and fermatas. Each of these is found in the *cantorales*, as illustrated in the Figures 41 and 42.



Figure 41: Detail from *Arte* by Marcos y Navas (p. 281).

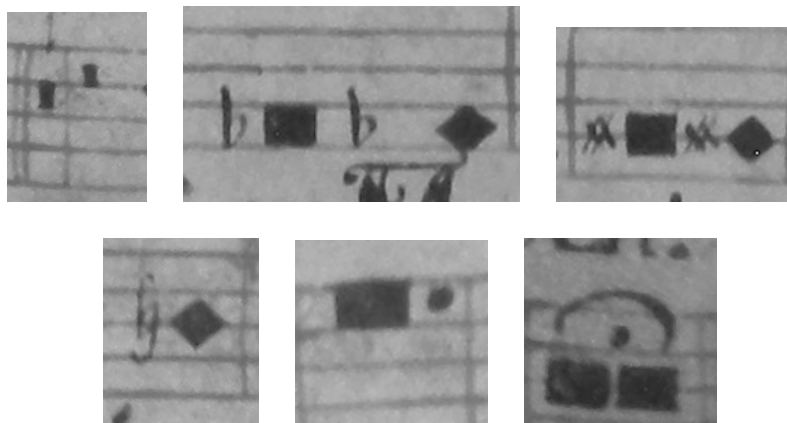


Figure 42: Examples of *pausas*, *bemoles*, *sustenidos*, *bequadros*, *puntillos* and *calderones* from the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

Canto de Organo. The full spectrum of possible note values, signs and symbols are permitted in *canto de organo*, extending even to the *semifusa*, equivalent to our modern sixty-fourth note (see Figure 43 below). The only note value unique to *canto de*

organo according to Marcos y Navas' treatise and also found in the Bohol *cantorales* is the *corchea*, which is found fairly regularly in a number of mass settings. In the *cantorales*, *corcheas* are found both as individual notes (sometimes indicating syllabic text settings) and as sets of beamed notes, indicating melismatic settings.



Figure 43: Detail from *Arte* by Marcos y Navas (p. 368).

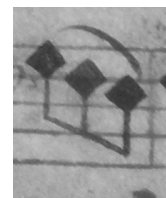


Figure 44: Examples of *corcheas* from the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

Canto de organo also allows for a larger variety of meters than does *canto figurado*. All of the examples in Figure 45 below are common in modern usage.



Figure 45: Detail from *Arte* by Marcos y Navas (p. 370).

Only a few of these are used in the *cantorales*, and the first example (the full C common time, Figure 46) has only a few occurrences in the Boholano sources. The modern 3-over-2 time signature is also seen rarely (Figure 47), as is the 2-over-3 signature (Figure 48).

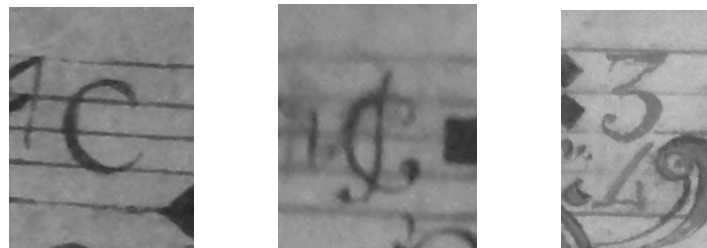


Figure 46: Examples of *compasillo*, *compas mayor* and *tres por quatro* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.



Figure 47: Detail from the *Sequentia* from *Misa sa Corpus* in the *Misal de Baclayon*. Note the 3-over-2 time signature.

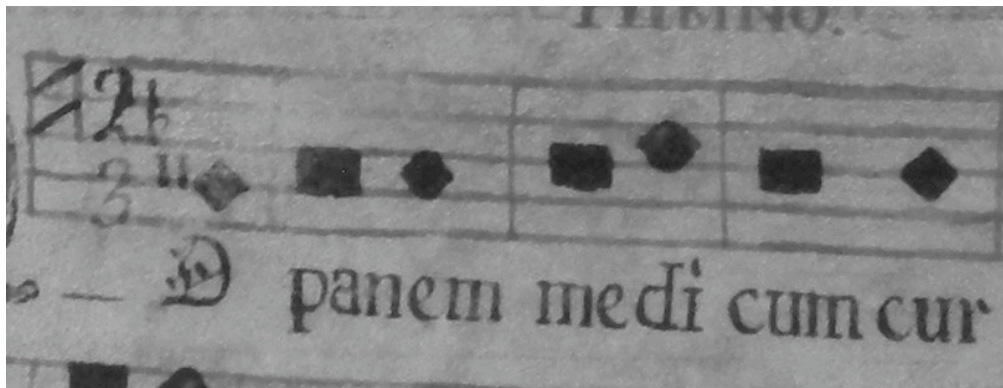


Figure 48: Detail from the *Himno* from *Bendicion sa mga Panecito ni San Nicolas de Tolentino* in the *Misal de Baclayon*. Note the 2-over-3 time signature.

Regarding the other various symbols, the use of “boxed” C-clefs (the first example in Figure 49 below) are generally unique to *canto de organo* practice, and Craig Russell suggests that they indicate a “chamber music” setting with fewer voices and more transparent textures.³²⁸ In addition to the F-clefs, there is also a G-clef that Marcos y Navas says is used for “high instruments, like the violin, oboe, etc.”³²⁹ The only other

³²⁸ Russell, 86-8.

symbols that differ significantly from *canto figurado* that are encountered in the *cantorales* are the *ligaduras* (ties), *poyaturas* (grace notes), *trinos* (trills) and *guiones* (guides). The *guiones* occur at the ends of staff lines, to tell the performer what pitch will follow so he can be prepared for the new line.



Figure 49: Detail from *Arte* by Marcos y Navas (p. 373).

³²⁹ “á instrumentos altos, como al violin, oboe, &c.”, Marcos y Navas, 373.

Additionally, Marcos y Navas associates certain clefs with certain voice types: the C-clef on the second line (from the bottom), the tiple; the C-clef on the third line, the contralto; the C-clef on the fourth line, the tenor; the F-clef on the fourth line, the bass.

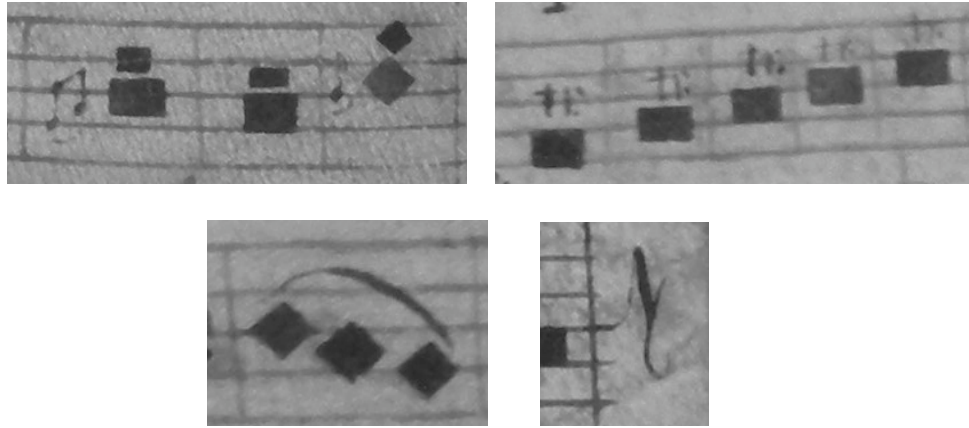


Figure 50: Examples of *poyaturas*, *trinos*, *ligaduras* and *guiones* from the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

In addition to the signs and symbols found in the Marcos y Navas treatise, there are a number of examples in the *cantorales* of signs and symbols that do not appear there. Examples below include modern-looking quarter-note rests, textual indications of repeats, multi-measure rests, a modern-looking bass clef, diamond-shaped *breves* flanked by two vertical lines³³⁰ and colored notation in red.³³¹

³³⁰ Though these appear to be semibreves due to their diamond shape, the context shows them to be actual breves. Their unusual shape seems intended to differentiate between parts when there are two melodic lines on a single staff.

³³¹ Examples of colored notation bear some resemblance to practices in the California Missions, though the practice was widespread across the Western musical world long before the nineteenth century. Russell, 80. The purpose of the colored notation is the same as the bracketed diamond-breve example; to make distinguishing between multiple parts on a single staff easier.

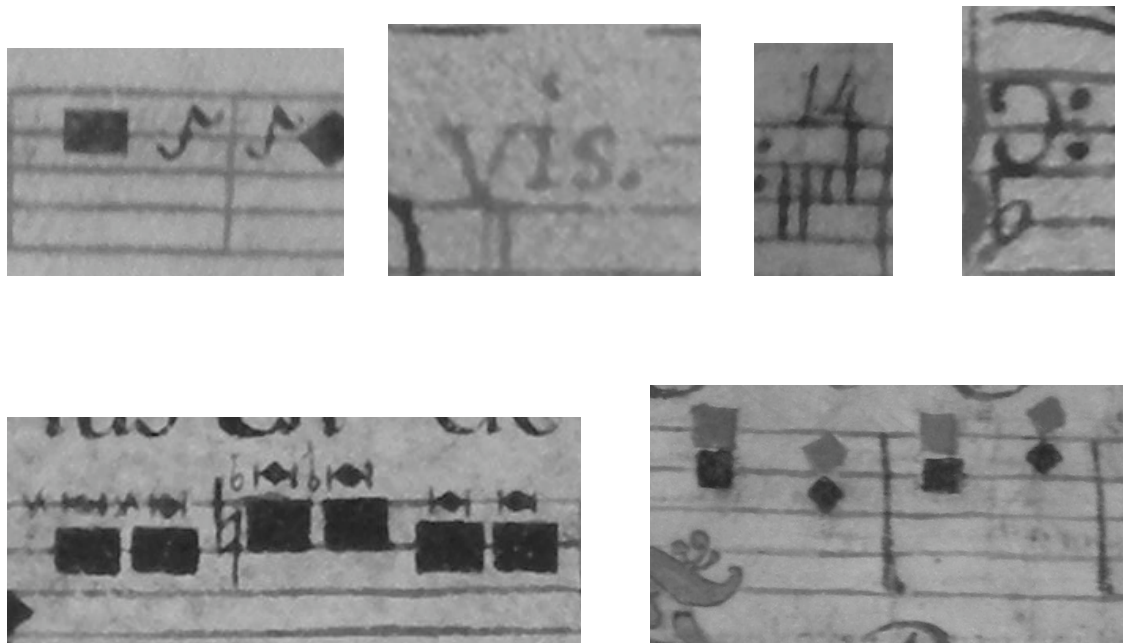


Figure 51: Examples of rests, repeats, multi-measure rests, modern clefs, bracketed notation and colored notation in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

The above examples and discussions are not intended to prove in a definitive way that the Marcos y Navas treatise was the model or inspiration for the production of the *cantorales*. Again, the biggest problem with that argument is that the copy of the treatise housed in the Baclayon church museum is an edition published at a later date than the musical sources, not to mention that the *cantorales* do not conform exactly to the theoretical principles outlined by the author. However, the presence of the treatise presents a fascinating case, since the music of the *cantorales* still very closely approximates the principles and rules outlined there. If this is a simple chicken-and-egg question (which came first?), we could also theorize that the Marcos y Navas treatise was obtained to better understand the music already existing in the *cantorales*.³³² Though

nothing more than conjecture, there might be some truth in the argument, especially as we examine the possible sources for specific musical materials later in the chapter.

Other Music in Baclayon – Modern Styles

As a brief aside, we can observe other related music in the Boholano parishes (especially Baclayon) that are not in the *cantorales*, but exist in other manuscripts and have varying purposes. While we are lucky that the *cantorales* and some of the other manuscript sources often include their dates of production, many of them do not and it is often difficult to determine when and in what contexts the sources were used. Craig Russell notes that the repertories of the California Missions include different kinds of music. Some of the music is that of an older style, *canto llano* and *canto figurado* and some *canto de organo* that makes use of the square and diamond note head system examined above. Other music, such as some of the more complex *canto de organo* music and the *música moderna* works utilize modern note heads and clefs.³³³ In the Philippines we see a similar division of works, from the music of the *cantorales* that uses the older notational conventions, to handwritten accompaniments (some of intended to accompany music in the *cantorales*) and other vocal and instrumental parts written in modern notation. The Philippine musical manuscripts that we can date with any accuracy show that the older style comes from the early- to mid-nineteenth century and the new style in

³³² It would be instructive to know if the Marcos y Navas treatise was in the inventories of Manila or other Philippine booksellers during the Spanish colonial period.

³³³ Russell, 80-81.

the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. This does not, in my mind, suggest that modern notation and style only arrived in the Philippines in the late nineteenth century and was unknown before that time. Our very incomplete documentary record does not allow us the luxury of such assumptions. Based on evidence from a variety of areas, we can make the argument that modern musical practices were known in the Philippines at about the same time as they were known anywhere else. Part of the difficulty in proving this is related to the historiography of Spanish music treated near the end of Chapter 1. This concept of Spanish music included an emphasis on “mysticism” which livened its seeming simplicity and exceptionalized it despite striking its similarities with other European musics, extended outward into the Spanish colonies. Similar scholarly trends have occurred in Mexico, Peru and other American colonies emphasizing a kind of historical conservatism asserting that in musical matters, the colonies lagged significantly behind Spain, which in turn lagged behind the rest of Europe. This, coupled with the perceived conservatism of Catholicism (especially Spanish Catholicism), would seem put Mexico and Peru decades behind mainstream Europe, to say nothing of the Philippines. This has turned out not to be the case, as we can see by examining the music of sacred composers like Zumaya and Jerusalém in Mexico, or Zipoli and Bocanegra (and many, many others) in South America. We can see that the music in these “remote outposts” was very similar to and contemporary with that found in religious settings in the progressive metropolitan areas of Europe. I would extend this reality to the Philippines, though it seems that the distance and time involved in traveling there would naturally put the colony at least a couple of years behind the latest musical trends in Rome, Vienna or

Paris. The majority of surviving manuscripts from Bohol and other provinces are indeed of an older style, but they were also made of generally more durable materials (like vellum) and stored in churches that (in parts of the Philippines, at least) survived wars and political upheavals. This church style was meant to be conservative, which points to active engagement in choices of music and not passive “backwardness.” What is missing is of course most of the musical material from Manila, which was nearly all destroyed by the American shelling of the city at the end of World War II. Research by Bill Summers and David Irving (see their works in the Bibliography) tells us that Manila boasted of a vibrant and cosmopolitan musical culture during the colonial period. This culture, especially in the sacred realms, would include both the old and the new, distributed to both the capital and the provinces. The fact that an updated and edited edition of a practical work like Marcos y Navas treatise was produced as late as 1862, as well as a set of printed *cantorales* for the *Religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila* from 1871 to 1874, each using the old notational styles, shows that this music was not really considered “old.” It was a current practice in many religious contexts.

What we can learn from this is that when we encounter different kinds of music in Philippine church archives, the “older” system of notation from Marcos y Navas represents a long tradition of church music practice, while sources using modern notation can represent newer practices or at least point to a relatively late date of production. Below are a few examples of more “modern” works, or at least works that were copied in modern notation.³³⁴ We will return to this more modern music in Chapter 6.



Figure 52: Detail of the *Sax Tenor* part for the *Misa Bonafonte* in the Baclayon Church Museum archive. No composer (unless Bonafonte refers to the composer) and undated, though instrumentation (including cornets, clarinets and saxophones) and staff paper manufacturer's marks (Carl Fischer, Inc.) along with terms in Spanish suggest the first half of the twentieth century.

³³⁴ Modern notation was not a new concept in Spain, and treatises dealing with modern notation in ecclesiastical contexts existed as early as 1805 (and likely much earlier as well). See Pedro Carrera, *Rudimentos de Música divididos en cinco instrucciones que facilitan la mas pronta inteligencia* (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Josef Doblado, 1805).

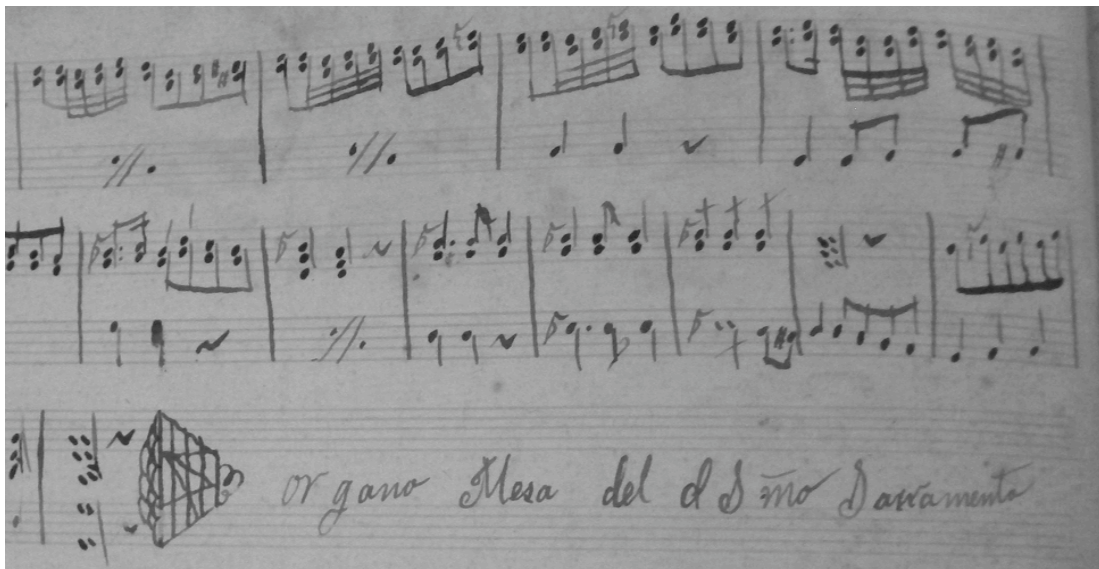


Figure 53: Detail of an organ accompaniment book for masses from the Baclayon Church Museum archive, signed by Marcelino Esrael (Ysrael) y Circulado, dated July 25, 1893. The book is missing titles and pages but parts of at least two mass settings are included.

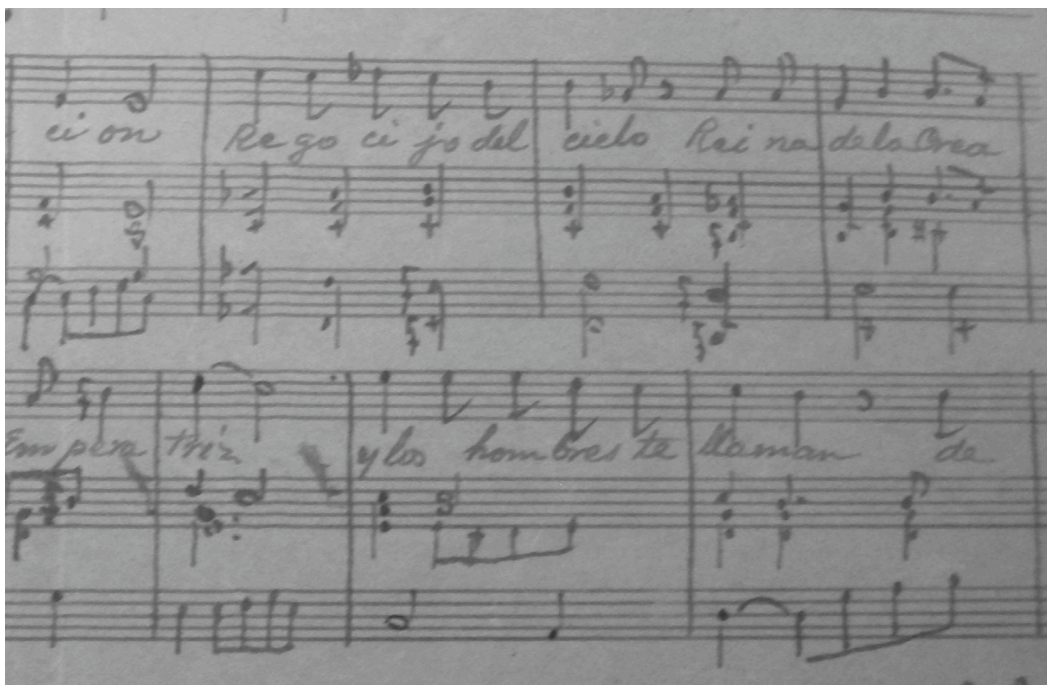


Figure 54: Detail of *Salutacion a la Sña. Virgen con acompanimiento de Organo* in the Baclayon Church Museum archive Solo voice with organ accompaniment, dated May 10, 1938.

Modes and Harmony

The harmonic vocabulary of the Marcos y Navas treatise is fairly simple and based on the standard eight-mode system of church modes used for centuries.³³⁵ The modes are organized in four sets of two. The first set of two modes have the same “root,” which is D, and each subsequent set of two modes also have the same “root” (E, F and G). Each set of two modes is differentiated more by range and register than with a shifting tonality as such. A melody in mode 1 for instance, will typically fill the octave between the “root” D and the D an octave higher, while a mode 2 melody will occupy the space from around a fourth below the “root” (the lower A) to about a fifth higher (the upper A). These rules are very general and are very often broken, but they represent a simplified theoretical background of the modal system. The first mode in each set (modes 1, 3, 5 and 7) are called the *maestros* (“masters”) or authentic modes, and the second mode in each set (modes 2, 4, 6 and 8) are known as *discípulos* (“disciples”) or the plagal modes.³³⁶ See Figure 55 below.

³³⁵ However, throughout the course of those centuries the numbered modes have referred to different scales at different times.

³³⁶ These modes are often now known by the following names: Mode 1 – Dorian, Mode 2 – Hypodorian, Mode 3 – Phrygian, Mode 4 – Hypophrygian, Mode 5 – Lydian, Mode 6 – Hypolydian, Mode 7 – Mixolydian, Mode 8 – Hypomixolydian.



Figure 55: Detail of modes for *canto-llano* and *canto figurado* from *Arte del canto-llano* of Marcos y Navas (p. 25).

The Marcos y Navas treatise later associates certain authentic and plagal modes with specific clefs. However, he does not do so in an easily reproduced graph, so I will use a similar figure from the Vila y Pasques treatise.



Figure 56: Detail of Modes from *Método Fácil* of Jaime Vila y Pasques (p. 4).

Note that modes 1 and 2 (the Dorian modes) are notated in a third-line F clef; modes 3 and 4 (the Phrygian modes) are split between fourth-line C clef and third-line bass clef;

modes 5 and 6 (the Lydian modes³³⁷) split between fourth-line C clef and third-line F clef; and modes 7 and 8 generally in fourth-line C clefs, but with an option for the third-line bass clef in Mode 8. The reasoning behind this is simple: each clef change is designed to help keep the voice (based on its authentic or plagal range) within the lines of the staff.

Another system of modes listed in Figure 23 below are associated with *canto de organo* and more strongly resemble keys in the modern tonal system, though they do have some connections with the previous modal system (note that Modes 1, 4 and 6 are identical between the two systems). These modes generally have key signatures and may make use of accidentals to emphasize their tonal nature. Mode 1 is still Dorian, though a B-flat is often used as an accidental to create D minor; Mode 2 is G minor and an E-flat is often added to emphasize this; Mode 3 is E minor; Mode 4 is Phrygian and not often encountered; Mode 5 is C major; Mode 6 is F major, Mode 7 is A minor; Mode 8 is G major. The music found in the *cantoriales* shows a mixture between the modal and tonal practices discussed above. Some settings have a strong D Dorian flavor (with occasional B-flats) while others with the same empty key signatures are distinctly D harmonic minor (with C-sharps and B-flats). Other settings use the more modern tonal conventions, such as the *Misa de Quinto Tono*, in C major and the *Misa de Sexto Tono*, in F major.

³³⁷ The Lydian modes each have B-flats in their key signatures while the other modes do not. This is to avoid the traditionally forbidden interval of the augmented fourth (F to B natural) and effectively turns the true Lydian mode into a transposed Ionian (major) mode, or F major. Interestingly, these traditional precautions do not prevent the music of the *cantoriales* from using the augmented fourth interval extremely often in both melodic and harmonic contexts.



Figure 57: Detail of modes for *canto de organo* from Marcos y Navas (p. 376).

Stylistic Analysis

The music in the *cantorales* is very singable and features many finely crafted melodies, a generally well-proportioned sense of balance between stepwise and leapwise motion, and good settings of the liturgical texts. There are a number of general melodic devices used to good effect in setting the Mass Ordinaries in the *Kirial de Baclayon*³³⁸, and each type is treated individually below.

Head Motives

Many Mass Ordinary settings in the *Kirial de Baclayon* use the head-motive technique, in which the same melodic pattern (or a pattern closely related enough to be

³³⁸ Though *canto-llano* settings hold an important place in the *Kirial*, I will focus mainly on the *canto figurado* settings.

heard as such) opens each movement and/or major section, providing a sense of unity among the movements. Sandy Chua extensively details the head motives found in the *Kirial de Baclayon* in her thesis³³⁹, so I will give only a few examples here. Note that the head motives need not be identical in pitch and rhythm among movements (though they may very well be so), but work as a unifying device that can be detected by the listener. The first set of examples below (Figures 58-62) feature head motives that are very nearly identical.

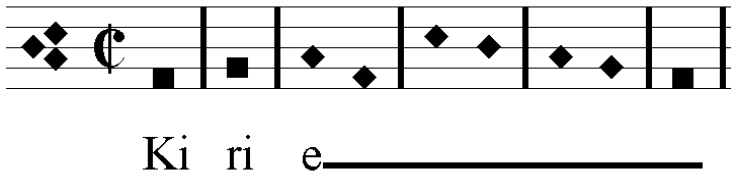


Figure 58: Detail of head motive from author’s transcription of *Kirie* from *Misa de Portillo* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

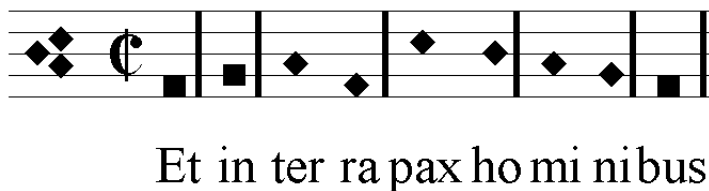
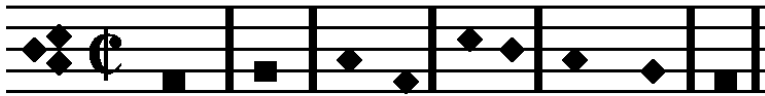


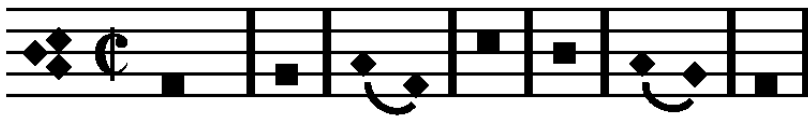
Figure 59: Detail of head motive from author’s transcription of *Gloria* from *Misa de Portillo* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

³³⁹ Chua, 129-131.



Pa trem om ni po- ten tem fac

Figure 60: Detail of head motive from author's transcriptions of *Credo* from *Misa de Portillo* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.



Sanc_____

Figure 61: Detail of head motive from author's transcription of *Sanctus* from *Misa de Portillo* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.



Agnus de_____ i

Figure 62: Detail of head motive from author's transcription of *Agnus Dei* from *Misa de Portillo* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

The following examples of head motives allow for some more variation in pitch and rhythm, but are still head as belonging to the same melodic pattern (Figures 63-67). The prevailing general outline of root-third-fifth-root is heard in each example.

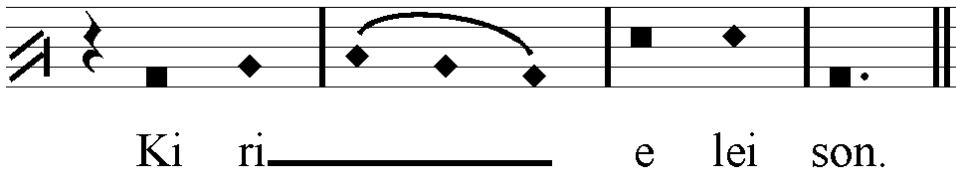


Figure 63: Detail of head motive from author's transcription of *Kirie* from *Misa Zaragozana* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

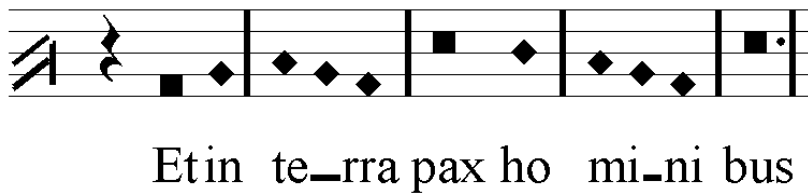


Figure 64: Detail of head motive from author's transcription of *Gloria* from *Misa Zaragozana* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.



Figure 65: Detail of head motive from author's transcription of *Credo* from *Misa Zaragozana* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

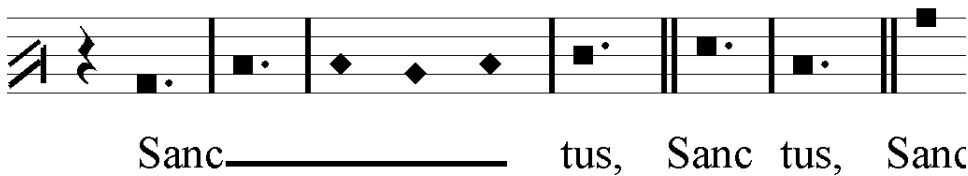


Figure 66: Detail of head motive from author's transcription of *Sanctus* from *Misa Zaragozana* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

Ag— nus De i qui tol

Figure 67: Detail of head motive from author's transcription of *Agnus Dei* from *Misa Zaragozana* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

Sequences, Repetition and Imitation

The use of unifying devices such as repetition, sequences and imitation can provide a sense of stability and focus in a piece of music. The following examples are melodic sequences.

A _____ men.

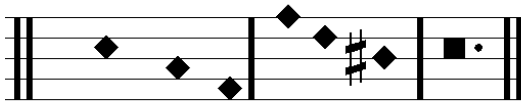
Figure 68: Detail from author's transcription of the *Gloria* from *Misa de la Virgen* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

Do mine Fi— li uni geni— te Je— su

Figure 69: Details from author's transcription of the *Gloria* from *Misa Manchega* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*. The two sections reproduced above are contiguous but are broken due to their being on different systems in the copy edition.

Harmonic Outlining

As I point out often to my music theory students, melodic outlines almost always imply underlying harmonic functions. This is especially the case in the music of the *cantorales*, where melodies belie the underlying harmonic structure by *continuo*-style motion or by outlining it through broken chords. The two examples below outline, in the case of Figure 70, the predominant-dominant-tonic harmonic relationship (or IV-V/vii^o-I) and in the case of Figure 71, the extended outline of a C major triad. Further examples may be found in nearly every movement of every mass setting in the appendices.



C. Glo ri fi ca_mus te

Figure 70: Detail from author's transcription of the *Gloria* from *Misa Zaragozana* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*. The clef is a third-line F clef.



Figure 71: Detail of *Gloria* from the *Misa de Portillo* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*. The clef is a fourth-line F clef.

Clefs, Keys and Key Signatures

As discussed above, clefs and accidentals have much to do with the tonal centers in the *cantorales*. In modern usage, the key signature usually takes care of the tonality (with the key signature reflecting the prevailing tonality of a movement or work) but the music of the *cantorales*, true to its modal theoretical roots, uses only a few key signatures and “corrects” the keys with accidentals as in the following examples. In Figure 72, an empty key signature, which would normally indicate the Dorian mode, is made into a strong harmonic minor through the consistent use of B-flat and C-sharp. In Figure 73, a single flat in the key signature which may suggest F major or D minor is combined with an E-flat throughout the movement to create a strong B-flat major tonality.

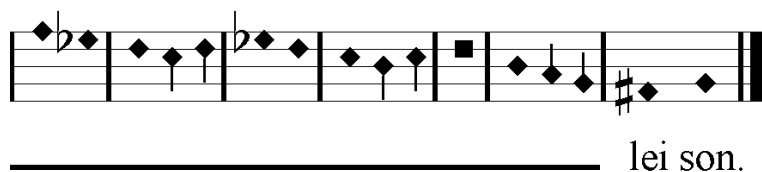


Figure 72: Detail from author’s transcription of *Kirie* from the *Misa de Toledo* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*. The clef is a third-line F clef.



Figure 73: Detail from author’s transcription of *Benedictus* from the *Misa San Bernabe* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*. The clef is a fourth-line C clef.

There are also many examples of multiple tonal centers in the mass settings. Most of the settings retain their “home” key (such as F major) while taking brief excursions into other key centers, usually the dominant (C major) and subdominant (B-flat major). However, there are cases of masses that travel quite a bit further afield. One such example is the *Credo* of the *Misa de la Virgen* (see appendix). Though showing no key signature, it uses accidentals to visit the keys of D Dorian, D harmonic minor, F major, C major and A minor.

While most of the above examples are straightforward and representative of the *cantorales* in general, there are some difficult issues to work out in a number of the mass settings. Most of these issues have to do with what I consider to be mistaken clefs in the Baclayon *cantorales* (and later copied into the *cantorales* of Loay and the other Bohol parishes). I am very reticent to consider these variations as mistakes³⁴⁰, but am willing to make the assumption based on other extant copies of Ordinary settings found elsewhere in the Philippines and on the consistency of style gleaned from the other settings and from contemporary theoretical treatises. The example below (Figure 74) is from the *Misa de Alcalá* and the main difficulty is the consistent presence of enharmonic spellings on adjacent pitches. In this case, the tenor clef forces an f-flat and an e-natural to exist side-by-side in a descending melodic passage. The prevailing tonality is G mixolydian. A

³⁴⁰ Indeed, as I am unaware of the intentions of the copyists/composers of this music, it seems somewhat foolish if not condescending to consider as mistakes decisions that may have been quite deliberate. My decisions are based on the prevailing style and consistency of the mass settings, and I will be happy to be proven wrong if we are able to make a determination, one way or the other. For more on theoretical and practical concepts of authorial intent, see the next chapter.

change from the tenor clef on the fourth line to a bass clef on the fourth line eliminates the enharmonic spellings and also puts the mass into the more-familiar area of C major (with brief tonal escapes to the dominant in G and the subdominant in F). Because the change of clef so dramatically eliminates the problems with enharmonic spellings and other awkward instances of voice leading, I have changed the clef in the critical edition.

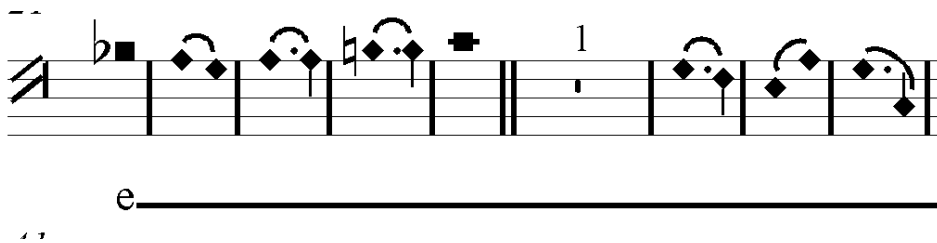


Figure 74: Detail from author's transcription of the *Kirie* from *Misa de Alcala* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

Another example is the *Misa Imperial* and highlights another foray into the G mixolydian mode. Normally, G mixolydian is not problematic as G is the pitch on which we traditionally encounter that mode, and accidentals may be easily employed to put it into its closely related G major tonality. However, there are at least two extant versions of the *Misa Imperial* elsewhere in the Philippines that make the argument for the change to tenor clef and a D minor tonality. In Figure 75 below, note that an E-flat is used (consistently throughout the setting) to lower the sixth scale degree, which would put the mass into an unknown and unused mode.³⁴¹ The music in Figure 76, which comes from a

³⁴¹ This would be a mode with a major third scale degree and lowered sixth and seventh scale degrees. This scale, while theoretically possible, is never used.

version of the mass found in the San Agustin Church³⁴², the tenor clef includes a flat in the key signature and the tonality is firmly set in D minor. If not for the other extant versions of the mass, I would have considered adding a B-flat to the key signature of the mass in the critical edition of the *Kirial de Baclayon* and not change the clef.

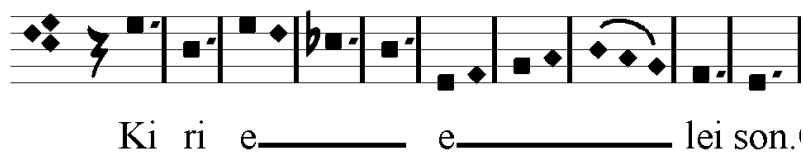


Figure 75: Detail from author's transcription of the *Kirie* from *Missa Imperial* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

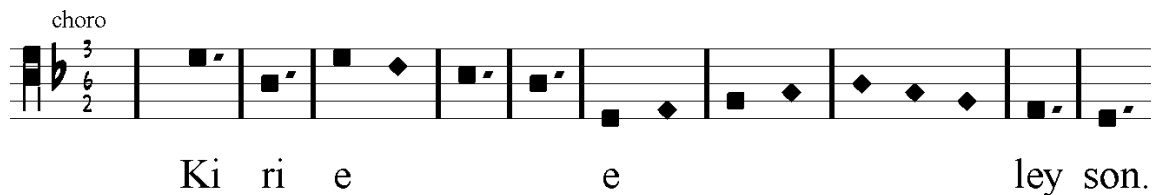
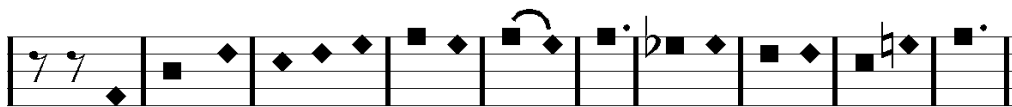


Figure 76: Detail of author's transcription of the *Kirie* from *Missa Imperial* from the *Cantoral "Missa Imperial"* in the San Agustin Church.

A third example is one that does not appear at first glance to have any particular difficulties with excessive enharmonic spellings or key signature issues. The *Missa Zaragozana* uses a third-line C clef to (again) provide a G mixolydian key center. While there are a number of examples of adjacent F-flats and E-naturals, enharmonics are not what leads me to believe that the mass settings needs a clef change. It is the sheer

³⁴² The *Missa Imperial* is also found in the *cantoral* in the Santa Maria church in Ilocos Sur, and does not differ significantly as far as tonality is concerned (it also uses a tenor clef), though it does differ importantly in other respects.

consistency of the use of a flat in descending lines and a natural to later cancel it in ascending passages, many times throughout the movements of the setting that lead me to make that determination. The *Misa Zaragozana* just makes more sense in the key of C major, a feeling that is heightened if one sings through the mass.



Qui tol lis pecata mun_____ di, mise re re no_ bis.

Figure 77: Detail of author’s transcription of the *Gloria* from *Misa Zaragozana* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*. The original clef is a third-line C clef which I have changed to a third-line F clef in the critical edition.

Accidentals and *Ficta*

Accidentals are used to change a prevailing tonality for a short time, or to set a melody in a particular key without the need for a key signature. As we have just noted, many accidentals do not make sense in the *cantorales*, though sometimes switching the clef resolves this. Regarding the use of these *ficta* (in this case referring to accidentals encountered above a note instead of in front of it), it does seem odd to use them when there is generally plenty of room to add an accidental in the customary manner. In cases

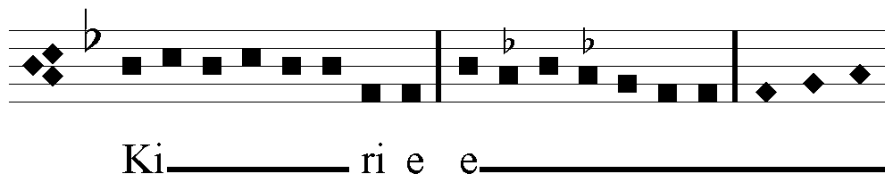


Figure 78: Example of *ficta* from *Kirie in Misa de Semidobles in the Kirial de Baclayon*.

where an accidental was forgotten, one would usually squeezed into a position in front of the note head. Certainly, some of the *ficta* may point to these kinds of omissions in the parts. But much of it is nonsensical and placed (as in Figure 78 above) where there was plenty of room for the accidental in front of the note head. This leads me to consider the possibility that there may be some additional harmonic meaning behind the *ficta*, perhaps for improvised sung harmony or for instruments accompanying the mass. However, there is always the possibility that the examples of *ficta* come from sources that were copied into the *cantoriales*, and the originals did indeed have the accidentals in that position due to a lack of space. Even theoretical treatises made use of this technique when wanting to place a text underlay cleanly beneath a set of notes, as the below example illustrates.

tes, Quem pi è laudant populi per
orbem, Hac di e læ tus me ru it
be a tas Scande re se- des.
su premos Lau dis ho no- res.

Figure 79: Detail from *Método Fácil y Breve* by Jaime Vila y Pasques (p. 291).

Repertories and Major Variants

In the table below, I have listed all of the musical settings found in the *Kirial de Baclayon*, both masses and other liturgical pieces. The works that are marked with an asterisk (*) are ones that I have found in other sources in the Philippines, California, the *Liber Usualis* and/or Spanish-language theoretical treatises. The fact that these works are to be found outside of the *cantorales* of Bohol illustrate the provincial or international status of this musical style. I will further treat individual mass settings as they relate and differ across their varying iterations.

Mass Settings

1. Misa de Advento y Quaresma*
2. Misa Correa
3. Misa de Toledo
4. Misa San Bernabe
5. Misa de Semidobles
6. Misa de Doble Menor
7. Misa de Doble Mayor
8. Misa de Portillo
9. Misa de la Virgen
10. Misa de Quitolis*
11. Misa Baclayana
12. Misa Zaragozaana
13. Misa Provincial
14. Misa de Alcala
15. Misa Manchega
16. Misa de Trompas
17. Misa de Salamanca
18. Misa de Angeles
19. Misa Imperial*
20. Misa Chamorra

21. Misa del Carmen
22. Misa de la Orden
23. Misa Mercenaria
24. Misa de Ahorcados
25. Misa de Sales
26. Misa de la Concepcion
27. Misa de los Martires
28. Misa de Sexto Tono
29. Misa del Quinto Tono*

Other Music

1. Asperges me*
2. Vidi aquam*
3. Salve Regina
4. Joseph fili David
5. Regina coeli
6. Salve
7. Joseph filii David

Misa Imperial

Given our fragmentary knowledge of sacred musical practices in the Philippines, it has been a rare thing to find evidence of repertoires or variants outside of a relatively small region (such as Bohol), but some do exist. Among the two dozen or so mass settings contained in the *Kirial* of each set of Boholano *cantorales* is a *Misa Imperial*. While searching through the *cantoral* housed in the church of *La Asuncion de la Nuestra Señora Church*³⁴³ (known as Sta. Maria) in the province of Ilocos Sur in May 2009,

Sandy Chua and I found a few masses in *canto figurado* style in the last pages. Though the title section of the page was damaged, I was able to determine that it was indeed a version of the *Misa Imperial*. The Sta. Maria version includes only about half of the musical material of the Bohol version, but the contours of the melody are identical. I was also able to find the mass setting in a *cantoral* in the San Agustin Church in Manila in April of 2010. Major differences among the sources include the choice of clefs (an F clef in the Bohol manuscript and a C clef in Sta. Maria and San Augustin), treatment of the prevailing triple meter, and the use (in the Sta. Maria and San Augustin sources) of a flat in the key signature. Regarding meter, the Bohol version uses note values that are “correct” as laid down in the Marcos y Navas treatise, while the Sta. Maria version uses values that are “incorrect,” though the system is consistent and relatively easy to follow. Compare the examples below, as well as the San Agustin source above in Figure 76.

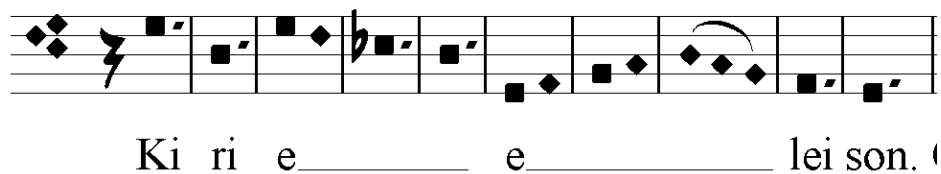


Figure 80: Detail of author's transcription of the *Kirie* from *Misa Imperial* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

³⁴³ This *cantoral* had previously been housed in the St. Paul Metropolitan Cathedral in Vigan City, the seat of the Archdiocese of Nueva Segovia in Ilocos Sur province.

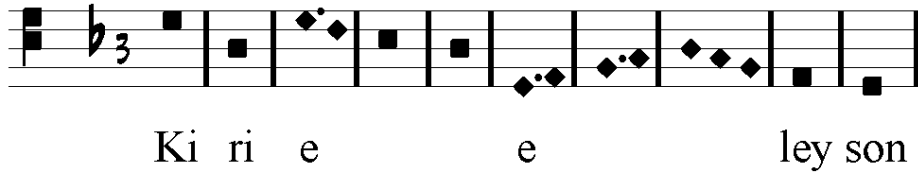


Figure 81: Detail from author's transcription of the *Kirie* from the *Missa Imperial* from the *Cantoral de Santa Maria*.

International Connections – *Asperges me* and *Vidi aquam*

One of the more interesting connections are the similarities among different settings of the *Asperges me* and *Vidi aquam*. The setting below (Figure 82) from the *Liber Usualis* shows a striking similarity to the setting from the *Kirial de Baclayon* (Figure 83). There are very few differences between them, and the setting of this work found in some California Mission sources is just as closely related.



Figure 82: Detail of *Asperges me* from the *Liber Usualis* (p. 17).



Figure 83: Detail of author's transcription of *Asperges me* from the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

As we can observe below in Figures 84 and 85, these settings of the *Vidi aquam* are very nearly identical, as is the concordant source in the California Missions as well as a similar setting in the *Santa Clara* sources from Manila. These examples show us that, in at least these two cases, a chant setting was well known across long distances in the Spanish world. And this long before the work of the monks of Solesmes and the publication of the *Liber Usualis*.

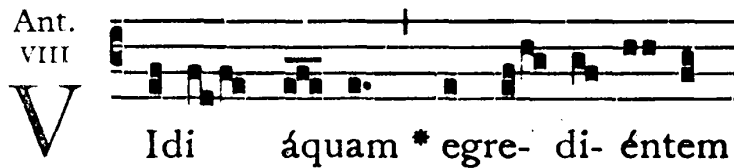


Figure 84: Detail of *Vidi aquam* from the *Liber Usualis* (p. 18).

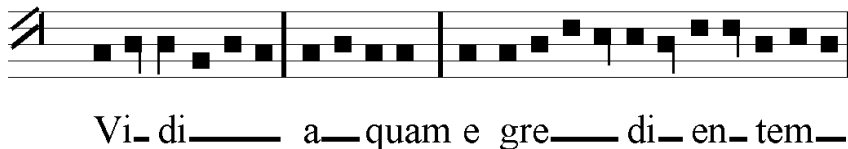


Figure 85: Detail of author's transcription of *Vidi aquam* from the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

California Connections - *Misa de Quinto Tono* and the *Credo Parisiense*

In the 1846 additions to the *Kirial de Baclayon* is a *Misa de Quinto Tono a 3 voces alternado con el Coro*.³⁴⁴ This source exists in at least two other places. One is the

³⁴⁴ According to Chua, 62, this mass setting can also be found in the San Agustin church in *Intramuros*. However, I was not able to locate this setting during my research at San Agustin. I did, however, find a *Missa Quinto Tono* in the *Cantoral "Benigno Antonio"*,

treatise *Método Fácil y Breve* by Jaime Vila y Pasques and published in 1848, which was already discussed briefly near the beginning of this chapter. Interestingly, the *Misa de Quinto Tono* from Baclayon is a compilation of two mass settings found in the Vila y Pasques treatise. All movements save one are found in a mass setting of the same name (*Misa de Quinto Tono*) in the theoretical work, but the Credo is from the *Misa de Sexto tono a Tres Voces y acompañamiento, alternando con el Coro* and is itself given the additional title of *Credo Pariesense*³⁴⁵ [sic] *á Duo y Coro* (which includes in the central *Et incarnatus est...* section a marking for *Largo á tres voces*³⁴⁶). The California connection is the *Credo Parisiense* movement that is found in a Mission choirbook currently in the Stanford University library collection, tentatively attributed to Junipero Serra and dated 1770-1784.³⁴⁷ While the Baclayon and Pasques sources keep the Credo in a consistent *canto figurado* rhythmic setting, the Stanford source is very free in its treatment of barlines, sometimes using them and other times not and also making use of

though the music is not similar and there are not three voices or an alternating choir. It is highly possible that Sandy Chua was able to consult a source that I could not.

³⁴⁵ The use of geographic or national names for mass settings is common in the *cantorales*, as well as in other sources and theoretical treatises. There are also a number of specific movement types that are named, especially Credo settings. The *Credo Parisiense* is one, and the *Credo Romano* is another. The *Credo Romano* is found as part of the *Misa de Advento y Quaresma* as well as in another unnamed mass setting in the *Santa Maria* sources. These Credo settings seem to be quite movable.

³⁴⁶ This marking is found also in the Baclayon choirbook.

³⁴⁷ This source was identified with Junipero Serra in the late nineteenth century when the *cantoral* was given as a gift to Governor and Mrs. Stanford, and dated to his tenure at San Carlos in the Carmelo Valley. The choirbook itself does not have dates nor is there any documentation to help definitively date the source, so Russell considers the attribution and dating as plausible, but unproven. Russell, Appendix, 296.

ligatured breves, making it appear more “chant-like” at times.³⁴⁸ Also, the Stanford source does not have the central *Et incarnates est...* section set in trio or with the *largo* marking, as in the other sources. Though the Stanford *cantoral* is missing portions of the mass, ending before the *Credo Parisiense* is complete, it exists separately from any complete mass setting (other mass settings in the source are organized and listed together in order as Ordinary settings), occurring after the movements of the *Missa Toledana*.³⁴⁹



Figure 86: Detail from *Ensayo Gregoriano* of Don Daniel Traveria (p. 223). Note the use of ligatured breves in *canto figurado*.

³⁴⁸ Another relatively contemporary treatise does feature the use of ligatured breves specifically in the context of *canto figurado*. Don Daniel Traveria, *Ensayo Gregoriano, ó estudio practico del canto-llano y figurado en metodo facil* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Don Joachin Ibarra, 1794). See Figure 47.

³⁴⁹ However, the *Missa Toledana* is missing its *Credo*. So it is possible that a copyist’s error caused the *Credo* to be included at the end of the mass to complete this particular setting of the Ordinary. Russell, Appendix A, 300-01.

If this was an intentional decision, then perhaps the *Credo Parisiense* was meant to be a setting that could be moved around and inserted into different mass settings of a similar mode, something that was actually done in the *Kirial de Baclayon*. The preceding sections on the links between liturgical music performance in California and the Philippines further strengthen the international scope of this musical style. Craig Russell notes that there was a standardized repertoire of mass settings that could be found in any church in the region regardless of the musical resources of the particular mission. We have also seen (and will continue to see) that there was also a provincial repertoire in the Philippines that stretched from at least Bohol (one of the southernmost reaches of Spanish colonial control) to Nueva Segovia (the northernmost diocese during most the colonial era). The fact that some of the settings are the same show that this repertoire was common in at least the outer reaches of the viceroyalty of New Spain. Further research will likely further broaden the reach of this repertoire.

Variants – the *Misa Quitolis*

Another mass setting found in at least two sources in the Philippines is the *Misa Quitollis*³⁵⁰, found both in Bohol and in San Agustin in Intramuros. The San Agustin *cantoral* where the setting is found is undated, but the name Benigno Antonio is found as a signature at the end of the book. With no other information as to its provenance, I will refer to the choirbook as the *Cantoral “Benigno Antonio”*.

³⁵⁰ This is the standardized spelling for this title and is spelled that way in the *cantoral* in San Agustin. In Bohol it is entitled *Misa Quitolis*.

The *Kirie* setting of *Misa Quitolis* is, in the *Kirial de Baclayon*, a strictly monophonic setting (see Figure 8 below) in F major, and uses the idiosyncratic spelling of *Kyrie* (*Kirie*) found in Bohol and California.

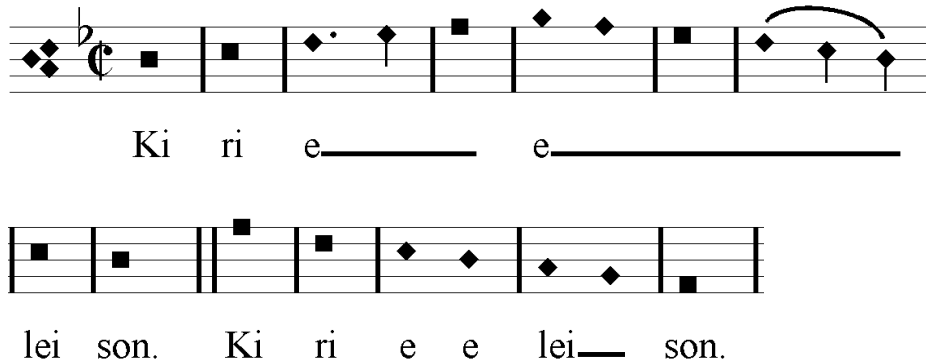


Figure 87: Detail of author’s transcription of the *Kirie* from *Misa Quitolis* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

The *Kyrie* setting from the *Cantoral “Benigno Antonio”* in San Agustin is similar (see Figure 88 below), using the same clefs and keys, though it makes use of the 2/4 time signature (instead of the C symbol common in the *cantorales* of Bohol.³⁵¹ Note also that the Bohol setting includes music for all repetitions of the *Kirie eleison* and *Christe eleison*, while the San Agustin setting has the more common arrangement of one *Kyrie*, two *Christe*, and one *Kirie* setting.³⁵² Interestingly, the music for the second *Kirie* in the

³⁵¹ The fact that the earlier sources in Bohol use the C and other graphical symbols (as opposed to the numerical time signatures found in the 1846 additions to the *Kirial de Baclayon*) lead me to make the extremely preliminary determination that the *Cantoral “Benigno Antonio”* may have been produced after 1827. This will only hold water if all of the scribes in question were conforming to the same musical conventions, and at the same times.

Bohol example is the same as the lower voice of the first *Christe* in the San Agustin setting. The other differences are in the text underlay and rhythm.

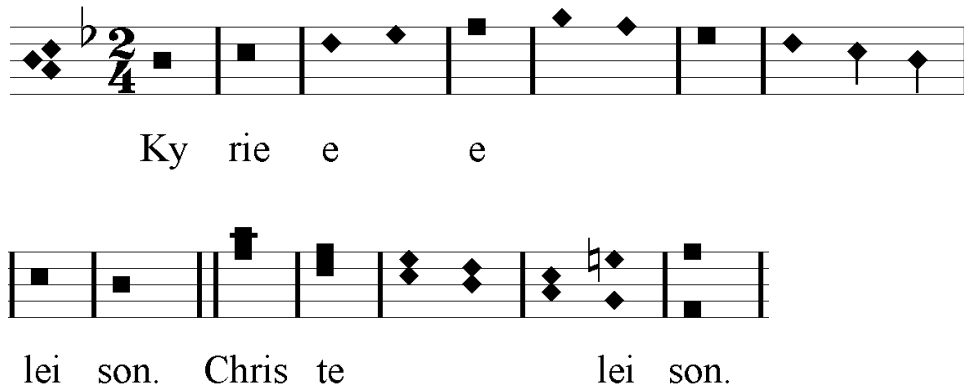


Figure 88: Detail of author’s transcription of the *Kyrie* from *Missa Quitollis* in the *Cantoral “Benigno Antonio”* in San Agustin.

Similar differences in text underlay and rhythm may be observed in the following examples (Figure 89 and Figure 90), which compare settings of the end of the *Agnus Dei* from both sources.

³⁵² This would allow the choir to alternate with the priest, who would chant the intervening text. Also, the inconsistency in spelling the *Kirie/Kyrie* is present in the text setting in the *Cantoral “Benigno Antonio”*.

to llis pec ca ta mun— di, do na— no bis

pa— cem, do na no bis— pa— cem.

Figure 89: Detail of author's transcription of the *Agnus Dei* from *Misa Quitollis* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

tol lis pec ca ta mun di mi se re re

no bis, mi se re re no bis.

Figure 90: Detail of author's transcription of the *Agnus Dei* from *Missa Quitollis* in the *Cantoral "Benigno Antonio"* in San Agustin.

Local Variants – the Daus fragments

A number of loose sheets from all four sets of *cantorales* have been discovered in the parish church of Daus on the island of Panglao, directly opposite the provincial capital Tagbilaran (see maps in Chapter 3). This church commands a wonderful view of the area. We do not know much about the dates for production of these manuscripts, or if there was an organ installed in the church sometime in the nineteenth century. The

presence of an organ (connected with the performance of the music of the *cantorales*) seems unlikely, as the current church was only begun in 1863 with the lower façade finished in 1879. The previous church (to replace an earlier church that had burned down in 1795) was made of *tabique* and *nipa*³⁵³, and I am not sure those materials would support a pipe organ. The current church was finally completed in the early twentieth century (after a number of collapses), which seems a bit late for *cantoral* production. *Cantorales* in Dausis could have been accompanied by other instruments, and there is precedent for the instrumental accompaniment of masses where a keyboard instrument is not available (see discussion of instruments in previous chapter). Another possibility, and one that will need further research to corroborate, is that the fragments of the *cantorales* in Dausis may have come from Tagbilaran (made the provincial capital in 1854), a mere 3 km away. It is strange that such an important parish (and later cathedral) church would lack a set of *cantorales* when so many of the other parish churches in the region possessed them. The official municipal website for Dausis mentions that officials from Tagbilaran took refuge in the Dausis church in 1945 during frequent bombings at the end of World War II.³⁵⁴ Perhaps some important documents from the Tagbilaran cathedral, including music, were taken to Dausis and subsequently left behind. Tagbilaran did have a musical life during the nineteenth century, as evidenced by some documentary research by Regalado Trota Jose, who found that musicians from Baclayon had been

³⁵³ Jose, *Visita Iglesia Bohol*, 43-44.

³⁵⁴ <http://www.dausis-bohol.gov.ph/dausis-church.html> (accessed March 16, 2010).

hired to teach both the clarinetist (in 1840) and the choir in Tagbilaran.³⁵⁵ Perhaps a set of *cantorales* was produced for Tagbilaran around 1840 with musicians from Baclayon helping to teach the repertoire, as I suggest may have happened in Loay in 1841.

However, the Tagbilaran cathedral did not install a pipe organ until 1861, and at least two of the churches (Baclayon and Loay) produced *cantorales* in conjunction with the installation of an organ. On the other hand, we do know that Tagbilaran had a choir and instrumentalists as far back as 1840. Without the “smoking gun” of a set of *cantorales* produced specifically for the church, we cannot make a final determination.

Regardless of the ultimate provenance of the fragments housed in the Dauis parish church, there are a few interesting things that can be found in them. The remaining legible pages from the *Kirial* include parts of the *Misa de Doble Menor*, the *Misa de Salamanca*, the *Misa Provincial* and the *Misa de Trompas*. If we compare the *Benedictus* from the *Misa de Trompas* in the *Kirial de Baclayon* with that from the *Kirial de Dauis*, we can see that there have been additions in the latter source. The additions are running thirds that have been placed sometimes below, and sometimes above, the original melodic line (see Figure 91 and Figure 92 below to compare). Interestingly, the added line does not make use of the standard notational conventions found in the rest of the source, but rather uses circular notes or dots for the semibreves and minimas.

³⁵⁵ Jose, *Visita Iglesia Bohol*, 95-96.

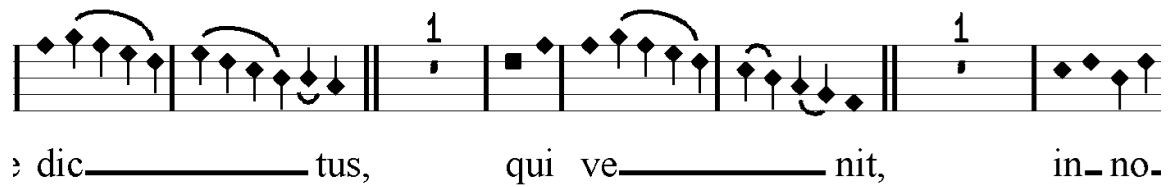


Figure 91: Detail of author's transcription of the *Benedictus* from *Misa de Trompas* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

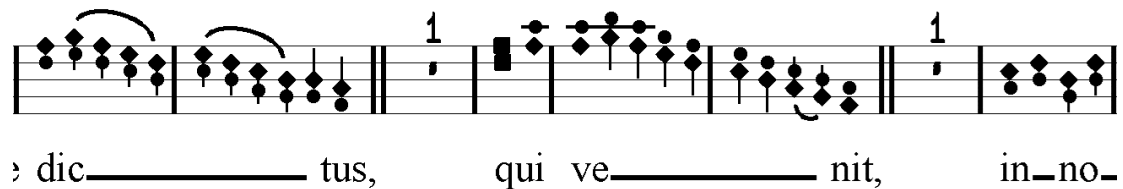
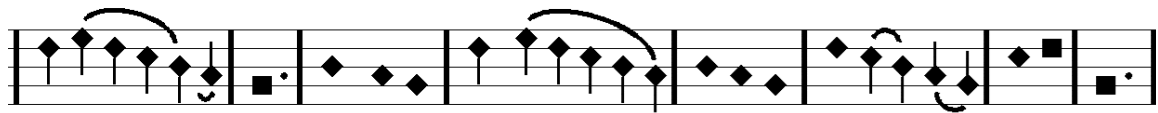


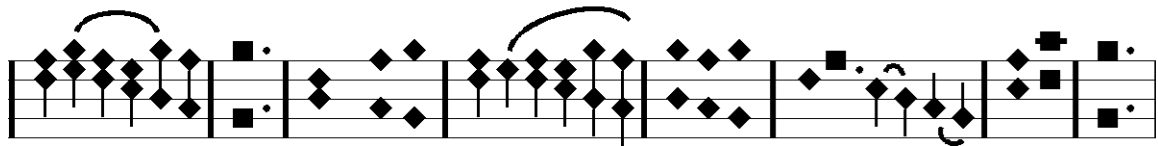
Figure 92: Detail of author's transcription of the *Benedictus* from *Misa de Trompas* in the *Kirial de Dauis*. Note the added running thirds above and below the original melodic line.

Another interesting addition is found in the *Credo* from the *Misa Provincial*. Rather than adding strict running thirds, the *Kirial de Dauis* includes a number of other intervals including fourths, fifths, sixths and octaves. Also, these additions are made using the prevailing notational conventions of square- and diamond-shaped notes. These kinds of changes are not found in any of the other surviving sets of *cantoriales* from Bohol, and point to a tradition of adapting and modifying the liturgy to fit local preferences and needs, as well as providing an insight to the possible harmonic realizations in these particular mass settings. See Figures 93 and 94 below.



1 fac_____ tum: con sub stan_____ ti a_lem Pa_____ tri.

Figure 93: Detail of authors' transcriptions of the *Credo* from *Misa Provincial* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.



1 fac_____ tum: con sub stan_____ ti a_lem Pa_____ tri.

Figure 94: Detail author's transcription of the *Credo* from *Misa Provincial* in the *Kirial de Dauis*. Note the added intervals above the original melodic line.

Conclusions

We started this chapter with a look at the larger theoretical picture as outlined in musical treatises in the Iberian world, then focusing in on the variations of local practice in the Philippines and particularly on the island of Bohol. As noted in the quote from Bill Summers in footnote 317 above, this style with its local variations was an international “common coin” parochial style, a style that is relatively tonal, simply conceived, and easy to sing. I believe that the connections made in this chapter between mass settings in treatises, in various Philippine sources, and also in California represent only the tip of the iceberg as far as this international style is concerned. Still largely untouched and unstudied is the potentially massive parochial archives of the Americas. Summers has told me in personal correspondence that this kind of music is found in Mexico, Bolivia

and Argentina.³⁵⁶ Another musical colleague (and graduate of both La Sierra University and the University of California Riverside) has told me of similar *cantorales* in some of the high-elevation churches in Peru, where he once served as a missionary (as I did in Taiwan). A concerted, widespread, and comprehensive study will likely show that the *canto llano* and *canto figurado* parochial settings were common or ubiquitous in the greater Spanish world, and even the larger Iberian world.

³⁵⁶ E-mail correspondence with William Summers, April 25, 2010.

Chapter 5: Authenticity and the Invention of Tradition

This chapter will be divided roughly in half, starting with a certain amount of theorizing on the issue of, and issues relating to, authenticity, and ending with a practical introduction to the performance practices and editorial decisions used in the editions contained in the appendices of this study. The field of performance practice has a rich recent history and one that has seen its share of debates and controversies. Among the debated topics are two that I would like to examine in some depth: authorial intent and authenticity.

Authorial Intent and the Audience

Authorial intent and the related concept of authority are important when determining standards of performance practice because they can provide a universal standard of editing and performance, acting as the ultimate arbiter in any debate. While this may be (to some) a desirable thing, it is problematic on two levels. First, how does one determine the ultimate intentions of an author? The author (in this case, the composer) may not have left any documents by which we can establish intent, or else there are indications of conflicting intentions. Historical musicology is full of anecdotes in which two or more variants or editions of a work exist but the original autograph is lost, and the composer did not leave any correspondence regarding the work. Even when autographs (and in the case of music since the early twentieth century, recordings) do exist, it is not often easy to determine intent. Richard Taruskin narrates the state of

affairs surrounding Igor Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*, where the composer supervised the recording of the work several different times during his life, each with strikingly different results.³⁵⁷ This illustrates the concept of intent as a thing constantly in flux and in which authorial intentions may change over the course of any amount of time due to any number of influences.

The second problem related to authorial intent has to do with the *desirability* of following an author's intentions, even when they are known. James Grier discusses authorial intent (after Jerome J. McGann) in the context of music editing using McGann's theory of the work of art as a social phenomenon. While the concept of authorial intent requires the primacy of an author's wishes and intentions in establishing a text, McGann asserts that when an artist communicates a work to an audience, the author's autonomy and authority is abandoned due to the establishment of a context for the work. The members of the audience, arguably the largest component in this established context, become full participants in the creative process through the act of reception and reaction.³⁵⁸ At the point of performance the work of art, which is in our case a composition enters, as it were, the public domain and becomes subject to the wishes and intentions of the audience. While this is an intriguing concept in itself, I would like to

³⁵⁷ Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 97-8. See also the collection of McGann's essays in Jerome J. McGann, *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

³⁵⁸ James Grier, *The critical editing of music: History, method, and practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 16-7.

take it one step further by applying it to the specific context and intent of sacred liturgy, where the idea of the audience touches an interesting conceptual plane.

The relationship between author and audience is relatively clear from the arguments above in the sense that there is a mediation of meaning and intent between the two. But what if the audience is someone who does not communicate and mediate in the same way generally expected of audiences? In short, what if the audience is God? This is where sacred liturgy departs somewhat from the author-audience paradigm that we have been exploring. Sacred liturgy is a performance whose ultimate intended audience is God, though the audience (or spectators), not to mention the performers, may include humans as well. It is not important to this discussion to speculate as to whether or not there is a real divine audience responding to the actions (though as a devout Christian, I have my own convictions), only that this is the original concept of those performing the work.

Authorial Intent - Ritual Performance

Before we can deal with the idea of authentic performance in the context of a spiritual or religious tradition, it is important to examine the idea of performance itself in this ritualistic setting. What happens when a religious act or service is performed? Richard Schechner gives us a helpful way of thinking of this in his concept of “restored behavior” as a subset of general human behavior. This concept is the state of simply pretending to be someone else, in which actions are purposefully separated from the

actor.³⁵⁹ Two of the behaviors identified as “restored behavior” by Schechner are role-playing and ritual, and involve a conscious division between the actor’s self and his or her actions.³⁶⁰ Can we consider the performance of sacred texts by priests and lay musicians in the Mass or Offices to involve the (self-)conscious separation of the actor and the action? Is the priestly celebrant as role-player disconnected from his actions or does he have a part to play *as a person*, and not just as a priest and divine representative and intermediary? And *who* is he “pretending to be” at that time if not himself? Certainly the priest is meant to *symbolize* something; indeed, the vestments he wears and the texts he speaks are rich with symbolic meanings, but what happens to the human being underneath the garments? Marco de Marinis touches this topic when he speaks of the differences between “presentational” and “representational” theatres. A purely “presentational” theater would be one in which the actor would be totally self-reflexive and any representation or symbolism is completely lacking. That is to say, it is obvious that the actor is *acting*. A purely “representational” theater is one in which there is a lack of presentation, of self-reflexivity, where the actor is not *acting* but is *representing*. De Marinis sees difficulty in either of these extremes, though he does not rule out the theoretical possibility that such a thing could exist. This difficulty arises particularly in the lack of any self-reflexive element (given that the actor and the “stage” are physically

³⁵⁹ Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 35-116 quoted and discussed in Marvin Carlson, “What is Performance?” in Henry Bial, ed. *The Performance Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004), 70.

³⁶⁰ Bial, 70.

present and if not visible, then certainly audible).³⁶¹ Returning to the earlier question of what happens to the priest behind the symbols, I think (with de Marinis) that given the difficulty in eliminating any self-reflexivity from the celebration of religious rituals; most observers would recognize an individual priest or musician (who is also role-playing) regardless of the rich symbolism which has the potential to partially mask their representational identities (as priest or musician). Part of this recognition is related to the inconstant nature of these performances, or “restored behaviors.” One priest may look different from another or one may sing the liturgy with more or less skill. On the other hand, these religious representatives are, especially in the case of ordained clergy, relatively interchangeable with regard to their functions and duties. For example, one priest is as good as another as far as confession and absolution is concerned, and Mass is “rightly” said regardless of the particular celebrant given that he speaks the correct words, in the proper order.

By way of an example, we can observe the practice of ancient Judaism as found in the Old Testament. On the Day of Atonement, the high priest was allowed to enter the Most Holy Place of the tabernacle (later, the temple) in order to propitiate the sins of the entire community for the previous year. In this sense he was both the representation and representative of the people, both an ambassador and a symbol. But he also maintained status as one member of the community, and before he could atone for the sins of the people, he had to first atone for his own sins. There was always a danger that the High

³⁶¹ Marco de Marinis, “The Performance Text” in Henry Bial, ed, *The Performance Studies Reader*, 234.

Priest might enter the Most Holy Place ceremonially unclean, and as such his priestly garments included bells at the hem and a rope or cord attached to the garments that could be reached from outside. If the bells stopped ringing, the other priests would know that he had been struck down as a result of his unworthiness and they would be able to pull his body by the rope out of the Most Holy Place. This illustrates that the High Priest, who was an all-important symbol (representation) in his work as High Priest, was also counted, potentially fatally, as an individual (presentation).

Earlier, I noted that *most* observers would recognize the individuals behind the priestly accoutrements. What is role of the audience's perceptions in shaping the reality of a performance? If the assembled congregation believes that priest in his priestly duties and vestments is *someone else*, does it make it so? What is happening to the performance if the audience sees not a person, but a representative of God? The performance of the Mass and the Offices are "restored behaviors" because they assume the participants not strictly as self-reflexive entities, but as performers "pretending to be someone else." The scope of this behavior is regulated by the extent to which the performer represents those *behind* (the people, parishioners) and presents to that which is in *front* (God). We can extend this discussion to move beyond the perspective of the audience toward the performer, to the perspective of the performer to his intended audience. It must be remembered that the performance of the rituals of the Mass and (especially) the Offices are not, in their "pure" forms, intended to be for the benefit of those *physically* present, but are meant for worship of and enjoyment by God (who is *spiritually* present). The Divine Offices are referred to by St. Benedict as Opus Dei ("Work of God," or the work

that is done for God), a performative gift given by the religious community to the divine. In this sense, we could say that the human audience is completely superfluous. But why then the symbols and vestments and music, which are largely for the benefit of the human onlookers? Certainly an omnipotent God does not particularly need symbols as a reminder of deeper liturgical meanings, nor would he need to hear texts spoken and set to music of what are his own words. These are intended for the audience, which therefore must not be superfluous. Again, we mediate between de Marinis' "presentational" and "representational" theatres and the answer lies somewhere between the extremes. This has potential consequences for the idea of performance practice and a desire for authenticity in performance, especially if we determine that there is indeed some necessity and benefit for providing vestments, music, etc. expressly for the benefit of an audience.

Liturgy as Text

But what can we say about the liturgy itself: the words and the rubrics, the artistic, architectural and musical symbols? Regarding the words of the liturgy itself, this is something that is often referred to as a text. This seems reasonable, as we can print the words or inscribe them on a surface, referring to them any number of times. A text can be thought of as the physical place(s) in which the author or composer's work is situated. But what is the nature of an author's *work*, and is it the same thing as a *text*? It is interesting that much of the discussion that can fruitfully be related to liturgy comes from scholarship of the theater and performance, and it is from there that we can apply a useful

twist to the concept of work and text. W.B. Worthen asserts that it is the *work* of an author or composer (or any “originator”) that is written down or inscribed, and that the *text* is the performative aspect of that work. He sets up the difference between text and work as “stage vs. page.”³⁶² The autograph manuscript, the original score, the critical edition, these represent the *work* of an author.³⁶³ Therefore, the work is “carved in stone” (as many works indeed are) and permanent, while the text is based on the impermanent aspects of performance. But I do not believe that liturgy can be contained within such a simple system. Following what Worthen himself states, that it is “difficult to articulate a new paradigm through a merely binary rhetoric”³⁶⁴, we note the relatively special position religious liturgy has in relation to other traditional performance arts. For one, it is performed every day, often multiple times, in tens of thousands (or more) of locations across the planet. The performance of the liturgy is so widespread and common as to be almost ubiquitous in certain places; no Shakespeare play or Beethoven symphony can compare to the sheer massiveness of the liturgical performance tradition.

As a widespread and ongoing performance tradition, liturgy prompts some discussion into the nature of work and text. Can the widespread and enduring repetition of liturgical performance (as text) endow it with work-like inclinations? Certainly liturgical

³⁶² W.B. Worthen, “Disciplines of the Text: Sites of Performance” in Henry Bial, ed., *The Performance Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004), 12.

³⁶³ Though not always (or ever) his or her “true” intentions. Complex and/or conflicting thoughts and ideas are notoriously difficult to transfer to a permanent medium such as a published edition and as we earlier noted, an author’s ideas and attitudes about a work can also change over time. Perhaps each of these ideas constitutes a separate *work*.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 18.

performative practice can seem very work-like. There is an entire subset of liturgical practice as performed in non-religious dramatic contexts (literature, television, film) which draws on a very limited (or stereotypical) repertoire of “liturgical gestures,” which tends to formalize or “workify” the textual nature of performance. Those who are unfamiliar or disapproving of Christian liturgy³⁶⁵ often refer to it as a set of dead forms, irrelevant to a vibrant religious experience. This is likely due to the fact that, though it is performative, it is deeply rooted in symbolic elements that have been standardized and formalized over many centuries. For some, the very experience of liturgy is an interaction with its work-ness, akin to viewing an artifact in a museum. For others, the performance of the liturgy represents a living link between the observer and the work, and by extension a heavenly author, a link that is strengthened with each repetition of the liturgy.

The standardization and repetition of the liturgy illustrates an important concept related to authority and authorial intent, which we will touch upon in a moment. Judith Butler describes repetitive speech actions as gaining authority through that very repetition. She states that speech actions authorize norms of behavior

...because that action echoes prior actions, and *accumulates the force of authority through the repetition of citation of a prior, authoritative set of practices.*³⁶⁶

³⁶⁵ I have found that those most disapproving of Christian liturgy are frequently other Christians who do not have a liturgical background and generally do not understand the symbols.

³⁶⁶ Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex.”* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 226-27. Italics in original.

What this means is that liturgical utterances, which have become standardized through many repetitions, gain the force of authority due to the citational or referential nature of the utterance to earlier utterances. A priest stating or chanting that the sins of the congregation are forgiven gain even more force because this has been said precisely the same way over many centuries. This is similar in many ways to the concept of the invented tradition that underpins this study. Invented traditions, as defined by Hobsbawm, gain their authority through repetition. The full definition bears repeating:

...a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.³⁶⁷

In this case, the actual reality of a connection with a past event is not important, just that there is a connection with a “suitable” past. This past can be anything that is itself considered to have authority, and the invented tradition gains its own authority by having attached itself to it. Liturgical performance gains its authority through both repetition, and through a connection with an ultimate “suitable historic past”: the divine.

The concept of the author and authorial intent in relation to a work opens other avenues of thought, as well as restating questions already asked. What relationship does the intention of the author have with a work? Is this intention supreme? Is it consistent with itself, or its other iterations? Do we need concern ourselves about it at all? In the case of the Catholic liturgy, who is the author? As stated previously, liturgical practice

³⁶⁷ Hobsbawm, 1.

has been formalized over a long period. The work, that is the words as we know them today, were largely set by the mid-sixteenth century by the Council of Trent (hence, Tridentine liturgy), with the unrestricted ability of the liturgy to be translated to any language added by the mid-twentieth century through the Second Vatican Council. Are the authors of the liturgy the members of these councils? No, because they in turn received the work from previous generations, adapting it as necessity dictated. So the tradition as we know it is relatively new in relation to the entire history of the liturgy, which should make us pause and remember Eric Hobsbawm's statement that "'traditions' which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented."³⁶⁸ But where then does authorial intention reside? Does it only exist in the mind of an author or composer, and only for a fleeting moment? Is it implicit within the work, waiting for a sufficiently perceptive interpreter to bring it out? Is it just out there, floating in the ether? The priestly actor engaging in "restored behavior," does he play the author? The concept of authorial intent and by extension, authenticity (as conforming to such an intention), must be mediated by the above-discussed concepts of performance in a liturgical framework. Otherwise, an essential, foundational component of liturgical performance is lost.

I would like to briefly tackle a term I just used: "liturgical performance." Since much of this study is devoted to music that is *sung*, it may be useful to think for just a moment about the concept of a sung liturgy. In many of the world's faith traditions, the

³⁶⁸ Hobsbawm, 1.

normal, speaking human voice is often considered too mundane or otherwise unfit to recite scriptures and other sacred texts. Hence, sacred texts are very often chanted or sung, but the result is not always considered *music* in the sense that it might be intended for (entertainment or *amusement*) a present, human audience. Mary Arlene Chongson lists a number of reasons why the *Pasyon* is chanted or sung, not spoken, and three of them are useful for this discussion. One, singing intensifies the effectiveness of a text. Two, singing better captures the attention of a present audience as well as performers than does the spoken word. Three, singing elevates the status of the text from mere speech.³⁶⁹ The history of Western music is full of debates over the relative importance of music and text, but it does seem that in sacred contexts, the purpose of the music is to “ornament” the text in some way. This adds a different element to the above discussion of liturgical performance. The liturgy is a performance (for God) and often a reenactment of sorts, but the singing aspect of the liturgy can be thought of on a number of different levels. If the purpose is to elevate the text and intensify its meaning, those are realities readily apparent to those present, and so the first and second of Chongson’s reasons may apply. But these are obviously for the benefit of those present and observing the performance. The third of Chongson’s reasons, the elevation of speech from something mundane to something more, can be thought of as benefiting the divine audience as well as the human one.

³⁶⁹ Chongson, 177.

The Problem with Authenticity

After a few detours, we may now take a look at the concept of authenticity in the performance of a specific repertory of sacred liturgical music. Terminologies of practices and ideologies often swept in with the term “authentic” may include “historically informed performance” or the “early music movement”, among others. Like many artistic movements seeking to some extent to attain the unattainable (the restoration of the sound, the spirit and the environment surrounding earlier musics) it can be fractious and territorial. Even Nikolaus Harnoncourt, practitioner of historical or early music of long standing, considers as fraudulent any claim that performance may be considered “genuine” or “correct.”³⁷⁰ Richard Taruskin, in a chapter entitled “The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past”³⁷¹ lays out the shortcomings of the authentic performance practice movement in a number of different ways. One such shortcoming is a linguistic one with the use of the loaded term *authentic*, which assumes as “inauthentic” any performance not falling under the umbrella of its own standards and conventions, though the standards and conventions of the historical performance movement are in themselves no way uniform. Another is in the way some scholars of authentic or historic performance practice view the process of creative interpretation. Drawing a parallel to religious zealotry, Taruskin laments that all that is not expressly allowed is forbidden³⁷², removing all possibilities of creative interpretation from performance. John Butt goes

³⁷⁰ Butt, 25.

³⁷¹ Taruskin, 90-154.

³⁷² Ibid, 95.

somewhat further with the analogy of religious fervor when he characterizes different approaches of historical performance as having

...a broad range of churchmanship: the Calvinists, following the letter of the document with the confidence of the elect, but allowing little to the imagination; the charismatics who find inspiration in history for their intense, fanatical performances; of those who insist on the detailed observance of countless historical niceties which may lead both to performances of subtle, detailed observance and to those that seem to negate anything profound in the music.³⁷³

A further potentially problematic issue is the idea that the recreation of all of the conditions that the composer experienced in an original performance, whether it be original instruments and costumes or the venue in which a work was first performed, is enough to allow access to the inner world of the work and let the composer's voice speak to the audience.³⁷⁴ According to Taruskin, this idea (the spread of which he attributes to Kerman) assumes the possibility of accessing *any* composer's inner world a naïve assumption. This includes composers who have long since died and in many cases have left no records of their inner thoughts specific to any composition. Even when they did, as in the case of the Stravinsky *Rite of Spring* anecdote noted earlier in this chapter, we can see a broad range of "self"-interpretations over a period of time, assuming that a composer's intentions may be garnered from a recording, even one commissioned or

³⁷³ John Butt, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 162.

³⁷⁴ I am of the opinion that a truly historical performance in the present is a logical impossibility, given the massive changes that have taken place in the "external conditions" from the time of the performance to the present. All careful and painstaking research into proper venues, instruments and performance techniques simply cannot take into account a jumbo jet flying overhead or the hum of an air conditioner.

overseen by the composer.³⁷⁵ Assuming this, a “historically authentic” performance of Stravinsky’s work would have to include at least five performances, or the privileging of one performance over another (the 1928 Paris recording over the 1960 Columbia recording, etc.). Even if a time-traveling, telepathic musicologist were able to recreate as many of the composer’s intentions and ideas as possible, would we want to hear it? Continuing in this vein and in the case of Beethoven, where no possible original recordings exist, Taruskin gives the example of Christopher Hogwood’s performance of the “Eroica” Symphony using mostly amateurs and having the work performed in its original venue in Vienna.³⁷⁶ The result sounded much like we would expect from an amateur ensemble, its value stemming more from the historic location and method of performance than from its perceived quality by modern standards. Likewise Peter Phillips, director of the Tallis Scholars, stated that modern scholarship could help us guess at the sound that would be produced by a Renaissance choir, and that is a sound that would be very undesirable to modern ears. Given these limitations, all “historic” performance is really “modern” performance, because it often deals with fragmentary information in a time often several centuries removed from the original events in which modern decisions have to be made.

Taruskin’s arguments are generally quite reasonable, and it seems that he shuts the door on the debate once and for all when he says that the job of a performer is not so

³⁷⁵ Indeed, the fact that a composer oversaw the recording is not proof that the recording conformed to his ideals.

³⁷⁶ Taruskin, 93.

much to discover “how it really was,” but rather “how we really like it.”³⁷⁷ Take for example a recording of a Tchaikovsky String Quartet presided over by the composer himself. Even while having this golden piece of authentic evidence in hand, no one performs the work in that manner today.³⁷⁸ Why? Because we don’t particularly like it. This seems to wrap up the discussion, but I think that there is one more step we can take in that direction. It is not entirely clear as to who the “we” refers to in the “we don’t like it” passage: the performer or the listener? Assuming the former (as there are fewer and fewer listeners nowadays), the idea of performance practice, of *how* people perform, is of great importance to those who are actually doing it. A trumpeter performing Baroque works may find fulfillment (and/or employment) in playing masterworks of the trumpet repertoire on a period natural instrument or on a historical reproduction (with or without vent-holes), or a late-nineteenth century “Bach” trumpet, or a modern piccolo trumpet. Does this trumpeter see himself as a custodian of an ancient text? A channel for Bach’s spirit? Perhaps performing for the sheer joy of it? If the performers (and the audience) believe that a performance using original instruments or venues does a special honor to the intentions of a long-dead composer, does it matter if that is a logical impossibility? The great nineteenth-century Baroque revivals were also largely couched within phrases like “as the composer intended” and “truly authentic”, though more modern scholarship may scoff at these attempts. Does it matter that they were wrong? Were they indeed wrong? Were they any more or less authentic than a modern performer who views the

³⁷⁷ Ibid, 148.

³⁷⁸ Ibid, 151.

score as immutable and something not to be interpreted? The fact that performers in both of these eras attempt and fail at the impossible is not ultimately important. Both approaches give pleasure and meaning, *through the music*, to their practitioners. Is not the fact that the music is still used, fought over and enjoyed more of an honor to the “spirit” of the composer? Perhaps the composer would be pleased that his or her works are still alive but most importantly, it is *we* who are pleased. The question one must ask oneself is, is it better that a large number of Bach’s and Mozart’s works have been appropriated by popular culture and used to sell soft drinks and automobiles and children’s toys, or is it better for the works to be, in a sense, dead and embalmed, existing only in the context of a museum? Is it an issue of authenticity versus marketing? I am not particularly happy to see sacred liturgical music become kitsch, like Gregorian chant that is used as a stereotyped musical background to graveyard scenes in horror films and Halloween parties and sold at New Age bookstores. Then again, as Butt notes, authentic or historically informed music often acts as a kind of living museum, a musical Colonial Williamsburg, complete with old artifacts in action.³⁷⁹ Nikolaus Harnoncourt considered this museum environment to be symptomatic of the end of the system of Western music that had lost any real contemporary presence, making the practice of historical performance a last gasp for relevance.³⁸⁰ Undoubtedly there are some who would prefer the music to remain in a museum of one sort or another and others who desire the music

³⁷⁹ Butt, 13.

³⁸⁰ Ibid, 10.

to have a new life in a new, even if commercial, context. Besides, we may rightly debate the commercial nature of music even in its original contexts, with the arguable exception of some church music.

Whence comes the desire for historical or authentic performance in the first place? Harnoncourt's dismal prediction aside, there are some traces of it (to which we will later return) from the early eighteenth century, but most would place the advent of the early music movement in the middle decades of the twentieth century. John Butt's book *Playing with History* discusses this issue in dialogue with Taruskin's *Text and Act*. Butt asserts that Taruskin's characterization of historical performance being modern performance and indicating a musical high modernism is misplaced.³⁸¹ While it does exhibit many modernist characteristics, such as an embrace of the new and progressive as a reaction against a recent (Romantic) past, the fact that the new and progressive is in this case something demonstrably *not* new works against the definition. Like much of modernist art, it is shocking; especially in the way that it fosters different standards and styles of virtuosity.³⁸² Butt places the movement today in the realm of post-modernism, an argument I will not take up here. However, some of his points bear mention in the context of this study, particularly the issue of the "historical sense" and where it comes from. While historical performance as a modernist reaction to Romanticism is intriguing, Butt notes that the "historical sense" on which such performance relies is actually an

³⁸¹ Ibid, 125.

³⁸² Ibid, 127-29.

artifact of Romanticism. This argument has some merit; it is the nineteenth century in which we see the first major early music revivals, especially of the music of the Baroque composers J.S. Bach and Handel (though the early music movement likely would not have considered these composers particularly “early”) in Europe and the United States. Some of this interest may be the result of a mere accident of history; Bach and Handel were both born in 1685 and had their bicentennials in 1885.³⁸³ Add to this the fact that England boasted of an unbroken performance tradition of Handel’s music since the time it was composed. Butt notes that the early music movement, which I believe may be broadened to include these Baroque revivals, starts gaining influence just as recording technology is beginning to be commercially viable. Together with a nascent culture of mechanical reproduction (*à la* Walter Benjamin), musicians become interested in reproducing the performance with technologies like piano rolls and recordings, but also with reproducing the performances of a bygone era.³⁸⁴ While this may in part be true, we should note that interest in earlier music existed before these modern technologies of reproduction. Felix Mendelssohn was a lover of Bach and as director of the *Gewendhaus* orchestra in the 1830s and 40s produced a number of “historical concerts.” He did not use historical playing methods and period instruments (he had to substitute a clarinet for

³⁸³ There were some large-scale revival performances of these works preceding the bicentennials, but the 1885 performances were instrumental in developing the “festival” choir and orchestra format for Bach and Handel works, with large orchestras and even larger choirs that became popular in England, continental Europe and the United States.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 154.

the difficult trumpet part in the second *Brandenburg Concerto*³⁸⁵), but the sensibilities of the Early Music movement can certainly be seen even at this early stage, before the advent of musical modernism or post-modernism.

Musical Historiography and Performance Practice—Case Studies

We have seen a few of the arguments as they relate to the philosophy and history of authentic or historical performance. Assuming that such music is desirable to the degree that it is performed; it may be useful to examine past attempts at performance practice and how they inform our own standards and conventions of performance practice, both in the philosophical and the practical spheres. This relationship between past and modern practices is similar to the relationship between older and newer historiographies treated in Chapter 1. These are only a few selected examples and ones with which I am more familiar; certainly many more (and better) examples could be offered.

Felipe Pedrell and Villancico Accompaniment

In a previous chapter I included an amusing anecdote about Antonio Eximeno y Pujades and his eventual influence on Felipe Pedrell and later scholars. Pedrell's early music editions were influential and were the basis of many early recordings of music of the Spanish world. The editions, and thus the recordings, included many villancicos with

³⁸⁵ David Kendall, *The Mystique of the "Bach" Trumpet: Myth and Misinformation* (MA Thesis: University of California Riverside, 2007), 77-78.

unfigured basses that are not realized in either the editions or in early performances of the music. This would not be very surprising if Pedrell's intentions were to provide an *Urtext*-style edition in which scholars could consult note-for-note transcriptions of works before preparing performance editions. However, Pedrell's unrealized villancicos *are* performance editions (or are treated as such) and thus are presented to a potential performer as all that is needed for an authentic or accurate performance. I am generally very critical of performance editions that are not easily performable. Diplomatic or facsimile editions may honestly present the material only as written while providing in the editorial comments suggestions for performance, but a performance edition should be performable by competent musicians with the proper instruments or vocal ranges but without the need for unreasonably specialized knowledge.³⁸⁶ Interestingly, there is a reason Pedrell may have had for producing editions this way, if we are to believe Stevenson, Howell and Tello, who felt that Pedrell's scholarship was colored by his acceptance and retransmission of Eximeno's own prejudices regarding contrapuntal music. Knowing what we do about improvised counterpoint from the time of Bermudo, Cerone and Nasarre, we can guess that original realizations of unfigured basses may have been rather florid, and Pedrell may have left out a performable realization for philosophical rather than musicological reasons. His work was both important and

³⁸⁶ For example, the ability to realize a figured bass may be considered within the realm of the expected for a competent keyboardist, but realization of an unfigured bass is not. At the very least, the performance edition should include a skeletal framework or outline of a possible realization, with an acknowledgement of further sources the performer may consult for further study.

groundbreaking, and influential as it was transmitted to the next generation of scholars. His take on performance practice, particularly in the presentation of performance editions informed later scholars and performers, including recordings in which a lone bassoon or low stringed instrument strangely doubles the bass vocal line. This has the power to cause scholars to assume that the music was originally that boring and uncreative, which can cause political and historiographical stances to emerge.

Stevenson's Opinions—Redux

Like Pedrell, Stevenson's work has been incredibly influential, and he has been responsible for a large portion of modern scholarship throughout Spain and Latin America, particularly scholarship in the English language. Nearly all musicologists studying Latin America follow in his footsteps. Interestingly, we can see in his attitudes regarding Mexican music issues that inform performance practice at a very fundamental level: what music is worthy to be performed? Additionally, these attitudes highlight questions regarding the essence or national character of music. Stevenson's early attitudes toward Ignacio de Jerusalém (see discussion in Chapter 1) are a good example of this.

México Barroco and Exotic Percussion

Another example of recent performance practice that also touches on a native (or nativist) character in music is the *Mexico Barroco* series released by Urtext. Part of this output is the *Puebla* series, a multi-disc series of music from the Puebla Cathedral

covering a number of composers and eras throughout much of the Spanish colonial period. It is very valuable in that it makes available a relatively large amount of church music from Mexico to the listening public. The production run seems to have been adequate for the demand for these recordings, as they are still widely available through large online retailers (something that may not be said for the printed editions the music). While this is very positive, there have been some editorial decisions made as to the instrumentation used in the recorded performances, specifically regarding the use of percussion instruments. The *Puebla I* recording is a collection of villancicos presented at Christmas matins services in 1654, and many include various indigenous percussion instruments along with the voices and instruments. I am not aware of any indications for percussion in the facsimiles and editions of this or other seventeenth century Spanish or Mexican church music. An exception to this are many of the accounts of visitors to the California Mission churches, as well as mission inventories, which strongly suggest that percussion instruments were used in services.³⁸⁷ While I do not specifically disapprove of the editorial license demonstrated in the *Mexico Barroco* recordings – indeed, the percussion makes the music quite exciting – it does give me pause to consider the potential consequences of such license in these kinds of works. First, what is the purpose of adding percussion instruments, particularly the “exotic” ones? Is it to make the music more marketable to modern ears that are used to more rhythmically driving modern

³⁸⁷ There are accounts of mass celebrated with drums, cymbals and triangles. Note that these are all Western-derived instruments.

styles?³⁸⁸ Is it intended to provide an “exotic marker,” an aural signal that the music is indeed ethnic, native, or Mexican, and not purely European? Is it only intended in a practical way to help keep the performers together? The answer may lie among and between each of the explanations, but the next question to ask is, what will happen now that the percussion-added performance is in the public sphere? As part of such a large multi-disc undertaking, the recording has attained some authority. Will future performers and listeners be satisfied with a percussion-less interpretation? Like the Bayanihan-style folk dances in the Philippines, is this now the new performance standard? Has a new tradition been invented?

Introduction to the Editions

The Copy Edition

With all of this in mind, there will be three distinct editions contained in the appendices. The first will be a copy edition and will include only those pitches and texts actually contained in the *cantorales*, re-notated in a software notation program, as a kind of pseudo-facsimile. Though there are a number of extant *cantorales*, and two complete sets between Baclayon and Loay, the copy edition will be based on the *cantorales* of Baclayon, which are the earliest dateable sources of this repertory in Bohol. This copy edition can function as a first step for scholars interested in the *cantorales*, to get a sense of the style and flow of the works without the necessity of going to the Philippines to see them, or as an adjunct to a true facsimile edition of the *cantorales* if ever one becomes

³⁸⁸ Though I must say that the *villancicos* are very rhythmic to begin with.

available in the future. The limitations of such an edition are apparent. The proportions of notes and text on the page will not be consistent with the original, due to the size differences between modern paper and the manuscripts used in the *cantorales*. The texts are modified so as to be completely legible (unless they are obscured or destroyed in the original, in which case they are left blank), and many florid illuminations and colored notes and texts do not transfer to the copy edition. As such, this edition will be unsatisfactory for those seeking to do handwriting or notational analyses, studies of paper and watermarks or any other endeavor that requires physical access to the archival material. That will require a trip to Bohol, which would be a time-consuming (but excellent) option.

The Critical Edition

In addition to the copy edition, the appendices will include a critical edition. This edition is rendered in modern notation, clefs, and time signatures, and includes editorial changes based on copyists' errors and other inconsistencies. Though I do treat with some criticism any attempts at defining authorial intent in the above discussions, errors do occur and it is also likely that the composer(s) of the music in the *cantorales* intended for the music to follow a consistency of style based on the theoretical models underpinning the music as examined in Chapter 4. If, in the critical edition, there is a question as to whether a note or passage exists due to a copyist's error or is idiosyncratic and intended, I will defer to the original source and leave it as it is. The appendix will feature the copy

and critical editions organized together by Mass setting, so that anyone interested may easily compare the copy and critical editions.

The Performance Edition

The performance edition contained in the second appendix will be somewhat more creative in character, representing a concept of the invented tradition discussed throughout this study. By creative, I do not mean a composition or re-composition based on personal whims, though that will likely be unconscious and unavoidable. Rather, it is a creative reconstruction based on the best information and hypotheses available. The limitations of this kind of edition are also apparent. Information unearthed by further research and scholarship may render my interpretations inaccurate or obsolete, and my own current research may miss an important piece of information that would otherwise drive editorial decisions. In consideration of the previous discussion on the use of percussion in the *Mexico Barroco* series treated above, nothing will be added that is (as far as I can judge) in any way gratuitous or consciously invoking of ethnic or exotic markers. The kinds and numbers of voices used, the range and registration of the organ accompaniments will be based on what we presently know about the specific church or churches involved, regional practices, and the general musical conventions current at the time. The performance edition will be performable by musicians with a reasonable amount of training and access to proper instruments, with information provided to them if there are multiple possibilities available in interpreting the music (such as continuo or cipher notation). With this in mind, I will now examine a number of performance

practice issues as they relate to the *cantorales* and their modern interpretation and performance.

Accompaniment—Organ

Among the extant music sources in Bohol is an organ accompaniment book found in the Dimiao parish church. This book has a title page that reads *Missa Clamora Cantoliano. Organo*. Included in the book are accompaniment parts for several masses that are found in the *cantorales*, as well as a number of masses and other compositions not found in that repertory. The accompaniment styles in the masses are very interesting and of two broad types. One features the consistent doubling of the vocal line (sometimes with an upper or lower third added) in the right hand, and parallel chords in the left. The left-hand chords are almost strictly in root position and often move in stepwise parallel motion, which is contrary to many of the tenets of modern harmonic theory that tend to avoid such harmonic sonorities and motion (see the bottom stave in Figure 95 below).



Figure 95: Detail from author's transcription of *Kirie* from the *Misa Adviento* in the Dimiao organ accompaniment book.

The first impression one might have is that the book was written by or for an organist who was relatively unskilled and could only accompany in a very simple way, by parallel motion. However, even though the parallel chords would be quite simple to write, they are not at all the easiest way to play the harmonic progressions found in the accompaniment book.³⁸⁹

The second general accompaniment style maintains the right-hand doubling of the melody, generally with added thirds, but provides a much more varied and “correct” left-hand chordal setting. There are many inverted chords and the voice leading generally follows modern conventions. Additionally there are a number of seventh chords both in inversion (see beat 3 in the second measure of Figure 96 below) and in root position, which give those accompaniments a richer harmonic texture.

³⁸⁹ All of the chords in the example are in root position, when smoother harmonic writing, as well as easier fingering, is available by using at least some inverted chords.

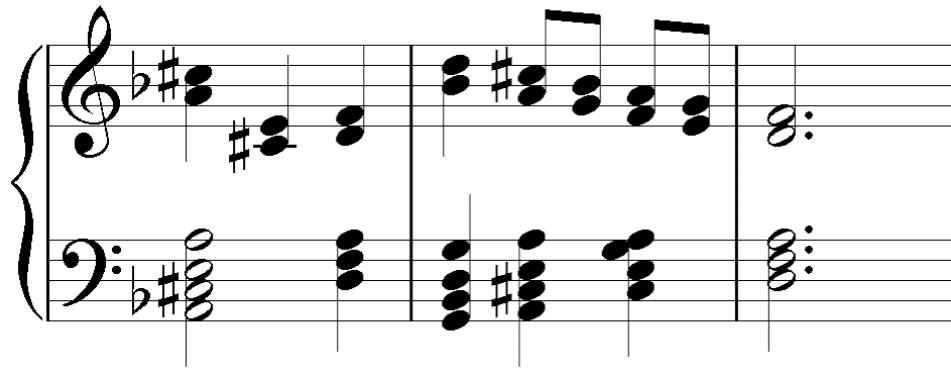


Figure 96: Detail of author’s transcription of *Kirie* from *Misa Provencial* in the Dimiao organ accompaniment book.

I have entertained the suspicion that at least some of the Dimiao book was copied from an earlier accompaniment book or books that used a figured bass or another kind of cipher notation. According to this suspicion, I surmised that the composer or copyist may not have been trained in figured bass and/or the organist(s) may not have known how to realize it, so they had to guess and build simple triadic harmonies from an existing figured bass. However, a piece of evidence pointing away from an “incompetent-organist/copyist” hypothesis is the presence of the second type of accompaniment that follows both the voice-leading conventions and also requires some greater amount of skill to perform.

A possible solution to this difference in accompaniment styles may point to the fact that the first style is *itself* a kind of cipher notation, in which the written chords form a basic outline over which an accompaniment is improvised according to an established convention. The second accompaniment style may be either a realization of this earlier cipher notation, or an originally composed accompaniment for the Mass setting. There

are reasons to support both a cipher notation on one hand and a notes-as-written practice on the other. There are treatises and other works that explain how a keyboardist might ornament such simple accompaniments using arpeggiation (see discussion below). On the other hand, there is also evidence to support the existence of a very simple accompaniment style. Peter Williams notes that

...most *continuo* of 1750-1800 was extemporized simply, without embellishment; if a composer wanted a fanciful keyboard part, he wrote it out.³⁹⁰

We should also note that the organ was typically played in a much simpler manner than the harpsichord (to which Williams was referring) when accompanying. We can see in the music of the California Missions, which possess the same theoretical underpinnings as the *cantorales*, that simple parts supply “unwritten but implied chords.”³⁹¹ A 1736 accompaniment treatise by José de Torres (one of the first purely practical Spanish treatises of its kind) shows a decided focus on vertical harmonies as opposed to strict counterpoint, with the harmonies derived from a single (bass) melodic line.³⁹² This is similar to what we encounter in the left-hand figures in the Dimiao organ book. The most pressing question is, whence came the bass lines? Did they come from an earlier accompaniment book? Were they derived from the existing melodic lines, as most of the *cantorales* do not feature separate bass parts? Were they simply improvised? Any one of

³⁹⁰ Peter Williams, *Figured Bass Accompaniment* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1970), 38.

³⁹¹ Russell, 43.

³⁹² Murphy, xi-xii.

these queries could prove to be the case and we should be reticent to dismiss improvisation as a possibility. It is important to remember that improvised accompaniment, though not the norm today in liturgical music settings was widely known and practiced throughout the Iberian world, if we are to believe the theoretical treatises and the expected improvisational proficiency in competitive examinations for

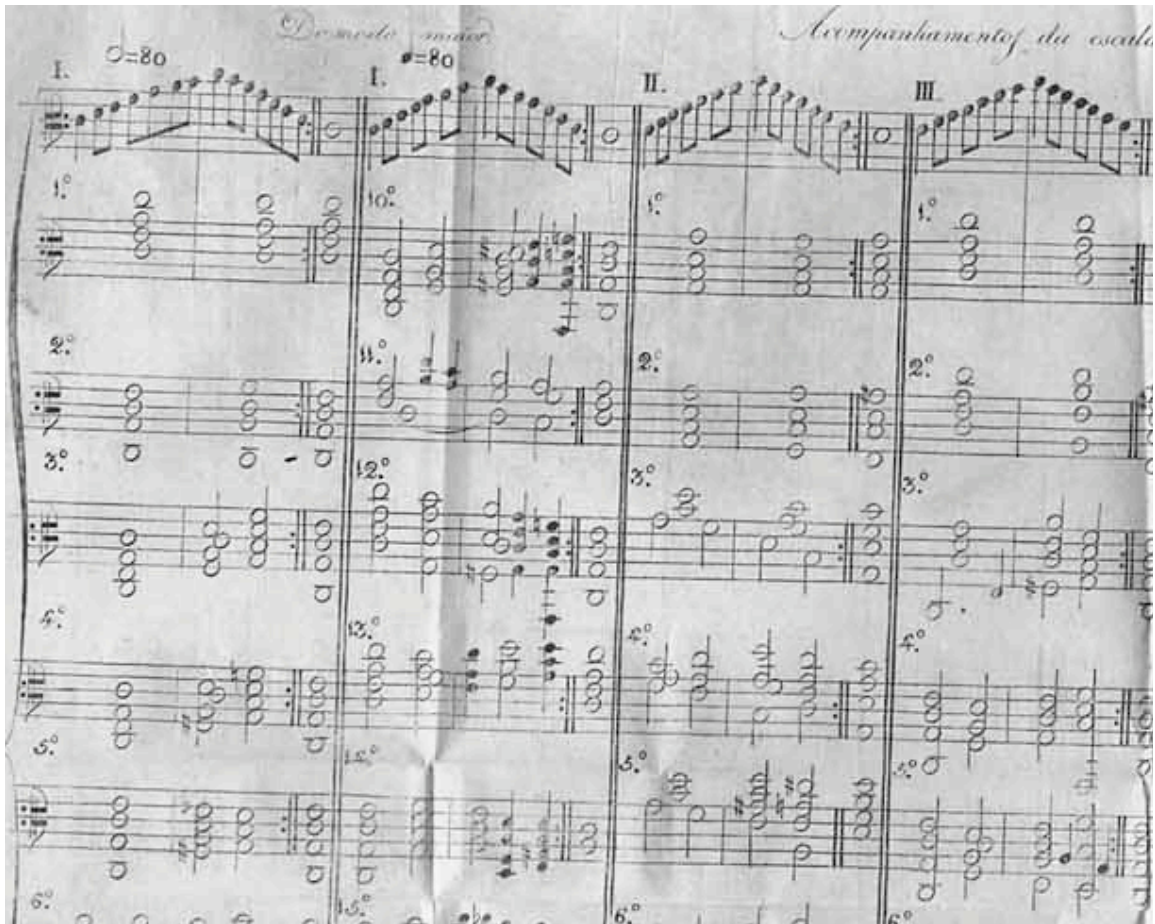


Figure 97: Detail from Rodrigo Ferreira da Costa's *Principios de Musica ou Composição e Execução*. Each column provides different ways to harmonize a single melodic line.

chapelmaster positions. An 1824 Portuguese treatise by Rodrigo Ferreira da Costa³⁹³ outlines in its appendices many different ways to accompany simple diatonic scalar passages (see Figure 97 above; the examples shown are only a small fraction of the total in da Costa's treatise). An organist with these resources at his disposal would easily be able to accompany highly diatonic music like that found in the *cantorales*.

In any case, with the existence of the two very different kinds of accompaniment in the Dimiao book, we can propose that two systems were at play: one supplying only "implied" chords, the other "working out" a more elaborate and theoretically correct accompaniment. Before I move on I should give one example as a possible counterbalance to the "incorrect harmonic progressions" I noted above. There are a number of examples of augmented intervals resulting from Bb and C# pitches in the right hand parts of the accompaniment during passages of running thirds (see Figure 96 above). While my own background of teaching standard harmonic theory causes me to cringe at the sight of strings of melodic augmented intervals, there is some defense of the practice from C.P.E. Bach. While the younger Bach does state that in melodic minor modes, parallel thirds are difficult and should be avoided because of trouble with augmented intervals³⁹⁴, they can be used nevertheless to "contribute to the mood of the piece."³⁹⁵ While there is no evidence that the composer(s) of the organ book was familiar

³⁹³ Rodrigo Ferreira da Costa, *Principios de Musica ou Composição e Execução*. (Lisboa: Typografia da Mesma Academia, 1824).

³⁹⁴ Williams, 6. Williams gives no reference.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 9. Again, Williams does not reference any of C.P.E. Bach's treatises here.

with the works of C.P.E. Bach, there is “official” sanction for this style found there. This should be a warning to us, not to dismiss out of hand something as “incorrect” only because of modern theoretical conventions.

Organ Registration and Pitch

Among its other drawbacks, the Dimiao accompaniment book does not provide much in the way of guidance in registration choices for the organ. Fortunately, we have a wealth of information about the organs of Bohol, three of which have been restored in the past decade. Two of the instruments, those from Loboc and Loay, are single split-manual instruments while the organ in Baclayon (ostensibly the first on the island to be built in the nineteenth century) had been at one time converted to a single manual, but in its recent restoration was returned to its original double split-manual specifications. As we recall from our discussion of the organ in Chapter 3, the organ was originally pitched at $A=415\text{Hz}$ and is now at the modern $A=440\text{Hz}$, it also has a 12-note pedal board with a full chromatic octave. The manuals each provide a $4\frac{1}{2}$ -octave range from C_1 to F_5 and the pedals extend the range another octave to C_0 . When choosing the stops to use in accompanying the music, a few things must be kept in mind. One is the size of the ensemble being accompanied (voices, instruments, or both). Another is the character of the piece being accompanied. In both cases, the organist will have to choose what is best for the ensemble and the particular organ being used to accompany. It may be useful to keep the list of stops on the Baclayon organ in mind (they are listed in Chapter 3)



Figure 98: Baclayon church organ manuals, showing 4- $\frac{1}{2}$ -octave range

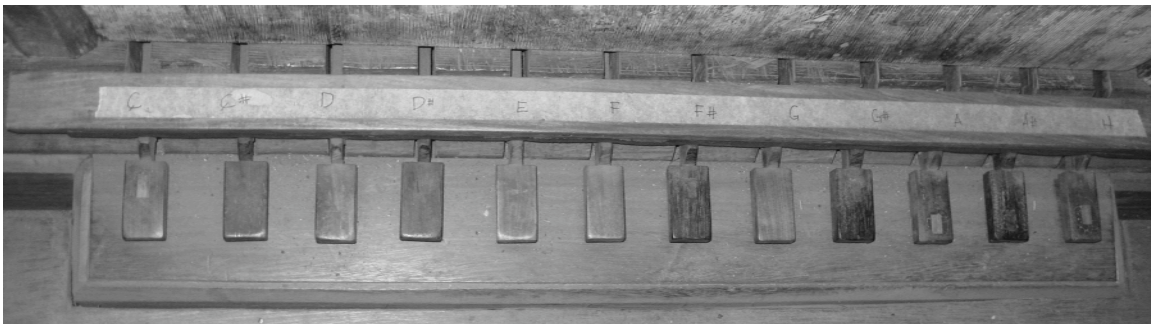


Figure 99: Baclayon church organ pedals, showing 1-octave range

Based on my own experiences playing the restored Baclayon organ, I find that the strong trumpet and reed stops (*bajoncillo*, *clarin campaña*, *clarin claro*, *corneta*) are all very powerful and to my mind unsuitable for accompanying voices, except in special circumstances or to provide certain effects.³⁹⁶ Alvin Jabilles, the parish organist and

choir director at Baclayon told me that other organists have attempted to accompany the singers using heavy mixtures, including the trumpets and reeds, with brutal effect. I assume that these stops were used for solo pieces or for processional. Mr. Jabilles prefers to accompany voices using only the *violon* (stops 1 and 17), *lleno* (7 and 22), *octava* (8 and 20) and *tapado* (2).³⁹⁷ I also found the *flautado mayor* (16), *flautado* (13 and 31), *flautado tapado* (25), and *traversa* (23) to be quite beautiful and perhaps useful for solo passages, and to accompany vocal and section solos (of which there are many in the *cantorales*). This is especially important if using only the eight male voices used in nineteenth century performances in Baclayon. Use of light textures will allow the melodies in the male voices to be clearly heard and not overshadowed. This is especially important in the lower halves of the split keyboards. The left-hand chordal figures, if they are to be taken as such and not arpeggiated, are quite thick and in a low register (see Appendix C). If the choir is larger and includes mixed voices, then the registration can certainly be thicker.

³⁹⁶ The *Misa de Trompas* may benefit from such stops to emphasize the martial dotted rhythms that define that Mass setting.

³⁹⁷ I should note that Mr. Jabilles also uses microphones and speakers to amplify the choir. In my few experiences hearing the amplified voices and non-amplified organ (using only the stops mentioned) in Baclayon, I felt that the organ was somewhat buried by the voices, though Mr. Jabilles told me that this was necessary in order for the voice to be heard both in the nave and in the transepts. Amplification is something to account for in modern performances of music from the *cantorales*.

Accompaniment—Other Instruments

One of the most interesting subjects in this study is what to do about the other instruments, which we know were owned by the church.³⁹⁸ I have heard suggestions that the instruments may have been intended to accompany only extra-liturgical and devotional functions, such as fiestas to local patron saints, weddings and other events. Craig Russell notes that the *canto figurado* style of writing implies the use of instruments to accompany it, and that it is not limited to the organ.³⁹⁹ However, church records indicate that along with several instruments, there were instrumental part books with music to accompany masses, vespers and other definitively liturgical events. These part books and original instruments do not survive, but there is much that we can infer about how the parts may have sounded and how the instruments were used. Remembering from Chapter 3 that churches in Bohol possessed violins/*rabeles*, basses, clarinets, flutes, oboes, bassoons and horns in addition to pipe organs, it may be possible to reconstruct these parts with help from the Dimiao organ accompaniment book, especially in regard to

³⁹⁸ The possibility exists that the other instruments were rendered relatively obsolete by the installation of the pipe organs, though we do see expenditures for musical instruments and supplies (like violin strings) after the installation of the organ, but not at levels experienced before the arrival of the organ in 1824. Given the wealth of source material in other Spanish colonial contexts that make use of keyboards and other instruments in combination, I would be surprised if instruments did not continue to accompany the choir, along with the organ. A lack of music for the instruments and other documentary data is not a smoking gun, as the dearth of archival evidence in the Philippines is generally the rule rather than the exception.

³⁹⁹ Russell, 46-49. In California, it was more common for plucked string instruments to accompany *canto figurado* and *canto de órgano*. Interestingly, Nasarre (in 1724) considered instruments as important in accompanying voices, but with the caveat that only the organ was suitable to be played outside of this accompanying role. Howell, 103.

general harmonic movement, and to a certain extent the possible melodic motions of the individual parts. However, I will not attempt such a reconstruction in this study, but we can discuss what such a reconstruction might look like. As the organ generally plays throughout any given mass, many of the parts must be doubled in another instrument, which is a common practice. The instruments add extra timbre and possibilities for changes in dynamics not available on the organ, and their use again leads me to assume a lighter registration on the organ. Other sources for style can be found in contemporary compositions of Mexico, California and other Spanish colonial centers as well as Spain itself. Violin *obbligati* in thirds are relatively common and correspond with the tendency of the vocal parts in the *cantorales* to move in parallel thirds.⁴⁰⁰ These parts can often be quite florid, or they can be simpler. It would be appropriate to take a conservative tack when writing for instruments; modern performers are free to adjust written figures or even improvise new ones, which is likely to have been a current performance practice in many locations during the colonial era. Horns should be limited to the keys of F and C and their relative minors, but since those keys are by far the most common in the *cantorales*, it makes some sense to limit their use in this way. Given the sheer cost of the horns purchased by the Baclayon church⁴⁰¹, they must have been able to play in all of the

⁴⁰⁰ Regarding specific performance techniques such as bowing, use of vibrato, etc., it is interesting to note that in the former Portuguese colony of Goa, as well as in South America, the violin is still played in the baroque manner. Morais, 38. As to the particulars of timbre and technique, I will defer to baroque string experts like David Irving.

⁴⁰¹ I estimate that each horn must have cost about 26 *pesos* 3 *reales*. Compare to 1 *peso* and 4 *reales* for a *rabel*; the same for an oboe; 3 *pesos* and 3 *reales* for a flute; 3 *pesos*

keys represented in the *cantorales*. Other instruments, such as flutes, clarinets and bassoons, should be written in a characteristic manner based on extant sources in other colonial parish contexts.

A Note on Guitars

It is interesting that there are no guitars or other plucked string instruments in inventories or in church museums, given their near-ubiquity in the Americas.⁴⁰² There is certainly a wealth of local *rondalla* groups that play a number of plucked strings, but in generally secular settings. The widespread use of the guitar in the Spanish colonial world may indicate that the guitar was used as an accompanying instrument, especially before the installation of the pipe organs, and the lack of an inventory that included them meant that several parishioners owned them and the church did not need to purchase one. However, there are no records in Baclayon of part books for guitar, though they did exist for the other instruments. At this point, there is little evidence for or against the use of guitars or other plucked instruments, so they will be left out of the equation with the full knowledge that further research may shed new light as to their use.

and 5 *reales* for a clarinet. These horns probably came with a set of crooks and tuning bits to cost that much.

⁴⁰² Russell, 46-48. Indeed, the sound of the strummed guitar is a potent symbol of Spain and Spanish-ness. In any movie or media representation, especially those of the *James Bond* type, a character traveling to Spain is marked as such by an aural signifier that will always be a strummed guitar, with or without the stomping of a flamenco dancer. I like to quiz my music theory students on these exotic identifiers, and we always come up with a long list. My consciousness on this topic was awakened in Leonora Saavedra's excellent graduate seminar on musical exoticism at the University of California, Riverside.

Reconstruction of Vocal Parts not in the *Cantorales*

In the *cantorales*, there are many examples of Mass settings that are incomplete or in need of chanted incipits in one or another of the sources. That is, the “missing” portions of text were chanted alternatively with those present in a given *cantoral* and may exist in another source. However, there are cases in which one of these pieces is missing or incomplete, generally due to the loss of original documents. When possible, I will use the originally intended text setting. When this is not available, I will adapt a setting based on the prevailing style of the work, or from another related work in the *cantorales*, or from other printed sources extant in the parish or province. The *Liber Usualis* is always a possibility. While I am aware that the *Liber Usualis* as such did not exist in the early nineteenth century, the chants contained therein did exist and may have been generally well known in the Spanish colonies.⁴⁰³ Craig Russell has had cause to use a number of these methods in his reconstruction of the music of the California missions. While this may not satisfy the purist, I again appeal to the argument that performance editions should be performable; these missing texts cannot simply be left out. I will provide a number of options for certain text settings, and the performer is welcome to adapt or transpose them as needed.

⁴⁰³ Again, we should keep in mind something observed in the previous chapter. A few chant settings of the *Asperges me* and *Vidi aquam* found in the *cantorales*, in the Santa Clara examples in Manila, and in California Mission sources are also found (in nearly identical form) in the *Liber Usualis*.

Vocal Parts – a Note on *Fabordón*

An intriguing possibility in the performance of the vocal parts is the use of *fabordón* (from the Italian practice of *falsi bordoni*), a technique for improvising harmonies at certain intervals using simple formulas. As in many of the settings in Philippine sources, a harmony is produced by strict motion in parallel thirds or another interval. For settings that are strictly monophonic, it is possible that a similar improvised practice was employed to add harmonies. Certainly such additions were possible given the simple harmonic style found in the organ accompaniment book and we do have proof that such additions were made, as evidenced by the added harmonies in the *Kirial de Daus* (discussed in Chapter 4). It would, in practice, be quite easy to add harmonies, both above and below an existing melodic line. Though there is no particularly strong evidence for the use of *fabordón* apart from the *Daus* sources, it is a possibility to consider for future study. This is especially true in parish church settings like those on Bohol, as this style could be considered appropriate for a parish, rather than a cathedral.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁴ Bernardo Illari, *Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia)* (PhD diss.: University of Chicago, 2001), 217. Illari cites a La Plata Cathedral official in 1668 making the derogatory remark that the use of *fabordón* (rather than full polyphony) in the *Tenebrae* service made the cathedral resemble a parish church.

Singing Forces

Much of the music in the *cantorales* is monophonic, and works of this type do not always directly indicate the type of voice intended. However, there are clues to be garnered from other sources when a definite determination is not possible using the originals. We do know that there were general prohibitions against women performing in church services, though there were occasions in the Spanish colonial world when this was overlooked.⁴⁰⁵ The clefs⁴⁰⁶ and ranges found in the manuscripts themselves, along with the knowledge that this music was likely performed at low pitch (A=415Hz), suggest that male voices were used. Range itself does not make it impossible for women to have been involved. Composers in religious institutions (like Vivaldi at the *Pietà*) apparently had some access to female tenors and basses, but this certainly would not have been common on Bohol or anywhere without a large number of convents or orphanages. The use of boy sopranos and altos (or adult contraltos) doubling at the octave is feasible, but there is no particular evidence for or against it.⁴⁰⁷ Music in the *cantorales* with three distinct parts

⁴⁰⁵ Russell, 56-7.

⁴⁰⁶ There is also the possibility of “high” and “low” clefs. “High” clefs (soprano: G clef; also: C clef, second line; tenor: C clef, third line; bass: C clef, fourth line or F clef, fourth line) indicate that parts may be transposed down a fourth. “Low” clefs (soprano: C clef, first line; alto: C clef, third line; tenor: C clef, fourth line; bass: F clef, fourth line) indicate performance at pitch, according to Pablo Nassarre, *Fragmentos músicos*. 2nd ed. (Madrid: La Imprenta de Música, 1700), 60-61 quoted in Murphy, xix-xx. This does not however, treat the issue of the movable F clefs found in the *cantorales*, which are found in different instances on the first, second, third and fourth lines. In the absence of strong evidence to the contrary, I will retain the vocal parts at original (non-transposed) pitch.

⁴⁰⁷ There is no particular evidence for or against it specifically in the early- to mid-nineteenth century in Bohol. Children sung the *Doctrina* while walking along the river in

(particularly the *Misa de Sales*) is usually split into parts marked *T.*, *B.*, and *C.* Music with two parts is generally split between *T.* and *B.*, with *T.* and *C.* also occurring (see Figure 6). Judging by the relative ranges employed in the individual parts and the use of movable F and C clefs, it is fairly obvious that *T.* must stand for *Tenor* and *B.* for *Bassus*. Other related markings include *T.S.* and *B.S.*, which like refer *Tenor Solo* and *Bassus Solo* (see Figure 100). The part represented by *C.* is another issue. Sandy Chua asserts that the part should be identified as *Cantus* and sung by boys.⁴⁰⁸ There are a few points that lead me to reconsider this assessment. First, a *cantus* part generally indicates the top voice in truly polyphonic compositions of which there are very few in the *cantoriales*, particularly given that the *C.* designation is used even in monophonic works performed in

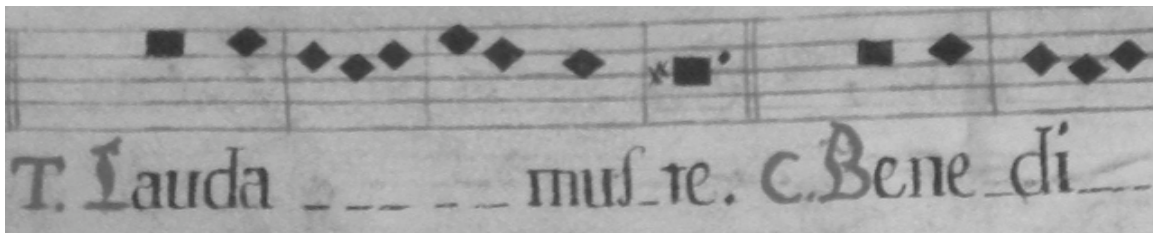


Figure 100: Detail of *Gloria* from the *Misa San Bernabe* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*. Note the *alternatim* performance between *T.* (Tenor) and *C.* (Coro)

Loboc around 1600 (Chirino, 434) but we do not know if they participated in church services. There are also very talented children's choirs in Loboc and elsewhere today. Unfortunately, we cannot definitively link these two facts over the intervening four hundred years and place the children in the choir loft, singing mass. One reason for this is that it is likely that children were not included in the parish records as paid *cantores*. However, this should not stop anyone from including children's voices when performing the critical editions in the appendices of this work.

⁴⁰⁸ Chua, 147.

alternatim style (between *T.*, *B.* and *C.*, or *T.* and *C.*, etc.). Secondly, in the few polyphonic works, the *C.* rarely overlaps with a *T.* or *B.* part (see Figure 103), something that seems deliberate in the composition of the works. Third, the *C.* parts are usually written in the same movable F and C clefs used by the other parts, with ranges that approximate the other voices. While the use of boy sopranos in some cases is certainly a possibility, one that is strengthened by the existence of *triple* parts in a few works (mostly



Figure 101: Detail of *Credo* from the *Misa de Quitolis* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*. Note the *T.* (Tenor) and *B.* (Bassus) in vertical harmony.

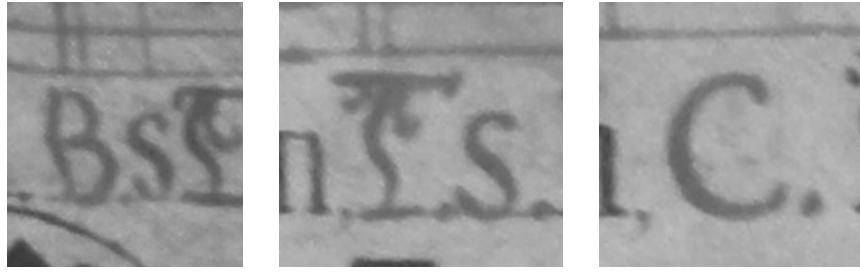


Figure 102: Details of consecutive markings from *Misa Zaragozana* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*.

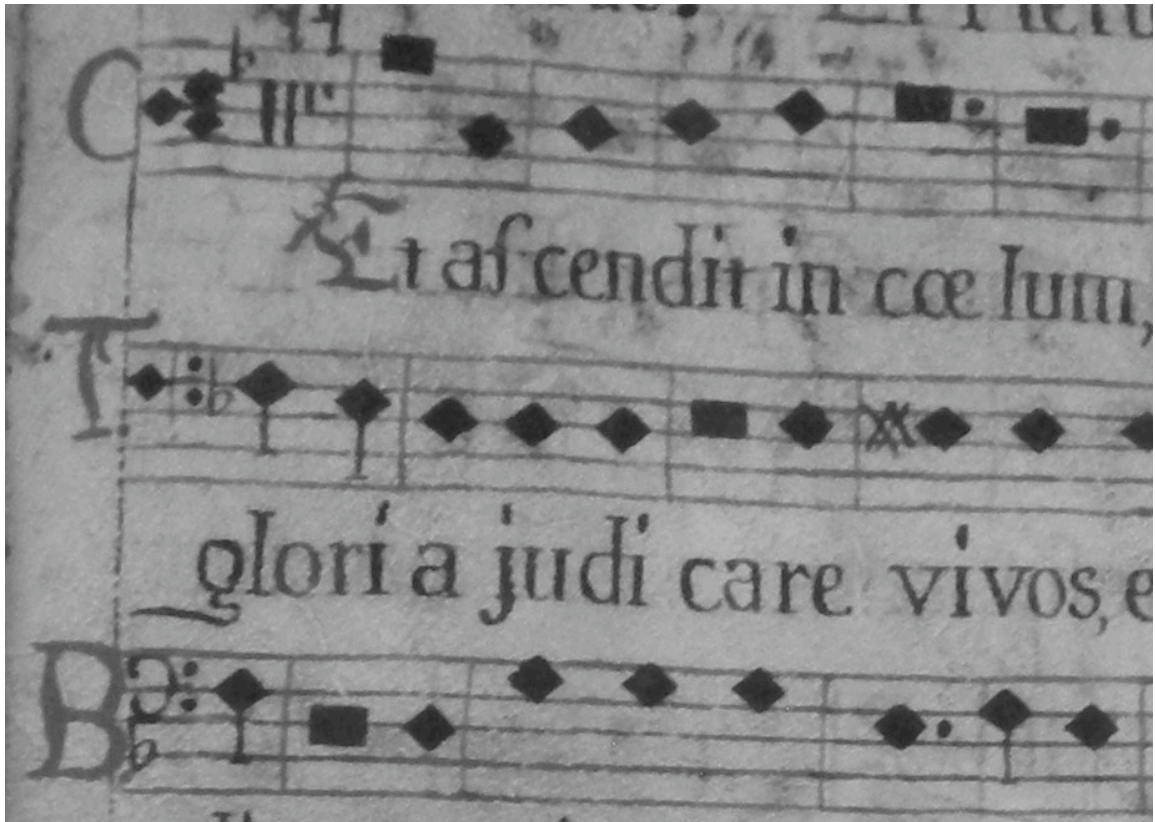


Figure 103: Detail of *Credo* from *Misa de Sales* in the *Kirial de Baclayon*. Note the vertical arrangement of C. (Coro), T. (Tenor) and B. (Bassus) parts in pseudo-score format. The voices actually do not line up vertically, and the Coro nearly never sings with the other parts throughout the setting.

in appended folios in the *cantorales*), the preponderance of evidence points to an interpretation of *C.* as *Coro* and not *cantus*. In some places this is spelled out specifically the *Antifonario* of Baclayon distinguishes at times *cantores*, and at other times the *coro*⁴⁰⁹; and in the *Misa del Quinto Tono A3 Voces Alternando con el Coro*, the *coro* part is marked as *C.*⁴¹⁰ Additionally, the Dimiao organ book supports this interpretation with

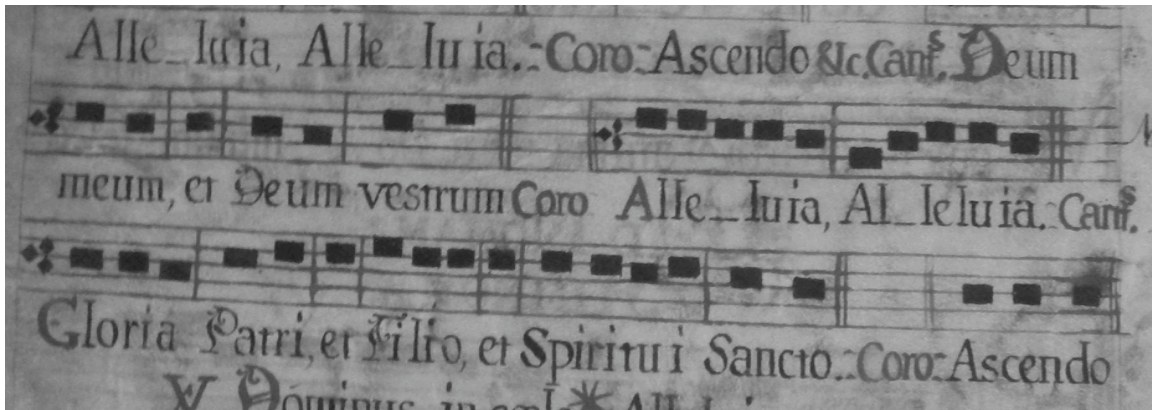


Figure 104: Detail from *Visperas sa Pagsaca sa Langit sa Atung Guinoong Jesu Christo* (Vespers for the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ) from the *Antifonario de Baclayon*. Note the alternating parts for *Coro* and *Cantores*.

⁴⁰⁹ This example (Figure 104) brings up an interesting question. It has been assumed to this point that the *cantores* and the *coro* refer to the same group of singers. In the *Libro de Recibo y Gasto*, newly purchased books are noted as being for the *coro*, and payments for monthly salaries and special feasts are made out to the *cantores*. However, Figure 10 shows the *coro* and the *cantores* performing *alternatim*. Could this mean that the eight paid *cantores* were separate from another, unpaid, *coro*? If so, the *T.* (Tenor) and *B.* (Bassus) parts (as well as solos from those sections) likely came from the *cantores*, while the *C.* parts were covered by the *coro*. This would change the terms of the discussion on balance treated below. However, since the *cantores/coro* separation occurs only once in the *cantorales* (in the *Antifonario*), I will still assume a core of eight singers, with the realization that twice or three times that number may have been singing at mass.

⁴¹⁰ This mass setting is not a part of the original 1826 *Kirial*, but is part of the extra pages added to that book around 1846.

occasional notes in the book indicating *coro* and *duo*, the *duo* likely referring to *tenor* and *bassus* soloists singing together.

As for forces necessary to perform the music, while it would certainly not take many voices to do one, two and three-part settings of masses, it is also important to consider balance. These voices would need to balance with the organ (see above discussion on organ registration) and any number of instruments. Based on laws and regulations regarding the number of *cantores* allowed in parish churches of any given size⁴¹¹ and also extant records from the Baclayon parish, we can make a case that eight (male) singers is the number originally used. For modern performances, there are no restrictions by law (as no tributes, as such, are collected and singers are not typically paid); more singers may be used based on needs or preferences regarding organ registration and other instrumental accompaniment. Space is certainly not an issue, as the choirlofts in the Bohol parish churches are generally quite spacious and a choir of one hundred plus a twenty-piece orchestra could be seated there quite comfortably.⁴¹² The only limiting factor (for singers) is the ability of all to get close enough to the *facistol* to see the music. Of course, in modern performances, it is not necessary to use the *facistol* as each singer can easily have his or her own score or part.

⁴¹¹ See discussion in Chapter 3.

⁴¹² Getting to the choirloft is another issue entirely. The steps are so steep that it is easier to ascend on hands and feet, as on a ladder.

Critical Editions and Invented Traditions

I would now like to meld the theorizing from the beginning of this chapter with the practical performance practice discussions from the latter part, all in terms of the concept of invented traditions that has tied this study together. In some ways, we can consider the critical editions that follow this study as W.B. Worthen did, that they are the written-down, inscribed *work* pointing to the potential *text* of the performance. The critical edition enables the performative texts, and these texts are performative in large part because of ambiguities written into the edition. These ambiguities are part and parcel of the very character of a critical edition, since editions of this type are generally produced to document and comment on performance traditions that are no longer current. Active performance traditions do not need critical editions. The creative spaces left open by the ambiguities of research provide room for interpretation and variation in performance. These spaces are large, more so because there are equally large gaps in our knowledge of the conventions and practices of this particular tradition. Other spaces are small, due to our much more restricted freedoms in interpreting liturgical texts and written musical notation.

These open creative spaces are where traditions are invented. Traditions are invented for many reasons: a need to connect with a suitable past, creating or deepening a sense of antiquity, defining a national or regional character. The more open to interpretation a performance practice is, the more it can be appropriated and molded in ways suitable in creating an invented tradition. Critical editions merely give such enterprises a jumping-off point, a place to start. This is neither good nor bad: it simply is.

Chapter 6: Provincial Repertoires

Summary

We have seen in the course of this study that an international parish musical style found an expression in the Spanish colonial outpost of the Philippines. The adoption and dissemination of such a style, as well as its subsequent historical reception, was and has been dependent on a number of factors. Among these are the geographic, linguistic, cultural and colonial realities of the archipelago that would become the Philippines, and these issues were treated in the introductory chapter. Scholarship of the Philippines was important, representing its own kind of topography with different types, styles and qualities of scholarly work lending their own distinctive character. In Chapter 1 we noted that one of the primary barriers to the research of this international style in the Philippines was the neglect, both active and passive, of the primary sources. This was caused in large part by a political historiography, mainly from the early American period that did for a variety of reasons not value cultural practices from the Spanish colonial era. Chapter 2 explored the concept of syncretism and its application in a number of different Philippine arts, including the Spanish and Filipino elements of the *cantorales*. The reality of the Philippines as a physically remote colonial center of the Spanish empire allowed for the presence of competing spheres of “homogenizing” influences, each of which contributed its own flavor to subsequent “national” cultural practices and invented traditions. We saw how the Philippines was organized and evangelized by the Spanish in Chapter 3, with a particular emphasis on the colonial musical life of the island of Bohol. Music was composed and produced there, creating a vibrant local musical culture on the

island. This musical culture seems to have been created and/or encouraged by a number of musical priests, whose musical activities and expenditures over several decades point to the importance of music in the parishes. This musical style was analyzed and dissected in Chapter 4, where we could see that a number of variations existed, both among the parishes of Bohol, but among parishes in different regions of the Philippines and elsewhere in the Spanish world. In Chapter 5, we looked at the concept of authenticity in performance from a number of different theoretical angles, before looking at the practical aspects of a modern performance of the music found in the *cantorales*. The results of that practical process are contained in the appendices immediately following this chapter.

Invention of Tradition – Where are we now?

In all of the chapters previously mentioned, the concept of invention of tradition has been key. Again, invention of tradition is defined as follows:

a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.⁴¹³

In the course of this study, we have defined and redefined the invention of tradition in a number of different ways as it suited the particular aspects of Spanish liturgical music in the Philippines. In particular, we have examined the appropriation or creation of cultural practices and artifacts and their uses in the creation of Philippine national identity. We

⁴¹³ Hobsbawm, 1.

noted that Spanish-era liturgical music practices were generally not used in the creation of national cultural institutions, though certain non-liturgical practices (like the *Pasyon*) and other non-religious traditions (*rondalla* and the Bayanihan-style dance suites) linked to Spain and the Spanish era have been accepted. In these cases, the Spanish character of the practices has generally been minimized or eliminated. There have been a few recent exceptions in the last decade or so, from interest by the University of Santo Tomas and the Catholic Bishop's Conference of the Philippines, to Sandy Chua's recently launched book on the *cantorales* being published by the Ateneo University Press. But this is *institutional* interest, which is as we have noted, always a top-down proposition resulting from public or private institutional initiative at the national, regional, provincial or local level. Hobsbawm's concept of the invented tradition lends itself extremely well to top-down applications, hence the focus on governments and other large-scale institutional parties interested in such traditions. But is there any indication that this musical tradition is having any bottom-up, grassroots acceptance in ordinary parishes and communities, being driven by individuals and small groups that do not have that kind of institutional reach at the regional or national level? In this music tradition being invented in any meaningful way there?

An answer to this question came to me quite recently, on my final research trip to the Philippines before the completion of this dissertation, in April of 2010. Gathering the final pieces of documentary evidence for the current study, I was able to meet, as discussed in chapter 5, with Alvin Jabilles, the current choir director at the Baclayon parish church and organist of the recently restored pipe organ there. I had the privilege of

hearing his choir (made up of both men and women) perform works of Palestrina as well as some movements from the *Misa Baclayana* as part of an evening mass concelebrated by the delegates of the 18th Annual Convention of the Canon Law Society of the Philippines, which was being held on Bohol at the same time I was there.⁴¹⁴ The portions from the *Misa Baclayana* that I heard featured some added harmonies and Alvin Jabilles told me that he had arranged some new organ accompaniments for the mass. I also found to my delight that on every fourth Sunday of the month, the Baclayon parish celebrates a Latin Mass featuring the *Misa Baclayana*. This is evidence that a part of this musical tradition has been invented for modern use, with appropriate changes made based on the needs and preferences of the local congregation. Importantly, this has been done in a bottom-up manner through the initiative of the local parish priest and the parish organist and choir director. We should note however that this local bottom-up invention would likely not have taken place without the previous work done by top-down institutionally sponsored research. But the modified choir and organ parts as arranged by Alvin Jabilles shows that the tradition has been invented by local initiative and for local purposes. Time will tell whether or not this invented tradition will spread beyond Baclayon⁴¹⁵ to other

⁴¹⁴ The Most. Rev. Leonardo Medroso, Bishop of Tagbilaran delivered the homily and the convention was chaired and hosted by none other than Fr. Milán Ted Torralba, who has had such an impact on this study.

⁴¹⁵ The music does see some limited performance in special circumstances, such as cultural festivals (in the Philippines and abroad), book launchings and the like. These performances can be considered as a part of an invented tradition, especially as it takes place at the national level. The type of invented tradition seen in the revival of the *Misa Baclayana* in the Baclayon church is different in that it is locally-driven and sustained.

parish churches that have or have had *cantorales*, or if those individual churches will invent the tradition themselves. This music represented a provincial style⁴¹⁶ in Bohol in the early- to mid-nineteenth century and it will be interesting to see if it regains that stature.

Provincial Repertories – Twentieth Century and Beyond

The music of the *cantorales* was widespread on the island of Bohol, but one question that remains is, what happened to it and why? As noted early in this study, a tradition that needs to be invented (or revived) must have been dead at one time or else it would have no need to be invented. So what happened to this musical tradition and what other tradition replaced it? One part of the answer to that question lies, as many of the answers in the study do, in the colonial handover from Spanish to American rule. The Spanish had, in at least the nineteenth century, a strong tradition of military band music, in which the Filipino musicians were quite skilled. The Americans brought with them, among other things, a thriving military band culture as well as the emerging musical genres of ragtime, jazz and swing music. As noted in Chapter 3, the Philippine Constabulary Band took the musical world by storm at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair (and other international venues in the following years) and the presence of a bandstand in

⁴¹⁶ As I noted at the end of Chapter 4, the style of music found in the *cantorales* was likely not just a provincial style, but an international Spanish or Iberian style (also called *estilo misional* by Leonardo Waisman). Further studies will likely showcase the global distribution of this music. This is not to suggest that such music was completely uniform in its performance. Indeed, from our study of this style in the Philippines we can see the sometimes wide variation among and between different regions and even contiguous parishes.

nearly every Philippine town is a testament to the fertile musical ground that American bandmasters found in the Philippines and the near-ubiquitous presence of military bands on the landscape in the islands. The history of the parish of Dimiao, a town on the south coast of Bohol 37km east of Tagbilaran, is a testament to this fact. While on a research trip to Bohol in the summer of 2008, my wife and I by chance met Elvira Magadan Madjus, a retired music teacher who had taught at the Dimiao Central Elementary School from 1960 to 1999. She had a number of old wind instruments at her home and informed me that her family had been teaching these instruments to the children of the parish from the time of her great-grandfather, well back into the Spanish colonial era. Her grandfather, Mariano Maguyon, was a music director in the town and her father, Honorato Magadan, Sr. was also a musician in Dimiao. Mrs. Madjus still had her father's curved soprano saxophone, which was phenomenally well-preserved considering it was inscribed with its date of purchase: September 14, 1915.⁴¹⁷

Musical archives⁴¹⁸ on Bohol show an environment in which Spanish music and American music co-existed, likely in the first decades of American occupation of the Philippines. The Spanish-era music includes handwritten copies of devotional music⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁷ Interview with Elvira Magadan Madjus, September 3, 2008.

⁴¹⁸ The largest of such archives, containing over one hundred different pieces, comes from the parish of Corella, about 10 kilometers northeast of the capital Tagbilaran. Corella is a relatively late Spanish parish; being founded around 1885 (it first appears in records in 1886 according to Jose, vol. 2, 79). Bill Summers has spent a decade or more cataloguing the manuscripts found there.

⁴¹⁹ This music also includes handwritten copies of some of the *cantorales*, discussed in chapter 3.

by composers Hilarión Eslava and Cosme de Benito (active in the mid- to late-nineteenth century) as well as *villancicos* and other pieces not identified by composer. These vocal works are also accompanied variously by organ, clarinets, violins and standard military band instruments.⁴²⁰ Also in these archives are printed copies and booklets of American dance music (foxtrots and the like). Included in the archival materials from Corella is a handwritten copy of the Misa Bonafonte. This mass is also found (handwritten, but in a different hand) in the Baclayon archives as well as in Dimiao. Though we have now a good archival record of the Corella sources thanks to Bill Summers, we have just scratched the surface of what might be a late nineteenth and early-to-mid twentieth century provincial repertory as extensive as that represented by the *cantorales*. These band-accompanied works may have been what eventually eclipsed the older Spanish parish style. As to whether this newer style was likewise replaced by more modern music (especially after Vatican II) is a question for another study. But there are indications that it has some life in it still. When visiting the Dimiao parish church again in 2010, I attended a Sunday mass in order to turn over a few boxes of instruments for the parish band that had been donated by Filipino and religious groups in the United States. The current band is made up of about fifteen young musicians (mostly elementary to high school age) who accompanied the mass on wind instruments, some of which were extremely old.⁴²¹ What these musicians were playing sounded a lot like swing music⁴²²,

⁴²⁰ These names are written on the parts in Spanish: *flauta* (flute), *clarinete* (clarinet), *bariton* (baritone/euphonium), *trombon* (trombone), *bombardino Eb* (Eb tuba), *bajo* (probably bass tuba in Bb or C), *corneta* (cornet), *trompa* (french horn), etc.

and I noted that they were playing from some of the same kinds of old handwritten parts I had seen in archives in Corella and Baclayon.⁴²³ It appears that this tradition is another that has been invented from the bottom-up.

Conclusion

As we have seen in the course of this study, inventing a tradition is a complex process with many political, geographical, racial, historiographical, linguistic, performative and scholarly elements. The liturgical music of the Spanish colonial era in the Philippines as personified in the *cantorales* of Bohol, has passed from a local manifestation of an international style, to a style supplanted by popular idioms present in a new American colonial regime, to a practice forgotten or even suppressed by an American colonial system and an independent Philippine government eager to put the Spanish past out of the collective consciousness. It now stands at the cusp of a new identity. It will certainly never regain the same status and position that it held in the early

⁴²¹ One old baritone had been repaired so many times that it seems to have more solder on it than brass. Luckily, they were able to get a new one through the donation.

⁴²² This “swing sound” was based more on instrumentation and harmony than on fast dance-hall rhythms or pyrotechnic solo playing.

⁴²³ The revival of band music can be attributed both to the family of Elvira Madjus and to Fr. Efren Bongay, who was the Dimiao parish priest in 2008, and now serves the Baclayon parish and is the diocesan chair for church cultural heritage. Fr. Bongay encouraged the elderly members of the old Dimiao band, of whom there were only half a dozen or so still living, to teach band music to the children of the parish. The current band is quite good after only a few years of instruction. Learning wind instruments is not only an enjoyable pastime for these children, there is also a very important practical component. At the time they are ready to enter college, students who can play an instrument and join the college band receive a full scholarship.

nineteenth century, because the contexts of its production and performances have changed. But it is a tradition that is being invented both at local levels and at the national level. Just days before the completion of this study, Sandy Chua's new book on the Bohol *cantorales* was released with much fanfare, including a performance of the *Misa Baclayana* in the Manila Cathedral. Back in Bohol, the *Misa Baclayana* continues to be performed every month. Perhaps it was this combination of top-down and bottom-up pressure that caused the tradition to be forgotten in the first place, and it seems that the same combination of forces is causing it to be invented again.

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Bernardo Comes, *Fragmentos Musicos. Audalosa Fuente Gregoriana, en el arte de canto llano. Cuyos fundamentos, teorica, reglas, practice, y exemplos, copiosamente se explican sobre los ocho tonos, con sus entradas, clausulaciones finales, y diversidad de seculorums, que en la Obra se manifiestan* (Barcelona?: Imprenta de los Herederos de Juan Pablo, y Maria Martí, administrada por Mauro Martí, 1739)

Rodrigo Ferreira da Costa, *Principios de Musica ou Composição e Execução*. (Lisboa: Typografia da Mesma Academia, 1824)

Don Joaquin Eleuterio García y Castañer, *Elementos Prácticos de Canto-llano y figurado, con varias noticias históricas relativas al mismo*. (Madrid: Oficina de Don Francisco Martínez Dávila, 1827)

José Ignacio de Larramendi, *Método Nuevo para aprender con facilidad el canto-llano y la salmodia, seguido de algunas reglas de canto figurado y melodía, para uso de las Iglesias catedrales, parroquias y comunidades religiosas* (Madrid: Por la hija de Don Francisco Martínez Dávila, 1828)

Pablo Nassarre, *Fragmentos músicos*. 2nd ed. (Madrid: La Imprenta de Música, 1700)

Francisco Marcos y Navas, *Arte, ó Compendio General del Canto-llano, Figurado, y Organo, en método facil, ilustrado con algunos documentos, ó capítulos muy precisos para el aprovechamiento, y enseñaza* (Madrid: Por D. Joachin Ibarra, 1777)

Jaime Vila y Pasques, *Método Fácil y Breve no solo para aprender de cantar arregladamente El Canto Llano y Figurado, si que tambien para componerle, manifestando con ejemplos todo cuanto se expone* (Barcelona: Imprenta de los Herederos de la V. Pla, calle de Cottoners, 1848)

Ignacio Ramoneda, *Arte de Canto-llano en compendio breve, y methodo muy facil para que los particulares que deben saberlo, adquieran con brevedad, y poco trabajo la inteligencia, y destreza conveniente* (Madrid: Imprenta de Pedro Marin, 1778)

Domingos de Rosario, *Theatro Ecclesiastico* (many editions: 1743, 1765, 1774, 1779, 1782, 1786, 1817)

Don Daniel Travería, *Ensayo Gregoriano, ó estudio practico del canto-llano y figurado en metodo facil, ilustrado con algunas cosas curiosas para el aprovechamiento, y enseñanza de los que siguen los concursos en las Santas Iglesias Catedrales de España á las Sochantrías, Plazas de Salmistas, y Capellanías de Coro* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Don Joachin Ibarra, 1794)

Introduction to the Appendices

An introduction to the function of each of the appendices is given in Chapter 5, but it will be useful to recall them here and provide more specific and detailed information on how to read them. Appendix A includes, for reference, the liturgical texts of the Mass Ordinary. Also included are a number of “incipit” or opening lines typically chanted by a celebrating priest, that are usually not included in the mass settings. These have been selected from printed books housed in the Baclayon church museum. The practical performer is welcome to adapt or transpose them as best fits the needs of performance. I have provided a selection of a number of incipit examples in different modes. Appendix B includes each of the mass settings contained in the *Kirial de Baclayon*, as well as other liturgical songs found there. The first part of each self-contained section (i.e. *Misa Baclayana*) will include the Copy Edition of the work, followed by critical notes and the Critical Edition. Not every piece of music in the *Kirial* will include a critical edition; some of the shorter pieces and one mass movement that are shorter and mostly or completely in *canto llano* style are reproduced only in a Copy Edition. I should note that the Copy Edition is not a true facsimile, but is an approximation using the note shapes and other notational conventions unique or idiosyncratic to the sources, including erasures or places in which notes, words, or both have been obscured or obliterated. For ease of reference, I have included the name of each mass movement (i.e. Kirie, Sanctus, etc.) and page numbers as the beginning of each system. These are not found in the original sources. Appendix C contains a Performance Edition of one complete and a few other incomplete masses that were

reconstructed based on the Dimiao organ accompaniment book. Due to wear and damage, not all of the mass movements contained there were sufficiently legible for me to complete all movements or all masses at this time.

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Appendix A-1: Texts of the Mass Ordinary

Kirie

Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison
Christe eleison, Christe eleison, Christe eleison
Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison

Gloria

Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.
Laudamus te, benedicimus te, adoramus te, glorificamus te,
gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam,
Domine Deus, Rex caelestis, Deus Pater omnipotens.
Domine Fili Unigenite, Jesu Christe, Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris,
qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis;
qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram.
Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis.
Quoniam tu solus Sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus Altissimus,
Jesu Christe, cum Sancto Spiritu: in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.

Credo

Credo in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, factorem coeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium; Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, et ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula: Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero, genitum non factum, consubstantialem Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt; qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de coelis; et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine et homo factus est; crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est; et resurrexit tertia die secundum Scripturas; et ascendit in coelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris; et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos; cuius regni non erit finis; Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem: qui ex Patre Filioque procedit; qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur; qui locutus est per Prophetas; Et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam. Confiteor unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum; et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.

Sanctus

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus
Dominus Deus Sabaoth.
Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua.
Hosanna in excelsis.

Benedictus

Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.
Hosanna in excelsis.

Agnus Dei

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem.

Appendix A-2: Incipits



Ky ri e e lei son



Chris te e le i son



Glo_____ ri a in__ ex cel sis De o



Glo_____ ri a in ex_ cel_ sis_ De_____ o_



Glo_____ ri a in ex cel sis De_ o



Cre do in u num De_ um



Cre do in u num De um



Be ne di ca mus Do mi no o



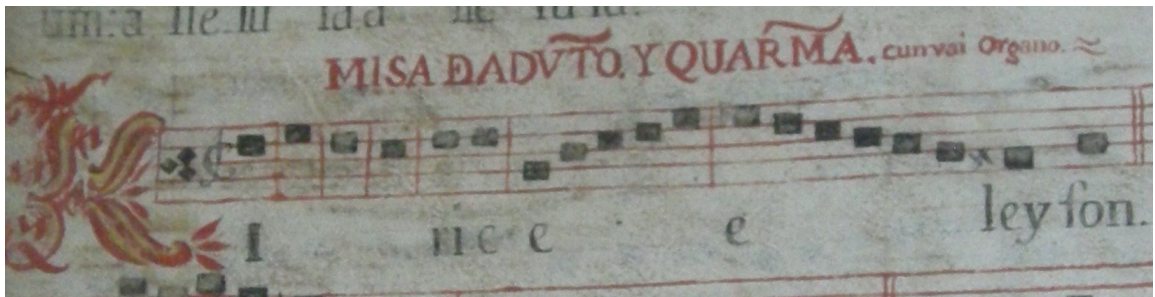
Be ne di ca mus Do o mi no



Be ne di ca mus Do o o mi no

Appendix B: Copy and Critical Editions

Misa de Adviento y Quaresma



Misa de Adṽto. Y Qũarma. *cunvai organo.*

10

Ki ri e e e ley son. Chris te e

e ley son. Ki ri e e e ley son.

The image shows a musical score for a vocal part with piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are: "Ki ri e e e ley son. Chris te e" on the first line and "e ley son. Ki ri e e e ley son." on the second line. The piano accompaniment is written on a single staff with a bass clef and a common time signature (C). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

Credo



Patrem omni-um gen-erum, factorem coeli et terrae, visi-bili-um om-ni-um et in-visi-bi-

26



li-um, unum Do-mi-num Je-sum Chris-tum Fi-li-um De-

53



la. Deum de De-o, lum-en-de-lumi-ne, Deum ve-rum de De-o ve-ro. Ge-ni-

78



tum non factum, con-substan-ti-alem Pa-tri per quem om-ni-a facta sunt. Qui pro-ter-nos

101



ho-mi-nes et pro-ter-nos tra-m-sa-lu-tem de-scen-dit de-coe-lis. Et in car-na-tus

126



est de Spi-ri-tu Sanc-to: ex Ma-ri-a vir-gi-ne, et ho-mo fac-tis est. Cru-ci-

156



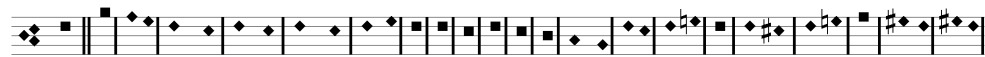
fi-xus e-ti-am pro-no-bis sub-poni-tus, Pi-la-to, pa-sus et se-pul-tus est. Et re-sur-

179



re-xit ter-ti-a-di-e se-cun-dum scrip-tu-ras. Et as-cen-dit in coe-lum se-det ad dex-teram

202



Et i-terum ven-tu-rus est cum glo-ri-a ju-di-ca-re vi-vos et mor-tuos, cu-jus reg-ni non e-rit fi-

224



nis. Et in Spi-ri-tum Sanc-tum Do-mi-num, et vi-vi-fi-can-tem, qui ex Pa-tre Fi-li-o qui pro-ce-

Credo, cont.

247



dit. Qui cum Patre et Filio, simul adoratur, et conglorificatur, qui locutus est, per Pro-

269



phetas. Et unam sanctam catholicam, et apostolicam Ecclesiam. Confiteor, unum bap-

291



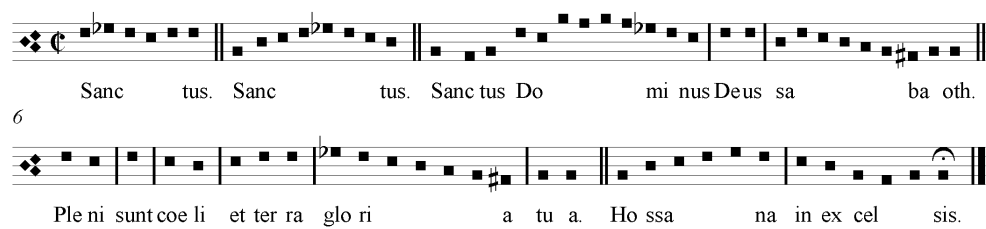
tis in remissionem peccatorum. Et expecto resurrectionem

308



omnem mortuorum. Et vitam venturi saeculi, Amen.

Sanctus



6

Sanc tus. Sanc tus. Sanc tus Do mi nus Deus sa ba oth.
Ple ni sunt coe li et ter ra glo ri a tu a. Ho ssa na in ex cel sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Sanctus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style using square notes. The lyrics 'Sanc tus. Sanc tus. Sanc tus Do mi nus Deus sa ba oth.' are written below the first staff. A small number '6' is positioned to the left of the first staff. The second staff continues the melody with the lyrics 'Ple ni sunt coe li et ter ra glo ri a tu a. Ho ssa na in ex cel sis.' The music ends with a double bar line and a fermata over the final note.

Benedictus

Be ne dic tus qui ve nit in nomi ne Do mi ni: Ho ssa na in ex cel sis.

Agnus Dei



The image shows a musical score for the Agnus Dei. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a simple, stepwise fashion. The lyrics under the first staff are: "Ag nus De i qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di mi se re re no bis." The second staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. The melody continues from the first staff. The lyrics under the second staff are: "7 Ag nus, De i qui to llis pecca ta mundi, Do na no bis pa cem." The word "7" is written to the left of the first note of the second staff. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Ag nus De i qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di mi se re re no bis. *vis.*

7 Ag nus, De i qui to llis pecca ta mundi, Do na no bis pa cem.

Critical notes for *Misa de Advento y Quaresma*

Throughout – I have put the mass setting in strict duple meter. This is because the setting maintains a steady pulse at the breve and the original shows a time signature. The Dimiao organ accompaniment book follows a steady duple meter as well.

Kirie

m. 11 – changed B-natural to B-flat.

m. 42 – changed C-flat to C-sharp.

m. 53 – changed B-natural to B-flat.

Credo

m. 40 – changed G-flat to G-sharp.

mm. 43-44 – reconstructed melody obscured in original source.

mm. 43-57 – reconstructed text underlay obscured in original source.

m. 179 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 222 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 223 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 276 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 303 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 309 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Kirie

Ki _____ ri e e _____ e _____ lei son. Christ te _____

25 _____ e _____ lei son. Ki _____ ri

43 e _____ e _____ lei son.

Credo

Pa trem om ni po ten tem, fac to rem, coe li, et
13
te rrae, vi si bi li um om ni um et in vi si
25
bi li um num Do mi num Je sum Chris
38
tum Fi li um De i — u ni ge ni tum. Et ex — Pa tre
51
na tum an te om ni a sae cu la. De um de De o, lu
65
men de lu mi ne, De um ve rum de De o ve ro.
77
Ge ni tum non fac tum, con subs tan ti a lem Pa
88
tri per quem om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos
101
ho mi nes et prop ter nos tram sa lu tem des cen
113
dit de coe lis. Et in car na tus

Credo, cont.

245
ce dit. Qui cum Pa tre et Fi li o, si mul a dor

257
ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est,

268
per Pro fe ————— tas. Et u nam sanc tam ca tho li cam, et

279
A pos to li cam Ec cle si am. Con fi te or, u num bap

291
tis ma, in re mi si o nem pec ca to

300
rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o

312
rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae cu

321
li, A men.

Sanctus

15 Sanctus. Sanctus.

30 Sanctus Dominus Deus sa
45 ba oth. Pleni sunt coeli et ter
45 ra gloria tua. Ho
56 sanna in excelsis.

Benedictus

Be — ne dic — tus qui ve —

15

nit in no mi ne Do mi ni: Ho

24

ssa — na in ex cel — sis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a 2/4 time signature. It consists of three staves. The first staff contains the lyrics 'Be — ne dic — tus qui ve —' and ends with a fermata over the final note. The second staff begins at measure 15 with the lyrics 'nit in no mi ne Do mi ni: Ho'. The third staff begins at measure 24 with the lyrics 'ssa — na in ex cel — sis.' and ends with a double bar line. The melody is simple and homophonic, using half and quarter notes with various phrasing slurs.

Agnus Dei

Ag _____ nus De ___ i qui tol lis pec ca ta
15
mun ___ di mi se re ___ re no bis. *vis.* Ag _____ nus, De
30
_____ i qui to _____ llis pec
43
ca ta mun di, Do na no ___ bis pa ___ cem.

Misa Correa



Kirie

8

Ki ri e _____ lei son. Chris _____

— te _____ lei son Ki ri e _____ lei son

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Kirie". It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written in a simple, homophonic style. The lyrics "Ki ri e _____ lei son. Chris _____" are written below the first staff. The second staff continues the melody with the lyrics "— te _____ lei son Ki ri e _____ lei son". The music ends with a double bar line. A small number "8" is written below the first staff.

Gloria

Et in te rrapaxho mini bus bo nae vo lun ta tis. Lau da mus

12
te. Be ne di ci mus te. A do ra mus te. Glo ri fi ca mus te. Gra ti as

24
a gi mus ti bi propter mag nam glo riam tu am. Do mine De us Rex coe les tis

37
De us Pa ter om ni po tens. Do mi ne Fi li u ni gen i te Je su Chris te.

49
Do mi ne De us Ag nus De i Fi li us Pa tris, Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di

62
mi se re re no bis. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di sus ci pe de pre ca ti

74
o nem nos tram. Qui sedes ad dex teram Pa tris mi se re re no bis.

86
Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc tus. Tu so lus Do mi nus. Tu so lus Al tis si mus Je su

97
Chri ste. Cum sanc to Spi ri tu in glo ri a


103
De i Pa tris. A men.

Credo

Patrem omni po ten tem fac to rem cai li et ter re vi si bi li um om ni um et in
12
vi si bi li um. Et in un um Do minum Je sum Chris tum fi li um
22
De i u ni ge ni tum. Et ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni a
32
sae cu la. De um de De o lu men de lu mi ne De um ve rum de De o ve
42
ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum, con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri, per quem om ni a
53
fac ta sunt. Qui propter nos ho mi nes, et propter nos tram sa lu tem des
63
cen dit de cae lis. Et in car na tus est de
73
Spi ri tu Sanc to ex Ma ri a vir gi ne et ho mo fac tus
84
est. Cruci fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub Pon ti o Pi la
94
to pa sus et se pul tus est. Et re sur re xit ter ti a di e se

Credo, cont.

104



cundum scrip tu ras: Et as cen dit in coe lum se det ad dex te ram Pa

113



tris: Et i ter um ven tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos et mor tu

123



os, cu jus reg ni non er it fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num et vi

133




vi fi can tem qui ex Pa tre Fi li o que pro ce dit. Qui cum Pa tre et

143



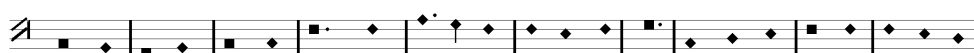
Fi li o si mul a do ra nur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo

152




cu tus est per Pro fe tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Ca tho li cam, et A pos

162




to li cam Ec cle si am Con fi te or u num bap tis ma in re mi si o nem

172



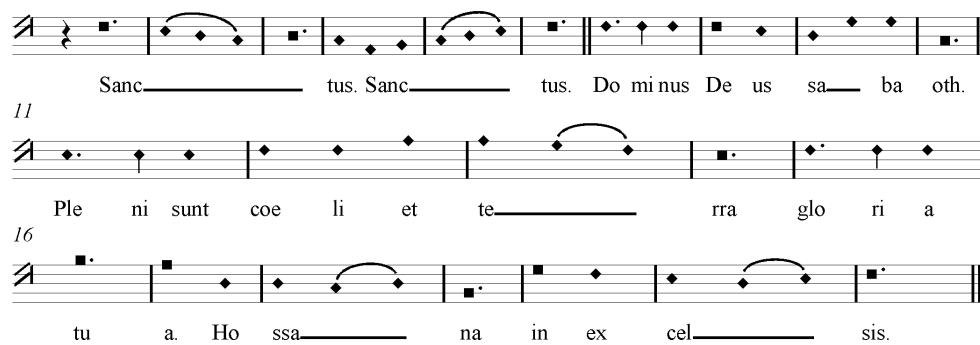
pec ca to rum. Et ex pec to Re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o

181



rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae cu li. A men.

Sanctus



Sanctus. Sanctus. Dominus Deus sabaoth.
11
Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria
16
tua. Hosanna in excelsis.

The image shows a musical score for the Sanctus. It consists of three staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style. The lyrics are: "Sanctus. Sanctus. Dominus Deus sabaoth." The second staff continues the melody with the lyrics: "Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria". The third staff concludes the piece with the lyrics: "tua. Hosanna in excelsis." The score includes bar lines, rests, and slurs to indicate phrasing. The numbers 11 and 16 are placed at the beginning of the second and third staves, respectively, likely indicating measure numbers.

Benedictus



Be ne dic tus qui ve — nit in no mi ne Do mi ni. Ho ssa — na in — ex cel sis.

The image shows a single line of musical notation on a five-line staff. It begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of several measures of music, including quarter notes, eighth notes, and a half note with a fermata. The lyrics are written below the staff, with horizontal lines indicating the placement of the notes.

Agnus Dei



Critical Notes for *Misa Correa*

Credo

mm. 68-84 – I have notated the part in treble clef due to its extreme range.

Kirie

8

Ki ri e _____ lei son. Chris _____

_____ te _____ lei son Ki ri e _____ lei son

The musical score is written in bass clef with a 3/4 time signature. It consists of two staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The melody is written on a five-line staff. The lyrics 'Ki ri e _____ lei son. Chris _____' are placed below the first staff. The second staff begins with a bass clef and a 3/4 time signature. The melody continues on a five-line staff. The lyrics '_____ te _____ lei son Ki ri e _____ lei son' are placed below the second staff. A double bar line is at the end of the second staff.

Gloria

Et in te — rra pax ho mi ni bus bo — nae vo — lun ta — — tis.

9

Lau da — — — — — mus te. Be ne di — — ci — mus te. A — do

18

ra mus te. Glo ri fi ca mus te. Gra ti as a gi mus ti bi

27

prop ter — mag nam glo ri am tu am. Do mi ne De — us Rex coe les

36

tis De — us Pa — ter om — ni po tens. Do mi ne Fi — li u ni

45

gen i te Je — su Chris te. Do mi ne De us Ag — nus De i

54

Fi li us Pa tris, Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di mi — se re — re

64

no bis. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di sus ci pe de pre ca — ti


Gloria, cont.

74



o — nem nos — tram. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa — tris mi se

83



re re no — bis. Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc — tus. Tu so lus

92




Do — mi nus. Tu so lus Al tis si mus Je — su Chri ste. Cum sanc to

100



Spi ri tu in — glo ri a De — i

104



Pa — tris. A — men.

Credo



Pa trem om ni po ten tem fac to rem coe li et ter re vi si bi li um om ni um et in vi si bi li um.



Et in un um Do min um Je sum Chris tum fi li um De i u ni ge ni tum. Et ex Pa tre na tum an te



om ni a sae cu la. De um de De o lu men de lu mi ne De um ve rum de De o ve ro. Geni tum, non



fac tum, con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri, per quem om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes,



et prop ternos tram sa lu tem des cen dit de cae lis. Et in car na tus est de



Spi ri tu Sanc to ex Ma ri a vir gi ne et ho mo fac tus est. Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no



bis sub Pon ti o Pi la to pa sus et se pul tus est. Etre sur rexit ter ti a di e se cum dum scrip



tu ras: Etas cen dit in coe lum se det ad dex te ram Pa tris: Et i ter um ven tu rus est cum glo ri a



ju di ca re vi vos et mor tu os, cu jus reg ni non er it fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do minum et vi



vi fi can tem qui ex Pa tre Fi li o que pro ce dit. Qui cum Pa tre et Fi li o si mul a do ra

Credo, cont.



nur, et con glo ri _ fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe _ tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Ca tho li cam, et A pos



to li cam Ec cle si am Con fi te or u num bap tis ma in re mi si o _nem pec ca to rum. Et ex pec



to Re sur rec ti o _nem mor tu o rum. Et vi tam ven tu _ri sae cu li. A _____ men.

Sanctus

Sanc _____ tus. Sanc _____ tus. Do mi nus De us sa _ ba

10

oth. Ple ni sunt coe li et te _____ rra glo ri a

16

tu a. Ho ssa _____ na in ex cel _____ sis.

Benedictus

Be ne dic tus qui ve_____ nit in no mi ne

6 Do mi ni. Ho ssa___ na in___ ex cel sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus section. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The melody is written in a simple, homophonic style. The lyrics are written below the staff: "Be ne dic tus qui ve_____ nit in no mi ne". The second staff begins with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The melody continues from the first staff. The lyrics are: "6 Do mi ni. Ho ssa___ na in___ ex cel sis." The number 6 is written above the first note of the second staff. The music ends with a double bar line.

Agnus Dei

6

Ag nus De _____ i qui tol lis pec ca ta

mun _____ di mi ____ se re ____ re no bis.

Misa de Toledo



Kirie



Ki—ri e—— e—— lei son. Chris—te—— e—— lei son.

19



Chris—te—— lei—son. Kiri— e—— lei son.

Gloria

15 Et in ter rapax ho mi ni bus bo nae volun ta tis. Lau da mus te. Bene di ci mus te. Ado ra mus

31 te. Glo ri fi ca mus te. Grati as a gi mus ti bi propter magnam glo ri am tu am. Domine De us,

46 rex coe les tis, De us Pa ter om ni po tens. Domine fi li u ni ge ni te, Je su Chri s te. Domine

62 Deus Agnus De i fi li us Pa tris. Qui toll is pec ca ta mun di,

77 di, mise re re no bis. Qui toll is pec ca ta mun di, sus ci pe de pre ca ti o nem nos tram. Qui se des ad

93 dex te ram Pa tris mise re re no bis. Quo ni am tu so lus Sanctus. Tu sol us Do mi nus. Tu so lus Al ti si

mus, Je su Chris te. Cum Sancto Spi ri tu, in glo ri a Dei Pa tris. A men.

Credo



Patrem omni- po- tentem, fac- to- rem coe- li, et ter- rae, vi- si- bi- li- um omni- um, et in- vi- si- bi- li- um. Et in-

18



unum Do- mi- num Je- su- m Chri- s- tum, fi- li- um De- i uni- ge- ni- tum: Et ex Pa- tre na- tum, an- te

34



omnia sae- cu- la. De um- de De- o: lu- men- de lu- mi- ne: De- um ve- rum- de De- o ve- ro- Ge- ni- tum, non

51



fac- tum, con- sub- stan- ti- a- lem Pa- tri, per- quem omni- a fac- ta sunt. Qui pro- pter nos- ho- mi- nes et

65



pro- pter nos- tra- sa- lu- tem des- cen- dit de coe- lis. Et in car- na- tus est de Spi- ri- tu

80



San- cto ex Ma- ri- a vi- r- gi- ne, et ho- mo fac- tus est. Cruci- fix- us e- ti- am pro- nobis sub Pon- ti-

97



o Pi- la- to pa- sus, et se- pul- tus est. Et re- sur- re- xit ter- ti- a di- e se- cun- dum Scri- tu- ras. Et as-

113



cen- dit in coe- lum, se- det ad dex- te- ram Pa- tris. Et i- te- rum ven- tu- rus est cum glo- ri- a ju- di- care vi- vos, et

129



mor- tu- os, cu- jus re- gni non e- rit fi- nis. Et in Spi- ri- tum San- ctum Do- mi- num, et vi- vi- can- tem, qui ex-

143



Pa- tre, Fi- li- o- que pro- ce- dit: Qui cum Pa- tre, et Fi- li- o si- mul a- do- ra- tur et con- glo- ri- fi- ca- tur: qui lo-

Credo, cont.

159



cut us est perPro fe tas. Et unam SanctamCat ho li cam,et Apos to li camEc clesi am. Con fi te

172




or unum bap tis ma in re missi onempec ca— to rum. Et ex pec— to Resur rec ti o—

188



— nemmor tu o— rum. Et vi tam ventur i sae cu li. A— men.

Sanctus



Sanc_____tus. Do minus Deus sabaoth. Hos sa_____na inex_____cel_____sis.

The image shows a single line of musical notation on a five-line staff. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody consists of several measures of music, including quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, with some notes beamed together. The text 'Sanc_____tus. Do minus Deus sabaoth. Hos sa_____na inex_____cel_____sis.' is written below the staff, with long horizontal lines under the words 'Sanc', 'tus', 'na', 'inex', and 'cel' to indicate that the notes are sustained across multiple measures.

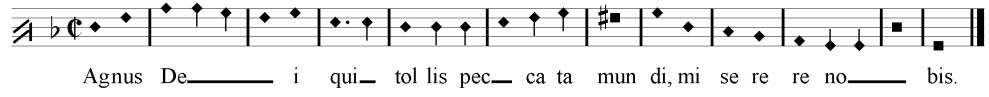
Benedictus



Be ne dictus qui_ ve nit in no_ mi ne Do_ mi ni: Hos sa na in ex_ cel_ sis.

The image shows a single line of musical notation in a staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The melody consists of 14 measures. The notes are: G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 (quarter notes); G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 (quarter notes); G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 (quarter notes); G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 (quarter notes); G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 (quarter notes); G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 (quarter notes); G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 (quarter notes); G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 (quarter notes); G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 (quarter notes); G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 (quarter notes); G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 (quarter notes); G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 (quarter notes); G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 (quarter notes); G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 (quarter notes). The piece ends with a double bar line.

Agnus Dei



Critical notes for *Misa de Toledo*

Kirie

m. 11 – changed B-natural to B-flat.

m. 17 – changed E-sharp to E-natural.

Gloria

m. 21 – changed B-natural to B-flat.

mm. 43-44 – moved the *s* in *Christe* to measure 44 to align with final syllable.

m. 67 – changed B-natural to B-flat.

m. 93 – changed B-natural to B-flat.

Credo

mm. 23-24 - moved the *s* in *Christe* to measure 24 to align with final syllable.

m. 33 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 44 – changed F-flat to F-natural.

m. 55 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 80 – changed half note to dotted half note.

mm. 83-84 – moved the *r* in *virgine* back to measure 83 to align with first syllable.

m. 89 – changed half note to dotted half note.

Agnus Dei

m. 7 – changed E-sharp to E-natural.

Kirie

1
Ki ri e e lei son.

10
Chris te e lei son.

19
Chris te lei son. Ki ri e


27
lei son.

Gloria

Et in ter ra pax ho mi ni bus bo nae vo lun ta tis. Lau
10
da mus te. Be ne di ci mus te. A do ra mus te. Glo
17
ri fi ca mus te. Gra ti as a gi mus ti bi prop ter
25
mag nam glo ri am tu am. Do mi ne De us, rex coe les tis, De us
34
Pa ter om ni po tens. Do mi ne fi li u ni ge ni te, Je su Chri
43
ste. Do mi ne De us Ag nus De i fi li us Pa
53
tris. Qui toll is pec ca ta
61
mun di, mi se re re no bis. Qui toll is pec ca ta mun di,
70
sus ci pe de pre ca ti o nem nos tram. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa
79
tris mi se re re no bis. Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc tus. Tu sol us


Gloria, cont.

89




Do mi nus. Tu so lus Al ti si mus, Je su Chris te. Cum

97



Sanc to Spi ri tu, in glo ri a De i Pa

103



tris. A men.

Detailed description: The image shows three staves of musical notation in bass clef. The first staff (measures 89-96) starts with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and contains the lyrics 'Do mi nus. Tu so lus Al ti si mus, Je su Chris te. Cum'. The second staff (measures 97-102) starts with a key signature of one sharp (F-sharp) and contains the lyrics 'Sanc to Spi ri tu, in glo ri a De i Pa'. The third staff (measures 103-106) continues with the key signature of one sharp and contains the lyrics 'tris. A men.'. The notation includes various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs.

Credo

Pa trem om ni po ten tem, fac to rem coe li, et ter rae: vi si
11 bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi li um. Et in u num
19 Do mi num Je sum Chri stum, fi li um De i u ni
28 ge ni tum: Et ex Pa tre na tum, an te om ni a sae
36 cu la. De um de De o: lu men de lu mi ne: De um
45 ve rum de De o ve ro: Ge ni tum, non fac tum, con sub stan ti a lem
55 Pa tri, per quem om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho mi
64 nes et prop ter nos tram sa lu tem des cen
72 dit de coe lis. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu
80 Sanc to ex Ma ri a vir gi ne; et ho mo fac

Credo, cont.

88
— tus est. Cru ci fix us e ti am pro no bis sub Pon ti o Pi —

98
la to pa sus, et se — pul tus est. Et — re sur re xit ter ti a

108
di e se cun dum Scrip tu ras. Et as cen dit in coe lum, se det ad

117
dex te ram Pa — tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus est cum glo ri

126
a ju di ca re vi vos, et mor tu os, cu jus reg ni non er it fi nis.

135
Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num, et vi vi fi — can tem, qui ex

143
Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ce dit: Qui cum Pat re, et Fi li o si mul

152
a do — ra tur et con glo ri fi — ca tur: qui lo cut us est per Pro

161
fe tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Cat ho li cam, et A pos to li cam Ec cle si

170
am. Con fi te or u num bap tis ma in re mis si o nem pec ca — to

Credo, cont.

179




rum. Et ex pec — to Re sur rec ti o — nem mor tu

192



o — rum. Et vi tam ven tur i sae cu li. A —

200



men.

Sanctus

Sanc _____ tus. Do _ mi nus De us sa ba oth.

10
Hos sa _____ na in ex _____ cel _____ sis.

Benedictus

Be ne dic tus qui ___ ve nit in no ___ mi ne

8

Do ___ mi ni: Hos sa na in ex ___ cel ___ sis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a 2/4 time signature. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of lyrics. The second staff begins with a measure rest marked '8' and continues the melody for the second line of lyrics. The lyrics are in Latin and include some elongated words indicated by underscores.

Agnus Dei

Ag nus De i qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di, mi se re re no bis.

Misa San Bernabe



Kirie

18 T. Kiri e _____ e leison. C. Chris te _____ e leison.


T. Chri te _____ leison. C. Ki ri e _____ e leison. T. Kiri e _____ e leison.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Kirie". It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style. Below the first staff, the lyrics are written in Latin: "T. Kiri e _____ e leison. C. Chris te _____ e leison." The second staff continues the melody, and below it, the lyrics are: "T. Chri te _____ leison. C. Ki ri e _____ e leison. T. Kiri e _____ e leison." The lyrics are written in a similar rhythmic pattern to the music, with long horizontal lines indicating the duration of the notes. The page number "18" is written at the beginning of the first staff.

Gloria



C. Et in ter—ra pax ho mi ni bus bo—nae volun ta tis. T. Lau da—mus te. C. Be ne di—

17

 ci—mus te. T. A—do-ra—mus te. C. Gori fi ca—mus te.

33

 T. Gra ti as a gi mus ti— bi prop ter mag nam glo riam tu— am. C. Do—mi ne De-us rex coe

46


 les-tis Deus Pa ter om ni po—tens T. Do mi te.


61

 C. Do mi ne Deus Agnus De i Fi li us fi li us Pa-tris T. Qui to llis pec ca ta pec ca ta mun di mise

75

 re re no—bis. C. Qui to llis pec ca ta mun di sus ci pe de pre ca ti o nem nos—

94

 —tram. T. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa—tris mise re-re no-bis. C. Quo-niam

109

 tu so—lus Sanc tus. Tu so lus Do mi nus. Tu so—lus Al tis—si—mus, Je—su Chris te;

125

 Cum Sancto Spi ri tu in glo ri a T. De—i Pa—tris. A—

135

 men.

Credo



C. Pa trem om ni po ten tem fac to rem coe lis, et te rrae; T. vi si bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi

17



li um. C. Et in u num Do mi num Je sum Chris tum, fi li um De i uni ge nitum: T. Et ex

31



Pa tre na tum an te om ni a sae cu la: De um de De o, lum de lu mi ne; De um

46



verum de Deo ve ro: Ge ni tum non fac tum, con stan ti a lem Pa tri per quem om ni a fac ta

62



sunt. C. P. C. Qui propter nos ho mi nes, et propter nos tram sa lu tem des cen

78



dit de coe lis. T. Et in car na tus est C. de Spi ri tu Sanc to: T. de Spi ri tu

94



Sanc to C. ex Ma ri a vir gi ne T. et ho mo, C. et ho mo, T. fac tus

109



est. C. Cru ci fix us e ti am pro no bis sub Pon ti o Pi la to pas us et se pul tus est.

122



T. Et re sur rex it ter ti a di e se cun dum scrip tu ras: C. Et as cen dit in coe lum, se det

135



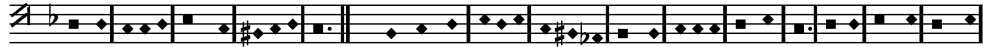
ad dex te ram Pa tris: T. Et i ter um ven tu rus est cum glo ri a judi ca re vi vos, et mor tu os;

Credo, cont.

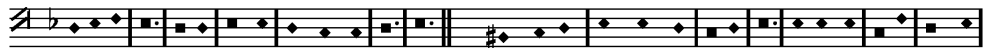
152



cu jus regninon erit fi nis: C. Et in Spiritum Sanctum Do mi num, et vivi fi can tem, qui ex
167



Pa tre Fili o que pro ce dit: T. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fili o simul a dora tur, et con glo
182



ri fi ca tur quilo cu tus est per Pro fe tas: C. Et unam Sanctam Ca tholi cam, Et A pos to li cam Ec
196



cle si am: T. Con fi te oru num bap tis ma in re mi si o nem pec ca torum: C. Et ex
211

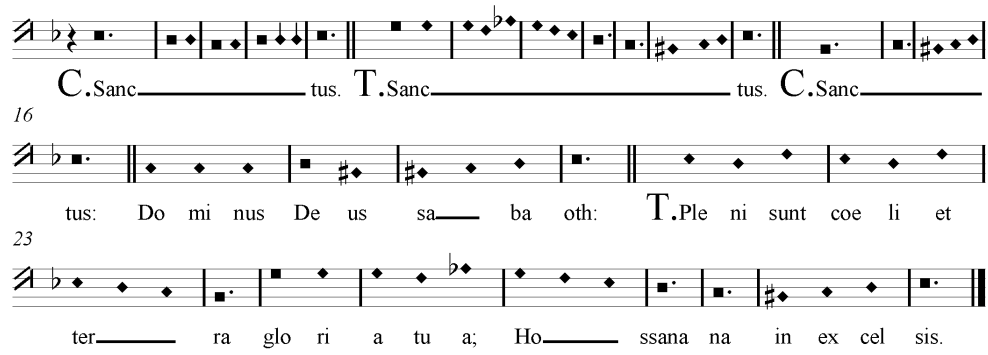


pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o rum: Et vi tam ven tu ri
223



sac cu li: T. A men.

Sanctus



16 C.Sanc. _____ tus. T.Sanc. _____ tus. C.Sanc. _____

23 tus: Do mi nus De us sa ba oth: T. Ple ni sunt coe li et

ter ra glo ri a tu a; Ho ssana na in ex cel sis.

Benedictus

T. Be— ne dic—tus qui ve nit in no mi—ne Domi ne: C. Ho— ssa na in ex cel sis.

Agnus Dei



C. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, mise_ re re no__ bis. T. Agnus Dei qui tollis pecca

14



tamundi mi_ se re_ re no_ bis. C. Agnus Dei qui tollis pec ca ta T. Agnus Dei qui

25



tollis pec_ ca ta C. mun_ di Do na no bis pa_ cem. T. mun_ di Do na no bis. pa_ cem.

Critical Notes for *Misa San Bernabe*

Kirie

Throughout – arranged the movement in score format.

m. 12 – changed A-sharp to A-natural.

m. 21-22 – added an *e* for *eleison* that was lacking in the Tenor voice.

Gloria

m. 14 – changed A-sharp to A-natural.

mm. 51-60 – added text underlay for *Domine Fili unigenite, Jesu Christe*, as the underlay was illegible in the original.

m. 70 – changed A-sharp to A-natural.

m. 73 – changed A-sharp to A-natural.

m. 81 – changed A-sharp to A-natural.

m. 87 – changed A-sharps to A-naturals.

mm. 88-90 – changed B-sharps to B-naturals.

m. 91 – changed A-sharps to A-naturals.

Credo

m. 13 – changed A-sharp to A-natural.

m. 81 – changed A-sharp to A-natural.

m. 82 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 88 – changed B-sharps to B-naturals.

m. 99 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 215 – changed A-sharp to A-natural.

m. 216 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 232 – changed A-sharp to A-natural.

Kirie

T. Ki ri e _____ e lei son.

C. Chris te -

10

T. Chris te

e lei son.

19

e lei son.

24

T. Ki ri e _____ e lei son.

C. Ki ri e _____ e lei son.

Gloria

C. Et in ter — ra pax ho mi ni bus bo — nae vol — un ta

10 tis. T. Lau da — — — — — mus te. C. Be ne di — — — — — ci — — — — —

18 — — — — — mus te. T. A — — — — — do — — — — — ra — — — — —

25 — — — — — mus te. C. Glo ri fi ca — — — — — mus te. T. Gra ti as

34 a gi mus ti — — — — — bi prop ter mag nam glo ri am tu — — — — — am.

42 C. Do — — — — — mi ne De — — — — — us rex coe — — — — — les — — — — — tis De us Pa ter om ni po — — — — —

50 tens T. Do mi ne Fi li u ni gen — — — — — ni te, Je — — — — — su — — — — —

59 Chris — — — — — te. C. Do mi ne De us Ag nus De — — — — — i Fi li us fi li us

68 Pa — — — — — tris T. Qui to llis pec ca ta pec ca ta mun di mi se re re

Gloria, cont.

76
no _____ bis. C. Qui to llis pec ca ta mun di sus ci pe

87
de pre ca ti o nem nos _____

96
_____ tram. T. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa tris mi se re _____

105
no _____ bis. C. Quo ni am tu so _____ lus Sanc tus. Tu so lus

114
Do mi nus. Tu so _____ lus Al tis si mus, Je su

123
Chris te; Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu in glo ri a T. De i

131
Pa tris. A _____

138
_____ men.

The image shows a musical score for a Gloria, continuing from a previous page. It consists of eight staves of music, each with a measure number at the beginning. The music is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words connected by lines to indicate they span multiple notes. The lyrics include: "no bis. C. Qui to llis pec ca ta mun di sus ci pe de pre ca ti o nem nos tram. T. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa tris mi se re no bis. C. Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc tus. Tu so lus Do mi nus. Tu so lus Al tis si mus, Je su Chris te; Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu in glo ri a T. De i Pa tris. A men." The score ends with a double bar line and the word "men." below it.

Credo



C. Pa trem om ni po ten tem fac to rem coe lis, et te rrae; T. vi si
11
bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi li um. C. Et in
20
u num Do mi num Je sum Chris tum, fi li um De i u ni
28
ge ni tum: T. Et ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni a
36
sae cu la: De um de De o, lu men de lu mi
44
ne; De um ve rum de De o ve ro: Ge ni tum non fac tum,
54
con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri per quem om ni a fac ta sunt.
63
C. P. C. Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes, et prop ter nos tram sa
73
lu tem des cen dit de coe
82
lis. T. Et in car na tus est C. de Spi ri tu Sanc to: T. de Spi

Credo, cont.

93
ri tu Sanc — to **C.**ex Ma ri a vir gi ne **T.**et ho — mo,

103
C.et ho — mo, **T.**fac — tus est. **C.**Cru ci fix — xus e ti

113
am pro no — bis sub Pon ti o Pi la to pa sus et — se pul tus

121
est. **T.**Et re sur re xit ter ti a di e se cun — dum scrip tu — ras:

130
C.Et as cen — dit in coe lum, se det ad dex te ram Pa — tris: **T.**Et

140
i te rum ven tu — rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos, et

150
mor tu os; cu — jus reg ni non er it fi nis: **C.**Et — in Spi ri tum

159
Sanc tum Do mi num, et vi vi fi — can — tem, qui ex Pa tre

168
Fi li o que pro ce — dit: **T.**Qui — cum Pa —

175
tre, et Fi li o si mul a do ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur

Credo, cont.

184



qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe tas: **C.**Et un am Sanc tam Ca tho li cam,

193



Et A pos to li cam Ec cle si am: **T.**Con ____ fi ____ te ____

201



or u num bap tis ____ ma in ____ re mi ____ si o nem pec ca to rum:

210



C.Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o ____ rum: Et ____

221



vi tam ven tu ____ ri sae ____ cu li: **T.**A ____

227



men.

Sanctus

10 C.Sanc _____ tus. T.Sanc _____

20 _____ tus. C.Sanc _____ tus: Do mi nus De us sa _ ba

26 oth: T.Ple ni sunt coe li et ter _____ ra glo ri

a tu a; Ho _____ ssana na in ex cel sis.

Benedictus

The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff is in bass clef, 3/4 time, and has a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written with quarter notes and half notes, with some notes beamed together. The lyrics are: T.Be _____ ne dic __ tus qui __ ve nit in no mi __ ne. The second staff is also in bass clef, 3/4 time, and has a key signature of one flat. It begins with a fermata over the first note, followed by quarter notes and half notes. The lyrics are: Do mi ne: C.Ho _____ ssa na in ex cel sis. The score ends with a double bar line.

T.Be _____ ne dic __ tus qui __ ve nit in no mi __ ne

8

Do mi ne: C.Ho _____ ssa na in ex cel sis.

Agnus Dei

10 C. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, mi se re re no

18 bis. T. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi mi se re re no

26 bis. C. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata T. Agnus Dei qui tollis pec

31 ca ta C. mun di Do na no bis pa

cem. T. mun di Do na no bis pa cem.

Misa de Semidobles



Kirie

Ki ri e e lei son. Chris te

6

vis.

lei son. Ki ri e e lei son.

Gloria

Lau- damus te. A- do- ramus te. Gra- ti- as- agimus tibi prop- ter mag- nam glo- ri- am tu- am. Do- mi- ne

16

fi- li- u- ni- ge- ni- te- Je- su- Chris- te. Qui tol- lis pec- ca- ta- mun- di- mi- se- re- re- no- bis. Qui se-

27

des ad- dex- te- ram Pa- tris mi- se- re- re- no- bis. Tu so- lus Do- mi-

36

nus. Cum Sanc- to Spi- ri- tu in glo- ri- a- De- i Pa- tris.

Credo



Pa—trem omni—potentem, fac— to—rem coe—li et ter—rae: visi—bili—um omni—um, et in—visi—bi

27



li—um: Et in— unum Do—mi—num Je—su—m Chris—tum, fi—li—um De—i, uni—ge—ni—tum: Et ex Pa—tre na—

49



tum an—te om—ni—a sae—cu—la: De—um de De—o, lu—men de lu—mi—ne, De—um ve—rum de De—o ve—ro: Ge—ni

74



tum, non factum, con—sub—stan—ti—am Pa—tri; per quem om—ni—a fac—ta sunt: Qui pro—pter nos ho—mi—nes,

95



Et pro—pter nos trans—lu—tem des—cen—dit de coe—lis. Et in car—na—tus— est de Spi—ri—tu Sanc—to, ex

116



Ma—ri—a vir—gi—ne; et ho—mo fac—tus— est. Cru—ci—fi—xus et in am—pro—no

138



bis sub Pon—ti—o Pi—la—to; pa—sus, et se—pul—tus est: Et re—sur—xit ter—tia— die se—cun—dum scrip

161



tu—ras. Et— as—cen—dit in coe—lum, se—det ad dex—te—ram Pa—tris. Et— i—te—rum ven—tu—rus est cum glo—ri—a

184



ju—di—ca—re vi—vos, et mor—tu—os: cu—jus reg—ni non erit fi—nis. Et in Spi—ri—tu Sanc—tum Do—mi—num, et vi

207



vi—fi—cantem, qui ex Pa—tre Fi—li—o que—re—dit: Qui cum Pa—tre, et Fi—li—o, simul ador—atur, et

Credo, cont.

229



con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe tas. Et unam Sanc tam Catho licam, et Apos to li cam Ec

251



cle si am. Con fi te or u num bap tis ma in re mi si o nem pec ca to rum. Et ex pec to

272



re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae cu li. A men.

Sanctus

6

Sa nc tus. Do mi nus De us
sa ba oth. Ho ssa na, in ex cel sis.

Benedictus

Be ne— dic— tus qui— ve— nit in no— mi ne Do— mi ni:

7

Ho— ssa— na in ex— cel— sis.

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of a series of eighth notes, with some notes beamed together. The lyrics are written below the staff, with horizontal lines indicating the duration of each note. The second staff starts with a '7' above it, indicating a seventh measure. It continues the melody with similar notation and lyrics. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Agnus Dei



Agnus De_____ i, qui to_____ llis pec_ ca ta mundi, mise re_ re_ no_____ bis.

Misa de Doble Menor



Kirie

vis. vis.

Ki-ri e lei-son. Chris te le i son. Ki-ri-e lei-son.

Gloria



Laudamus te: Ado ramus te. Gra ti as a gimus ti bi prop ter magnam glo ri am tu am. Domine fi li
17



u ni geni te Je su Chris te. Qui to llis pec ca ta mun di mise re re no bis. Qui se des ad dex te ram
35



Pa tris mise re re no bis. Tu so lus Do mi nus, Cum San cto Spi ri tu in glo ri a Dei Pa tris.

Credo



Patrem omni po ten tem fac to rem coe li, et te rrae: vi si bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi li um.

16



Et in unum Do mi num Je sum Christum, fi li um De i u ni ge ni tum. Et ex Pat re na tum an te om

28



ni a sae cu la. De um de De o lum de lum i ne, De um verum de De o ve ro. Ge ni tum, non factum

45



con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri per quem om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos homi nes, et prop ter nos tram sa

61



lu tem, des cendit de coe lis. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu San cto ex Ma ri a vir gi ne

75



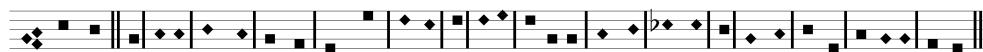
et ho mo fac tus est. Cruci fi xus e ti am pro nobis sub Pon ti o Pi la to pas sus et se pul tus est:

91



Et re sur re xit ter ti a di e se cundum scrip tu ras: Et as cendit in coe lum, se det ad dex te ram

106



Pa tris: Et i ter um ven tu rus est, cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos, et mor tu os cu jus re gni non e rit fi nis:

123



Et in Spi ri tum San ctum Do mi num; et vi vi fi can tem, qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ce dit: Qui cum Pa tre,

140



et Fi li o, simul a do ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur; qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe tas. Et unam

Credo, cont.

156



Sanctam Catho li cam, et Apos to li cam Ec cle si am. Con fi te or u num bap tisma in re mi si onem

173



pecca to rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae cu li. A— men.

Sanctus



Sanc_____ tus.— Do mi nus De— us, sa_____ ba— oth.

5



Ho— ssa— na in_____ ex_____ cel— sis.

Benedictus



5 Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi ni:



Ho ssa na in ex cel sis.

Agnus Dei



A single line of musical notation on a five-line staff. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody consists of a series of quarter notes and half notes, with some notes beamed together. The text is written below the staff, with horizontal lines indicating the duration of each note.

Agnus De i qui tol lis pec ca ta— mun— di mi se re— re— no— bis.

Critical Notes for *Misa Doble Menor*

Gloria

Throughout – I have adapted the movement to duple meter.

Credo

Throughout – I have adapted the movement to duple meter.

mm. 120-21 – changed E-sharp to E-natural.

mm. 122-23 – changed F-flat to F-natural.

Sanctus

Throughout – I have adapted the movement to duple meter.

Benedictus

Throughout – I have adapted the movement to duple meter.

Agnus Dei

Throughout – I have adapted the movement to duple meter.

Kirie



Ki ri e e lei son. Chris tee le i son. Ki ri e e lei son.

Gloria

Lau da mus te: A do ra mus te. Gra ti as a gi mus
13
ti bi prop ter mag nam glo ri am tu am. Do mi ne fi li
27
u ni ge ni te Je su Chris te. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun
40
di mi se re re no bis. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa tris
54
mi se re re no bis. Tu so lus Do mi nus, Cum Sanc to
65
Spi ri tu in glo ri a De i Pa tris. —

Credo

Pa trem om ni po ten tem fac to rem coe li, et ter rae:

14

vi si bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi li um. Et in

25

u num Do mi num Je sum Chris tum, Fi li um De i u ni

37

ge ni tum. Et ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni a sae cu

49

la. De um de De o lu men de lu mi ne, De um ve rum

61

de De o ve ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum con sub stan ti a lem

72

Pa tri per quem om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui prop ter no ho mi

85

nes, et prop ter nos tram sa lu tem, des cen dit de coe lis. —

98


Et — in car na tus est — de Spi ri tu Sanc to ex Ma

112

— ri a vir — gi — ne et — ho — mo — fac

Credo, cont.

250



si am. Con fi te or u num bap tis ma in re mi si o nem

262



pec ca to rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu

275



o rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae cu li. A — men. —

Detailed description: The image shows three staves of musical notation in bass clef. The first staff (measure 250) contains the lyrics 'si am. Con fi te or u num bap tis ma in re mi si o nem'. The second staff (measure 262) contains 'pec ca to rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu'. The third staff (measure 275) contains 'o rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae cu li. A — men. —'. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines.

Sanctus

28

Sanc tus. Do mi nus De us, sa ba oth. Ho

ssa na in ex cel sis.

Benedictus

Be ne dic tus, qui _ ve nit in no _ mi ne Do _____ mi ni: _ Ho ____ ssa

27

____ na in _____ ex _____ cel _ sis.

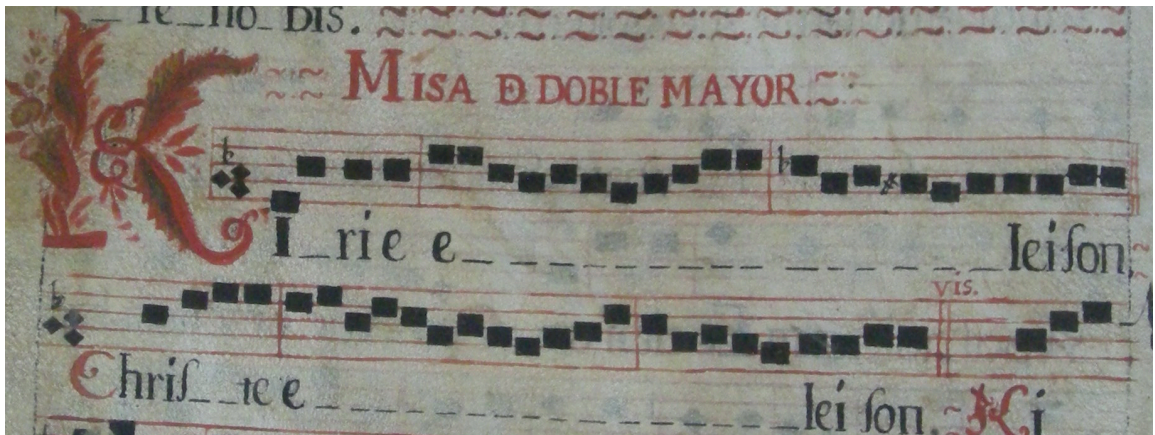
Agnus Dei

14

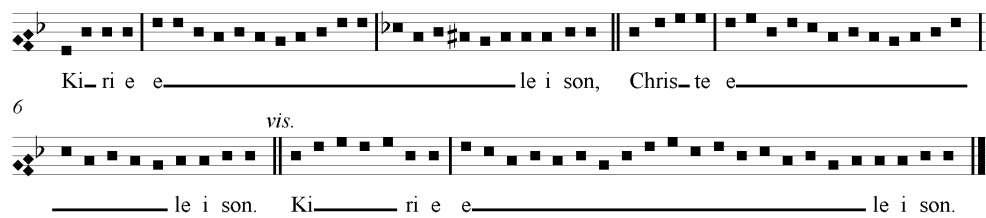
Ag nus De i qui tol lis pec ca ta _____ mun

_____ di mi se re _____ re _____ no _____ bis. ____

Misa de Doble Mayor



Kirie



Musical score for Kirie, featuring two staves of music with lyrics. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature. The melody consists of eighth notes. The lyrics are: "Ki-ri e _____ le i son, Chris-te e _____". A measure rest of 6 is indicated below the first staff. The second staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. The melody consists of eighth notes. The lyrics are: "_____ le i son. Ki-ri e e _____ le i son." The word "vis." is written above the first measure of the second staff. The score ends with a double bar line.

Ki-ri e _____ le i son, Chris-te e _____

6

vis.

_____ le i son. Ki-ri e e _____ le i son.

Gloria



18 Lauda mus te. A do ramus te. Gra ti as a gimus tibi prop ter mag nam glo riam tu am. Domi ne



35 Fi li u ni geni te, Je su Chris te. Qui to llis pec catamundi mise re re no bis. Qui se des ad dex te ram



Patris, mi se re re no bis. Tu so lus Domi nus. Cum Sancto Spi ri tu, in glo ri a De i Pa tris.

Credo



Patrem omnipotentem factorem coeli, et terrae: visibilium omnium: et invisibilium: Et in

23



unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum; Et ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula

41



et de Deo, lumine de lumine: Deum verum de Deo vero: Genitum non factum: consubstanti-

61



alem Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt. Qui propter nos homines et propter nosram salutem cen-

80



dit de coelis. Et incarnatus est; de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine: et homo factus est.

101



Crucifixus etiam pro nobis, sub Pontio Pilato passus et sepultus est. Et resurrexit ter-

119



tia die secundum scripturas. Et ascendit in caelum: sedet ad dexteram Patris. Et iterum ven-

136



turus est cum gloria iudicare vivos, et mortuos: cuius regni non erit finis. Et in Spiritum

154



Sanctum Dominum, et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit. Qui cum Patre, et Filio, si-

174



mul adoratur, et conglorificatur; qui locutus est per Prophetas. Et unam Sanctam Catholicam

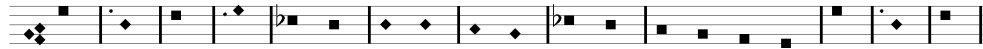
Credo, cont.

191



camet Apos toli camEc cle si am. Con fi te or unum bap tis ma, in re mi si onem pec ca to rum.

209



Et _____ ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o rum. Et vi tam

221



ven tu ri sae cu li. A _____ men.

Critical Notes for *Misa Doble Mayor*

Credo

Throughout – I have adapted the entire movement to duple meter.

m. 97 – changed both B-naturals to B-flats.

m. 154 – changed E-sharp to E-natural.

m. 239 – changed both B-naturals to B-flats.

m. 275 – changed B-natural to B-flat.

m. 276 – changed B-natural to B-flat.

Kirie



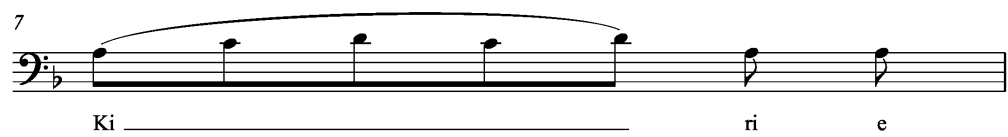
Ki _ ri e e _____ le i son,

4



Chris __ te e _____ le i son.

7



Ki _____ ri e

8



e _____ le i son.

Gloria

13 Lau da mus te. — A do ra mus te. — Gra ti as a

25 gi mus ti bi prop ter mag nam glo — ri am tu am. — Do

36 mi ne Fi li u ni ge ni te, Je su Chris te. — Qui tol lis pec

48 ca ta mun di mi se re re no bis. — Qui se des ad dex

60 te ram Pa tris, mi se re re no bis. — Tu so lus Do mi nus. —

— Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu, in glo ri a De i Pa tris. —

Credo



Pa trem om ni po ten tem fac to rem coe li, et ter rae: vi si bi li um om ni um: et ___ in vi ___ si

20



bi li um: Et in u num Do mi num Je sum Christum, Fi li um De i u ni ge ni tum; Et ex Pa tre na tum

39



an te om ni a ___ sae cu la. De um de De o, lu men de lu mi ne: De um ve rum de De o ve ro: Ge ___ ni

59



tum ___ non fac tum con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri, per quem om ni a ___ fac ta sunt. Qui ___ prop ter

76



___ nos ho mines et prop ternos tram sa lu tem des ___ cen dit ___ de coe ___ lis. Et in car na

97



___ tus est; de ___ Spi ri tu Sanc to ex ___ Ma ri ___ a vir ___ gi ne: et ho mo fac ___ tus

118



est. Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no bis, sub Pon ___ ti o ___ Pi la to; pas sus et ___ se ___ pul tus est.

139



Et re sur re xit ter ti a di e se cun dum scrip tu ras. Et as cen dit in coe lum se det ad dex te ram

160



Pa tris. Et i terum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos, et mor tu os: cu jus reg ni non e rit fi


182



nis. Et ___ in Spi ___ ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num, et vi vi fa can tem, qui ex Pa tre Fi li o que pro


Credo, cont.

202




ce dit. Qui cum — Pa tre, et Fi li o, si — mul a — do ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur; qui lo

223




cu tus est per Pro fe tas. Et u nam Sanctam Ca tho li cam et A pos to li cam Ec cle — si am. Con

243




fi — te or u num bap tis ma, in re mi si o nem pec ca to rum. Et ————— ex pec to re sur

262



rec ti o nem mor tu o rum. Et — vi tam — ven tu ri sae

276



— cu li. A ————— men.

Misa de Portillo



Kirie

20

Ki ri e _____ e _____ lei son. Chris _____ te _____

vis.

e _____ lei son. Ki ri e _____ lei son.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Kirie". It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a common time signature (C), and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style. Below the first staff, the lyrics "Ki ri e _____ e _____ lei son. Chris _____ te _____" are written, with horizontal lines indicating the placement of the notes. The number "20" is written to the left of the first staff. The second staff continues the melody, with a key signature change to one flat (Bb) indicated by a flat sign on the first line. The lyrics "e _____ lei son. Ki ri e _____ lei son." are written below the second staff. A "vis." marking is placed above the second staff, indicating a visual or performance instruction. The score ends with a double bar line.

Gloria



Et in ter ra pax ho mi ni bus bo nae vo lun ta tis. Lau damus te. Beni di ci mus ter. A do ramus te.
23



Glori fica mus te. Gra ti as a gi mus ti bi propter mag nam glo ri am tu am. Do mine De us
45



Rex coe les tis: De us Pa ter om ni po tens. Do mi ne Fi li uni ge ni te, Je su Chris te. Do mi ne
71



De us Agnus De i Fi li us Pa tris. Qui to llis pec ca tamun di mise re re no bis. Qui to llis pec ca tamun
96



di sus ci pe de pre cati o nem nos tram. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa tris mise re re no bis. Quo
119



niam, tu so lus Sanctus. Tu so lus Do mi nus: Tu so lus Al tis si mus, Je su Chris te. Cum Sanc
142



to Spi ri tu; in glo ri a De i Pa tris. A men.

Credo

Pa trem om ni po ten tem fac to rem coe lis, et te rrae: vi si bi li um om

22

ni um, et in vi si bi li um. Et in un um Do mi num Je sum Chris tum Fi li

46

um De i uni gen i tum: Et ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni a sae cu la. De um de De o,

70

lu men de lu mi ne: De um ve rum de De o ve ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum,

94

con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri per qu em om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui pro pter nos

115

ho mines, et pro pter no stram sa lute m des cen dit de coe lis. Et in car na

139

tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc to: ex Ma ri a vir gi ne; et ho mo fac tus

165

est. Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub Pon ci o Pi la to pas sus, et se pul tus est: Et re sur

187

re xit ter ti a di e se cundum scrip tu ras. Et as cen dit in coe

213

lum, se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et i terum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a ju

Credo, cont.

238



di ca_____ re vi_ vos, et_ mor tu os, cu jus reg_ ninon e_____ rit fi_____ nis.

262



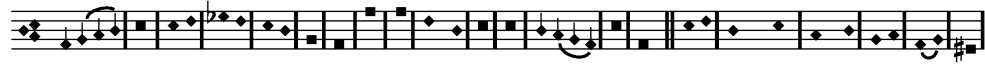
Et in Spi_____ ri tum Sanc_____ tum Do mi num: et_ vi_ vi_____ fi_ can_____ tem, qui

285



ex_ Pa_ tre, Fi_ li o que pro ce_ dit. Qui cum Pa_ tre, et_ Fili o si_ mul a do ra tur,

311



et_ con glo ri_ fi_ ca tur, qui lo cu tusest per Pro_ fe tas. Et unam Sanctam Ca tho_ li

332



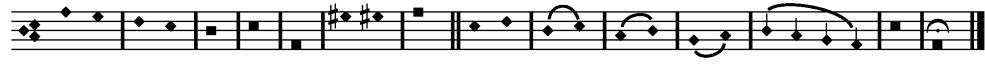
cam, et A pos to li cam Ec cle si am. Con fi te or u num bap tismas in re mi si o_ nem pec_

353



ca_ to rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o_ nem mor_ tu o rum.

366



Et_ vi tam ven tu ri sae cu li. A_____ men.

Sanctus

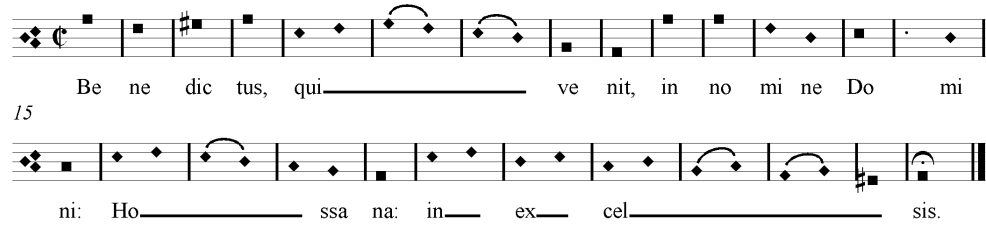


21

Sanc_____ tus. Do mi_ nus De_ us sa____
_____ ba oth. Ho_____ ssa na; in_____ ex cel_____ sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Sanctus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a series of eighth and quarter notes, with some rests. The lyrics "Sanc_____ tus. Do mi_ nus De_ us sa____" are written below the first staff. The second staff continues the melody, with lyrics "_____ ba oth. Ho_____ ssa na; in_____ ex cel_____ sis." written below it. A measure rest of 21 measures is indicated at the beginning of the second staff. The music ends with a double bar line.

Benedictus



15

Be ne dic tus, qui _____ ve nit, in no mi ne Do mi
ni: Ho _____ ssa na: in _____ ex _____ cel _____ sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a common time signature (C), and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written in a simple, homophonic style. The lyrics are: "Be ne dic tus, qui _____ ve nit, in no mi ne Do mi". The second staff continues the melody and lyrics: "ni: Ho _____ ssa na: in _____ ex _____ cel _____ sis." The lyrics are written below the notes, with horizontal lines indicating the placement of the words. The music ends with a double bar line.

Agnus Dei



Agnus de_____ i qui tollis pec cata mundi, mi- se- re- re- no_____ bis.

Critical Notes for *Misa de Portillo*

Kirie

- mm. 12, 26, 38 – combined half notes to create whole notes.
- m. 11 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 25 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 36 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Gloria

- m. 11 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 14 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 40 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 98 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 160 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Credo

- m. 18 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 62 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 71 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 92 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 110 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 121 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 129 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 130 – combined half notes to create whole note.
- mm. 147-48 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 156 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 165 – combined half notes to create whole note.

Critical Notes for *Misa de Portillo*, cont.

- m. 172 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 202 – combined half notes to create whole note.
- m. 220 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 223 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 227 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 248 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 272 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 281 – changed D/E quarter-note passage to E/F.
- m. 290 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 309 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 331 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 337 – changed B-sharps to B-naturals.
- m. 349 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 361 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 371 – changed B-sharps to B-naturals.

Sanctus

- m. 12 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 17 – changed B-sharps to B-naturals.
- m. 31 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 42 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Benedictus

- m. 3 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 25 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Critical Notes of *Misa de Portillo*, cont.

Agnus Dei

m. 11 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 18 – changed E eight-note to F.

m. 20 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Kirie

12
Ki ri e lei
son. Chris te e
23
lei son. Ki ri e
31
lei son.

The musical score is written in bass clef. It begins in 2/4 time and changes to 4/4 time at measure 12. The melody consists of quarter and eighth notes, with some measures containing rests. The lyrics are placed below the notes, with horizontal lines indicating the duration of each syllable. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the final measure.

Gloria



Et in terra pax ho mi ni bus bo nae vo lun ta

12

tis. Lau da mus te. Be ne di ci mus ter. A do ra mus te. Glo ri

24

fi ca mus te. Gra ti as a gi mus ti bi

34

prop ter mag nam glo ri am tu am. Do mi ne De us Rex

46

coe les tis: De us Pa ter om ni po tens. Do mi

58

ne Fi li u ni ge ni te, Je su Chris te. Do

69

mi ne De us Ag nus De i Fi li us Pat ris. Qui to

81

llis pec ca ta mun di mi se re re no bis. Qui to llis pec

94

ca ta mun di sus ci pe de pre ca ti o nem nos tram.

106


Qui se des ad dex te ram Pat ris mi se re re no bis.

Gloria, cont.


118



131



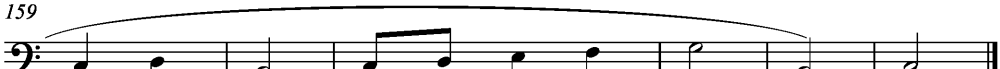
142



154



159



men.

Quo ni am, tu so lus Sanc tus. Tu so lus Do mi nus: Tu
so lus Al tis si mus, Je su — Chris — te. Cum Sanc
to — Spi ri tu; in glo — ri a De — i
Pa tris. A

Credo

Pa trem om ni po — ten tem fac to rem coe lis, et _____ te

12

_____ rrae: vi si — bi _____ li um om _____ ni um, et

24

in vi si bi _____ li um. Et in un um Do mi

36

_____ num Je _____ sum Chris _____ tum Fi li um De i

48

un i gen i tum: Et ex Pa tre na _____ tum an te om ni

59

a sae _____ cu la. De _____ um de _____ De o, lu _____ men

73

de _____ lu _____ mi ne: De um ve _____ rum de _____ De

84

_____ o ve ro. Ge ni _____ tum, non fac _____ tum, con sub stan ti

96

a _____ lem Pa tri: per qu em om ni a fac _____

107

_____ ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes, et

Credo, cont.

118
prop ter nos tram sa lu tem des cen dit

128
de coe lis. Et in car na tus est

142
de Spi ri tu Sanc to: ex Ma ri

154
a vir gi ne; et ho mo fac tus est.

166
Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub Pon

176
ci o Pi la to pas sus, et se pul tus est: Et re sur

188
re xit ter ti a di e se cun dum scrip

201
tu ras. Et as cen dit in coe

213
lum, se det ad des te ram Pa

224
tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a

Credo, cont.

237
ju di ca re vi vos, et mor tu

249
os, cu jus reg ni non e rit

259
fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc

270
tum Do mi num: et vi vi fi can

281
tem, qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o que pro

294
ce dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fi li o si

306
mul a do ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur,

318
qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Ca

329
tho li cam, et A pos to li cam Ec cle si am. Con

340
fi te or u num bap tis mas in re mi si o nem pec

Sanctus

Sanctus

13 tus. Do mi - nus De - us Sa - ba oth.

25 Ho - ssa na; in

35 ex cel sis.

Benedictus

Be ne dic tus, qui _____ ve nit, in no mi ne

13

Do mi ni: Ho _____ ssa na:

20

in _____ ex _____ cel _____ sis.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus section. It consists of three staves of music, all in bass clef and 2/4 time. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The lyrics are: 'Be ne dic tus, qui _____ ve nit, in no mi ne'. A fermata is placed over the word 'qui'. The second staff starts at measure 13 and contains the lyrics: 'Do mi ni: Ho _____ ssa na:'. A fermata is placed over the word 'Ho'. The third staff starts at measure 20 and contains the lyrics: 'in _____ ex _____ cel _____ sis.'. A fermata is placed over the word 'sis.'. The music is written in a simple, homophonic style with quarter and eighth notes.

Agnus Dei

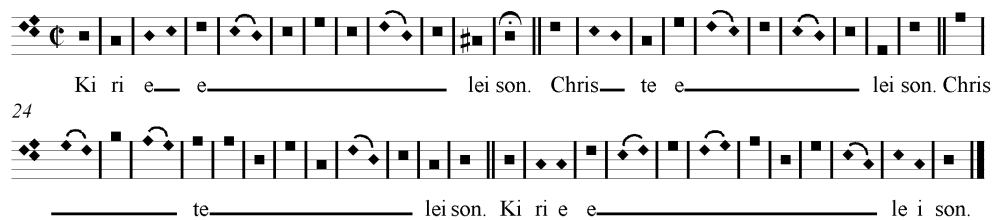
12

Ag nus dei qui tollis pec - ca ta mun
di, mi - se - re - re - no bis.

Misa de la Virgen



Kirie



Musical score for Kirie, consisting of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The melody is written on a five-line staff with various note values and rests. Below the first staff, the lyrics "Ki ri e e lei son. Chris te e lei son. Chris" are written, with horizontal lines indicating the placement of the notes. A small number "24" is positioned to the left of the second staff. The second staff continues the melody, also with lyrics "te lei son. Ki ri e e le i son." below it. The score concludes with a double bar line.

Ki ri e e lei son. Chris te e lei son. Chris
24
te lei son. Ki ri e e le i son.

Gloria



26 Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis. Laudamus te. Benedicimus te. A— do— ra



51 mus te. Glorificamus te. Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam. Domine Deus



76 Rex coelestis, Deus Pater omnipotens. Domine Fili, unigenite Jesu Christe. Domine Deus Ag



101 nus Dei Filius Patris. Qui tollis peccata mundi misere re nobis. Qui tollis pecca— ta mun



124 di suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, misere re nobis. Quoniam tu—



145 solus Sanctus. Tu solus Dominus. Tu solus Altissimus Jesu— Christe. Cum Sanc



— to Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris. A————— men.

Credo



Pa tremom ni poten temfac toremcoe li et te——rrae, visi bi liumomni um, et in bisi bi li um.

23



Et in unumDo mi numJe sum Chris tum, Fi liumDe_ i uni geni tum. Et ex Pa tre na——tum an te

44



om ni a sae cu la De umde De_ o, lumende lumi ne Deumve rumde Deo ve—— ro. Geni

66



tum, non fac tum: consub stan ti a lem Pa_ tri; per quem om ni a fac tasunt. Qui propter nos homi nes,

85



et propter nostram sa lutem, des cen dit de coe____ lis. Et in car natus est de Spi ri tu Sanc____ to, es

109



Ma ri a vir gi ne, et_ homo fac_____ tus est. Cruci fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub Pon ti o Pi la

134



to passus et se_ pul____ tus est. Et re sur re xit ter ti a di e se cun dum scrip____ tu ras. Et as cen

157



dit in coe lum, se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos, et

180



mor tu os, cu jus reg ni non e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanctum Do mi num et vi vi fi cantem, qui ex Pa

203



tre, Fi li o que pro ce_ dit. Qui cum Pa tre et Fi li o simul ado ra____ tur, et con glo ri fi ca____ tur, qui lo

Credo, cont.

227



cu tus est per Pro fe— tas. Et unam Sanc tam Cat ho licam, et Apos to licam Eccle si am. Con

248



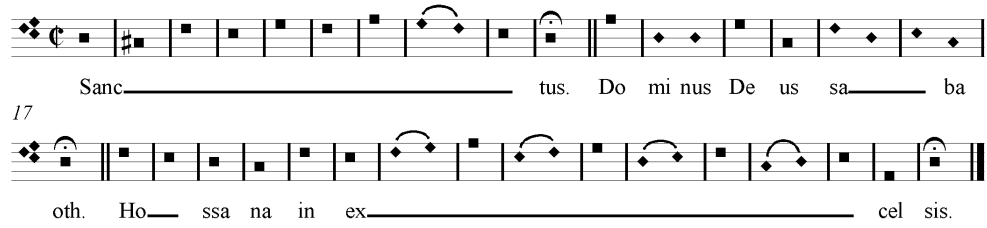
fi te or u num bap tis ma in re mi si o nem pecca to rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o

268



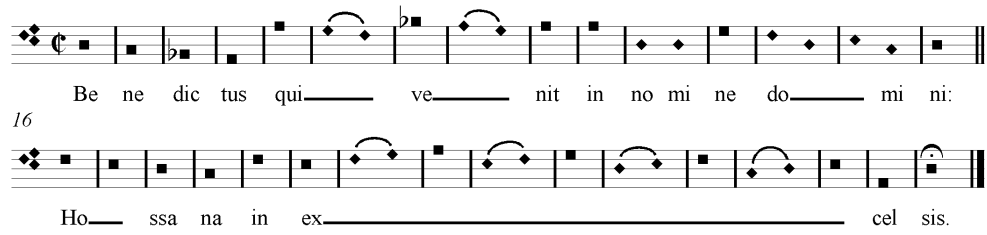
nen mor tu o rum. Et— vi tam ven tu ri sae cu li. A— men.

Sanctus



Musical score for Sanctus, featuring two staves of music with lyrics. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of quarter and eighth notes, with some notes beamed together. The lyrics are: Sanc_____ tus. Do mi nus De us sa_____ ba
17
The second staff continues the melody with similar note values and rests. The lyrics are: oth. Ho_____ ssa na in ex_____ cel sis.

Benedictus




16

Be ne dic tus qui ve nit in no mi ne do mi ni:
Ho ssa na in ex cel sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody starts on a G4, moves to F4, then E4, and continues with various intervals. The lyrics "Be ne dic tus qui ve nit in no mi ne do mi ni:" are written below the first staff. The second staff continues the melody, with lyrics "Ho ssa na in ex cel sis." written below it. The number "16" is written to the left of the second staff. The music ends with a double bar line.

Agnus Dei



A single line of musical notation in G major, 3/4 time. The melody consists of 12 measures. The notes are: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), C4 (quarter), B3 (quarter). The final note is a half note with a fermata.

Ag nus De i qui to llis pec ca— ta mun di mi se re re no bis.

Critical notes for *Misa de la Virgen*

Gloria

- m. 55 – changed G-flat to G-natural.
- m. 137 – changed G-flat to G-natural.

Credo

- m. 12 – changed C-natural to C-sharp.
- m. 99 – changed C-flat to C-natural.

Kirie

14
26
38

Ki ri e e lei son. Chris
te e lei son. Chris
te lei son. Ki ri e
e le i son.

Gloria

Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

14

Lau da mus te. Be ne di ci mus te. A do ra mus

27

te. Glo ri fi ca mus te. Gra ti as a gi mus ti bi prop

40

ter mag nam glo ri am tu am. Do mi ne De us Rex coe -

53

les - tis, De us Pa ter om ni po tens. Do mi ne Fi li,

65

u ni ge ni te Je su Chris te. Do mi ne De us Ag nus

77

De - i Fi li us Pa tris. Qui to llis pec - ca ta mun di

90

mi se re re no bis. Qui to llis pec ca - ta mun di su sci

103


pe de pre ca ti o nem nos tram. Qui se des ad des te ram Pa

116

tris, mi se re re no bis. Quo ni am tu - so lus Sanc tus.

Gloria, cont.

128



Musical notation for measures 128-140, featuring a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody consists of quarter and eighth notes. A slur is placed over the final two notes of the line.

Tu so lus Do mi nus. Tu so lus Al tis si mus Je su —

141



Musical notation for measures 141-153, continuing the bass clef and one sharp key signature. The melody includes a long note with a slur extending across several measures.

Chris te. Cum Sanc — to Spi ri tu, in glo ri a De i Pat ris.

154



Musical notation for measures 154-158, continuing the bass clef and one sharp key signature. A long slur covers the entire line, ending with a fermata over the final note.

A _____ men.

Credo

Pa trem om ni po ten tem fac to rem coe li et te
13
rrae, vi si bi li um om ni um, et in bi si bi li um. Et in
24
u num Do mi num Je sum Chris tum, Fi li um De i u ni
35
ge ni tum. Et ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni a sae
47
cu la De um de De o, lu men de lu mi ne De um ve
59
rum de De o ve ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum: con sub
70
stan ti a lem Pa tri; per quem om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui prop
82
ter nos ho mi nes, et prop ter nos tram sa lu tem, des cen dit de
93
coe lis. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc
106
to, es Ma ri a vir gi ne, et ho mo fac

Credo, cont.

120
tus est. Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub Pon ti

132
o Pi la to pas sus et se — pul — tus est. Et re sur

144
re xit ter ti a di e se cun dum scrip — tu ras. Et as

156
cen dit in coe lum, se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et i te

168
rum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos, et mor

181
tu os, cu jus reg ni non e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc

193
tum Do mi num et vi vi fi can tem, qui ex Pa tre, Fi

205
li o que pro ce — dit. Qui cum Pa tre et Fi li o si mul

217
a do ra — tur, et con glo ri fi ca — tur, qui lo cu tus est

229
per Pro fe — tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Cat ho li cam, et


Credo, cont.

241




A pos to li cam Ec cle si am. Con fi te or u num bap

253



tis ma in re mi si o nem pec ca to rum. Et ex pec to

265



re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o rum. Et — vi tam ven

278



tu ri sae cu li. A

284



men.

Sanctus

Sanc _____ tus. Do mi nus De

14

us sa _____ ba oth. Ho _____ ssa na in ex ____

24

_____ cel sis.

Benedictus

Be ne dic tus qui ve nit in no mi ne

13

do mi ni: Ho ssa na in ex

23

cel sis.

Agnus Dei

9

Ag nus De i qui to llis pec ca —
— ta mun di mi se re re no bis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a 2/4 time signature. It consists of two staves. The first staff contains the notes G2, F2, E2, D2, C2, B1, A1, and G1, with lyrics 'Ag nus De i qui to llis pec ca' and a long horizontal line under 'ca'. The second staff contains the notes G1, F1, E1, D1, C1, B0, A0, and G0, with lyrics '— ta mun di mi se re re no bis.' and a fermata over the final note.

Misa de Quitolis



Kirie

26
Ki ri e — e — leison. Ki ri e e lei-son. Ki ri e — eleison. Chris

41
te — e — lei son. Christe e — le i son. Christe e — lei son.

Ki ri e — e lei son. Ki ri e e lei son. Ki ri e e — lei son.

The musical score is written on three staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature. It contains the lyrics "Ki ri e — e — leison. Ki ri e e lei-son. Ki ri e — eleison. Chris" with measure numbers 26 and 41 indicated. The second staff continues the lyrics "te — e — lei son. Christe e — le i son. Christe e — lei son." and the third staff concludes with "Ki ri e — e lei son. Ki ri e e lei son. Ki ri e e — lei son." The music consists of quarter and eighth notes, with some notes beamed together and some having slurs or accents. There are first endings marked with a '1' above the staff.

Gloria



Et in te rra-paxhomi nibus bo-nae volun ta— tis. Lau da—mus te. Bene di ci—mus te. Ado ra

22



mus te. Glori fi camus te. Grati— as agimus ti— bi, propter magnam gloriam tu am, glo riam

40



tu— am. Do mi ne Deus Rexcoe les tis. Deus Pa ter om ni— po—tens. Domine Fi li

61



uni— geni te, Je suChris te. DomineDe us Agnus De— i, Fi li us Pa tris, Fi li us Pa—

82



tris. **T.**Qui to— llis pec ca— tapec ca ta— mun di, mise re re no bis, mise re re— no. bis.

101



B.Qui to— llis pec ca— tapec ca ta— mun di, sus ci pe, sus ci pe depre ca ti o nem nos tram.

119



C.Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa— tris, mise re re— no bis, mise re re— no. bis. Quoni am tu so lus

137



Sanc— tus: Tu so lus Do— mi nus: Tu so lus Al tis si mus, Je su, Je su—

151



Chris te. Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu in glo ri a De i Pa— tris A men, A— men.

Credo 1

21 Pa trem omni po ten tem, Fac torem coe li, et te rrae: vi si bi li um omni um, et in vi si bi li

um. Et, in unum Do mi num, Je sum Chris tum, Fi li um De i, uni ge ni tum; Et ex

40 Pa tre natum an te omni a sae cu la. De um de De o, lum de lumi ne, De um ve

60 rum de De o ve ro. Geni tum, non fac tum; con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri; per quem

77 om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui propter nos ho mi nes, et prop ter

90 nos tram sa lu tem des cen dit de coe lis.

Credo 2

The image shows a musical score for two voices, Tenor (T.) and Bass (B.), in a 2/4 time signature. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains the first three measures of the text. The second system starts at measure 17 and contains the next three measures. The lyrics are in Latin and describe the incarnation of the Son of God from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary.

T. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc to, exMa ri a vir gi ne:

B. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc to exMa ri a vir gi ne:

17

T. et homo, et homo fac tus est, et homo et homo fac tus est.

B. et homo, et homo fac tus est, et ho mi et ho mi fac tus est.

Credo 3



Cru ci fi—xus e ti am pro no bis sub Ponti o Pi la—to: passus, et se pul-tus. est. Et re sur



re xit ter ti a di— e, secun dum scrip tu ras. Et as cen— dit in coe—lum, se det ad dex te ram



Pa— tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a, ju di— ca re— vi vos, et— mortu os:



cu jus regninon e rit_ fi— nis. Et in Spi ritum Sanc tum Do mi num, et vi vi fi can tem: qui ex



Pa tre, Fi li o, que pro ce— dit: Qui cum Pa tre, et Fili o, si mul a do— ra tur, et con glo



ri fi ca tur, qui lo— cu tus est per Pro— fe— tas. Et unam Sanc tam Catho li cam, et



Apos to li—cam Ec. cle si am. Con fi te— or u— num bap tis ma, in re mi. si— onem pe ca to



rum. Et ex pec— to, T. Et ex pec— to, re sur rec ti onem mortu



o rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae cu li. A— men, A men, A men.

Sanctus

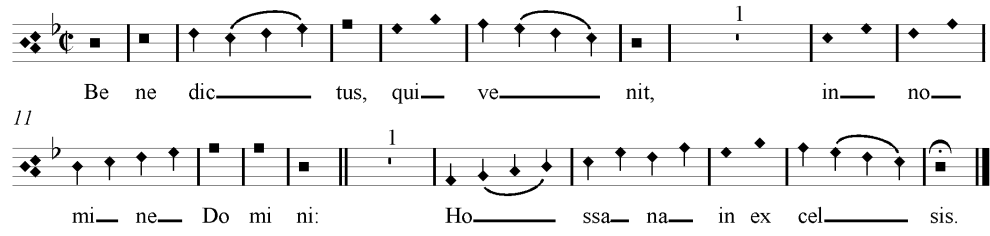
The image shows a musical score for the Sanctus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody starts with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. There are several first endings marked with a '1' above the staff. The lyrics for the first staff are: "Sanctus: Sanctus: Sanctus, Sanctus. Dominus Deus sabaoth." The second staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. It starts with a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. There are several first endings marked with a '1' above the staff. The lyrics for the second staff are: "Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis, in excelsis." The score ends with a double bar line.

Sanc tus: Sanc tus: Sanc tus, Sanc tus. Do mi. nus De us. sa. ba. oth.

18

Pleni sunt coeli et ter ra. glo ri a tu a. Ho ssa. na in ex cel sis, in ex. cel. sis.

Benedictus



The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody starts with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. The second staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. The melody starts with a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. The lyrics are: "Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit, in no mi ne Do mi ni: Ho ssa na in ex cel sis." The lyrics are written below the notes, with horizontal lines indicating the syllable placement. There are some musical markings such as slurs and a first ending bracket (1) above the notes.

Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit, in no
mi ne Do mi ni: Ho ssa na in ex cel sis.

Agnus Dei

Agnus Dei, qui tol- lis pec ca ta mun di, mi se- re re no- bis. Agnus De i, qui tol lis pec

20 ca ta— mun di, mi se re re no bis. Ag nus De— i, qui tol lis pec

34 ca ta mun— di, do na— no bis pa— cem, do na no bis— pa— cem.

The musical score is written in a single system with three staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics are placed below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. A first ending bracket (marked with a '1') is placed above the first staff, covering the final two measures of the first line. The second staff continues the melody and lyrics, also featuring a first ending bracket. The third staff concludes the piece with a final cadence, marked by a double bar line and repeat dots.

Critical Notes for *Misa Quitolis*

Credo 1

m. 16 – changed B-sharps to B-naturals.

m. 20 – changed B-sharps to B-naturals.

Credo 2

m. 11 – changed B-sharp to B-natural in upper voice.

Credo 3

m. 107 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Kirie

13 Ki ri e _____ e _____ lei son. Ki ri

24 e e lei _ son. Ki ri e _____ e lei son.

35 Chris te _____ e _____ lei son. Chris te e _____ le i

46 son. Chris te e _____ lei son. Ki ri e _____

e lei son. Ki ri e e lei son. Ki ri e e _____ lei son.

Gloria

Et in terra - pax ho mi ni bus bo - nae vo lun ta -
11
tis. Lau da - mus - te. Be ne di ci - mus - te. A do ra
22
mus te. Glo ri fi ca mus te. Gra ti - as a gi mus
32
ti - bi, prop ter mag nam glo ri am tu am, glo ri am tu -
41
am. Do mi ne De us Rex coe - les tis. De us Pa
51
ter om ni - po - tens. Do mi ne Fi li u ni -
62
ge ni te, Je su Chris te. Do mi ne De us
73
Agnus De - i, Fi li us Pa tris, Fi li us Pa - tris.
83
T. Qui to - llis pec ca - ta pec ca ta - mun - di,
92
mi se re re no bis, mi se re re - no - bis.

Gloria, cont.

101  **B.** Qui to — llis pec ca — ta pec ca ta — mun — di,

109  sus ci pe, sus ci pe de pre ca ti o nem nos — tram.

119  **C.** Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa — tris, mi se re re — no bis,

129  mi se re re — no — bis. Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc —

138  tus: Tu so lus Do — mi nus: Tu so lus Al tis si mus,

148  Je su, Je su — Chris te. Cum Sanc to Spi ri

157  tu in glo ri a De i Pa — tris A men, A — men.

Credo 1



Pa trem om ni po ten - tem, Fac to rem coe - li, et te -

12
rrae: vi si bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi li um.

23
Et, in u num Do mi num, Je sum Chris tum, Fi li um De i,

35
u ni ge ni - tum; Et ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni

46
a sae - cu la. De um de De o, lu men de

56
lu mi ne, De um ve rum de De o ve ro.

66
Ge ni tum, non fac tum; con sub stan ti a lem Pa - tri;

76
per quem om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos -

86
ho mi nes, et prop ter nos - tram sa lu -

94
tem des cen - dit de coe - lis.

Credo 2

Et — in car na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc to,

Et — in car na tus est de Spi ri tu — Sanc to

¹²

ex Ma ri a vir — gi ne: et ho mo, et ho mo

ex Ma ri a vir gi ne: et ho mo, et ho mo

²¹

fac tus est, et ho mo

fac — tus est, et ho mi

²⁷

et ho mo fac — tus est.

et ho mi fac — tus est.

Credo 3



Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub Pon ti o Pi
11
la to: pas sus, et se pul tus est. Et re sur
20
re xit ter ti a di e, se cun dum scrip tu ras.
30
Et as cen dit in coe lum, se det ad dex te ram Pa tris.
40
Et i te rum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a,
49
ju di ca re vi vos, et mor tu os: cu jus reg ni
59
non e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum
70
Do mi num, et vi vi fi can tem: qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o,
80
que pro ce dit: Qui cum Pa tre, et Fili o, si mul
89
a do ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo

Credo 3, cont.

97
cu tus est per Pro — fe — tas. Et u nam Sanc -

106
tam Ca tho li cam, et A pos to li — cam Ec — cle si am.

116
Con fi te — or u — num bap tis ma, in re

124
mi — si — o nem pe ca to — rum. B.Et ex

132
pec — to, T.Et ex pec — to, C.re sur rec ti

140
o nem mor tu o rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae cu

146
li. A — men, A men, A men.

Sanctus

10 Sanctus: Sanctus: Sanctus, Sanctus.

18 tus. Do mi nus De us sa ba oth.

26 Ple ni sunt coe li et ter ra. glo ri a tu a.

Ho ssa na in ex cel sis, in ex cel sis.

Benedictus

Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit, in

10 no mi ne Do mi ni:

16 Ho ssa na in ex cel sis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a time signature of 2/4. It consists of three staves. The first staff contains the first line of music and the lyrics 'Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit, in'. The second staff, starting at measure 10, contains the lyrics 'no mi ne Do mi ni:'. The third staff, starting at measure 16, contains the lyrics 'Ho ssa na in ex cel sis.' and ends with a double bar line. The melody is characterized by eighth-note runs and slurs.

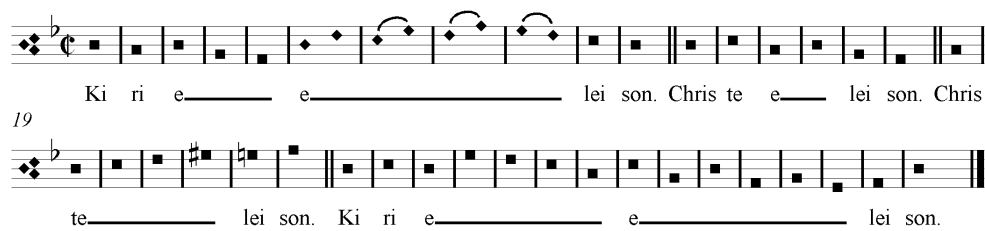
Agnus Dei

12 Ag nus De i, qui to llis pec ca ta mun di, mi se _
re re no _ bis. Ag nus De i, qui to llis pec ca ta _
32 mun di, mi se re re no bis. Ag nus De _ i, qui
to llis pec ca ta mun _ di, do na _
38 no bis pa _ cem, do na no bis _ pa _ cem.

Misa Baclayana



Kirie



Musical score for Kirie, featuring two staves of music. The first staff contains the lyrics: "Ki ri e lei son. Chris te lei son. Chris". The second staff contains the lyrics: "te lei son. Ki ri e lei son." The music is written in a single system with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The melody consists of quarter and eighth notes, with some notes beamed together and some notes having slurs or ties. The lyrics are placed below the notes, with horizontal lines indicating the duration of the notes.

19

Gloria

Lau da— mus te. A do ramus te. Gra ti as a— gimus ti bi propter mag nam glo riam tu— am. Do
23

mi ne fi— li u ni geni te Je— su—Chris te. Qui to llis pec ca ta mun di mi se— re re no—
49

bis. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa— tris, mi se re re no— bis. Tu so— lus
67

do— mi nus. Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu in glo ri a De i Pa— tris.

Credo 1



Patrem omni-po-ten-tem fac-tor-em coe-li, et ter-rae: visi-bi-li-um om-ni-um, et in-visi-bi-li-um.

14



Et in unum Do-mi-num Je-sum Chris-tum fi-li-um Dei uni-geni-tum. Et ex Pa-tre na-tum an-te

32



om-ni-a sae-cu-la. De-um de De-o, lum-en de lu-mi-ne, De-um ve-rum, de De-o ve-ro. Ge-ni-tum, non

47



fac-tum, con-sub-stan-ti-alem Pa-tri, per quem om-ni-a fac-ta sunt. Qui prop-ter nos ho-mi-nes,

63



et prop-ter nos-tram sa-lu-tem, nos-tram sa-lu-tem des-cen-dit, des-cen-dit de coe-lis.

Credo 2

T. Et in carna tus est: de Spi ri tu Sanc to, ex Ma ri a

B. Et in car na tus est: de Spi ri tu Sanc to. ex Ma ri a

17

T. vir gi ne: et ho mo fac tus est, et ho mo fac tus est.

B. vir gi ne: et ho mo fac tus est. et ho mo fac tus est.

Credo 3



Cruci fi xus e ti ampro no— bissubPon ti o Pi la to pasus et se— pul-tus est. Et re sur

15



re xit ter ti a di ese cun dum scrip tu— ras. Et as cendit in coe lum, se det ad dex te ram Pa—

29



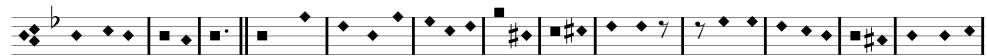
tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vis, et mor tu os, cu—jus regni

43



non e rit fi— nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc-tum Do mi num et vi vifi can- tem qui ex Pat re, Fili o

57



que pro ce— dit. Qui cum Pat re, et Fi li o si mul a do ra tur, et conglo ri fi ca— tur, qui lo

70



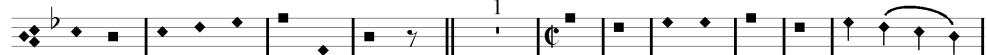
cu tus est perPro fe tas. Et unam Sanctam Catho li cam et A pos to li cam Ec clesi am Confi te

84



or u num bap tisma in re mi si onem pec ca to rum, pac ca to—rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti

99



o nem mor— tu o— rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae—

110



cu li. A men, A men, A— men.

Sanctus

Sanc_____tus. Sanc_____tus. Sanc_____tus.

23

Do minus De us sa—ba oth, sa—ba oth. Ple ni sunt coe li, et ter ra glo ri a

34

tu a, glo ri a tu_____a. Ho ssa na in—ex cel sis, in—ex cel sis, in—ex cel—sis.

Benedictus

19

Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi ni. Ho ssa na in
ex cel sis Ho ssa na in ex cel sis, ho ssa na in ex cel sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 2/4 time signature. The music is written in a style that suggests a piano accompaniment or a vocal line with a specific timbre. The lyrics are in Latin and are placed below the notes. The second staff continues the music and lyrics. There are some performance markings, such as '19' at the start of the second line and '1' above certain notes, indicating first endings or first performances. The overall style is clean and professional, typical of a published musical score.

Agnus Dei

Ag nus De—— i, qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di, mi se re re no bis. Ag nus De i, qui tol lis pec
20
ca— ta mun— di, mi se re re no—— bis. Ag nus De i, qui tol lis
30
pec ca ta mun di, pac ca ta mun di, do na no bis, do na no bis pa— cem.

Critical notes for *Misa Baclayana*

Kirie

m. 22 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Credo 1

m. 65 – changed B-sharps to B-naturals.

Credo 2

mm. 1, 6, 19, 32 – combined half notes to create whole note.

m. 11 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 13 – changed A-sharp to A-natural.

m. 17 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Credo 3

m. 9 – changed B-sharps to B-naturals.

m. 68 – changed E-sharp to E-natural.

m. 92 – changed F-flat to F-natural.

mm. 120 – combined half notes to create whole note.

Sanctus

m. 12 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

mm. 21-22 – combined half notes to create whole notes.

m. 25 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 48 – combined half notes to create whole note.

Critical notes for *Misa Baclayana*, cont.

Benedictus

- mm. 19-20 – changed C-flats to C-naturals.
- m. 21 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 38 – combined half notes to create whole note.

Agnus Dei

- m. 28 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Kirie

13
27

Ki ri e _____ e _____ lei son. Chris
te e _____ lei son. Chris te _____ lei son. Ki ri
e _____ e _____ lei son.

Gloria

12 Lau da — mus — te. A do ra mus te. Gra ti as a —

24 gi mus ti bi prop ter mag nam glo ri am tu — am. Do mi

37 ne fi — li u ni ge ni te Je — su — Chris te. Qui to

48 llis pec ca ta mun di mi se — re re no —

59 — bis. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa — tris, mi se re re

72 no — bis. Tu so — lus do — mi nus. Cum

Sanc to Spi ri tu in glo ri a De i Pa — tris.

Credo 1

Pa trem om ni po ten tem fac tor em coe li, et ter rae: vi si

8
bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi li um. Et in u num

16
Do mi num Je sum Chris tum fi li um De i u ni

25
ge ni tum. Et ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni a sae cu la.

35
De um de De o, lu men de lu mi ne, De um ve rum, de De o

43
ve ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum, con subs tan ti a lem Pa tri,

53
per quem om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes,

63
et prop ter nos tram sa lu tem, nos tram sa lu tem, sa lu

69
tem des cen dit, des cen dit de coe lis.

Credo 2

T. Et in carna tus est: de Spi ri tu Sanc to,

B. Et in car na tus est: de Spi ri tu Sanc to.

13

T. ex Ma ri a vir gi ne: et ho mo

B. ex Ma ri a vir gi ne: et ho mo

23

T. fac tus est, et ho mo fac tus est.

B. fac tus est. et ho mo fac tus est.

The musical score is written for Tenor (T.) and Bass (B.) voices. It consists of three systems of music. The first system covers the lyrics 'Et in carna tus est: de Spi ri tu Sanc to,'. The second system covers 'ex Ma ri a vir gi ne: et ho mo'. The third system covers 'fac tus est, et ho mo fac tus est.' The score includes various time signatures (4/4, 2/4) and clefs (bass clef). Trills are indicated above the final notes of the first and second systems. The lyrics are printed below the corresponding vocal lines.

Credo 3

9
Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no — bis sub Pon ti o Pi la to

17
pa sus et se — pul — tus est. Et re sur re xit ter ti a

26
di e se cun dum scrip tu — ras. Et as cend it in coe — lum,

34
se det ad dex te ram — Pa — tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus est

43
cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vis, et mor tu os, cu — jus reg ni

51
non e rit fi — nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num

59
et vi vi fi can — tem qui ex Pat re, Fi li o que pro — ce —

67
dit. Qui cum Pat re, et Fi li o si mul a do ra tur, et con

76
glo ri fi ca — tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe tas. Et u nam Sanc tam

Ca tho li cam et A pos to li cam Ec cle si am Con fi te or u

Credo 3, cont.

85



num bap tis ma in re mi si o nem pec ca to rum, pac ca

93



to rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o

102



rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae cu

111



li. A men, A men, A men.

Sanctus

12 Sanctus. Sanctus.

23 tus. Sanctus. tus.

31 Do mi nus De us sa ba oth, sa ba oth. Ple ni sunt

40 coe li, et ter ra glo ri a tu a, glo ri a tu a. Ho

ssa na in ex cel sis, in ex cel sis, in ex cel sis.

Benedictus

Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi —

13 ni. Ho — ssa na in ex cel sis Ho — ssa

25 na in ex cel sis, Ho — ssa

33 na — in ex cel — sis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a time signature of 2/4. It consists of four staves of music. The first staff contains the first line of music with lyrics 'Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi —'. The second staff starts at measure 13 and contains 'ni. Ho — ssa na in ex cel sis Ho — ssa'. The third staff starts at measure 25 and contains 'na in ex cel sis, Ho — ssa'. The fourth staff starts at measure 33 and contains 'na — in ex cel — sis.' The music is primarily composed of chords and simple melodic lines, with some phrasing slurs and a final fermata on the last note.

Agnus Dei

Ag nus De _____ i, qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di,
12

mi se re re no bis. Ag nus De i, qui tol lis pec ca _ ta
21

mun di, mi se re re no ____ bis. Ag nus De i, qui tol lis
30

pec ca ta mun di, pac ca ta mun di, do na
35

no bis, do na no bis pa _____ cem.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a time signature of 2/4. It consists of five staves of music. The first staff begins with a 2/4 time signature and a key signature of one flat. The second staff has a 3/4 time signature change. The third staff has a 2/4 time signature change. The fourth staff has a 3/4 time signature change. The fifth staff ends with a double bar line. The lyrics are in Latin and are placed below the notes. There are several long horizontal lines under the lyrics, indicating that the notes are held for a longer duration than the written note value.

Misa Zaragozana

pa — cum. *MISA ZARAGOZANA*

*I*ri — — — eleison. *C*hris — — — te — — —

eleison. *C*hris — — — te — — — eleison. *K*iri e — — —

The image shows a manuscript page with two staves of musical notation. The notation uses square neumes on a four-line red staff. The text is written in a Gothic script, with some words in red ink. A large, ornate initial 'I' in red and yellow is on the left. The title 'MISA ZARAGOZANA' is written in red at the top. The lyrics are: 'Iri — — — eleison. Chris — — — te — — — eleison. Chris — — — te — — — eleison. Kiri e — — —'. There are some faint markings above the first staff, including 'pa — cum.' and a decorative flourish.

Kirie

Ki ri e lei son. Chris te e lei son.

10

Chris te e lei son. Ki ri e lei son.

Gloria



Et in te-rra pax ho-mi-ni-bus bo-nae vo-lun-ta-tis. Lau-da-mus te. **B.s.** Be-ne

17



di-ci-mus te. **T.s.** A-do-ra-mus te. **C.** Glo-ri-fi-ca-mus te

29



Grati-as a-gi-mus ti-bi, prop-ter mag-nam glo-ri-am tu-am. Do-mi-ne De-us Rex coe-les-tis De-us Pa-ter

44



om-ni-po-tens. Do-mi-ne Fi-li-u-ni-geni-te Je-su Chris-te. Do-mi-ne De-us, Ag-nus De-

60



i-Fi-li-us Pa-tris. Qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di, mise-re-re no-bis. Qui tol-lis

77



pec-ca-ta mun-di sus-ci-pe de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem nos-tram. Qui se-des ad dex-te-ram Pa-tris mi-se

92



re-re no-bis. Quo-ni-am tu sol-us Sanc-tus. Tu so-lus Do-mi-nus. Tu so-lus Al-ti-si-mus Je-su Chris-

106



te. Cum ri-tu in glo-ri-a

115



De-i Pa-tris a-men. A-men.

Credo



Pat rem omni po ten tem fac to rem coe li, et ter rae: vi si bi li um omni um et in vi si bi li um.

15



B.S. Et in u num Do mi num, T.S. Je sum Chris tum, C. Fi li um

26



Dei u ni ge ni tum. Et ex Pa tre na tum an te omni a sae cu la. De um de De o,

43



lum de lu mi ne: De um ve rum de Deo ve ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum con subs tan ti alem

57



Pa tri, per quem om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos homi nes et prop ter

72



nos tra msa lu tem. T.S. des cen dit. **B.S.** de ce lis. Et

85



in car na tus est: de Spi ri tu Sanc to ex

111



Ma ri a vir gi ne et ho mo fac tus est. Cru ci fi xus e ti

136



am pro nobis sub Pon ti o Pi la to pasus et se pul tus est. Et re sur re xit ter ti a die, se

152



cundum scrip tu ras. Et ascen dit in coelum se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus est

Credo, cont.

167



cum glo ri a ju di care vi vos, et mor tu os cu jus regni non e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ritum

183



San ctum Do mi num, et vi vi fi cantem qui ex Pa tre Fi li o que pro ce dit. Qui cum Pa tre et Fi li o

197



simu la do ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe tas. Et unam

211



San ctam Ca tho li cam, et Apos tol i cam Ec cle si am. Con fi te or unum bap tisma in re mi si onem

227



pec ca to rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o rum. Et

239



vita ven tu ri sae cu li. A men.

Sanctus




Sanc_____tus, Sanc tus, Sanctus Do mi nus De us sa_____ba oth.

13



Ple ni sunt coe li et ter ra glo ri a tu a. Ho_____ssa na in ex cel sis.

Benedictus



Be ne dic tus qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi ni. Ho— ssa na in ex cel sis.

The image shows a single line of musical notation on a five-line staff. It begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of a series of quarter notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. There is a double bar line after the eighth note (C4). The melody then continues with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. The piece ends with a double bar line.

Agnus Dei



Ag— nus De i qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di mi se re— re no bis.

ll



Ag nus De i, qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di, do na no— bis pa cem.

Critical Notes for *Misa Zaragozana*

Throughout- changed third-line C clef to third-line F clef. The parts are then written using a fourth-line F clef.

Kirie

m. 8 – changed A-sharps to A-naturals.

m. 12 – changed D-sharps to D-naturals.

Gloria

m. 93 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Credo

m. 19 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Sanctus

m. 15 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Agnus Dei

m. 15 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Kirie

Musical score for Kirie in 3/4 time. The score consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The melody is written in a simple, hymn-like style with a mix of quarter and half notes, some with slurs. The lyrics are: "Ki ri _____ e lei son. Chris _____ te _____ e lei son." The second staff continues the melody and includes the lyrics: "Chris te _____ e lei son. Ki ri e _____ e lei son." The score ends with a double bar line.

10

Gloria

Et in te_ rra pax ho mi_ ni bus bo_ nae vo_ lun ta_

9 tis. Lau_ da_ mus te. Bass: Be_ ne

17 di_ ci_ mus_ te. Tenor: A_ do_

24 ra_ mus te. Coro:Glo ri fi ca_ mus te Gra ti as a gi mus ti_

32 bi, prop ter mag nam glo ri am tu_ am. Do mi ne De us

40 Rex coe les tis De us Pa ter om ni po tens. Do mi ne Fi li

48 u_ ni ge ni te Je su Chris_ te.

56 Do mi ne De us, Ag nus De i Fi li us Pa_ tris.

65 Qui tol lis pe ca ta mun_ di, mi se re re no_

74 bis. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di sus ci pe de pre

Gloria, cont.

82

ca ti o — nem nos tram. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa tris

This musical staff contains measures 82 through 90. It begins with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody consists of quarter and eighth notes, with a fermata over the final note of the first phrase. The lyrics are: "ca ti o — nem nos tram. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa tris".

91

mi se re re no bis. Quo ni am tu sol us Sanc tus. Tu so lus

This musical staff contains measures 91 through 98. The melody continues with quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics are: "mi se re re no bis. Quo ni am tu sol us Sanc tus. Tu so lus".

99

Do mi nus. Tu so lus Al ti si mus Je su Chris te. Cum

This musical staff contains measures 99 through 107. It features a variety of note values including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes. The lyrics are: "Do mi nus. Tu so lus Al ti si mus Je su Chris te. Cum".

108

Sanc — to — Spi — ri tu in glo ri a De i

This musical staff contains measures 108 through 115. It features a long melisma with a slur over the notes. The lyrics are: "Sanc — to — Spi — ri tu in glo ri a De i".

116

Pat ris a men. A — men.

This musical staff contains measures 116 through 124. It features a long melisma with a slur over the notes. The lyrics are: "Pat ris a men. A — men."

Credo

Pat rem om ni po ten tem fac to rem coe li, et ter rae: vi si bi li um
9
om ni um et in vi si bi li um Bass: Et _____
17
in _____ u _____ num Do mi num, Tenor: Je _____ sum _____
23
Chris _____ tum, Coro: Fi li um De i u ni ge ni tum. Et _____
31
ex Pa _____ tre na tum an te om ni a sae _____ cu la.
40
De um de De _____ o, lu men de lu _____ mi ne: De um ve rum
48
de De o ve ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum con subs tan ti
56
a lem Pa _____ tri, per quem om ni a fac _____
65
ta _____ sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes et prop ter nos tram sa lu
74
tem. Tenor: des _____ cen _____ dit. Bass: de _____

Credo, cont.

80
ce _____ lis. Et _____ in car _____

89
na _____ tus _____ est: de _____ Spi ri _____

101
_____ tu Sanc _____ to _____ ex _____ Ma _____

112
_____ ri _____ a vir _____ gi ne _____ et _____

123
ho _____ mo fac _____ tus est. Cru ci _____

134
fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub _____ Pon ti o _____ Pi la _____ to _____

143
pa sus et se pul tus est. Et re sur re xit ter ti a die, _____

151
se _____ cun dum scrip tu _____ ras. Et as cen dit in coe lum se det ad _____

159
dex te ram Pa _____ tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus est cum _____

168
glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos, et mor tu os cu jus reg ni non _____

Credo, cont.

177
e — rit fi — nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do mi
185
num, et vi vi fi can tem qui ex Pa tre Fi li o que pro ce — dit.
193
Qui cum Pa tre et Fi li o si mul a do — ra tur, et con glo
201
ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe — tas.
210
Et u nam Sanc tam Ca tho li cam, et A pos tol i cam Ec cle si
218
am. Con fi te or u num bap tis ma in re mi si o nem
227
pec ca to rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu
236
o rum. Et vit tam ven tu ri sae — cu li.
244
A — men.

Sanctus

Sanc _____ tus, Sanc tus, Sanc tus Do mi nus De us

10
sa _____ ba oth. Ple ni sunt coe li et ter ra glo ri a

17
tu a. Ho _____ ssa na in ex cel sis.

Benedictus

7

Be ne dic tus qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi
ni. Ho _____ ssa na in ex cel sis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a 3/4 time signature. The first staff contains the lyrics 'Be ne dic tus qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi'. The second staff begins with a fermata over the word 'ni.' and continues with 'Ho _____ ssa na in ex cel sis.' The music consists of simple, rhythmic notes, with a melisma indicated by a long horizontal line under the word 'Ho'.

Agnus Dei

Ag nus De i qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di mi se re - re no
10
vis.
bis. Ag nus De i, qui tol lis pec ca ta
15
mun di, do na no — bis pa cem.

Misa Provincial



Kirie

Musical score for Kirie, featuring a single melodic line on a treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into five systems, each with a measure number on the left. The lyrics are written below the notes, with horizontal lines indicating long notes. The first system (measures 1-19) ends with the lyrics "Ki ri e_____ e_____ lei son. Kiri e_____ e lei son. Ki ri". The second system (measures 20-34) includes a key signature change to two flats (B-flat and E-flat) at measure 28, marked with a 'C' above the staff. It ends with "e_____ e_____ leison. Christe e_____ e_____ leison. Christe e_____ leison. Christe". The third system (measures 35-51) ends with "e_____ leison. Kiri e_____ e leison. Ki". The fourth system (measures 52-63) ends with "ri_____ e_____ e_____ lei son. Ki ri e_____". The fifth system (measures 64-70) ends with "e lei son.".

20 Ki ri e_____ e_____ lei son. Kiri e_____ e lei son. Ki ri

35 e_____ e_____ leison. Christe e_____ e_____ leison. Christe e_____ leison. Christe

52 e_____ leison. Kiri e_____ e leison. Ki

64 ri_____ e_____ e_____ lei son. Ki ri e_____

e lei son.

Gloria

Et in te_rra pax ho mi—ni bus, bo—nae vo— lun ta— tis. Lau—da— mus—te. Bene.dici

16
 muste. A—do ra—mus te. Glori fi ca mus te. Gra ti as a gi mus ti— bi pro pter

31
 mag—nam glo ri am tu— am. Do mi ne De—us Rex coe— les—tis De—us Pa—ter om ni po

44
 tens. Do mi ne Fi—li u— ni ge— ni te Je su Chris te Chris te. Do mi—ne. De us

60
 Ag—nus De i, Fili—us— Pa— tris. Qui to llis pec ca—ta mun— di, mi se re—re

76
 no— bis. Qui— to llis pec ca—ta mun di sus ci pe de—pre ca—ti o—nem nos—

93
 —tram. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa— tris, mi se re—re no—

110
 — bis. Quo— ni am tu so lus Sanc— tus. Tu so lus Do mi nus: Tu so lus Al ti si

126
 mus, Je—su Chris— te. Cum Sanc—to Spi ri tu, in— glo ri a Dei

142
 Pa— tris. A— men.

Credo 1

15
Pa-trem om-ni-po-ten-tem, fac-to-rem coe-li et ter-rae: vi-si-bi-li-um om-ni-um, et in-
vi-si-bi-li-um. Et in u-num Do-mi-num Je-sum Chris-tum, Fi-li-um De-i u-ni-
31
ge-ni-tum. Et ex-Pa-tre-na-tum an-te-om-ni-a sae-cu-la. De-um de
45
De-o, lu-men de lu-mi-ne, De-um ve-rum de De-o ve-ro. Ge-ni-tum, non
59
fac-tum: con-sub-stan-ti-alem Pa-tri. Per quem om-ni-a fac-ta sunt.
72
Qui pro-pter nos ho-mi-nes, et pro-pter nos-tram sa-lu-tem des-cen-dit de coe-lis.

Credo, cont.

T. Et in— car na tus est. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu

B. Et in— car na tus est. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu

10

T. Sanc— to. et ho mo, et ho mo fac tus est.

B. Sanc— to. et ho mo, et ho mo fac tus est.

Credo 3

Cru ci fi_xus e_t_i ampro no_bis,sub Ponti o_Pi la_____ to, pa_sus et_se pul_____ tus
 17
 est. Et re sur re_xit ter ti a di e se cun_dum scrip tu_____ ras. Et as cen dit in coelum;
 32
 se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et i_te rum ven tu_____ rus est,cum glo ri a ju_di care vi vos,et
 47
 mor_____ tu os: cu jus regni non e rit fi_____ nis. Et_in Spi ritum Sanctum
 62
 Do_mi_num:et vi vi_fi can_tem: qui ex Pa_tre, Fi_li o que pro ced_____ dit. Qui cum
 76
 Pa_tre et Fi_____ li o simul a_do ra_____ tur, et con glo ri fi ca_____ tur, qui lo cu tus
 89
 est per Pro fe tas. Et unam Sanc tam Catho licam:et Apos to_li cam Ec cle_____ si am.
 105
 Con fi te or unum bap tis_____ ma, in_re mi_si o_nem pec ca to_____ rum
 122
 Et.ex pec_____ to re_sur rec ti o_____ nem. mor tu_ o_____ rum, mor tu_ o_____ rum.
 137
 rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae_____ cu li. A_____ men, A_____ men.
 145

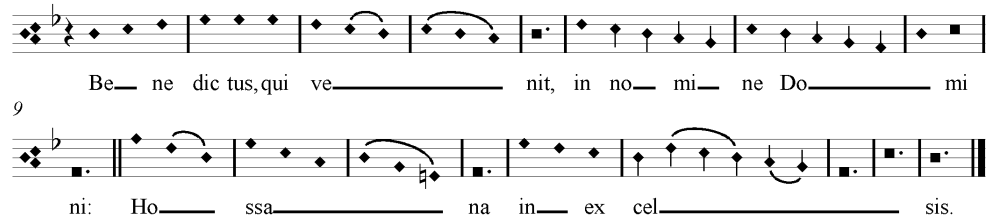
Sanctus

17

Sanc_____tus. Sanctus. Sanctus.

tus. Dominus Deus sa_____baoth. Ho- ssa_____na in-ex cel_____sis.

Benedictus



The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody starts with a quarter rest, followed by a series of quarter notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. There are two slurs over the notes B4-C5 and A4-G4. The staff ends with a quarter note G4. The lyrics "Be— ne dic tus, qui ve— nit, in no— mi— ne Do— mi" are written below the staff, with horizontal lines under the words "ve—" and "Do—" indicating the notes they correspond to. A dynamic marking of *p* is placed below the first staff. The second staff begins with a double bar line, a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. The melody starts with a quarter note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. There are two slurs over the notes B4-C5 and A4-G4. The staff ends with a quarter note G4. The lyrics "ni: Ho— ssa— na in— ex cel— sis." are written below the staff, with horizontal lines under the words "Ho—" and "cel—" indicating the notes they correspond to.

Be— ne dic tus, qui ve— nit, in no— mi— ne Do— mi
p
ni: Ho— ssa— na in— ex cel— sis.

Agnus Dei

17 Agnus De_____ i, qui tol lis pecca ta mun di mise re re no_____ bis. Agnus De i,

32 qui tol_____ lis pec ca ta mun_ di mi_ se re re no_____ bis. Agnus De i, qui tol

lis pec ca ta mun_____ di do_ na no_____ bis pa_____ cem.

The musical score consists of three systems of notation. Each system begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The first system contains 17 measures, ending with a double bar line and a first ending bracket over the final two measures. The second system contains 17 measures, starting with a measure rest for 15 measures, and ending with a double bar line. The third system contains 17 measures, starting with a measure rest for 15 measures, and ending with a double bar line. The lyrics are written below the notes, with horizontal lines indicating the placement of the text relative to the musical notes.

Critical notes for *Misa Provincial*

Kirie

- m. 27 – changed C-natural to C-sharp.
- m. 31 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 62 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Gloria

- m. 46 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 48 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 49 – changed C-natural to C-sharp.

Credo 1

- m. 37 – changed F-natural to F-sharp.
- m. 44 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- m. 46 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Credo 2

- m. 11 – changed B-flat to B-natural in lower part.

Credo 3

- m. 108 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.
- mm. 132-139 – converted free meter section to triple meter.
- m. 159 – combined half notes to create whole note.

Sanctus

- m. 27 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Benedictus

- m. 12 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Agnus Dei

- m. 9 – lowered B-flat one octave to avoid leaping sevenths.
- mm. 41 – changed F to G on beat 2.

Kirie

9 Ki ri e e lei

17 son. Ki ri e e lei son.

25 Ki ri e e lei son. Chris te

33 e e lei son. Chris te e lei son.

41 Chris te e lei son.

50 Ki ri e e lei son.

58 Ki ri e e lei son.

66 Ki ri e

69 e lei son.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a 3/4 time signature. It consists of ten staves of music. The lyrics are placed below the notes, with some words connected by long horizontal lines indicating sustained notes. Measure numbers (9, 17, 25, 33, 41, 50, 58, 66, 69) are placed at the beginning of their respective staves. There are some performance markings: 'tr.' (trill) above the first note of measure 25, and 'C' and 'B' above notes in measures 25 and 33 respectively. The score ends with a double bar line at the end of the final staff.

Gloria

Et in terra pax hominibus, bonae voluntatis. Laudamus te. Benedicimus te. Adoramus te. Glorificamus te. Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam. Domine Deus Rex coelestis Deus Pater omnipotens. Domine Fili unigenite Jesu Christe Christe. Domine Deus Agnus Dei, Filius Patris. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi suscipe

Gloria, cont.

88
de_ pre ca_ ti o_ nem nos _____ tram.

96
Qui se des_ ad dex te ram Pa

104
tris, mi_ se re_ re no _____ bis.

112
Quo_ ni_ am tu so lus Sanc _____ tus. Tu

120
so_ lus Do_ mi nus: Tu so_ lus Al ti si mus, Je_ su Chris_

129
_____ te. Cum Sanc _____ to

138
Spi_ ri tu, in _____ glo ri a De i Pa _____ tris.

145
A

149
_____ men.

Credo 1

Pa trem om ni po ten tem, fac to rem coe li et

9
te rrae: vi si bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi li

17
um. Et in u num Do mi num Je sum Chris

26
tum, Fi li um De i u ni ge ni tum.

34
Et ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni a

41
sae cu la. De um de De o, lu men de lu mi ne,

49
De um ve rum de De o ve ro. Ge ni

58
tum, non fac tum: con sub stan ti a lem Pa

65
tri. Per quem om ni a fac ta sunt.

73
Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes, et prop ter nos tram sa

78
lu tem des cen dit de coe lis.

Credo 2

Et in carna tus est. Et in car na tus est de

Et in car na tus est. Et in car na tus est de

9
Spi ri tu Sanc to. et ho

Spi ri tu Sanc to. et ho

15
mo, et ho mo fac tus est.

mo, et ho mo fac tus est.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a vocal part, likely a bass or tenor, in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into three systems. The first system contains two lines of music with lyrics: 'Et in carna tus est. Et in car na tus est de'. The second system, starting at measure 9, contains two lines of music with lyrics: 'Spi ri tu Sanc to. et ho'. The third system, starting at measure 15, contains two lines of music with lyrics: 'mo, et ho mo fac tus est.'. The music features a mix of quarter, eighth, and half notes, with some phrases marked with slurs. The lyrics are in Latin and are printed below the corresponding musical notes.

Credo 3



Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no bis, sub Pon ti
9
o Pi la to, pa sus et se pul
16
tus est. Et re sur re xit ter ti a di e se cun dum
25
scrip tu ras. Et as cen dit in coe lum; se det ad
33
dex te ram Pa tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus
42
est, cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos, et mor tu
50
os: cu jus reg ni non e rit fi nis.
59
Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num: et vi vi fi
66
can tem: qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ced
73
dit. Qui cum Pa tre et Fi li o si mul a do

Credo 3, cont.

81
ra _____ tur, et con - glo ri fi ca _____ tur, qui lo

88
cu tus est per Pro fe tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Ca tho li cam:

98
et A pos to - li cam Ec cle _____ si am. Con fi te

106
or u num bap tis _____ ma,

115
in - re mi - si o - nem pec - ca to _____ rum Et - ex

123
pec _____ to re - sur rec - ti o _____ nem.

132
mor - tu o _____ rum, mor tu o _____

144
rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae _____ cu li. A _____

152
men, A _____

156
men.

Sanctus

Sanctus. Sanctus. Sanctus.

9

tus. Sanctus.

17

tus. Do mi nus De_ us sa ba oth.

25

Ho ssa na

29

in ex cel sis.

Benedictus

8 Be_ ne dic tus, qui ve_____ nit, in no mi ne Do_____

14 _____ mi ni: Ho_____ ssa _____ na

in_____ ex cel _____ sis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. It consists of three staves. The first staff contains the first line of music and the lyrics 'Be_ ne dic tus, qui ve_____ nit, in no mi ne Do_____'. The second staff contains the second line of music and the lyrics '_____ mi ni: Ho_____ ssa _____ na'. The third staff contains the third line of music and the lyrics 'in_____ ex cel _____ sis.'. The music features various note values including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and slurs. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Agnus Dei

9 Ag nus De _____ i, qui tol lis pec ca ta mun

17 di mi se re re no _____ bis. Ag nus De_ i,

25 qui tol _____ lis pec ca ta mun _____ di mi_ se re re

34 no _____ bis. Ag nus De i, qui tol lis pec ca ta

39 mun _____ di do_ na no _____

_____ bis pa _____ cem.

Misa de Alcala



Kirie

Ki ri_ e_ e_ lei son. Chris te

21 e_ lei son, e_ lei son. Ki ri_ e_ *vis*

41 e_ lei son.

Gloria

Lau da _____ mus te. A do ra _____ mus te. Grati
20
as a gi mus ti bi propter mag nam glo ri am tu am. Do mi ne Fi li uni— geni te Je— su
42
Chris— te. Qui tol lis pec cata mun— di mise re re no— bis. Qui se des ad dex te ram
61
Pa— tris, mi se re re no bis. Tu so lus Do mi nus. Cum Sanc—
74
to Spi— ri tu, in— glo— ri— a De i Pa tris. A men.

Credo



Pa trem omni po ten tem, fac to rem coe li et ter rae: vi si bi li um omni

21



um: et in vi si bi li um. Et in unum Do mi num Je sum Christum Fi li um De i, u ni

42



ge nitum. Et ex Pa tre na tum an te omni a sae cu la. De um de De o, lum en de lumi

63



ne, De um ve rum de De o ve ro. Ge nitum non fac tum con sub stan ti

81



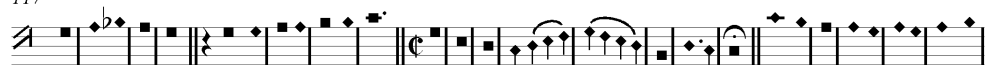
a lem Pa tri, per quem omni a fac tasunt. Qui pro pter nos ho mi nes, et pro pter nos tram sa lu

100



tem: des cen dit, des cen dit, de coe lis. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri

117



tu Sanc to: ex Ma ri a vir gi ne: et ho mo fac tus est. Cruci fi xus e ti am pro

138



no bis sub Pon ti o, Pi la to pa sus, et se pul tus est.

158




Et re sur re xit ter ti a di e se cun dum scrip tu ras. Et as cen dit in coe lum, se det ad dex te ram

177




Pa tris. Et i ter um ven tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos et mor tu os:


Credo, cont.

195 


cu jus reg ni non e rit fi — nis, non non e rit fi nis: non e rit fi nis, non, non e—

216 

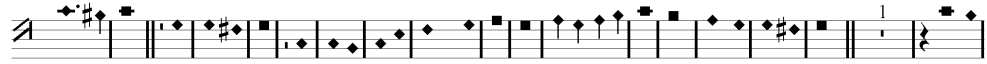
rit fi — nis, e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanctum Do mi num: et vi vi fi can tem qui ex Pa tre

237 


Fili o, que pro ce dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fili o si mul a do ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo

258 


cus est per Pro fe tas. Et unam Sanctam Cat ho li cam, Cat ho li cam, et Apos to li cam, Ec

275 

cle si am. Con fi te or, Con fi te or unum bap tis ma, in remi si o nem pec ca to — rum. Et ex

294 

pec to, et ex pec to, re sur rec ti o nem mor tu — o rum. Et — vi tam ven tur — i

308 

sae cu li Amen, a men, a — men, a — men, a — men, a — men.

Sanctus

Sanctus Dominus Deus sabaoth sabaoth. Hosanna in excelsis, in excelsis.

19

32

Benedictus

Be ne dic- tus, qui ve- nit in no mi ne Do-

14
- mi ni: Ho ssa- na in- ex cel- sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of two staves. The top staff is a vocal line in C major, 4/4 time, with lyrics: "Be ne dic- tus, qui ve- nit in no mi ne Do-". The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment line, starting at measure 14, with lyrics: "- mi ni: Ho ssa- na in- ex cel- sis." The piano part features a steady eighth-note accompaniment with some melodic flourishes.

Agnus Dei

Agnus Dei, qui tolles peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

Critical notes for *Misa de Alcalá*

Throughout – Changed fourth-line C clef to fourth-line F clef.

Kirie

Ki ri e

e lei son. Chris te e

le i son,

e lei son. Ki ri e

e

le i son.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Kirie'. It consists of six staves of music, all written in bass clef. The first staff is in 2/4 time and contains the lyrics 'Ki ri e'. The second staff continues with 'e lei son. Chris te e'. The third staff has 'le i son,'. The fourth staff has 'e lei son. Ki ri e'. The fifth staff has 'e' and a time signature change to 3/4. The sixth staff has 'le i son.' and a final double bar line. The music features various note values, including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and accidentals. Phrasing slurs are used to group notes across staves.

Gloria

Lau_ da_ mus te. A

11 do ra_ mus te. Gra ti as

21 a gi mus ti bi prop ter mag nam glo ri am tu_ am.

32 Do mi ne Fi li u ni_ gen i te Je_ su

42 Chris_ te. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun_ di

52 mi se re re no_ bis. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa_

63 tris, mi se re re no bis. Tu so lus Do mi nus. Cum

73 Sanc_ to Spi_ ri tu, in_ glo_

82 ri_ a De i Pa tris. A men.

Credo

Pa trem om ni po ten tem,
11
fac to rem coe li et te rrae: vi si bi li um om ni um:
22
et in vi si bi li um. Et in u num Do mi
33
num Je sum Chris tum Fi li um De i, u ni ge ni tum.
45
Et ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni a sae cu la.
56
De um de De o, lu men de lu mi ne, De um
66
ve rum de De o ve ro. Ge ni
76
tum non fac tum con subs tan ti a lem Pa tri, per quem om ni a
87
fac ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes, et prop ter nos
98
tram sa lu tem: des cen dit, des cen dit,
107
de coe lis. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu

Credo, cont.

118

Sanc— to: ex Ma ri a vir gi ne: et ho mo

128

fac— tus— est. Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro

138

no. bis sub Pon ti o, Pi la— to pa—

149

— sus, et se— pul— tus— est. Et re sur

159

re xit ter ti a di e se cun dum scrip tu ras. Et as

170

cen dit in coe lum, se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et i te

181

rum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca— re vi— vos et mor

192

tu os: cu jus reg ni non e rit fi— nis, non

203

non e rit fi nis: non e rit fi nis, non,

214

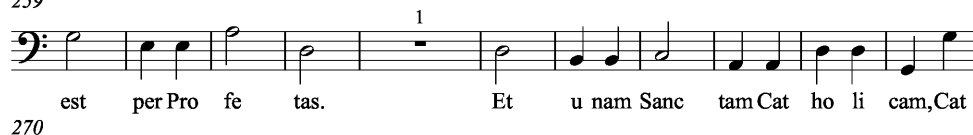
non e— rit fi— nis, e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ri

225

tum Sanctum Do mi num: et vi vi fi can tem qui— ex Pa

Credo, cont.

236



Credo, cont.

236
tre Fi li o, que pro ce dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fi li

247
o si mul a do ra tur, et conglo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus

259
est per Pro fe tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Cat ho li cam, Cat

270
ho li cam, et A pos to li cam, Ec cle si am. Con fi te or, Con

281
fi te or u num bap tis ma, in re mi si o nem pec ca to rum.

292
Et ex pec to, et ex pec to, re sur rec ti o nem mor

300
tu o rum. Et vi tam ven tur i sae cu li

310
A men, a men, a men, a

318
men, a men, a men.

Sanctus

Sanc _____ tus. Do minus

20

De _____ us sa _____ ba oth sa _____ ba oth. Ho ssa _____ na in _____

32

_____ ex _____ cel _____ sis, in _____ ex _____ cel sis.

Benedictus

Be ne dic - tus, qui ve - nit in no mi ne Do -

14
mi ni: Ho ssa - na in ex cel - sis.

Agnus Dei

10

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,
di, miserere nobis.

Misa Manchega



Kirie

19

Ki ri — e e — lei son. Chris te — e lei son. Chris
te — e lei — son. Ki ri e — e — lei son.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Kirie". It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a simple, homophonic style. The lyrics are in German and are placed below the notes, with horizontal lines indicating the duration of each syllable. The second staff continues the melody and lyrics. The lyrics are: "Ki ri — e e — lei son. Chris te — e lei son. Chris te — e lei — son. Ki ri e — e — lei son." The number "19" is written below the first staff. The music ends with a double bar line.

Gloria

Et in— te rra— pax ho— mi ni bus bonae volun ta— tis. Lau da— mus te.

22 Be—ne. di ci mus te. A— do— ramus te. Glo ri fi ca—

43 mus te. Gra ti asa— gimus ti bi. prop ter— magnam glo ri am tu am. Do. mine De.

64 — us Rex— coeles tis De— us Pater om— nipotens. Do mi ne Fi— li uni

84 ge ni— te Je— su Chris— te, Je su Chris— te. Do. mine De us, Ag— nus De— i, Fi li us

105 Patris. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di, mi se re— re no— bis. Quito

124 llis pec ca ta— mun di, sus— ci pe, de pre ca ti onem nostram. Qui— se des ad

145 dex— te ram Pa— tris mise re re no bis. Quo ni— am tu— so— lus Sanctus.

168 Tu— so— lus Do— mi— nus. Tu so— lus Al— tis simus Je su Chris te. Cum

187 — Sanc to Spi ri tu in glo ri a De— i Pa— tris. A— men.

Credo

Pa— trem om— ni po— ten— tem, fac— torem coe— li, et— ter rae: vi si bi li um

21 om ni— um, et— in vi si bili um. Et in u— num Do mi. num Jesum Chris— tum,

43 Fi— li— um De i u— ni— ge— ni tum. Et ex— Pa— tre na— tum an te—

65 om ni— a sae— cu la. De— um de— De— o, lu— men de lu— mi ne, De um ve rum

86 de— Deo ve ro. Ge ni tum, non factum, con sub stan ti— a lem Pa tri, per quem

102 om— ni a fac— ta sunt. Qui propter nos ho— mi nes et propter nos tram sa lu tem

122 des— cen dit de coe— lis, de coe— lis. Et n car— na— tus— est, de Spi ri— tu


142 Sanc— to: ex Ma ri a vir gi— ne: et— ho— mo fac tus est. Cru ci— fi— xus e ti

162 am pro no— bis sub Pon ti— o Pi— la— o, pa— sus et— se— pul tus est.

182 Et— re sur re xit ter— ti— a di e se— cun dum scrip tu ras. Et— as cen dit in— coe—

Credo, cont.

202



lum. Se det ad dex te ram Pat ris. Et i te rum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a

219



ju di ca re vi vos, et mor tu os: cu jus reg ni non, non, e

236




rit fi nis non non e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanctum

255




Do mi num, et vi vi fi can tem, qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ce dit.

272



Qui cum Pa tre, et Fi li o, si mul a do ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui

289




lo cu tus est per Pro fe tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Cat ho li cam et A

306



post o li cam Ec cle si am. Con fi te or u num bap tis ma in re misi

322



o nem pac ca to rum. **T.** Et ex pec to. **B.** re sur rec ti o nem mor tu

338



o rum. mor tu o rum. **C.** Et vi tam

349



ven tu ri sae cu li. A men, a men, a men.

Sanctus



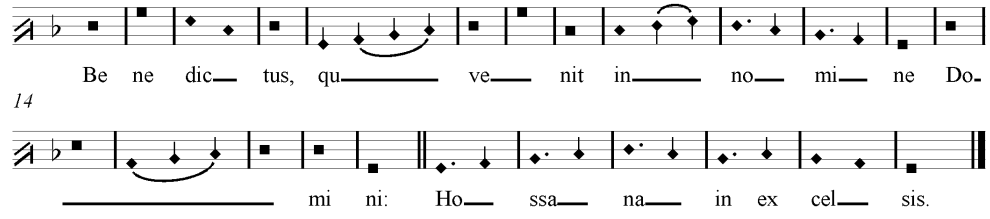
17

Sanc_____ tus. Do mi nus De_____ us sa_____

_____ ba_ oth. Ho ssa_____ na in ex_ cel_____ sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Sanctus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody starts with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note B-flat4, and a quarter note C5. There are several rests and other notes throughout the staff. The lyrics 'Sanc_____ tus. Do mi nus De_____ us sa_____ ' are written below the first staff. The second staff continues the melody with a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B-flat4, and a quarter note C5. The lyrics '_____ ba_ oth. Ho ssa_____ na in ex_ cel_____ sis.' are written below the second staff. The number '17' is written to the left of the first staff.

Benedictus

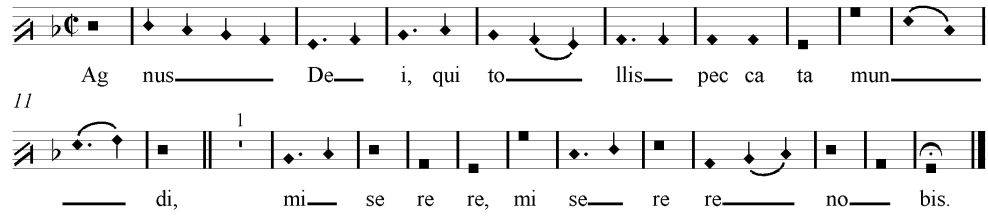


14

Be ne dic— tus, qu— ve— nit in— no— mi— ne Do—
mi ni: Ho— ssa— na— in ex cel— sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature. The melody is written in a simple, homophonic style. The lyrics are: "Be ne dic— tus, qu— ve— nit in— no— mi— ne Do—". The second staff continues the melody with the lyrics: "mi ni: Ho— ssa— na— in ex cel— sis." The music ends with a double bar line. The number "14" is written below the first staff.

Agnus Dei



Ag nus De i, qui to llis pec ca ta mun di, mi se re re, mi se re re no bis.

11

1

The image shows a musical score for the Agnus Dei. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a simple, homophonic style. The lyrics are: "Ag nus De i, qui to llis pec ca ta mun di, mi se re re, mi se re re no bis." The second staff continues the melody, starting with a first ending bracket and a first ending mark (1). The lyrics continue: "di, mi se re re, mi se re re no bis." The score ends with a double bar line.

Critical Notes for *Misa Manchega*

Gloria

m. 132 – changed E-sharp to E-natural.

Credo

m. 116 – changed E-sharp to E-natural.

m. 132 – combined half notes to create whole note.

m. 233 – changed E-sharp to E-natural.

m. 301 – changed E-sharp to E-natural.

m. 304 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Kirie

Musical score for Kirie, written in bass clef, 2/4 time, and B-flat major. The score consists of four staves of music with lyrics underneath. The lyrics are: "Ki ri e e lei son. Chris te e lei son. Chris te e lei son. Ki ri e e lei son." The music features a melodic line with various note values and rests, and a bass line with chords and single notes. The score is divided into four systems, with measure numbers 10, 21, and 30 indicated at the beginning of the second, third, and fourth systems respectively. The final system ends with a double bar line.

Ki ri e e

10 lei son. Chris te e lei son. Chris te

21 e lei son. Ki ri e e

30 lei son.

Gloria



Et in _____ te rra _____ pax ho _____ mi ni bus bo nae
11
vo lun ta _____ tis. Lau da _____ mus
21
te. Be _____ ne _____ di ci mus te. A _____ do _____
32
_____ ra mus te. Glo ri fi ca _____
42
_____ mus te. Gra ti as a _____ gi mus ti bi. prop
53
ter _____ mag nam glo ri am tu am. Do _____ mi ne De _____
64
_____ us Rex _____ coe les tis De _____ us Pa ter
74
om _____ ni po tens. Do mi ne Fi _____ li
83
u ni ge ni _____ te Je _____ su Chris _____ te, Je su
93
Chris _____ te. Do _____ mi ne De us, Ag _____ nus De _____

Gloria, cont.

102
i, Fi li us Pa tris. Qui - tol lis pec - ca ta mun di,
114
mi se re _____ re no _____ bis. Qui to llis
125
pec ca ta _____ mun di, sus _____ ci pe, de pre ca ti
137
o nem nos - tram. Qui _____ se des ad dex _____ te -
148
ram Pa _____ tris mi se re re no bis. Quo ni _____
160
am tu _____ so _____ lus Sanc tus. Tu _____ so _____ lus
171
Do _____ mi _____ nus. Tu so _____ lus Al _____ tis si
181
mus Je su Chris te. Cum _____ Sanc to _____ Spi ri tu
191
in glo _____ ri _____ a De _____ i Pa _____ tris.
200
A _____ men.

Credo

Pa trem om ni po ten tem,
10
fac to rem coe li, et ter rae: vi si
19
bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi li um.
30
Et in u num Do mi num Je sum Chris
40
tum, Fi li um De i u
51
ni ge ni tum. Et ex Pa tre
61
na tum an te om ni a sae cu la.
72
De um de De o, lu men de lu mi ne, De
83
um ve rum de De o ve ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum,
94
con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri, per quem

Credo, cont.

102

om — ni a fac — ta sunt. Qui prop — ter nos

111

ho — mi — nes et prop ter nos tram sa lu tem

122

des — cen — dit de coe — lis, de coe — lis. Et

133

in car — na — tus — est, de Spi — ri — tu Sanc

143

— to: ex Ma ri a vir gi — ne: et —

153

ho — mo fac — tus est. Cru ci — fi — xus e ti am pro

163

no — bis sub — Pon ti — o Pi — la —

173

— o, pa — sus — et — se — pul tus est. Et — re sur

183

re xit ter — ti — a di e se — cun — dum scrip tu ras.

194

Et — as cen — dit in — coe — lum. Se

Credo, cont.

205
det ad dex te ram Pat ris. Et i te rum ven —

215
tu rus — est cum glo ri a ju — di — ca — re

223
vi — vos, et mor tu os: cu jus — reg — ni

233
non, non, e — rit fi nis non —

243
non e — rit fi nis. Et — in Spi ri — tum

254
Sanc tum Do mi — num, et vi vi — fi can tem, qui —

264
ex — Pa — tre, Fi li o que — pro — ce dit. Qui cum

273
Pa — tre, et Fi li o, si — mul a — do — ra tur, et

282
con — glo ri fi — ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per —

293
Pro — fe tas. Et — u — nam Sanc tam Cat ho — li

Credo, cont.

303

cam et _____ A pos - to li cam Ec - cle si am.

311

Con fi - te _____ or u _____ num bap - tis ma in

320

re mi si o nem pac - ca - to - rum. T.Et ex pec -

331

_____ to. B.re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o _____ rum.

341

mor tu o rum. C.Et - vi _____ tam ven - tu -

350

ri sae cu li. A _____

356

men, a _____ men, a _____ men.

Sanctus

Sanctus. Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Hosanna in excelsis.

12

24

ssa na in excelsis.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for the Sanctus, written in bass clef with a 2/4 time signature. The music is in B-flat major. The lyrics are: Sanctus. Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Hosanna in excelsis. The score is divided into three systems. The first system starts at measure 1 and ends at measure 11. The second system starts at measure 12 and ends at measure 23. The third system starts at measure 24 and ends at measure 34. The lyrics are placed below the notes, with some words split across lines. The word 'ssa' is on the line below the first system, 'na in excelsis.' is on the line below the third system. The word 'ssa' is also on the line below the second system. The word 'na in excelsis.' is also on the line below the second system. The word 'ssa' is also on the line below the first system. The word 'na in excelsis.' is also on the line below the first system.

Benedictus

Be ne dic _ tus, qu _____ ve _____ nit in _____ no _

11

mi _____ ne Do _____ mi ni:

19

Ho _____ ssa _____ na _____ in ex cel _____ sis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a time signature of 2/4. It consists of three staves of music. The first staff contains the lyrics 'Be ne dic _ tus, qu _____ ve _____ nit in _____ no _'. The second staff, marked with a repeat sign (*11*), contains the lyrics 'mi _____ ne Do _____ mi ni:'. The third staff, marked with the number *19*, contains the lyrics 'Ho _____ ssa _____ na _____ in ex cel _____ sis.' and ends with a double bar line.

Agnus Dei

Ag nus — De — i, qui to — llis — pec ca ta mun

10 ————— di, mi — se re

17 re, mi se — re re — no — bis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a 2/4 time signature and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It consists of three staves of music. The first staff contains the first line of music with lyrics 'Ag nus — De — i, qui to — llis — pec ca ta mun'. The second staff starts at measure 10 and contains lyrics '————— di, mi — se re'. The third staff starts at measure 17 and contains lyrics 're, mi se — re re — no — bis.'. The music features various note values including quarter, eighth, and half notes, with some notes beamed together and others held over. There are also rests and dynamic markings like 'f' (forte) and 'p' (piano).

Misa de Trompas



Kirie

Musical score for Kirie, consisting of three staves of music with lyrics. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are: "Ki ri e e lei son. Chris". The second staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. The lyrics are: "te e lei son. Ki ri". The third staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. The lyrics are: "e e lei son." The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

16
Ki ri e e lei son. Chris

31
te e lei son. Ki ri

e e lei son.

Gloria

Et in te— rrapax ho— mi— nibus bo— nae vo— lun— ta— tis. La

24
u— da— mus te. Be ne— di— cimus te. A do. ra— mus te. Glorifi ca—

44
—mus te. Gra ti as a— gimus ti— bi prop ter mag nam glo ri am tu— am.

62
Domine De us, Rex coe les— tis, De us. Pa ter om ni po tens. Do mi— ne Fi li uni

82
ge— ni— te, Je— su Chris— te. Do mi. ne. De us, Ag— nus De i, Fi li us Pa tris.

106
Qui to llis pec ca ta mun— di, mise re re no— bis. Qui to llis pec ca ta

127
mun— di, sus ci pe, de pre ca ti onem nos— tram. Qui se— des ad dex— teram Pa—

145
— tris, mise re— re no— bis. Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc— tu: Tu so lus Do. mi—

162
nus: Tu so lus. AL— ti si mus, Je su Chris— te. Cum Sancto Spi— ri

179
tu, in glori a De i Pa— tris. A— men.

Credo

Patrem omni po— ten— tem, fac to rem coe li, — et te — rrae; vi — si bi — lium om ni um; et — in

11
vi — si bi — lium. Et in u — num Do — mi num Je — sum Chris — tum; Fi li um De — i u ni —

23
geni tum, Et ex Pa — tre na — tum, an — te om — ni a sae — cu la. De um de De — o,

36
lumende lu — mine, De — um ve — rum, de Deo ve — ro. Geni tum, non — fac — tum

46
consub stan ti a — lem Pa — tri; per quem omnia fac — tasunt. Qui propter nos ho —

58
— mines, et propter nos tram sa lu — tem, des cen —

69
— dit de coe — lis. Et in — car — na — tus — est de Spi ri tu

82
Sanc — to; ex — Ma ri — a vir gi — ne; et ho mo fac tus — est;

95
et ho mo fac tus est. Cru ci fi xus e — ti am pro no — bis sub Pon — ti o Pi la — to pa —

111
— sus, et se — pul — tus est. Et re — sur — re xit ter ti — a die se

Credo, cont.

128 
 cundum scrip tu ras. Et as cen dit in coelum, se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Eti te

140 
 rum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di care vi vos, et mortu os: cu jus reg ni non er it fi nis.

153 
 Et in Spi ritum Sanctum Do minum, et vi vi fi can tem, qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o qui pro ce

163 
 dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fi li o, simul a do ra tur, et con glo

175 
 ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe tas. Et unam Sanc tam Ca tho

186 
 li cam, et Apos to licam Ec cle si am. Con fi te or u num bap tis ma in remi si

197 
 o nem pec ca torum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem B. Mortu o rum.

214 
 Et vi tam ven tu ri sae cu li. A

220 
 men.

Sanctus

17 Sanctus. Do minus De—
us, sa— ba oth. Ho ssa—
28 — na in— ex— cel— sis.

Benedictus

10

Bene dic_____tus, qui ve_____nit, in no-
_____mine Domini: Ho_____ssa_____na, in ex cel_____sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style with eighth and quarter notes. The lyrics are written below the staff, with horizontal lines indicating the placement of the notes. The second staff continues the melody and lyrics. The lyrics are in Latin: "Benedictus, qui venit, in nomine Domini: Hosanna, in excelsis." The number "10" is written to the left of the first staff. The word "Benedictus" is written in a larger font at the top of the page.

Agnus Dei

13

Ag nus De i, qui to llis pec ca ta mun di, mi se—
re— re— no bis, mi— se— re— re no bis.

Critical Notes for *Misa de Trompas*

Kirie

m. 41 – combined two half notes to create a whole note.

Gloria

m. 152 – changed E-sharp to E-natural.

Sanctus

m. 37 – combined two half notes to create a whole note.

Agnus Dei

m. 26 - combined two half notes to create a whole note.

Kirie

10
20
29
36

Ki ri e _____ e _____
_____ lei son. Chris _____ te e _____
_____ le i son.
Ki ri e _____ e _____
_____ lei son.

Gloria

Et in te — rra pax ho — mi —

11
ni bus bo — nae vo — lun — ta — tis.

22
Lau — da — mus te. Be ne — di —

32
ci mus te. A do — ra — mus

41
te. Glo ri fi ca — mus te. Gra ti as

49
a — gi mus ti — bi prop ter mag nam glo

58
ri am — tu — am. Do mi ne De — us, Rex —

68
coe — les — tis, De — us — Pa ter om ni po tens. Do

78
mi — ne Fi li u ni ge — ni — te, Je — su Chris

89
te. Do mi — ne — De us, Ag — nus —

Gloria, cont.

100

 De i, Fi li us Pa tris. Qui to llis pec ca ta

112

 mun di, mi se re re no bis.

121

 Qui to llis pec ca ta mun di, sus ci pe,

132

 de pre ca ti o nem nos tram. Qui se

141

 des ad dex te ram Pa tris, mi se re

149

 re no bis. Quo ni am tu so lus

158

 Sanc tu: Tu so lus Do mi nus: Tu so lus Al ti si

166

 mus, Je su Chris te. Cum Sanc to

177

 Spi ri tu, in glo ri a De i Pa tris.

185

 A men.

Credo

Pa trem om ni po _____ ten _____ tem, fac to rem coe li, _____ et

6

te _____ rrae; vi _ si bi _____ li um om _ ni um; et _ in

11

vi _____ si bi _ li um. Et in u _____ num Do _____ mi num

17

Je _ sum Chris _____ tum; Fi li um De _____ i u ni _____

23

ge ni tum, Et _ ex Pa _____ tre na _____ tum,

29

an _ te om _____ ni a sae _____ cu la. De um de

35

De _____ o, lu men de lu _____ mi ne, De _ um ve _____ rum,

40

de De o ve _____ ro. Ge ni tum, non _____ fac _ tum

46

con sub stan ti a _____ lem Pa _____ tri; per quem om ni a

53

fac _____ ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho _____ mi nes,

Credo, cont.

59
et prop ter nos tram — sa lu — tem, des cen —

64

70
dit de — coe — lis. Et — in — car —

76
na — tus — est de Spi ri tu Sanc —

83
— to; ex — Ma — ri — a vir gi — ne;

89
et ho mo fac — tus — est; et ho mo —

96
fac — tus est. Cru ci fi xus e — ti am pro no —

105
bis sub Pon — ti o Pi la — to pa — sus,

113
et — se — pul — tus

122
est. Et re — sur — re xit ter ti — a — di e se cun dum scrip

Credo, cont.

129
tu ras. Et as — cen — dit — in — coe — lum, se det ad —

136
dex — te — ram Pa — tris. Et i te — rum ven — tu rus est cum

142
glo ri a ju — di ca re vi vos, et mor — tu — os: cu — jus

149
reg — ni non er it fi nis. Et — in Spi — ri tum Sanc tum

156
Do — mi num; et vi vi fi can — tem, qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o qui pro

162
ce — dit.

168
Qui cum Pa tre, — et — Fi — li — o, si mul a do — ra —

173
tur, et con glo ri — fi ca — tur, qui lo cu tus est

179
per Pro — fe — tas. Et u nam Sanc — tam

185
Ca tho — li — cam, et A pos to li cam Ec — cle si am.

Credo, cont.

192



Con fi te or _____ u num bap tis _____ ma in re mi si o _ nem

198



pec - ca to rum. Et ___ex pec - to re sur rec ti o _ nem

205



B.Mor tu o _____ rum.

213



Et vi tam ven tu _ ri sae _____ cu _ li. A _____

220



223



men.

Sanctus

Sanctus

8 tus. Do mi nus De

17 us, sa ba oth. Ho

25 ssa na in

31 ex cel sis.

Benedictus

Be ne dic _____ tus, qui _ ve _____

7 _____ nit, in _ no _____ mi ne Do _ mi ni:

13 Ho _____ ssa _____ na,

16 in _____ ex cel _____ sis.

Agnus Dei

Ag nus De i, qui to llis pec ca ta mun

10 di, mi se re re no bis, mi se

18 re re no bis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. It consists of three staves. The first staff contains the first line of music and lyrics. The second staff begins at measure 10 and contains the second line of music and lyrics. The third staff begins at measure 18 and contains the final line of music and lyrics, ending with a double bar line. The lyrics are: 'Ag nus De i, qui to llis pec ca ta mun di, mi se re re no bis, mi se re re re no bis.'

Misa de Salamanca



Kirie

21

Ki ri e e lei son. Chris te e le i son. Chris te e
lei son. Kirie e lei son.

Gloria

Et in te_rra pax ho mi nibus bo nae volun ta tis. Laudamus te. Be ne_di cimus

19
te. A do ra_mus te. Glo ri_ fi ca_____ mus te. Gra_ ti_ as

38
agimus ti_ bi prop ter_ mag nam glo riam tu am. Domine De_ us Rex coe les_ tis Deus Pa ter

54
om_ ni po tens. Domi ne Fi_ li u_ ni ge_ ni te, Je su Chris te. Domine Deus Ag

72
nus De i, Fili us Pa tris. Qui_ to_____ llis pec ca tamun di mi se_ re_ re no bis.

92
Qui_ tol_ lis pec ca_ ta mundi su sci pe de pre ca ti o_____ nem nos_____ tram. Qui_

113
_____ se des ad dex te ram Pa tris mi se re_ re no bis. Quo_____ ni am tu so_ lus Sanctus,

134
Tu_ so lus Do mi nus. Tu so lus_ Al ti si mus Je su_ Chris te. Cum Sanc_ to

154
Spi_ ri_ tu in glo ri a De_____ i Pa_____

172
_____ tris. A_____ men.

Credo



Patrem omnipotentem factorem coeli, et terrae, visibilium omnium, et in



visibilium. Et in unum Dominum. Jesum



Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum. Et ex Patre na



tum ante omnia saecula. Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum



de Deo vero. Genitum, non factum, consubstantialem Patri per quem



omnia facta sunt. Qui propter nos homines, et propter



nos transactum, descendit de caelis. Et in car



natus est de Spiritu Sancto: ex Maria virgine; et homo



factus est. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis, sub Pontio Pilato



passus et sepultus est. Et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas.

Credo, cont.

191



Et as cen dit in coelum se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus est cum

208



gloria ju di ca re vi vos, et mor tu os; cu jus regni non e rit fi nis. Et in Spiritum Sanc

229



tum Do mi num: et vi vi fi can tem, qui ex Pa tre Fi li o que pro ce dit. Qui cum

251



Pa tre, et Fi li o si mul ado ra tur. et con glo ri fi ca tur: qui lo cu tus est

272



per Pro fe tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Ca tho licam, et A pos to li cam Ec cle

291



si am. Con fi te or u num bap tis ma in re mi si o nem pec ca to rum. Et

313



ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o rum. Et vi tam

333



ven tu ri sae cu li. A men.

Sanctus

The image shows a musical score for the Sanctus. It consists of three staves of music. The first staff has the lyrics "Sanc_____tus. Sanc_____tus. Sanc_____tus." with a first ending bracket above the second and third phrases. The second staff has the lyrics "Do mi nusDe us sa_____ba oth. Ple_ ni sunt coe li, et te rra" with a first ending bracket above the first phrase. The third staff has the lyrics "glo ri a tu a. Ho_____ssa_____na_____ in_____ ex_____ cel_ sis." with a first ending bracket above the first phrase. The music is written in a single system with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature.

Sanc_____tus. Sanc_____tus. Sanc_____tus.

20 Do mi nusDe us sa_____ba oth. Ple_ ni sunt coe li, et te rra

34 glo ri a tu a. Ho_____ssa_____na_____ in_____ ex_____ cel_ sis.

Benedictus

Be ne dic— tus, qui ve— nit, in— no mi— ne Do— mi— ni:

20

Ho— ssa na in— ex— cel— sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature. The melody starts with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note B-flat4, and a quarter note C5. This is followed by a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The lyrics 'Be ne dic— tus, qui ve— nit, in— no mi— ne Do— mi— ni:' are written below the staff. The second staff continues the melody with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note B-flat4, and a quarter note C5. The lyrics 'Ho— ssa na in— ex— cel— sis.' are written below the staff. The score includes various musical notations such as beams, slurs, and dynamic markings like '1'.

Agnus Dei

23 Agnus De i, qui— to llis pec ca—ta mundi, mi se— re re no bis. Agnus De i qui

42 — to llis—pec ca ta mun—di, mi se— re— re—no bis. Ag— nus De— i, qui to—llis

pec ca— ta— mun— di, do— na— no— bis— pa— cem.

The musical score consists of three systems of staves. Each system begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first system contains measures 23-32, the second system contains measures 33-42, and the third system contains measures 43-52. The lyrics are written below the staves, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Critical Notes for *Misa Salamanca*

Gloria

m. 146 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Credo

m. 30 – changed B-flat to B-natural.

m. 30 – changed C-sharp to C-natural.

m. 31 – changed B-flat to B-natural.

m. 44 – changed E-sharp to E-natural.

m. 112 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 113 – changed B-flat to B-natural.

m. 138 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 172 – changed B-flat to B-natural.

m. 173 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 179 – changed E-sharp to E-natural.

m. 230 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 239 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 241 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 299 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 326 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 327 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Sanctus

m. 26 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Agnus Dei

m. 33 – changed B-flat to B-natural.

m. 34 – changed B-flat to B-natural.

Kirie

11 Ki ri e e lei son. Chris_

17 _ te e le i son. Chris_ te

20 e lei

29 son. Ki ri e e

33 lei son.

Gloria

Et in te_ rra pax ho mi_ ni bus bo_ nae vo_ lun
10 ta tis. Lau da mus te. Be ne_ di ci mus
19 te. A do ra_ mus te. Glo
28 ri_ fi ca_ mus te. Gra_
37 ti_ as a gi mus ti_ bi prop ter_ mag nam glo ri am tu
46 am. Do mi ne De_ us Rex coe les_ tis De us Pa ter
54 om_ ni po tens. Do_ mi ne Fi_ li u_ ni
62 ge_ ni te, Je su Chris te. Do mi ne De_ us
71 Ag nus De i, Fi li us Pa tris. Qui_ to_
81 llis pec ca ta mun di mi se_ re_ re no
90 bis. Qui_ tol_ lis pec ca_ ta mundi su sci pe

Gloria, cont.

99
de pre ca ti o nem nos

109
tram. Qui se des ad dex te ram

119
Pa tris mi se re re no bis. Quo

128
ni am tu so lus Sanc tus, Tu so lus Do mi

137
nus. Tu so lus Al ti si mus Je su

146
Chris te. Cum Sanc to Spi

156
ri tu in glo ri a De

165
i Pa

174
tris. A

181
men.

Credo

Pa trem om ni po ten tem fac to rem coe li, et
10 te rrae, vi si bi li um om ni um,
19 et in vi si bi li um. Et in u num
28 Do mi num. Je
36 sum Chris
45 tum, Fi li um De i u ni ge
53 ni tum. Et ex Pa tre na tum an te
62 om ni a sae cu la. De um de
71 De o, lu men de lu mi ne, De um ve rum de
81 De o ve ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum con
90 subs tan ti a lem Pa tri per quem

Credo, cont.

99
om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui

108
prop ter nos ho mi nes, et

117
prop ter nos tram sa lu tem,

126
des cen dit de coe

134
lis. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc

142
to: ex Ma ri a vir gi ne; et

151
ho mo fac tus est. Cru ci fi xus

161
e ti am pro no bis sub Pon ti o

171
Pi la to pa sus et se pul tus


179
est. Et re sur re xit ter ti a di e se

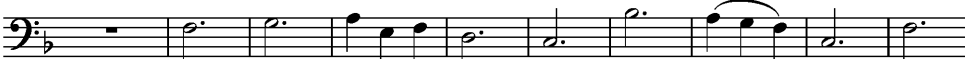
188
cun dum scrip tu ras. Et as cen dit in coe lum se det ad

Credo, cont.

196
dex te ram Pa tris. Et i te rum ven
205
tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos,
214
et mor tu os; cu jus reg ni non e rit fi nis.
224
Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num: et vi
234
vi fi can tem, qui ex Pa tre Fi li
244
o que pro ce dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et
254
Fi li o si mul a do ra tur. et
263
con glo ri fi ca tur: qui lo cu tus est
272
per Pro fe tas. Et u nam Sanc tam
282
Ca tho li cam, et A pos to li cam Ec cle
291
si am. Con fi te or u num bap tis


Credo, cont.

301

ma in re mi si o nem pec ca to rum.

311

Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem


321

mor tu o rum.

329

Et vi tam ven tu ri sae

338

cu li. A

345

men.

Sanctus



Sanc _____ tus.

10



Sanc _____ tus. Sanc _____ tus.

20



Do mi nus De us sa ____ ba oth.

29



Ple. ni sunt coe li, et te rra glo ri a tu a.

38



Benedictus

Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit,

11
in no mi ne Do mi ni:

20
Ho ssa na

28
in ex cel sis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. It consists of four staves of music. The first staff begins with a whole note G2, followed by a half note F2, and a quarter note E2. The second staff starts with a half note D2, followed by a quarter note C2, and a quarter note B1. The third staff begins with a half note A1, followed by a quarter note G1, and a quarter note F1. The fourth staff starts with a half note E1, followed by a quarter note D1, and a quarter note C1. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words spanning across multiple notes. The score ends with a double bar line.

Agnus Dei

Ag nus De_ i, qui_____ to llis pec

10 ca_ ta mun di, mi se_ re re no bis. Ag

20 nus De_ i qui_____ to llis. pec ca ta mun_ di,

30 mi se_ re_____ re_____ no bis. Ag_ nus

39 De_ i, qui to_ llis pec ca_____ ta_____ mun_

48 di, do_____ na_____ no_____

53 _____ bis_____ pa_____ cem.

Misa de Angeles



Kirie

Musical score for Kirie, featuring two staves of music with lyrics. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a flat (b) indicating a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: "Ki ri e e. lei son. Chris te e." The second staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The melody continues with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a dynamic marking of *vis* and a flat (b). The lyrics are: "lei son. Ki ri e e. lei son." The score concludes with a double bar line.

Ki ri e e. lei son. Chris te e.

12

vis

lei son. Ki ri e e. lei son.

Gloria



Et in te rrapax ho mini bus bonae vo lun ta tis. Lau da_____ mus te. Be ned i cimus te. Ado ra_

21



_____ mus te. Glo ri fi ca_____ mus te. Gra ti as a gimus tibi propter mag_ nam glo riam tu_____

42



_ am. Do_ mine De_____ us Rex coe les tis Deus Pa_ ter om ni potens. Domine Fili uni geni te, Je su

63



Chris te. Domine De_____ us Agnus De_____ i, Fi li us Pa_____ tris. Quito llis pec ca ta mun di, mise re_ re

81



no_ bis. Quito llis pec ca ta mun di, sus ci pe de pre ca ti onem nos tram. Quise des ad dex te ram

98



Pa tris mise re_ re_ no bis. Quoniam tu so lus Sanc tus. Tu so lus Dominus. Tu so_ lus Al ti_ si

115



mus Je su_ Chris te. Cum Sanc to Spi_ ri tu in glo ri a Dei Pa_____ tris. A_____ men.

Credo

22 Patrem omnipotentem factorem coeli, et terrae, visibilium omnium, et invisibilium.

40 Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum. Et ex Patre natum ante om-

58 nia saecula. Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, **B** Deum verum de Deo vero. Genitum, non factum

72 consubstantialem Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt. Qui propter

nos homines, et propter nostram salutem descendit de caelis.

Credo 2



B. Et in car na— tus est de Spi— ri tu Sanc— to exMa ri a virgi ne: et homo fac tus est.

21



Cru ci fi xus e ti ampro no bis, sub Pon ti o Pi— la to pasus et se pul— tus est. B. Et

40



re sur re xit ter ti a di e, se cum dum scrip tu ras. Et as cen dit in— coelum se det ad dex te ram Pa—

57



—tris. Et i terum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a, iudi care vi vos, et mor tu os, cuius regni non erit fi—

77



nis. B. Et in Spi ri tum Sanctum Do mi num et vi vifi can tem, qui ex Pa— tre Fi li o que pro ce—

98



—dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fi li o si mul a do ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro

116



fe tas. B. Et una m Sanc tam Cat ho li cam, et Apos to li cam Ec cle— si am. Con fi te or u

135



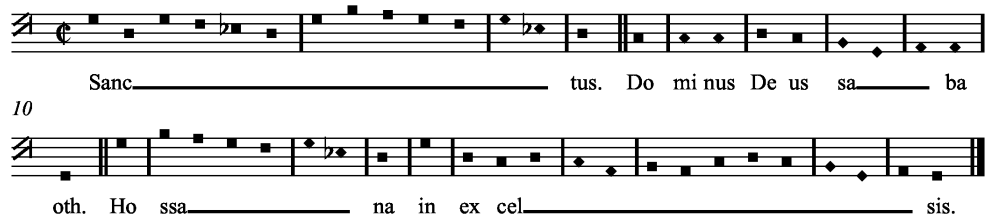
num bap tis ma in re mi si o nem pec ca to rum. Et ex pec— to re sur rec ti o nem

148



mor tu orum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae— cu li. B. A— men.

Sanctus

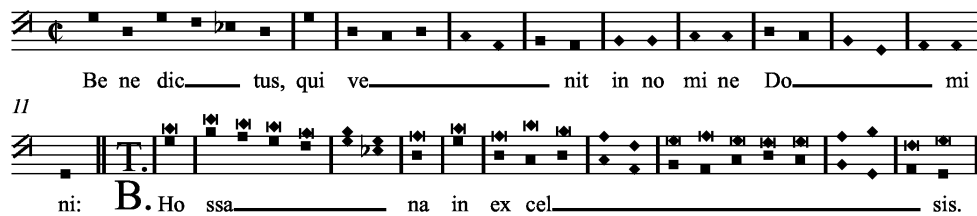


10

Sanc_____ tus. Do mi nus De us sa_____ ba
oth. Ho ssa_____ na in ex cel_____ sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Sanctus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style. Below the first staff, the lyrics "Sanc_____ tus. Do mi nus De us sa_____ ba" are written, with long horizontal lines indicating the duration of the notes. A measure rest for 10 measures is indicated by the number "10" below the first staff. The second staff continues the melody, and below it, the lyrics "oth. Ho ssa_____ na in ex cel_____ sis." are written, also with long horizontal lines indicating note durations. The score ends with a double bar line.

Benedictus



Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi
ff
ni: **B.** Ho ssa na in ex cel sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of two staves. The first staff is a vocal line in C major, 4/4 time, with lyrics: "Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi". The second staff is a piano accompaniment, starting with a forte dynamic (*ff*) and a **B.** (Benedictus) marking. The lyrics "ni: Ho ssa na in ex cel sis." are written below the piano staff. The piano part features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some chords marked with 'x' and 'i'.

Critical notes for *Misa de Angeles*

Throughout – set this movement in duple meter, despite the free meter in copy edition.

Precedent for this approach in treatment of *Misa Advento y Quaresma* in Dimiao organ accompaniment book.

Throughout – changed *ficta*-style accidentals to normal positions.

Kirie

m. 60 – changed B-natural to B-flat.

Kirie

14 Ki ri e e

28 lei son. Chris te e

42 lei son. Ki

55 ri e e

lei son.

Gloria

Et in terra pax ho mi ni bus bo nae vo lun - ta
14 tis. Lau da _____ mus te. Be ne di ci mus te. A
27 do ra _____ mus te. Glo ri fi ca _____ mus
39 te. Gra ti as a gi mus ti bi prop ter mag _____ nam
53 glo ri am tu _____ am. Do _____ mi ne De _____
66 _____ us Rex coe - les tis De us Pa _____ ter om ni po tens.
79 Do mi ne Fi li u ni ge ni te, Je su Chris te. Do mi ne
91 De _____ us Ag nus De _____ i, Fi li us Pa _____
104 _____ tris. Qui to llis pec ca ta mun di, mi se re _____ re
118 no _____ bis. Qui to llis pec _____ ca ta mun di, sus ci pe

Gloria, cont.

131
de pre ca ti o nem nos tram. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa tris


144
mi se re — re — no bis. Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc tus.

157
Tu so lus Do mi nus. Tu so — lus Al ti — si mus Je

169
su — Chris te. Cum Sanc to Spi — ri tu in glo ri a De

182
i Pa — tris. A — men.


Credo



Patrem om ni po tentem fac to rem coe li, et ter rae, vi si bi li um om _____ ni um, et in



vi si bi um. Et in u num Do mi num Je sum Chris _ tum, Fi li um De i u ni ge ni tum. Et



ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni a sae cu la. De um de De o, lu men de lu mi ne, De um verum de



De o ve ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum con subs tan ti a lem Pa ____ tri, per quem om ni a fac ____ ta



sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes, et prop ter nostram sa lu tem des cen dit de coe _____ lis.

Credo 2

Tenor
Bass

Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc

13

to ex Ma ri a vir gi ne: et

25

Choir

ho mo fac tus est. Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no

36

bis, sub Pon ti o Pi la to pa sus et se pul

49

Tenor
Bass

tus est. Et re sur re xit ter ti a di e, se cun

61

dum scrip tu ras. Et as cen dit in coe lum se det ad dex

74

Choir

te ram Pa tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus est cum glo

85

ri a, iu di ca re vi vos, et mor tu os, cu ius reg ni non e rit

96

Tenor
Bass

fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num et

107

vi vi fi can tem, qui ex Pa tre Fi li o

120

 que pro ce _____ dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fi li o

131

 si mul a do ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est

143

 Tenor
 Bass
 per Pro fe tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Cat ho li cam, et

154

 A pos to li cam Ec cle _____ si am. Con fi

166

 te or u num bap tis ma in re mi si o nem pec ca to

175

 Choir
 rum. Et ex pec _____ to re sur rec ti o nem

186

 Tenor
 Bass
 mor tu o rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae _____ cu li.

197

 A _____ men.

120

 que pro ce _____ dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fi li o

131

 si mul a do ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est

143

 per Pro fe tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Cat ho li cam, et

154

 A pos to li cam Ec cle _____ si am. Con fi

166

 te or u num bap tis ma in re mi si o nem pec ca to

175

 rum. Et ex pec _____ to re sur rec ti o nem

186

 mor tu o rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae _____ cu li.

197

 A _____ men.

Sanctus

15 Sanc tus. Do

28 mi nus De us sa ba oth. Ho ssa na

in ex cel sis.

Benedictus

Choir

Be ne dic _____ tus, qui ve _____ nit

14

Tenor
Bass

in no mi ne Do _____ mi ni: Ho ssa _____

25

na in ex cel _____

33

sis.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of four staves of music. The first staff is for the Choir, starting at measure 1. The second staff is for Tenor and Bass, starting at measure 14. The third staff continues the Tenor and Bass part, starting at measure 25. The fourth staff continues the Tenor and Bass part, starting at measure 33. The lyrics are: "Be ne dic _____ tus, qui ve _____ nit in no mi ne Do _____ mi ni: Ho ssa _____ na in ex cel _____ sis." The music is in 2/4 time and features various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Agnus Dei

Ag nus De _____ i, qui tol _____ lis pec

15

ca ta mun _____ di,

21

mi se re re no _____ bis.

Tenor
Bass

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for 'Agnus Dei'. It consists of three systems of music. The first system is a bass line in 2/4 time, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains a melodic line with several notes and rests, with lyrics 'Ag nus De _____ i, qui tol _____ lis pec' underneath. The second system is a vocal line, also in 2/4 time, with a bass clef. It contains a melodic line with lyrics 'ca ta mun _____ di,'. Above the staff, the words 'Tenor' and 'Bass' are written, indicating the vocal range. The third system is another bass line, in 2/4 time, with a bass clef. It contains a melodic line with lyrics 'mi se re re no _____ bis.'.

Misa Imperial



Kirie

Ki ri e e lei son. Chris te e

17

vis.

lei i son. Ki ri e e lei i son.

Gloria

Et in ter ra pax ho mini bus bonae vo lun ta tis. Lau da mus te. Bene di

18

cimus te. Ado ra mus te. Glo ri fi camus te. Gra ti as agimus ti bi propter

36

mag nam glo riam tu am. Do mi ne Deus Rex coe les ti Deus Pa ter om ni po tens.

51

Do mi ne Fili uni geni te, Je su Chris te. Do mi ne Deus Agnus De

68

i, Fili us Pa tris. Qui to llis pec ca ta mun di, mise re re no bis. Qui to

86

llis pec ca ta mun di, sus ci pe de pre cati o nem nos tram. Qui se des ad dex teram Pa tris

104

mise re re no bis. Quo niam tu so lus Sanc tus: Tu so lus Do mi

123

nus. Tu so lus Al tis si mus Je su Chris te. Cum Sancto

135

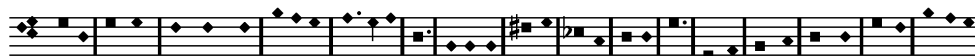
Spi ri tu in glo ri a De i Pa tris. A men.

Credo



Pa tremom ni po ten tem, fac to rem coe li, et te rrae: visi bilium omni um et in vi si bili um.

19



Et in unum Do mi num Je sum Chris tum Fi lium Dei u ni ge nitum: et ex Pa tre na tum an te omni a

35



sae cu la. De um de De o, lu mende lumi ne, De um verum de De o ve ro. Geni

50



tum, non fac tum, con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri, per quem omni a fac ta sunt. Qui propter nos

64



ho mi nes, et propter nos tram sa lu tem, des cen dit de coe lis. Et in car

82



na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc to, ex Ma ri a vir gi ne: et ho mo fac tus est. Cruci fi xus e ti

99



am pro no bis sub Pon ti o Pi la to pa sus, et se pul tus est. Et re sur re

117



xit ter ti a di e, se cum dum scrip tu ras. Et as cen dit in coe

134



lum, se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et i ter um ven tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi

151



vos, et mor tu os: cu jus reg ni non e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanctum Do mi num et vi vi fi can

Credo, cont.

168



tem qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ce dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fi li o, simul ado

186



ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe tas. Et unam Sanctam Cat

203



ho li cam, et Apos to li cam Ec cle si am. Con fi te or unum bap tis ma, in re mi si onem pec ca

220



to rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mortu o rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae

236



cu li. A men.

Sanctus



Sanc_____tus. Sanc_____tus.

23



Sanc_____tus. Do minus Deus sa_____ba oth. Plenisunt coe li,et

40



te rraglo ri a tu a. Hos sana in_ ex_____ cel_____ sis.

Benedictus

Be ne dic— tus, qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi ni:

11

Hos— sa— na in— ex— cel sis.

Agnus Dei



Agnus De i, qui tol lis pec catamun di mise re re no_____ bis. Agnus De_____

18



i, qui tol lis pecca ta mun_ di, mise re_ re_____ no_____ bis.

31



Agnus De_____ i, qui tol_ lis pecca ta mun di, do na no bis pa_____ cem.

Critical notes for *Misa Imperial*

Throughout – transposed all parts up a perfect fifth (the equivalent of changing a fourth-line F-clef to a fourth-line C-clef). This will cause the Baclayon source to match the *Santa Maria* and *San Agustin* sources. All subsequent changes will be based on that transposition.

Kirie

m. 27 – changed B-natural to B-flat.

Gloria

m. 150 – combined two half notes to create whole note.

Credo

m. 250 – combined two half notes to create whole note.

Kirie

12
Ki ri e e lei son. Chris
te e lei i son.
22
Ki ri e e le i son.

Gloria

Et in ter ra pax ho mi ni bus bo nae vo lun ta tis.

11 Lau da _____ mus te. Be ne di _____ ci mus te. A do

21 ra _____ mus te. Glo ri fi ca mus te. Gra ti as

32 a gi mus ti _____ bi prop ter mag nam glo ri am tu am.

41 Do mi ne De us Rex coe les ti De us Pa ter om ni po tens.

51 Do mi ne Fi li u ni ge ni te, Je su Chris te.

61 Do mi ne De us Ag nus De i, Fi li us Pat ris.

72 Qui to llis pec ca ta mun di, mi se re re no bis.

83 Qui to llis pec ca ta mun di, sus ci pe de pre ca ti

94 o nem nos tram. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa tris mi se

Gloria, cont.

105
re re no — bis. Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc tus: Tu

116
so lus Do — mi nus. Tu —

126
so — lus Al tis si mus Je — su Chris te. Cum Sanc to

135
Spi — ri tu in glo ri a De — i Pa —

143
tris. A — men.

Credo



Pa trem om ni po ten tem, fac to rem coe li, et te rrae: vi si

11

bi li um om ni um et in vi si bi li um. Et in u num

21

Do mi num Je sum Chris tum Fi li um De i u ni ge ni tum:

30

et ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni a sae cu la. De um de

39

De o, lu men de lu mi ne, De um ve rum de De o ve ro.

48

Ge ni tum, non fac tum, con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri,

57

per quem om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes, et

66

prop ter nos tram sa lu tem, des cen dit de coe

76

lis. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc to,

87

ex Ma ri a vir gi ne: et ho mo fac tus est. Cru ci

Credo, cont.

97
fi xus e ti am pro no — bis sub Pon ti o Pi la to
107
pa sus, et se pul tus est. Et re sur re —
117
— xit ter ti a di e, se cun dum scrip tu — ras. Et as
127
cen — dit in — coe — lum, se
136
det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus est cum
146
glo ri a ju — di ca — re vi vos, et mor tu os: cu jus
155
reg ni non e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num
165
et vi vi fi can tem qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ce —
175
— dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fi — li o, si mul
185
a do ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro

Credo, cont.

196
fe _____ tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Cat ho li cam,
205
et A pos to li cam Ec cle si am. Con fi te or u num bap
214
tis ma, in re mi si o nem pec - ca to _____ rum. Et ex
224
pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o rum. Et vi tam ven
234
tu ri sae _____ cu li. A _____
242
men.

Sanctus

12
Sanc _____ tus.

23
Sanc _____ tus. Do mi nus De us sa _____

33
_____ ba oth. Ple ni sunt coe _ li, et te rra glo ri a tu

43
a. Hos sa na in _____ ex _____

50
_____ cel _____ sis.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for the Sanctus, written in bass clef with a 3/4 time signature. The score consists of six staves of music. The first staff begins with a long melisma over the word 'Sanc' and ends with 'tus.'. The second staff continues with another melisma over 'Sanc' and 'tus.'. The third staff starts with a melisma over 'Sanc' and 'tus.', followed by the lyrics 'Do mi nus De us sa'. The fourth staff continues with '_____ ba oth. Ple ni sunt coe _ li, et te rra glo ri a tu'. The fifth staff begins with 'a. Hos sa na in _____ ex _____'. The sixth staff concludes with '_____ cel _____ sis.' and ends with a double bar line.

Benedictus

Be ne dic - tus, qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi ni:

11 Hos sa na

16 in ex cel sis.

Agnus Dei

11
Agnus Dei, qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di mi se re re
no bis. Ag nus De i, qui tol lis pec ca ta
21
mun di, mi se re re no bis.
30
Ag nus De i, qui tol lis pec ca ta
37
mun di, do na no bis pa cem.

Misa Chamorra



Kirie

Kir ri e _____ e _____ lei son. Chris te e _____

18

vis.

_____ lei son. Ki ri e _____ e lei son.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Kirie". It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style with various note values and rests. Below the first staff, the lyrics "Kir ri e _____ e _____ lei son. Chris te e _____" are written, with horizontal lines indicating where the notes would be placed. The number "18" is written below the first staff. The second staff continues the melody, starting with a double bar line and a repeat sign. Above the second staff, the word "vis." is written. Below the second staff, the lyrics "_____ lei son. Ki ri e _____ e lei son." are written, with horizontal lines indicating where the notes would be placed.

Gloria

Et in te rra-pax ho mi ni bus bonae vo lun ta_____ tis. Laudamus te. Be. ne. di_

22

cimus te. A do ra_____ mus te. Glo ri fi ca_____ mus te. Gra ti as a_ gimus

44

ti bi, pro pter mag nam glo riam tu_ am. Do mi. ne. De us Rex coe les_ tis, De us. Pa_

66

ter om ni po tens. Domine Fi_ li uni ge ni_ te, Je_ su. Chris te. Domine De us Ag

89

nus De_ i Fi_ li us Pa_____ tris. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun_ di, mise re re no_ bis.

112

Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun_ di, sus ci pe, sus ci pe, de pre ca ti o nem nos_ tram. Qui se_

133

des ad dex te ram Pa_ tris, mise re re no_ bis. Quo ni am tu so_ lus. Sanc- tus. Tu so_

157

lus_ Do mi nus. Tu so_ lus Al tis si mus Je_ su_ Chris te. Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu in

180

_____ glo ri a De i Pa_ tris. A_____ men.

Credo



Patrem omnipotentem factorem coeli et terrae, visibilium omnium, et invisibilium

24



um. Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum Filium Dei unigenitum, et ex

47



ternatum ante omnia saecula. Deum de Deo, lumine de lumine, Deum verum de Deo

72



omnivero. Genitum, non factum, consubstantialem Patri per quem om

96



nia facta sunt. Qui propter nos homines, et propter nostram salutem descen-

120



dit de coelis. Et incarnatus est, de Spiritu Sancto,

143



ex Maria virgine, et homo factus est. Crucifixus et i

168



ampro nobis sub Pontio Pilato passus et sepultus est. Et resurrexit,

194



tertia die secundum scripturas. Et ascendit in caelum, su

218



det ad dexteram Patris. Et iterum venturus est cum gloria iudic

243



ca. re vi. vos, et mor tu os, cu jus. reg ni non e rit fi nis. Et in.

268



Spi ritum Sanc tum Do minum, et vi vi fi can tem, qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ce

292



dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fi li o simul ado ra tur, et conglo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro

313



fe tas. Et unam Sanctam Cat ho li cam, et Apos to licam Ec cle si

337



am. Con fi te or unum bap tis ma in re mi si onem pec ca to rum. Et ex

361



pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae

380



cu li. A men.

Sanctus

Sanctus.

17 Sanctus. Sanctus. Do

39 minus Deus sabaoth. Pleni sunt coeli, et terra

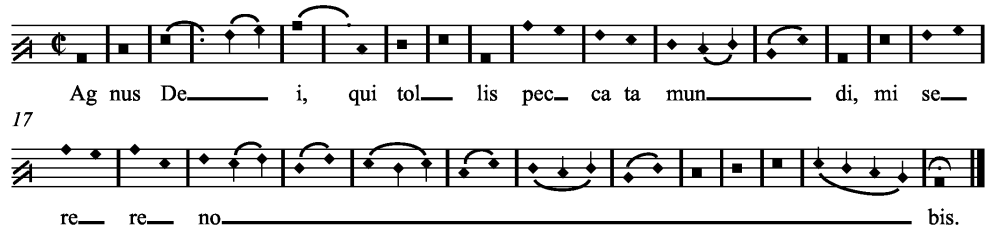
52 gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis.

The musical score is written on four staves. The first staff contains the melody for the word 'Sanctus'. The second staff begins at measure 17 and contains the melody for 'Sanctus. Sanctus. Do'. The third staff begins at measure 39 and contains the melody for 'minus Deus sabaoth. Pleni sunt coeli, et terra'. The fourth staff begins at measure 52 and contains the melody for 'gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis.' The lyrics are placed below the notes, with horizontal lines indicating the duration of each syllable. Measure numbers 17, 39, and 52 are placed at the beginning of their respective staves.

Benedictus

Be ne— dic tus, qui ve nit in no— mi ne Do— mi— ni. Ho ssa—
15
— na in ex cel— sis, in ex cel— sis.

Agnus Dei



17

Ag nus De_____ i, qui tol_____ lis pec_____ ca ta mun_____ di, mi se_____

re_____ re_____ no_____ bis.

The image shows a musical score for the Agnus Dei. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a common time signature (C), and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written in a simple, homophonic style. The lyrics are written below the notes, with long horizontal lines indicating sustained notes. The second staff continues the melody and includes the lyrics 're re no bis'. The score ends with a double bar line.

Critical notes on Misa Chamorra

Throughout

The original includes many *Longas* as phrase endings. I have rendered them as half notes throughout the mass.

Credo

m. 120 – changed F-flat to F-natural.

m. 141 – combined half notes to create whole note.

m. 180 – changed F-flat to F-natural.

m. 277 – changed F-flat to F-natural.

Sanctus

m. 4 – combined quarter notes to create half note.

m. 26 – changed F-flat to F-natural.

m. 29 – combined quarter notes to create half note.

Benedictus

m. 18 – changed F-flat to F-natural.

Kirie

Kir ri e _____ e _____ lei

11

_____ son. Chris te e _____ lei

22

son. Ki ri e _____

29

_____ e lei son.

Gloria

Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis. Lau- da mus te. Be- ne- di- ci mus te. A do ra- mus te. Glo- ri fi ca- mus te. Gra ti as a- gi mus ti bi, propter mag nam glo- ri am tu- am.

Do mi ne De- us Rex coe les- tis, De- us Pa- ter om ni po tens. Do mi ne Fi- li u ni ge ni- te, Je- su- Chris- te. Do mi ne De- us Ag- nus De- i Fi- li us Pa- tris.

Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun- di, mi se re re no- bis. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun- di, sus ci

12

22

33

44

55

66

77

88

99

110

Gloria, cont.

121
pe, sus ci pe, de pre ca ti o nem nos tram. Qui

132
se des ad dex te ram Pa tris, mi se re re no bis.

144
Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc tus.

155
Tu so lus Do mi nus. Tu so lus Al tis si mus

167
Je su Chris te. Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu

179
in glo ri a De i Pa tris. A

190
men.

Credo



Pa trem om ni po ten_ tem fac to rem coe li, et ter_

12



rae, vi si bi_ li um om ni um, et in vi_ si_

23



bi li um. Et in u num Do mi num Je_ sum

34



Chris tum Fi li um De i u ni ge ni tum, et

45



ex_ Pa tre na_ tum an te om ni a sae cu

57



la. De um de De_ o, lu men de lu mi ne, De

68



um ve rum de De_ o_ ver_ ro.

79



Ge ni tum, non fac_ tum, con sub stan ti a lem

91



Pa_ tri per quem om ni a fac_ ta sunt.

102



Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes, et prop ter_ nos

Credo, cont.

113 

tram sa lu tem des cen

124 

dit de coe lis. Et in car na

135 

tus est, de Spi ri tu Sanct to, ex

144 

Mar ri a vir gi ne, et ho mo

153 

fac tus est. Cru ci

164 

fi xus et i am pro no bis sub Pon ti o Pi la

176 

to pa sus et se pul tus est.

188 

Et re sur re xit, ter ti a di

199 

e se cun dum scrip tu ras. Et as cen

210 

dit in coe lum, su det ad dex te ram Pa

Credo, cont.

222  tris. Et i te rum ven tu

233  Rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca

244  re vi vos, et mor tu os, cu jus reg ni

255  non e rit fi nis.

266  Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num, et

277  vi vi fi can tem, qui ex Pa tre, Fi

288  li o que pro ce dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fi

299  li o si mul a do ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo


310  cu tus est per Pro fe tas. Et u nam


321  Sanc tam Cat ho li cam, et A pos to li cam Ec


Credo, cont.

333  cle_ si am. Con fi te_ or u

344  num bap tis_ ma in_ re_ mi si o nem pec ca_ to_

356  rum. Et ex_ pec to re sur rec ti o_ nem

367  mor tu_ o_ rum. Et vi_ tam ven tu ri

378  sac_ cu li. A_

389  men.

Sanctus



Sanc



tus. Sanc tus.



Sanc



tus. Do mi nus De us sa ba



oth. Ple ni sunt coe li, et ter ra glo ri a



tu a. Ho ssa na in ex cel sis.

Benedictus

Be ne_ dic tus, qui ve nit in no_ mi ne Do_ mi_

12 ni. Ho ssa_ na in ex cel_

21 sis, in ex cel_ sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus section. It consists of three staves of music, each with a bass clef and a 2/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff contains the lyrics 'Be ne_ dic tus, qui ve nit in no_ mi ne Do_ mi_'. The second staff starts with a measure rest '12' and contains the lyrics 'ni. Ho ssa_ na in ex cel_'. The third staff starts with a measure rest '21' and contains the lyrics 'sis, in ex cel_ sis.'. The music features various note values, including quarter and eighth notes, and rests. There are also some slurs and ties in the notation.

Agnus Dei

Ag nus De_____ i, qui tol_____ lis pec ca ta

12 mun_____ di, mi se__ re__ re__ no_____

21 _____ bis.

The musical score is written in a single system on a bass clef staff with a 2/4 time signature. It consists of three lines of music. The first line contains the first measure of the piece, starting with a half note G2. The second line contains measures 2 through 11, with lyrics 'Ag nus De_____ i, qui tol_____ lis pec ca ta' written below. Measure 12 is the start of the second line of music, with lyrics 'mun_____ di, mi se__ re__ re__ no_____'. The third line of music contains measures 13 through 20, with lyrics '21 _____ bis.' written below. The piece ends with a double bar line.

Misa del Carmen



Kirie

Musical notation for the Kirie text. The notation is on a single staff with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a single line with various note values and rests. The lyrics are written below the staff, with horizontal lines indicating the placement of the notes. The text is: "Ki ri e — e — leison. Chris — te e — leison. Ki — rie — e — leison." The word "vis." is written above the staff at the beginning of the second phrase.

vis.
Ki ri e — e — leison. Chris — te e — leison. Ki — rie — e — leison.

Gloria



Lau da— mus te. A— do ra— mus te. Gra ti as a gi mus ti— bi, pro pter ma gnam glo ri am
18



tu— am. Do mi— ne Fi li u ni ge— ni te, Je— su Chris te. Qui tol— lis pec ca ta mun-di,
33



mi— se— re re no— bis. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa— tris, mi se re— no— bis. Tu so—
46



— lus Do— mi nus. Cum Sanc— to Spi— ri— tu— inglo ri a— De i Pa— tris.

Credo

Pa— trem Omni— po— ten tem, fac— torem coe li, et ter— rae, visi bi li um om— ni

15

um, et in vi— si— bi— li um. Et in unum Do mi num Je— sum Chris tum, Fi li um Dei u ni

29

ge ni tum. et ex Pa— tre— natum an— te— omni a sae cu la. De um de Deo, lumende lumine, Deum ge

43

rum, de Deo ve ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum, consub stan ti alem Pa tri: per quem omni a fac— ta sunt.

55

Qui prop ter nos ho mines, et prop ter nos tram sa— lu tem des cendit de coe lis. Et in car na tus

68

est de Spi ri tu Sanc to ex Mari a vir gi ne, et ho mo fac— tus est. Cru ci— fix us e ti am pro no bis,

85

sub Pon ti o Pila to pa sus, et se pul tus est. Et re sur re— xit ter ti a di— e,—

98

se— cum dum scrip tu ras. Et as— cen dit in coe— lum, se det ad dex teram Pa— tris. Et i

110

terum ven tu— rus est cum glo ri a, ju di ca— re vi vis, et mor tu os: cu jus reg ni non erit fi

124

nis. Et in Spi ritum Sanc tum Do mi num, et vi vi fi can tem: qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ce dit.

Credo, cont.

136



Qui cum Pa tre, et Fili o simul a do ra tur, et conglo ri fica tur: qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe

150



tas. Et u nam Sanctam Ca tho licam, et Apos to licam Ec cle si am. Confi te or u num bap tis

165



ma, in re misi onem pec ca torum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti onem mor tuo rum. Et vi tam ven tu

178



ri sae cu li. A men.

Sanctus



Sanc_____tus. Do_____minus De_____us sa baoth. Hossa_____na in ex cel_____sis.

Benedictus



Be ne— dic tus, qui— venit in no— mine Do— mi ni. Hos— sa— na in ex— cel sis.

Agnus Dei



Agnus De_____ i, qui_____ tol lis pec ca ta mun di, mi se re_ re no bis.

Critical Notes for *Misa del Carmen*

(none)

Kirie

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Kirie". It consists of two staves of music. The first staff is in bass clef with a 4/4 time signature. The melody begins with a half note G2, followed by quarter notes A2, B2, and C3, then a half note D3. The second staff starts at measure 10, marked with a "10" and a key signature change to one sharp (F#). The melody continues with quarter notes E3, F#3, G3, and A3, followed by a half note B3. The lyrics are written below the notes, with horizontal lines indicating the placement of the words. The lyrics are: "Ki ri e e lei son. Chris te e lei son. Ki ri e e lei son." The score ends with a double bar line.

Ki ri e e lei son. Chris te e

10
lei son. Ki ri e e lei son.

Gloria

Lau da _____ mus te. A _____ do ra _____ mus te. Gra ti
10
as a gi mus ti _____ bi, prop ter mag nam glo ri am _____ tu _____ am.
20
Do mi _____ ne Fi li u ni ge _____ ni te, Je _____ su Chris
28
te. Qui tol _____ lis pec ca ta mun _____ di, mi _____ se _____ re re no _____
36
bis. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa _____ tris, mi se re _____ re _____ no _____ bis.
45
Tu so _____ lus Do _____ mi nus. Cum Sanc _____ to Spi _____
53
ri _____ tu _____ in glo ri a _____ De i Pa _____ tris.

Credo

Pa — trem Om — ni — po — ten — tem, fac — to rem
8
coe — li, — et — ter — rae, vi si bi li um om — ni
15
um, et — in — vi — si — bi — li — um. Et in u num Do mi num
23
Je — sum Chris tum, Fi li um De i u ni ge ni tum. et ex
32
Pa — tre — na tum an — te — om ni a sae cu la. De um de De o,
40
lu men de lu mi ne, De um ve rum, de De o ve ro. Ge ni tum, non
47
fac tum, con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri: per quem om ni a fac — ta
54
sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes, et prop ter nos tram sa — lu
61
tem des — cen dit de coe lis. Et in car na tus est de Spi — ri tu
70
Sanc to ex Ma ri a vir gi ne, et ho mo fac — tus

Credo, cont.

80
est. Cru - ci - fix us e ti am pro no bis, sub Pon ti o Pi la to

87
pa sus, et se pul tus est. Et re sur re

94
xit ter ti a di e, se - cun - dum scrip tu - ras.

101
Et as - cen - dit in coe lum, se det ad dex te ram Pa -

108
tris. Et i te rum ven - tu - rus - est cum glo ri a, ju di

116
ca re vi vis, et mor tu os: cu - jus - reg ni non e rit fi

124
nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum - Do mi num, et vi vi fi can tem:

132
qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ce dit. Qui - cum Pa tre, et Fi li o

140
si mul a - do - ra - tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur: qui lo cu tus

148
est per Pro fe - tas. Et u - nam Sanc tam Ca - tho li

Credo, cont.

156




cam, et A pos to li cam Ec cle si am. Con fi te or u num

164



bap - tis - ma, in re mi si o nem pec ca to rum. Et ex - pec - to

172



re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o rum. Et - vi - tam - ven tu ri sae

179



cu li. A

185



men.

Sanctus

The image shows a musical score for the Sanctus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff is in 4/4 time and features a melody with a long note on 'Sanc' and a half note on 'tus'. The second staff begins with a fermata on the first measure, followed by a melody with a long note on 'Hos' and a half note on 'sa'. The lyrics are: 'Sanc tus. Do mi nus De us sa ba oth. Hos sa na in ex cel sis.'

Sanc _____ tus. Do _____ mi nus De _____ us sa

⁹ba oth. Hos - sa _____ na in ex cel _____ sis.

Benedictus

Be ne ——— dic tus, qui ——— ve nit in no — mi ne

8

Do ——— mi ni. Hos ——— sa — na in ex — cel sis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a 4/4 time signature. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of lyrics. The second staff begins with a measure rest marked '8' and continues the melody for the second line of lyrics. The music features various note values including quarter, eighth, and half notes, with some notes beamed together and slurs. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

Agnus Dei

Ag nus De _____ i, qui _____ tol lis

6
pec ca ta mun _ di, mi se re _ re no bis.

Misa de la Orden



Kirie

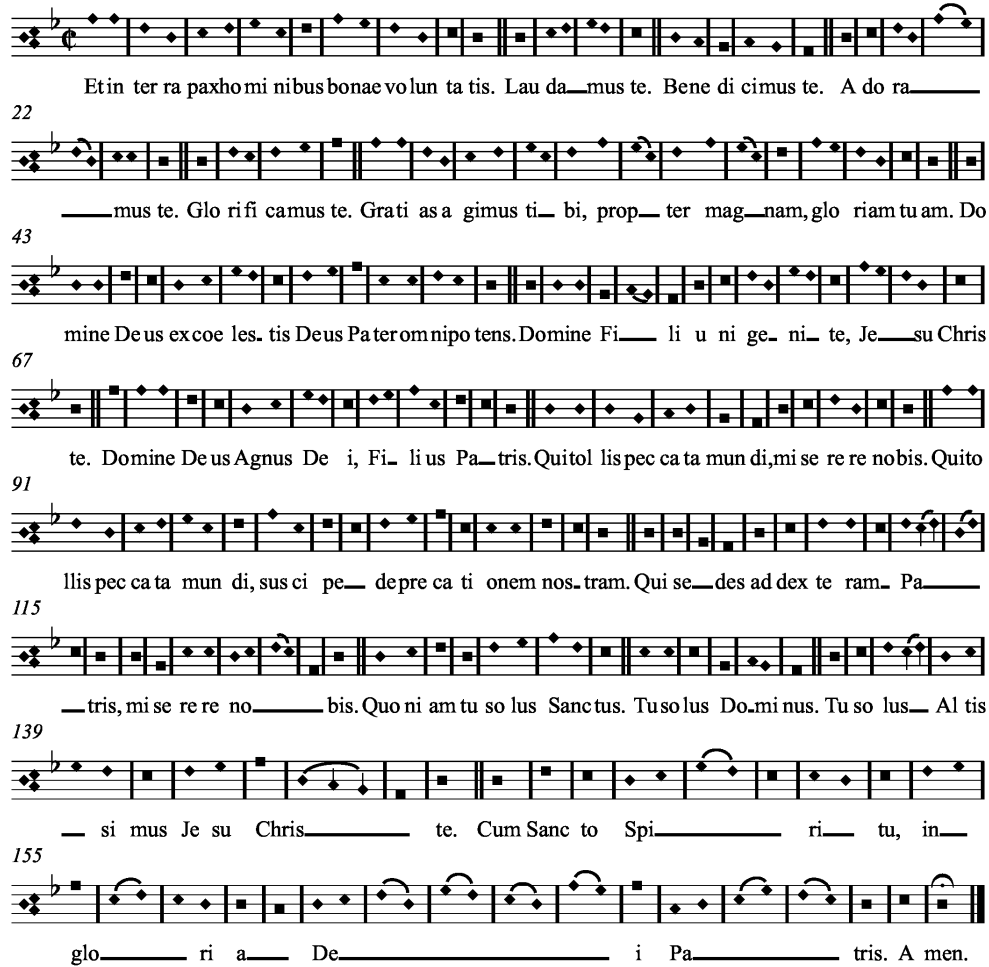
Musical score for Kirie, featuring two staves of music with lyrics. The first staff contains the lyrics "Ki ri e lei son. Chris te" and the second staff contains "lei son. Ki ri e lei son." The music is written in a single system with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The second staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are written below the notes, with horizontal lines indicating the duration of the notes. The second staff includes a *vis.* marking above a note.

18

Ki ri e lei son. Chris te

lei son. Ki ri e lei son.

Gloria



Et in ter ra pax ho mi nibus bonae vo lun ta tis. Lau da—mus te. Bene di cimus te. A do ra—
22
—mus te. Glo ri fi camus te. Gra ti as a gi mus ti— bi, prop— ter mag—nam, glo riam tu am. Do
43
mine De us ex coe les. tis De us Pa ter om ni po tens. Do mine Fi— li u ni ge. ni— te, Je—su Chris
67
te. Do mine De us Agnus De i, Fi. li us Pa—tris. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di, mi se re re nobis. Quito
91
llis pec ca ta mun di, sus ci pe— de pre ca ti onem nos. tram. Qui se—des ad dex te ram. Pa—
115
—tris, mi se re re no— bis. Quo ni am tu so lus Sanctus. Tu so lus Do. mi nus. Tu so lus— Al tis
139
— si mus Je su Chris— te. Cum Sanc to Spi— ri— tu, in—
155
glo— ri a— De— i Pa— tris. A men.

Credo



Pa trem omnipotentem fac torem coe li, et ter— rae, visi bi— li— um om— ni um, et in visi

23



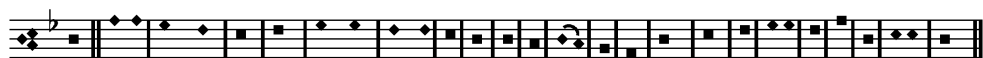
bi li um. Et in unum Do mi num Je sum Chris tum, Fi lium De i, u ni ge— ni tum, et ex

46



Pa tre na tum an te om nia sae— cu la. De um de De o, lumende lumi ne, De um ver rum de De— o ve

71



ro. Geni tum, non fac tum, con sub stan ti a lem Pa— tri, per quem om— ni a fac— ta sunt.

94



Qui pro pter nos ho mi nes, et pro pter nos tram sa lu— tem, des cen dit de coe— lis. Et in

116



car na— tus. est. de Spi— ri— tu Sanc— to ex Ma ri a vir— gi— ne: et ho—

141



mo fac— tus est. Cruci fi xus e ti am pro nobis sub Ponti o Pi la— to pasus, et se pul

163



— tus est. Et re sur rec it ter ti a di e se cun dum scrip— tu ras. Et ascen dit in coe— lum, se

189



det ad dex ter am Pa— tris. Et i terum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca— re vi vos et mor— tu

212



os, cu jus reg nin on e rit fi nis. Et in Spi— ritum Sanc tum Do mi num, et vi vifi can— tem, qui ex

Credo, cont.

236



Patre, Fili oque pro ce— dit. Qui cum Pa— tre, et— Fili o simul ado ra tur, et con glo ri fi catur,

262



qui lo cu— tus est per Pro fe— tas. Et unam Sanc tam Cat ho— licam, et Apos to— licam Ec cle—

286



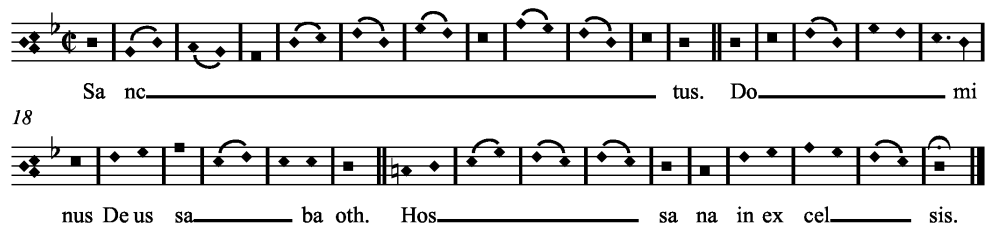
— si am. Con fi— te or, u num bap tis ma, in re mi si o nem pec ca to— rum. Et ex pec to

309



re sur rec ti o— nem mor tu o— rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae— cu li. A— men.

Sanctus



18

Sa nc _____ tus. Do _____ mi
nus De us sa _____ ba oth. Hos _____ sa na in ex cel _____ sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Sanctus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style with quarter and eighth notes, and rests. The lyrics 'Sa nc _____ tus. Do _____ mi' are written below the first staff. The second staff continues the melody with the lyrics 'nus De us sa _____ ba oth. Hos _____ sa na in ex cel _____ sis.' The number '18' is written to the left of the second staff. The music ends with a double bar line.

Benedictus

Be ne dic_____ tus, qui ve_____ nit in no_____ mi ne

19

Do_____ mi ni. Ho ssa_____ na in ex_____ cel_____ sis.

Agnus Dei



Ag nus De i, qui tol lis pec ca ta mun_____

II

di, mi se re_____ re no_____ bis.

The image shows a musical score for the Agnus Dei. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a simple, homophonic style. The lyrics 'Ag nus De i, qui tol lis pec ca ta mun' are written below the first staff, with a long horizontal line under 'mun' indicating a long note. The second staff begins with a double bar line and the Roman numeral 'II', indicating a second ending. The melody continues with the lyrics 'di, mi se re' followed by another long horizontal line, then 're no' followed by a third long horizontal line, and finally 'bis.' at the end. The music is written in a clear, legible font.

Critical Notes for *Misa de la Orden*

Sanctus

m. 29 – removed redundant cautionary accidental on E-natural.

Kirie

12
Ki ri e _____ e _____ lei son.

23
Chris te _____ e _____ lei


29
son. Ki ri e _____
_____ e _____ lei son.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Kirie'. It consists of four staves of music, all in bass clef and 2/4 time. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in Latin: 'Ki ri e e lei son.', 'Chris te e lei', 'son. Ki ri e', and 'e lei son.'. The music features a simple, melodic line with long notes and rests, and is punctuated by horizontal lines indicating the placement of the lyrics. The score is divided into four systems, with measure numbers 12, 23, and 29 marking the beginning of the second, third, and fourth systems respectively.

Et in ter ra pax ho mi ni bus bo nae vo lun ta tis. Lau da —
 12
 — mus te. Be ne di ci mus te. A do ra —
 23
 — mus te. Glo ri fi ca mus te. Gra ti as a gi mus ti —
 33
 bi, prop — ter mag — nam, glo — ri am tu am. Do mi ne
 44
 De us ex coe les — tis De us Pa ter om ni po tens. Do
 55
 mi ne Fi — li u ni ge — ni — te, Je — su Chris
 67
 te. Do mi ne De us Ag nus De — i, Fi — li us Pa —
 79
 tris. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di, mi se re re no bis. Qui to
 91
 llis pec ca ta mun di, sus ci pe — de pre ca ti o nem nos
 103
 — tram. Qui se — des ad dex te ram — Pa —


Gloria, cont.

116




tris, mi se re re no _____ bis. Quo ni am tu so lus

128




Sanc tus. Tu so lus Do mi nus. Tu so lus Al tis

139




_____ si mus Je su Chris _____ te. Cum Sanc to Spi _____

150



_____ ri _____ tu, in _____ glo _____ ri a _____ De _____

161



_____ i Pa _____ tris. A men.

Pa trem om ni po ten tem fac to rem coe li, et ter — rae,
 12
 vi si bi — li — um om — ni um, et in vi si
 23
 bi li um. Et in u num Do mi num Je sum Chris tum, Fi li um
 36
 De i, u ni ge — ni tum, et ex Pa tre na
 48
 tum an te om ni a sae — cu la. De um de De o, lu
 61
 men de lu mi ne, De um ver rum de De — o ve ro. Ge ni
 73
 tum, non fac tum, con sub stan ti a lem Pa — tri,
 85
 per quem om — ni a fac — ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos
 97
 ho mi nes, et prop ter nos — tram sa lu — tem, des cen
 108
 dit de coe — lis. Et in car na —

Credo, cont.

120 *tr.* tus — est — de Spi — ri — tu Sanc — *tr.*

130 to ex Ma — ri a vir — gi — ne: —

139 et — ho — mo — fac — tus est. —

148 Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub Pon ti o Pi la — to

159 pa sus, et se pul — tus est. Et re sur rec xit ter ti a

171 di e se cun dum scrip — tu ras. Et as cen dit in

184 coe — lum, se det ad dex te ram Pa — tris.

196 Et i te rum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca — re

208 vi vos et mor — tu os, cu jus reg ni non e rit fi nis.

220 Et in Spi — ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num, et vi vi fi can —

Credo, cont.

232
— tem, qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o que pro - ce — dit. Qui
245
cum Pa — tre, et — Fi li o si mul a do ra tur, et
258
con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu — tus est per Pro fe —
270
tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Cat ho — li cam, et A pos to -
281
— li cam Ec cle — si am. Con fi — te or, u
293
num bap tis ma, in re mi si o nem pec ca to — rum.
305
Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o — nem mor tu o — rum. Et
317
vi tam ven tu ri sae — cu li. A —
324
men.

Sanctus

12
Sanc _____

23
tus. Do _____ mi nus De us sa _____ ba
oth. Hos _____ sa na in ex cel _____ sis.

Benedictus

Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit
13 in no mi ne Do mi ni.
24 Ho ssa na in ex cel sis.

Agnus Dei

12
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,

18
miserere nobis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a 2/4 time signature and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It consists of three staves of music. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of lyrics, starting with a quarter note G2 and ending with a half note G2. The second staff continues the melody, starting with a quarter note G2 and ending with a half note G2. The third staff continues the melody, starting with a quarter note G2 and ending with a half note G2. The lyrics are: 'Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,' on the first staff; 'miserere' on the second staff; and 'nobis.' on the third staff. There are long horizontal lines under the lyrics 'mun', 're', and 'no' indicating that the notes are held across multiple measures.

Misa Mercenaria



Kirie

Musical score for Kirie, featuring two staves of music with lyrics. The first staff contains the lyrics: "Ki ri e _____ e _____ lei son. Chris _____ te e _____". The second staff begins with a measure rest, followed by the lyrics: "— lei son. Ki ri e _____ lei son." The second staff also includes a measure rest and the word "vis" above a note.

18

— lei son. Ki ri e _____ lei son.

Gloria



Et in te rrapax homi nibus bonae volun ta tis. Laudamus te. Benedi cimus te. A do ra mus te.

27



Glo ri fi ca_ mus te. Gra ti as a gimus ti bi propter mag nam glo riam tu am. Domine De us Rex coe

52



les_ tis, Deus Pa ter, om ni po tens. Domine Fi li uni geni te, Je su Chris te. Domine De us Agnus

77



De_ i, Fi li us Pa_ tris. Qui to llis pec ca ta mun_ di, mise re re no_ bis. Qui to llis pec ca

101



ta mun_ di, sus ci pe, de pre ca ti onem nos tram. Qui se des ad dex teram Pa tris, mi se re re no bis.

126



Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc tus. Tu so lus Do minus. Tu so lus Al tis si mus Je

142



su Chris te. Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu, in glo ri a De i Pa tris. A_ men.

Credo



Pa trem omni poten tem fac to rem coe li, et terrae, visi bi lium omni um, et in visi bi li um. Et in

22



unum Do mi num Je sum Chris tum, Fi li um De i, uni ge ni tum, et ex Pa tre na tum an te omni a

43



sae cu la. De um de De o, lumende lumi ne, De um verum de Deo ve ro. Geni tum, non fac

61



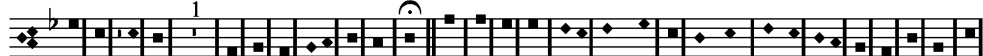
tum, consub stan ti alem Pa tri per quem om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui propter nos ho mines, et propter nos

81



tra msa lutem, des cen dit de coe lis. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc to, ex Ma ri

106



a vir gi ne. et ho mo fac tus est. Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub Pon ti o Pi la to pasus et

133



se pul tus est. Et re sur recxit ter ci a di e se cum scrip tu ras. Et as cendit in coe lum, se det ad

154



dex te ram Pa tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos, et mor tu os, cu jus

177



reg ni non erit fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num, et vi vi can tem: qui ex Pa tre, Fili o

198



que pro ce dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fili o simul ador a tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro

Credo, cont.

219



fe tas. Et unam Sanc tam Cat holi cam, et Apos to licam Ec cle si am. Con fi te or unum bap tisma, in

242



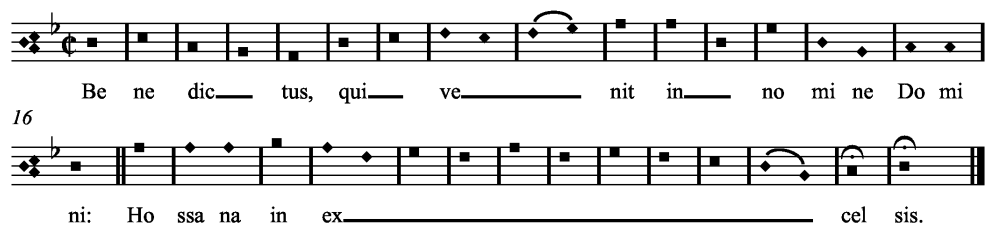
re mi ti o nem, pec ca to rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor

258



tu o rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae cu li. A. _____ men.

Benedictus



16

Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi
ni: Ho ssa na in ex cel sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody starts with a quarter note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. The second staff continues the melody with quarter notes Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. The lyrics are written below the notes, with horizontal lines indicating the duration of each syllable. The first line of lyrics is "Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi" and the second line is "ni: Ho ssa na in ex cel sis." The number "16" is written to the left of the first staff.

Agnus Dei



Ag— nus De i, qui tol lis pec ca ta— mun di, mi se re re no—— bis.

Critical Notes for *Misa Mercenaria*

(none)

Kirie

Musical score for Kirie, bass clef, 2/4 time. The score consists of two staves. The first staff contains the first line of music with lyrics: "Ki ri e e lei son. Chris te e". The second staff starts with a measure rest labeled "18" and contains the second line of music with lyrics: "lei son. Ki ri e e lei son." The music features a melodic line with various note values and rests, and a bass line with chords and single notes.

Ki ri e e lei son. Chris te e

18
lei son. Ki ri e e lei son.

Gloria

Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis. 13
Laudamus te. Benedicimus te. Adoramus 26
te. Glorificamus te. Gratias agimus tibi 38
propter magnam gloriam tuam. Domine Deus Rex coe 52
lestis, Deus Pater, omnipotens. Domine Fi 63
lius unigenite, Jesu Christe. Domine Deus Ag 76
nus Dei, Filius Patris. Qui to 87
llis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui 98
tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem 110
nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere

Gloria, cont.

124



no bis. Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc tus. Tu so lus Do mi

136



nus. Tu so lus Al tis si mus Je su Chris te. Cum Sanc to

148



Spi ri tu, in glo ri a De i Pati ris. A _____ men.

Credo

Pa trem om ni po ten tem fac to rem coe li, et ter rae, vi si
12
bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi li um. Et in u num
23
Do mi num Je sum Chris tum, Fi li um De i, u ni ge ni
35
tum, et ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni a sae cu — la. De
46
um de De o, lu men de lu mi ne, De um ve rum de De o
56
ve ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum, con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri
67
per quem om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes, et
79
prop ter nos tram sa lu tem, des cen — dit de coe
91
— lis. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc to,
103
ex Ma ri a vir gi ne. et ho mo fac —

Credo, cont.

115
— tus est. Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub Pon ti

127
o Pi la to pa sus et se pul tus est. Et re sur rec

140
xit ter ci a di e se cun dum scrip tu ras. Et as cen dit in

151
coe lum, se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus

162
est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos, et mor

174
tu os, cu jus reg ni non e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum

186
Sanc tum Do mi num, et vi vi fi can tem: qui ex Pa tre, Fi li

197
o que pro ce dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fi li o si mul a dor

209
a tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe

220
tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Cat ho li cam, et A pos to li cam Ec

Misa de Ahorcados



Kirie

Ki ri e e lei son. Chris te

16

e lei son. *vis* Ki ri e e lei son.

Gloria



Lau da_____ mus te. A do ra_____ mus te. Gra ti as a gi mus ti bi, pro pter mag nam glo

23



riam tu am. Do mine Fi li u ni ge ni te, Je su Chris te. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di, mise re re no

44



bis. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa tris, mi se re re no bis. Tu so lus

59



Do mi nus. Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu; in glo ri a De i Pa tris. A men.

Credo



Pa trem om ni po tentem fac to rem coe li, et ter rae: vi si bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi li um. Et in unum

22



Do mi num Je sum Christum, Fi li um De i, u ni ge nitum, et ex Pa tre na tum, an te om ni a sae cu la.

43



De um de De o, lu men de lu mi ne, De um ve rum de De o ve ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum, con sub stan ti

62



alem Pa tri, per quem om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui pro pter nos ho mi nes, et pro pter nos tram sa lu tem, des cen

82



dit de coe lis. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc to; ex Ma ri a vir gi ne: et ho mo fac tus est. Cru

105



ci fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub Pon ti o Pi la to pa sus et se pul tus est. Et re sur re xit ter ti a

127



di e, se cun dum scri p tu ras. Et as cen dit in coe lum, se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et i te rum ven

147



tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos et mor tu os, cu jus reg ni non e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum

167



San ctum Do mi num, et vi vi fi can tem: qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ce dit. Qui cum Pa tre et Fi li o,

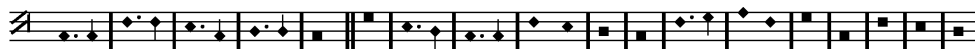
187



simul ado ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe tas. Et unam Sanc tam Cat ho licam, et

Credo, cont.

210

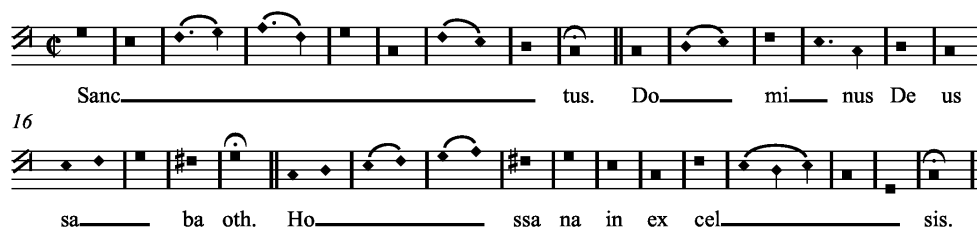


A pos to li cam Ec cle si am. Con fi te or u num bap tis ma, in re mi si o nem pec ca to
228



rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o rum. Et vi tam ven tur i sae cu li. A men.

Sanctus



16

Sanc_____ tus. Do_____ mi_____ nus De us

sa_____ ba oth. Ho_____ ssa na in ex cel_____ sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Sanctus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style with quarter and eighth notes, and some notes are beamed together. The second staff continues the melody, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the notes, with long horizontal lines indicating the duration of each syllable. The lyrics are: 'Sanc_____ tus. Do_____ mi_____ nus De us' on the first line, and 'sa_____ ba oth. Ho_____ ssa na in ex cel_____ sis.' on the second line. The number '16' is written to the left of the second staff.

Benedictus



Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit in no mine Do mi ni: Hos sa na in ex cel sis.

Agnus Dei



Ag nus De i, qui tol — lis pec — ca ta mun di, mi se re re no bis.

Critical Notes for *Misa de Ahorcados*

Credo

m. 98 – the original score includes a dotted breve-minima figure that is not possible in the 3 over 4 time signature. I have changed it to a modern half note/eighth note tie-eighth note.

Kirie

Musical score for Kirie, featuring three systems of bass clef staves with lyrics. The time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are: "Ki ri e e lei son. Chris te e lei son. Ki ri e e lei son." The score includes measure numbers 12 and 22.

12 Ki ri e e lei son. Chris
vis

22 te e lei son. Ki ri
e e lei son.

Gloria

Lau da _____ mus te. A do ra _____

13
mus te. Gra ti as a gi mus ti bi, prop ter mag nam glo ri am

24
tu am. Do mi ne Fi li u ni ge ni te, Je su Chris te.

36
Qui to llis pec ca ta mun di, mi se re re no bis. Qui se des

48
ad dex te ram Pa tris, mi se re re no bis. Tu so lus Do mi

60
nus. Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu; in glo ri

67
a De i Pa tris. A men.

Credo

Pa trem om ni po ten tem fac tor em coe li, et ter rae: vi si
12
bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi li um. Et in u num Do mi
23
num Je sum Chris tum, Fi li um De i, u ni ge ni tum, et ex
34
Pa tre na tum, an te om ni a sae cu la. De um de
45
De o, lu men de lu mi ne, De um ve rum de De o ve ro.
56
Ge ni tum, non fac tum, con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri, per quem om
68
ni a fac ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes, et prop ter nos tram sa
79
lu tem, des cen dit de coe lis. Et in car na tus est de Spi
91
ri tu Sanc to; ex Ma ri a vir gi ne: et
101
ho mo fac tus est. Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub
113
Pon ti o Pi la to pa sus et se pul tus est. Et re sur

Credo, cont.

123

re xit ter ti a di e, se cun dum scrip tu ras. Et as cen dit

135

in_ coe lum, se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et i te rum ven

147

tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos et mor tu os, cu jus

158

reg ni non e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do mi

169

num, et vi vi fi can tem: qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ce

181

dit. Qui cum Pa tre et Fi li o, si mul a do ra tur, et

192

con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe tas.

204

Et u nam Sanc tam Cat ho li cam, et A pos to li cam Ec cle si am.

215

Con fi te or u num bap tis ma, in re mi si o nem pec

226

ca to rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem

237

mor tu o rum. Et vi tam ven tur i sae cu li. A men.

Sanctus

Sanctus. Do- mi-
13 nus De- us Sa- ba- oth. Ho-
22 ssa- na in ex- cel- sis.

Benedictus

Be ne dic- tus, qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi

13 ni: Hos sa na in

20 ex cel sis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a 2/4 time signature. It consists of three staves. The first staff contains the first line of music and the lyrics 'Be ne dic- tus, qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi'. The second staff begins with a measure rest labeled '13' and contains the lyrics 'ni: Hos sa na in'. The third staff begins with a measure rest labeled '20' and contains the lyrics 'ex cel sis.'. The music features various note values including quarter, eighth, and half notes, with some notes beamed together. There are several slurs and ties used throughout the piece.

Agnus Dei

Ag nus De i, qui tol_____ lis pec____

8

ca ta mun di, mi se re re no bis.

The musical score is written in 2/4 time. The vocal line (top staff) begins with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a half note C5. The piano accompaniment (bottom staff) starts with a quarter note G3, a quarter note A3, a quarter note B3, and a half note C4. The lyrics are: 'Ag nus De i, qui tol_____ lis pec____' on the first line, and 'ca ta mun di, mi se re re no bis.' on the second line. A fermata is placed over the final note of the vocal line.

Misa de Sales

Note: Since the *Misa de Sales* is written in a kind of pseudo-score format, it is not possible to notate it visually as it appears in the *Kirial de Baclayon* with the notation programs at my disposal (or the skills at my disposal). Thus, the *Misa de Sales* will be the only mass setting reproduced in facsimile. The quality of the reproduction is directly related both to my talent as a photographer and to the dim environment in which the pictures were taken. The thumbs visible in some of the pictures belong to my wife.

MUSA D. SALES

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top, the title "MUSA D. SALES" is written in a decorative, calligraphic font. Below the title are six staves of music. The first three staves are vocal lines, each starting with a clef (C, T, B) and a time signature (7/8). The lyrics "Iri e" are written below each of these staves. The fourth staff is a lute tablature line, starting with a C-clef and a time signature of 12/8. The lyrics "e lei son. Christe e" are written below this staff. The fifth staff is another vocal line, starting with a T-clef and a time signature of 12/8, with the lyrics "e lei son." below it. The sixth staff is a lute tablature line, starting with a B-clef and a time signature of 12/8, with the lyrics "e lei son." below it. The music is written in a style characteristic of early modern manuscript notation, using square notes and diamond-shaped tablature characters. The page is decorated with a floral border on the left side.

Iei son. Kyrie e
Christe e Iei son.
Chris te Christe e Iei son.
Iei son.
Kyrie e Iei son.
Kyrie e Iei son.
In terra pax hominibus bonae volun
ta tis. Be ne di cimus te. Glo ri fi
ra tis. Be ne di cimus te. Glo ri fi
ra tis. Be ne di cimus te. Ado ra mus te.

ca mus te. Domine Deus Rex caeles

ca mus te. Domine Deus Domine Deus Rex caeles

Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam glo-ri-am

tuam. Domine Filius nigenitae Iesu Chris-te.

nis Deus Pater omni-ipo-tens. Domine Deus Pa-

tris. Qui tollis peccata

nis Deus Pater omni-ipo-tens. Domine Deus Pa-tris. Qui tollis pec-

cata mundi, mise-re-re no-bis.

mundi peccata mundi, susci-pe de pre-

122

o nem nos tram. Quoniam tu solus Sanctus.

o nem nos tram. Quoniam tu so lus Sanctus.

Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, mise re re no bis.

Tu solus Altissimus Je su Chris te.

Tu solus Altissimus Jesu Chris te.

Tu so lus Do mi nus. Cum Sancto Spi ri tu in
glo ria Dei Pa tris. A men.

A men.

A men.

A men.

A men. omni po te ti tem, fac to rem

A men omni po ten tem fac to rem

173

cœli, e ter_ræ: visi bili um, om_ni um, et in visi
 B: cœli, e ter_ræ: visi bili um omni um, et in visi
 T: bi_li um. Et ex Pa tre na tum ante omnia
 B: bi_li um. Et ex Pa tre na tum, ante omnia
 C: Et in vnum Dôminum Je sum Christum Fi
 C: lium De i vni genitum. Genitum non fac
 T: sæ cu la. Deum de De_o, lumen de lumine, De um
 B: sæ cu la, Deum de De_o, lumen de lumine, De um
 C: tum, con substanti a lem Pa tri, per quem omnia facta sunt.
 T: ve rum de Deo ve ro. Qui propter nos, homines
 B: ve rum de Deo ve ro. Qui propter nos, homines

et propter nostram salu... rem, descendi de caelis.

B et propter nostram salu... rem, descendi de caelis.

C Et in carna... tus est de Spiritu Sancto ex
Maria uirgine.

T et homo fac... tus est.

B et homo fac... tus est.

C Cruce fixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pi
lato passus esse pul... tus est.

T Et resurre... xii tertia die secundum

B Et resurre... xii tertia die secundum

scrip tu ras. Et i terum ven tu rus est cum o lori a cum
 scrip tu ras. Et i terum ven tu rus est cum o lori a ju
 Et ascendit in cœ lum, se det ad dex te ram Pa tris.
 o lori a ju di care vi vos, et mor tuos cu jus re gni non erit
 di care vi vos, et mor tuos cu jus re gni non erit fi nis.
 fi nis. Qui cum Pa tre, & Fi li o, si mul a do ra tur
 Qui cum Pa tre, & Fi li o, si mul a do ra tur,
 Et in Spi ritum San ctum Do mi num, & vi vi fi can tem,
 qui ex Pa tri, Fi li o que pro ce dit.
 & con o lori fi ca tur, qui lo cutus est per Pro
 & con o lori fi ca tur, qui lo cutus est per Pro

se tas. Confiteor vnum baptis
 se tas. Confiteor vnum baptis ma,
 Et vnam Sanctam Catholicam, & Apostolicam Ec
 clesiam. Et expecio resurrectionem mor
 tali in re inuisionem peccatorum. Et vitam venturi ven
 turi saeculi. Amen.
 saeculi. Amen. Amen.
 rum. Amen.
 ncus. Dominus De

Gnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, peccata mundi
 Gnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, mi se re
 di, mi se re re no bis. Monus Dei, qui tollis pec
 re no bis. Monus Dei, qui tollis, qui tollis peccata mun
 ca ta mundi, dona no bis pa cem.
 di, dona no bis pa cem.
 Gnus Dei, qui tol lis peccata mun di,
 mi se re re no bis. pa cem.

Critical Notes for *Misa de Sales*

Throughout – the multi-measure rests in the original do not always line up properly or in a coherent fashion, so I have re-aligned some parts.

Gloria

Throughout – I have eliminated eight measures from the beginning of the mass setting so that the voices, and not empty space (which was likely filled by an organ or instrumental introduction) begins the movement.

- m. 30 – changed A to G in the bass part.
- m. 62 – changed B-sharps to B-naturals in the bass part.
- m. 62 – changed B-flat to B-natural in the tenor part.
- m. 94 – changed B-sharp to B-natural in the coro part.
- m. 132 – changed B-flat to A in the tenor part.

Credo

Throughout – eliminated nine measures of rest from beginning of movement.

- m. 4 – changed G to A, and A to G in tenor part.
- m. 67 – changed F to E in tenor part.
- m. 68 – changed F to E, A to G, and C to B-flat in tenor part.
- m. 69 – changed B-flat to A in tenor part.
- m. 136 – changed B-sharps to B-naturals in tenor part.
- m. 140 – modified the minima on beat one, changing it to a semibreve to maintain the prevailing meter in the tenor part.
- m. 140 – modified the minima on beat one, changing it to a semibreve to maintain the prevailing meter in the bass part.
- m. 154 – changed D-sharp to D-natural.
- m. 155 – changed C-natural to C-sharp.
- m. 160 – changed A-sharp to A-natural in the tenor part.
- m. 160 – changed E to F, F to G, and G to A in the bass part.

Critical Notes for *Misa de Sales*, cont.

- m. 161 – changed A to B-flat in the bass part.
- m. 201 – changed A-sharp to A-natural in the tenor part.
- m. 201 – changed B-sharp to B-natural in the bass part.
- m. 222 – changed E to G, F to E, and G to F in the bass part.

Sanctus

- m. 19 – changed F to G in the bass part.

Agnus Dei

- Throughout – eliminated eight measures of rest at the beginning of the movement.

Kirie

Coro
Ki ri e

Tenor

Bass

9

Coro
e lei son.

Tenor
Ki ri e

Bass
Ki ri e

16

Coro

Tenor
e lei son.

Bass
e lei son.

Kirie, cont.

23

Coro

Tenor

Bass

Chris te e lei

32

Coro

Tenor

Bass

son.

Chris te e

Chris te Chris te e

40

Coro

Tenor

Bass

lei son.

Ki ri e e

lei son.

Kirie, cont.

47

Coro
Tenor
Bass

lei son.
Ki ri e e
Ki ri e e


54


Coro
Tenor
Bass

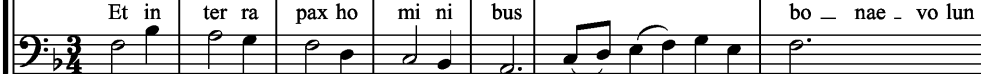
lei son.
lei son.

Gloria

8

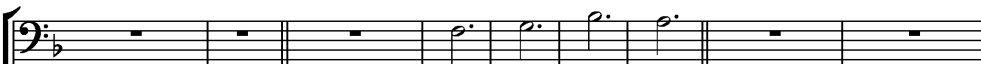
C. 


T. 


B. 

Et in ter ra pax ho mi ni bus bo _ nae - vo lun ta

8


C. 


T. 


B. 

ta tis. Lau da mus te. Be _ ne

17

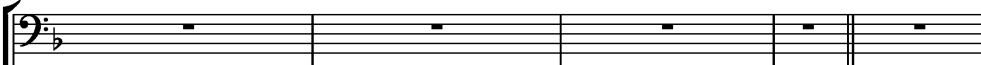
C. 

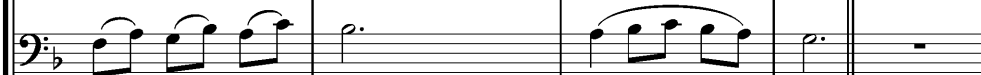
T. 


B. 

A do ra mus te. di be ne di ci mus te. Be _ ne di ci mus te.

27

C. 

T. 

B. 

Glo _ ri _ fi _ ca mus te. Glo _ ri _ fi _ ca _ mus te.

Gloria, cont.

32

C.

T.

B.

39

C.

T.

B.

46

C.

T.

B.

53

C.

T.

B.

Gloria, cont.

59

C.
 T.
 B.
 Do mi ne De us Ag - nus - De - i Fi li us
 De us Ag - nus - De i, Ag nus De - i Fi li us

65

C.
 T.
 B.
 Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di, mi se re re no
 Pa - tris.
 Pa - tris.

76

C.
 T.
 B.
 bis.
 Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di pec ca ta mun di,
 Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di

84

C.
 T.
 B.
 sus ci pe de pre ca ti o nem nos tram.
 sus ci pe de pre ca ti o nem nos tram.

Gloria, cont.

90

C. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa tris, mi se re re no bis.

T.

B.

100

C. Tu so

T. Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc tus.

B. Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc tus.

109

C. lus Do mi nus.

T. Tu so lus Al tis si mus Je su

B. Tu so lus Al tis si mus Je su

117

C. Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu in

T. Chris te.

B. Chris te.

Gloria, cont.

125

C. glo ri a De i Pa tris.

T.

B.

A _____

131

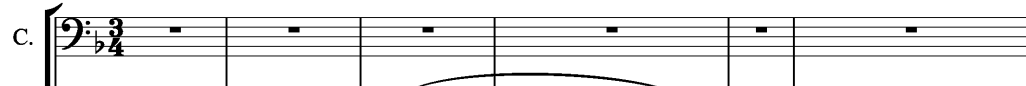


C. A men.



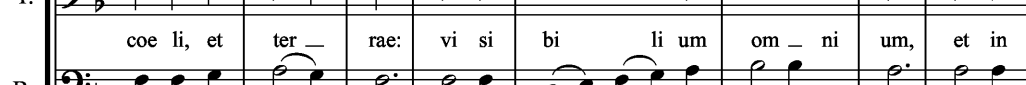
T. A men.


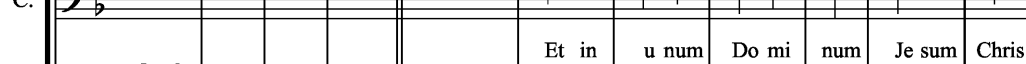
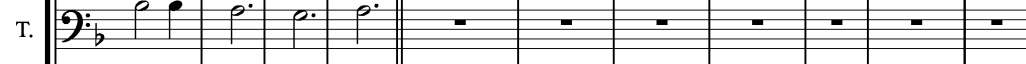
B. A men.

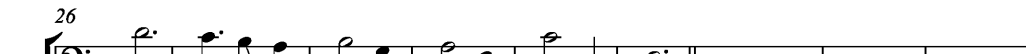

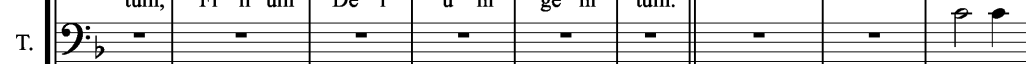
men.

Credo

C. 
T. 
B. 
Pa trem om ni po ten tem fac to rem
Pa trem om ni po ten tem fac to rem

7
C. 
T. 
B. 
coe li, et ter rae: vi si bi li um om ni um, et in
coe li, et ter rae: vi si bi li um om ni um, et in

15
C. 
T. 
B. 
Et in u num Do mi num Je sum Chris
vi si bi li um.
vi si bi li um.

26
C. 
T. 
B. 
tum, Fi li um De i u ni ge ni tum.
Et ex
Et ex Pa

Credo, cont.

35

C.
 T.
 B.

Pa tre na tum, an te om ni a sae cu la. De um de De o,
tre na tum, an te om ni a sae cu la. De um de De o,

44

C.
 T.
 B.

lu men de lu mi ne, De um ve rum de De o ve ro.
lu men de lu mi ne, De um ve rum de De o ve ro.

53

C.
 T.
 B.

Ge ni tum no fac tum, con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri, per quem

64

C.
 T.
 B.

om ni a fac ta sunt.
 Qui prop ter nos, ho mi nes et prop ter
 Qui prop ter nos, ho mi nes et prop ter

Credo, cont.

72

C.
T. nos tram sa lu tem, des cen di de coe lis,
B. nos tram sa lu tem, des cen dit de coe lis.

79

C. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc
T.
B.

87

C. to ex Ma ri a vir gi ne.
T. et ho mo fac
B. et ho mo fac

97

C. Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub
T. tus est.
B. tus est.

Credo, cont.

105

C. Pon ti o Pi la to pa sus et se pul tus est.

T.

B.

Et re sur

112

C.

T. Et re sur re xit ter ti a di e se cun dum scrip

B. re xit et re sur re xit ter ti a di e se cun dum scrip

118

C. Et as cen dit in coe lum, se det ad

T. tu ras.

B. tu ras.

127

C. dex te ram Pa tris.

T. Et i te rum ven tu rus est cum glo ri

B. Et i te rum ven

Credo, cont.

133

C.
 T.
 B.

a cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos, et mor tu os cu jus reg ni
tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos, et mor tu os cu jus reg ni

140

C.
 T.
 B.

non e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num, et vi
non e rit fi nis.

148

C.
 T.
 B.

vi fi can tem qui ex Pa tri, Fi li o que pro ce dit.
Qui - cum

158

C.
 T.
 B.

Qui cum Pa tre, et Fi li o si mul
Pa tre, et Fi li o si mul a do ra

Credo, cont.

167

C.
 T.
 B.
 a do ra tur et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est
 tur et con glo ri fi ca mus glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est

Detailed description: This system contains measures 167 through 176. It features three vocal parts: Contralto (C.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B.). The lyrics are: 'a do ra tur et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est tur et con glo ri fi ca mus glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est'. The music is in a low register with a key signature of one flat.

177

C.
 T.
 B.
 per Pro fe tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Ca
 per Pro fe tas.
 per Pro fe tas.

Detailed description: This system contains measures 177 through 183. The lyrics are: 'per Pro fe tas. Et u nam Sanc tam Ca per Pro fe tas. per Pro fe tas.'. The music continues with the same vocal parts and key signature.

184

C.
 T.
 B.
 tho li cam, et A pos to li cam Ec cle si am.
 Con

Detailed description: This system contains measures 184 through 191. The lyrics are: 'tho li cam, et A pos to li cam Ec cle si am. Con'. The music continues with the same vocal parts and key signature.

192

C.
 T.
 B.
 fi te or u num bap tis ma in re
 Con fi te or u num bap tis ma in re

Detailed description: This system contains measures 192 through 199. The lyrics are: 'fi te or u num bap tis ma in re Con fi te or u num bap tis ma in re'. The music continues with the same vocal parts and key signature.

Credo, cont.

198

C. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti
T. mi si o nem pec ca to rum.
B. mi si o nem pec ca to rum.

mi si o nem pec ca to rum.

Detailed description: This system contains measures 198 through 206. It features three vocal parts: C (Coprino), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat major or D minor) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: 'Et ex pec to re sur rec ti' (Coprino), 'mi si o nem pec ca to rum.' (Tenor), and 'mi si o nem pec ca to rum.' (Bass). The Soprano part has a melodic line starting at measure 200. The Tenor and Bass parts have a more rhythmic, dotted-note pattern.

207

C. o nem mor tu o rum.
T. Et vi tam ven
B. Et

o nem mor tu o rum.
Et vi tam ven

Detailed description: This system contains measures 207 through 215. It features three vocal parts: C (Coprino), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The lyrics are: 'o nem mor tu o rum.' (Coprino), 'Et vi tam ven' (Tenor), and 'Et' (Bass). The Soprano part has a melodic line starting at measure 207. The Tenor and Bass parts have a more rhythmic, dotted-note pattern.

216

C. tu ri ven tu ri Sae
T. vi tam ven tu ri Sae
B. vi tam ven tu ri Sae

tu ri ven tu ri Sae
vi tam ven tu ri Sae

Detailed description: This system contains measures 216 through 221. It features three vocal parts: C (Coprino), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The lyrics are: 'tu ri ven tu ri Sae' (Coprino), 'vi tam ven tu ri Sae' (Tenor), and 'vi tam ven tu ri Sae' (Bass). The Soprano part has a melodic line starting at measure 216. The Tenor and Bass parts have a more rhythmic, dotted-note pattern.

222

C. cu li.
T. cu li.
B. A men

cu li.
cu li. A men

Detailed description: This system contains measures 222 through 226. It features three vocal parts: C (Coprino), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The lyrics are: 'cu li.' (Coprino), 'cu li.' (Tenor), and 'A men' (Bass). The Soprano part has a melodic line starting at measure 222. The Tenor and Bass parts have a more rhythmic, dotted-note pattern.




Credo, cont.

225




C.
 T.
 B.




A men.
 A men.
 A men.

Sanctus

C. 
T. 
B. 

10
C. 
T. 
B. 

17
C. 
T. 
B. 

23
C. 
T. 
B. 

Sanctus, cont.

30

C. *[Musical notation]*

T. *[Musical notation]*
Ho sa na in ex cel cis.

B. *[Musical notation]*
ter ra glo ri a tu a. Hos sa na in ex cel sis.

Benedictus

C.
 T.
 B.

Be ne dic tus, Be ne dic tus qui ve nit in
Be ne dic tus qui ve nit in

8

C.
 T.
 B.

no mi ne Do mi ni: Hos sa na in ex cel sis.
no mi ne Do mi ni: Hos sa na in ex cel sis.

Agnus Dei

10

C.

T. Ag nus De i, qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di, pec ca ta mun di, mi

B. Ag nus De i, qui til lis pec ca ta mun di, mi

18

C.

T. se re re no bis. Ag nus De i, qui

B. se re re no bis.

27

C.

T. tol lis pec ca ta mun di, Ag nus De

B. Ag nus De i, qui tol

33

C.

T. i, qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di, mi se

B. lis, qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di,

Agnus Dei, cont.

35

C. re re no bis. pa cem.

T. do na no bis pa cem.

B. do na no bis pa cem.

Misa de la Concepcion



Kirie

20

Ki ri e _____ e le i son Chris ste _____

vis.

_____ e le i son Ki ri e _____ e _____ le i son.

Gloria



Et in ter rapax hominibus bo. nae volun ta__ tis. Lau__ da__ mus te. Be ne_ di
22



ci mus te. A do ra__ mus te. Glo ri fi ca mus te. Gra tias a gi mus ti bi, prop termagnam
42



glo riam tu__ am. Domine Deus ex coe les tis, Deus Pa ter om ni potens. Domine Fili uni geni
63



te, Je__ su Chris te. Domine Deus Agnus De i, Fi li us Pa__ tris. Qui tol lis pec cata mun di, mise
86



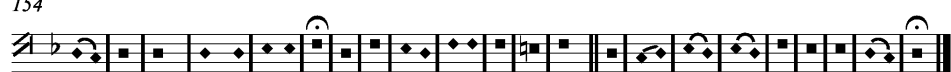
re re no__ bis. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di, sus ci pe, de pre ca ti onem nos__ tram. Qui
109



se des ad dex teram Pa__ tris, mise re re no__ bis. Quo__ niam tu so lus Sanc_ tus. Tu
131



__ so lus Do__ minus. Tu__ so lus, Al__ tis__ simus, Je__ su Chris__
154



__ te. Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu in glo ri a Dei Pa__ tris. A__ men.

Credo 1

Patrem omnipotentem, factorem coeli, et terrae: visibili-
23
visibilem. Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei, unigenitum, et ex Pa-
51
tre natum ante omnia saecula. Deum de Deo, lumine lumine, Deum ve-
75
rum de Deo vero. Genitum, non factum, consubstantialem Patri, per quem omnia
94
facta sunt. Qui propter nos homines, et propter nos-
107
tram salutem, descendit, descendit, de caelis.

Credo 2

Ten. Et in car na tus— est de Spi ri tu Sanc— to, ex Ma ri a

B. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc to, ex Ma ri a

17

Ten. vir— gi— ne, et ho— mo, et ho mo fac— tus— est.

B. vir gi ne, et ho— mo, et ho mo fac tus est.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for two voices, Tenor (Ten.) and Bass (B.), in a key with one flat (B-flat) and common time (C). The score is divided into two systems. The first system covers measures 1 through 16. The Tenor part begins with a treble clef and a B-flat key signature. The lyrics are: "Et in car na tus— est de Spi ri tu Sanc— to, ex Ma ri a". The Bass part begins with a bass clef and a B-flat key signature. The lyrics are: "Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc to, ex Ma ri a". The second system starts at measure 17. The Tenor part continues with the lyrics: "vir— gi— ne, et ho— mo, et ho mo fac— tus— est." The Bass part continues with the lyrics: "vir gi ne, et ho— mo, et ho mo fac tus est." The score includes various musical notations such as stems, beams, slurs, and fermatas.

Credo 3



25 Cru ci_ fixus et i ampro nobis, sub Ponti o Pi la to pasus et se pul tus est. Et re sur re_ xit



48 ter ti a di_ e se cum dum scrip tu_ ras, et_ as_ cen dit in coe lum se det ad dex teram Patris. Et



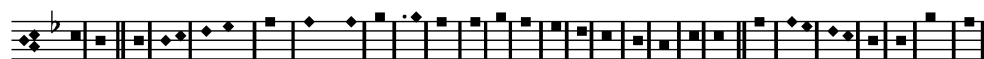
75 i_ te_ rum ven tu rus est cum glo ri a ju di ca_ re vi vos, et mor tu os, cu jus reg ni non e rit



101 fi_ nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num et vi vi fi can tem, qui ex Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ce



129 _ dit. Qui cum Pa tre, et Fi li o si mul a do_ ra tur, et con glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cutus est per Pro



156 fe tas. Et u_ nam, Sanctam Catho licam, et Apos to licam Ec cle si am. Con fi_ te_ or, u num ba p

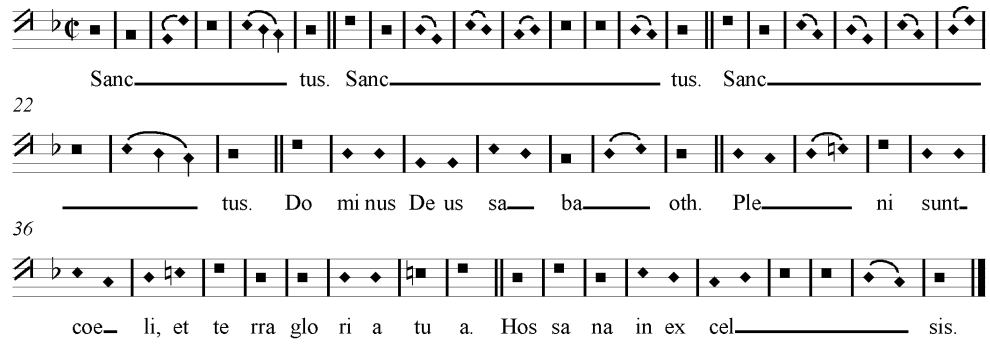


182 tis ma in re mi si o nem pec ca to rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu ^ o rum. Et vi tam ven



tu ri sae cu li. A_ men. A_ men. A_ men. A_ men. A_ men.

Sanctus



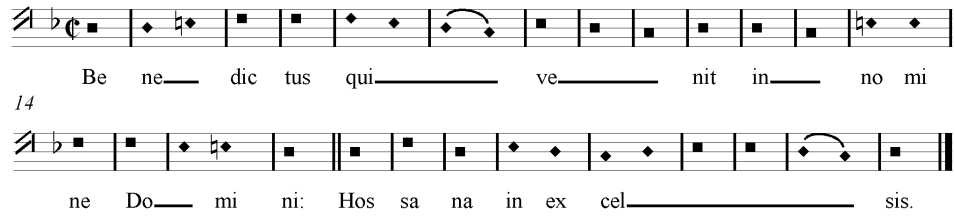
The image shows a musical score for the Sanctus, consisting of three staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style. The lyrics are: "Sanc_____ tus. Sanc_____ tus. Sanc_____". The second staff continues the melody and includes the lyrics: "_____ tus. Do mi nus De us sa_ ba_____ oth. Ple_____ ni sunt-". The third staff concludes the piece with the lyrics: "coe_ li, et te rra glo ri a tu a. Hos sa na in ex cel_____ sis." The music is written in a clear, legible font, and the lyrics are aligned with the notes.

Sanc_____ tus. Sanc_____ tus. Sanc_____

22 _____ tus. Do mi nus De us sa_ ba_____ oth. Ple_____ ni sunt-

36 coe_ li, et te rra glo ri a tu a. Hos sa na in ex cel_____ sis.

Benedictus




14

Be ne— dic tus qui—— ve—— nit in—— no mi
ne Do— mi ni: Hos sa na in ex cel—— sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a simple, homophonic style. The lyrics are: "Be ne— dic tus qui—— ve—— nit in—— no mi". The second staff continues the melody and includes the lyrics: "ne Do— mi ni: Hos sa na in ex cel—— sis." The music ends with a double bar line. The number "14" is written below the first staff.

Agnus Dei



Agnus De i, qui- tol lis pec ca ta mun- di, mise re re no- bis.

Critical Notes for *Misa de la Concepcion*

Gloria

m. 17 – changed dotted quarter note to half note.

m. 28 – interpreted breve/minima figure as dotted quarter/eighth.

Credo 1

m. 37 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 88 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 101 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 108 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

Credo 2

mm. 17-28 – adapted rhythm of Bass part so the parts will line up.

Credo 3

m. 17 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 45 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 61 – changed B-sharp to B-natural.

m. 187 – changed B-sharp to B-natural

Benedictus

m. 16 – changed B-flat on beat one to B-natural.

Kirie

Musical score for Kirie, written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a time signature of 2/4. The score consists of four staves of music with lyrics underneath. The lyrics are: "Ki ri e le i son Chris te e le i son Ki ri e le i son." The music features a melodic line with various note values and rests, and a bass line with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The score is divided into four systems, with measure numbers 12, 23, and 30 indicated at the beginning of the second, third, and fourth systems respectively. The first system starts at measure 1. The score ends with a double bar line at the end of the fourth system.

12 Ki ri e le i son Chris te e le i son

23 e le i son Ki ri e le i son

30 e le i son.

Gloria

Et in ter ra pax ho mi ni bus bo_ nae vo lun ta_ tis.

12 Lau_ da_ mus te. Be ne_ di ci mus

23 te. A do ra_ mus_ te. Glo ri fi ca mus te.

34 Gra ti as a gi mus ti bi, prop ter mag nam glo ri am tu_

46 am. Do mi ne De us ex coe les tis, De us Pa ter om_ ni po

57 tens. Do mi ne Fi li u ni ge ni te, Je_ su Chris te. Do

69 mi ne De us Agnus De i, Fi li us Pa_ tris. Qui tol

81 lis pec ca a mun di, mi se re re no_ bis. Qui


92 tol lis pec ca ta mun di, sus ci pe, de pre ca ti o nem nos_

104 _ tram. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa_ tris,

116 mi se re re no_ bis. Quo_ ni am tu so lus


Gloria, cont.

127




Sanc— tus. Tu— so lus Do— mi nus. Tu—

139



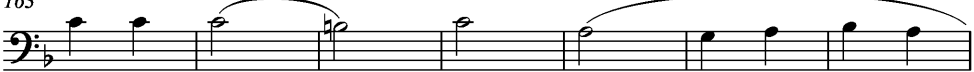
— so lus, Al— tis— si mus, Je— su

151




Chris— te. Cum Sancto Spi ri tu in glo ri a

163



De i Pa— tris. A—

170



men.

Credo 1

Pa trem om ni po ten tem, fac to rem coe li, et te
12 rrae: vi si bi li um om ni um et in
23 vi si bi li um. Et in u num Do mi num Je
35 sum Chris tum, Fi li um De i, u ni ge ni
47 tum, et ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni a
59 sae cu la. De um de De o lu men de lu mi
71 ne, De um ve rum de De o ve ro. Ge ni tum, non
82 fac tum, con sub stan ti a lem Pat ri, per quem om ni a
94 fac ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes, et prop ter
106 nos tram sa lu tem, des cen
113 dit, des cen dit, de coe lis.

Credo 2

The image shows a musical score for a choir, specifically for Tenor and Bass parts. The score is divided into three systems, each with a Tenor and Bass line. The music is in a 2/4 time signature with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in Latin and describe the incarnation of the Holy Spirit from the Virgin Mary.

System 1:
Tenor: Et in car na tus_ est de Spi ri tu Sanc_
Bass: Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu Sanc

System 2:
Tenor: to, ex Ma ri a vir_ gi_ ne, et
Bass: to, ex Ma ri a vir gi ne, et

System 3:
Tenor: ho_ mo, et ho mo fac_ tus_ est.
Bass: ho_ mo, et ho mo fac tus est.

Measure numbers 12 and 20 are indicated at the beginning of the second and third systems, respectively.

Credo 3



Cru ci_ fi xus e ti am pro no bis, sub Pon ti o Pi la

12
to pa sus et se pul tus est. Et re sur re_

24
xit ter ti a di_ e se cun dum scrip tu_ ras,

35
et_ as_ cen dit in coe lum se det ad dex te ram Pa tris.

47
Et i_ te_ rum ven tu rus est cum plo ri a

59
ju di ca_ re vi vos, et mor tu os, cu jus

71
reg ni non e rit fi_ nis. Et in Spi ri tum Sanc

82
tum Do mi num et vi vi fi can tem, qui ex

94
Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ce_ dit. Qui cum Pa

106
tre, et Fi li o si mul a do_ ra tur, et con

118
glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe

Credo 3, cont.

130



tas. Et u_ nam, Sanc tam Ca tho li cam, et A pos

142



to li cam Ec cle si am. Con fi_ te_ or, u

154



num bap tis ma in re mi si o nem pec ca

166



to rum. Et ex pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu

178



o rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae cu li. A

187



men. A

193



men A men A men.

Sanctus

Sanctus. Sanctus. Sanctus.

12
tus. Sanctus.

23
tus. Do mi nus De us sa ba oth. Ple

34
ni sunt coe li, et te rra glo ri a tu a.

44
Hos sa na in ex cel sis.

Benedictus

Be ne_ dic tus qui ve_ nit in_

13 no mi ne Do_ mi ni: Hos sa

20 na in ex cel_ sis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a time signature of 2/4. It consists of three staves. The first staff contains the lyrics 'Be ne_ dic tus qui ve_ nit in_'. The second staff starts at measure 13 and contains 'no mi ne Do_ mi ni: Hos sa'. The third staff starts at measure 20 and contains 'na in ex cel_ sis.'. The music features a steady eighth-note accompaniment with melodic lines for the lyrics, including various phrasing slurs and a final double bar line.

Agnus Dei

Ag nus De i, qui tol lis pec ca ta mun

//

di, mi se re re no bis.

Missa de los Martires



Kyrie

18

Ky- ri e_____ e_____ ley_ sō. Chris_ te_____ ley- son. Chris te

_____ e_____ e_____ lay_ son. Ky ri_ e_____ e_ e_____ ley- son.

The image shows a musical score for a Kyrie. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature. The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style. Below the first staff, the lyrics are: "Ky- ri e_____ e_____ ley_ sō. Chris_ te_____ ley- son. Chris te". The second staff continues the melody, and below it, the lyrics are: "_____ e_____ e_____ lay_ son. Ky ri_ e_____ e_ e_____ ley- son." The number "18" is written to the left of the first staff. The music ends with a double bar line.

Gloria

17 Et in terra pax ho mi ni bus bone bo lu ta tis. Lau da mus te. Bene di ci mus te. A do ra mus te. Glori fi ca mus te. Gra ti as a gi ti bi pp ter m gna glo riam tu am. Do mi ne Deus Rex ce les tis, Deus Pa ter om ni po ten. Do mi ne fi li u ni geni te Je su Chris te. Do mi ne Deus Ag nus Dey fi li us Pa tris. Qui to llis pe ca ta mu di mise re re no bis. Quo llis pe ca ta mun di sus ci pe de pre cati o ne nos tra Qui se des ad dex te ra Pa tris mise re re no bis. Quo ni a tu so lus San ctus Tu so lus Do minus. Tu so lus Al ti ssi mus Je su Chri ste. Cum Sanct spi ri tu in glo ri a De y Pa tris. A men

Credo



Pa trem ò ni po ten—tēm fac to rē ce li et te—rre vi si bi li um om ni um et in vi—si vi—li um.

18



Et in unum Do mi num Je—sum Christum fi li um Dey u ni ge ni tum. Et ex Pa tre natum ante

32



omnia se—cu la. Deum de Deo lumē de lu—mi ne Deum verū de De o ve—ro. Ge ni tū nō

48



factum Cō subs tan ti alem Pa— tris per quē Ō ni a fac ta sūt.. Qui p̄p ter nos ho—mines

64



et p̄p ter nos trā sa lu—tem de cen dit de ce—lis. Et in car na tus est de spi ri tu San—

80



cto ex Ma ri a Vir— gi— ne et ho mo fa— c tus est. Cruci fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub

98



ponti o—pi la to pa—sus et se pul—tus est. Et re su rre xit ter ti a di e se cū dū scrip tu

113



ras. Et as cē dit in Ce— lū se det ad dex te rā Pa tris. Et— y te rū, vē tu rus est cū glo ri a

127



Ju—di ca— re vi vos et mor tu os cu jus reg ni non e rit fi— nis. Et in spi ri tū sanc tū Do mi nū

143



et vi vi can tem qui ex Pa—tre fi li o que pro ce—dit Qui cum Pa tre et fi li o si—mul

Credo, cont.

161



ado ra— tur et cōglo ri fi ca— tur qui lo cu tus et per pro fe— tas, Et unam sanc tā cātho li

175



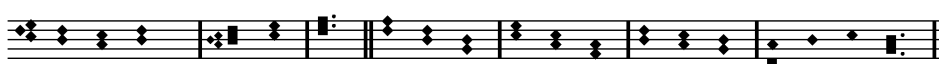
că et apos to— li cā ec cle si am, Con fi te oru nă bap tis— ma in— re mi si o nă pec a to— rum,

192



Et ex pec to res sur rec ti o nă mor tu o— rum, Et vi ță ven

202

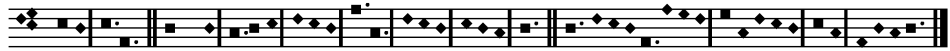


tu— ri se cu li A— a— men,

Sanctus



San_____ ctus, San_____ ctus, San
17



_____ ctus Do min⁹de⁹ sa_____ bath, Ho sa_ na in_ ex_ ce_ l_____ sis.

Agnus Dei



Ag n̄ De_____ i qui tol_ lispecca ta mun_ di mi se re re no_____ bis

Critical Notes for *Missa Martires*

Throughout – I have expanded all abbreviated words in each mass movement.

Gloria

m. 18 – added dot to half note to create a dotted half note.

m. 52 – added dot to half note to create a dotted half note.

m. 64 – added dot to half note to create a dotted half note.

m. 116 – added dot to half note to create a dotted half note.

Credo

m. 28 – added dot to half note to create a dotted half note.

m. 37 – added dot to half note to create a dotted half note.

m. 108 – added dot to half note to create a dotted half note.

m. 183 – added dot to half note to create a dotted half note.

Kyrie

Musical score for Kyrie in 3/4 time, featuring a bass line with lyrics. The score consists of two staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written in a series of eighth and quarter notes, with some notes beamed together. The lyrics are: "Ky ri e _____ e _____ ley - son. Chris te _____ ley - son. Chris te". The second staff continues the melody with lyrics: "_____ e _____ e _____ ley - son. Ky ri _____ e _____ e _____ ley - son." The score ends with a double bar line.

18

Gloria

Et in terra pax ho mi ni bus bo ne bo lun ta, . tis. Lau da _____ mus te. Be ne di _____

17

ci mus te. A do ra _____ mus te. Glo ri fi ca _____ mus te. Gra ____ ti

34

as a gi _mus ti ____ bi prop ter mag nam glo ri am tu _ am. Do mi ne De us Rex ce les tis, De us

49

Pa ter om _ ni po tens. Do mi ne fi ____ li u _ni ge ni te Je _su Chris ____ te. Do mi

66

ne De us Ag nus Dey fi ____ li ____ us Pa _ tris. Qui to _ llis pe ca ta mun di mi se re re no ____

83

bis. Quo to _ llis pe ca .ta mun di sus ci pe de pre ca ti o nem nos _tram Qui se des ad dex te ram

100

Pa tris mi se re re no _ bis. Quo ____ ni am tu so lus San ct Tu so lus Do ____ mi nus.

117

Tu _ so lus Al ____ ti ssi m Je su Chri _____

126

ste. Cum ____ Sancto spi _____ ri tu in glo ri a

133

De _ y Pa _ tris. A _____ men

Credo

Pa — trem om ni — po ten — tem fac to rem ce li et te — rre

10

vi si bi li um om ni um et — in vi — si vi — li um. Et in

19

u num Do mi num Je — sum Chris tum fi li um De y u ni ge ni

28

tum. Et ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni a se — cu la.

37

De um de De o lu men de lu — mi ne De um ve rum de De — o

45

ve — ro. Ge ni tum non fac tum Con subs tan — ti a lem

54

Pa — tris per — quem om ni a fac ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos

63

ho — mi nes et prop ter nos tram sa lu — tem de cen dit de ce —

73

lis. Et in car na tus est de spi ri tu San —

84

cto ex — Ma ri a Vir — gi — ne et — ho mo

Credo, cont.

94
fa ————— c tus est. Cru ci fi xus e ti am — pro no bis sub

104
pon ti o — pi la to pa — sus et — se pul — tus —

115
est. Et re su rre xit ter ti a di e se cun dum scrip tu ras.

124
Et as cen dit in Ce — lum se det ad dex te ram Pa tris.

133
Et — y te rum, ven tu rus est cum glo ri a Ju — di ca — re

141
vi vos et mor tu os cu jus reg ni non e rit fi — nis. Et in

150
Spi ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num et vi vi fi can — tem qui ex

159
Pa — tre fi li o que pro ce — dit Qui cum

168
Pa tre et fi li o si — mul a do ra — tur et con glo ri fi

177
ca — tur qui — lo cu — tus et per pro fe — tas, Et u nam

Sanctus

San ctus, San

11

ctus,

19

San ctus Do mi nus Deus sa

30

ba oth, Ho sa na

36

in ex ce l sis.

Benedictus

Be ne dic tus qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi ni Ho sa na in ex ce l sis,

8

The musical score is written in bass clef with a 3/4 time signature. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of text, and the second staff contains the melody for the second line. The lyrics are: "Be ne dic tus qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi ni Ho sa na in ex ce l sis,". The number "8" is positioned between the two staves.

Agnus Dei

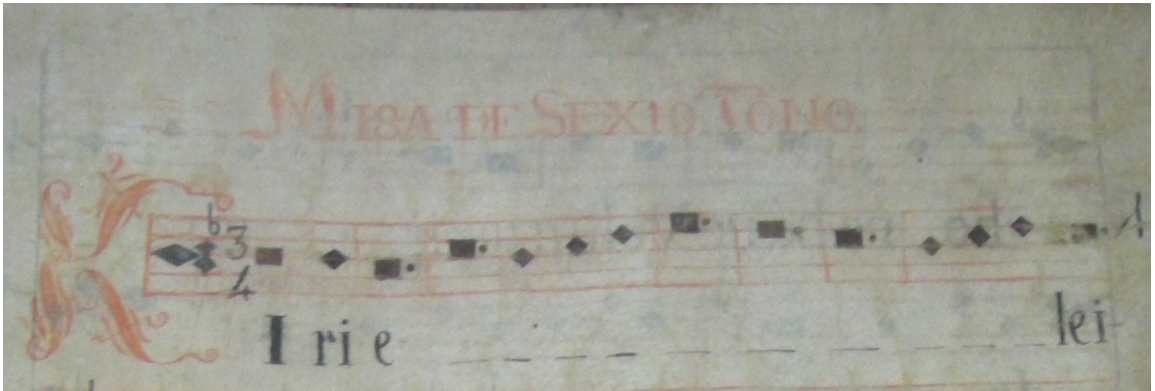
Ag nus De _____ i qui tol _ lis pec ca ta mun _____

p

di mi se re re no _____ bis

The musical score is written in bass clef with a 3/4 time signature. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of the text, with a fermata over the word 'De'. The second staff continues the melody, with a fermata over the word 'no' and a double bar line at the end. The lyrics are written below the notes, with horizontal lines indicating the placement of the words. A dynamic marking of *p* (piano) is placed below the first staff.

Misa de Sexto Tono



Kirie

13
Kiri e _____ lei son. Chris_ te _____ e lei.

18
son. Chris _____ te _____ e _____ lei son.

29
Ki ri e _____ lei son. Ki_ ri e _____ e lei son. Ki ri e _____ lei _____ son.

The musical score consists of three staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 3/8 time signature. The melody is written on a single line. The lyrics are placed below the staff, with horizontal lines indicating the duration of each syllable. The second staff continues the melody and lyrics, starting with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The third staff also continues the melody and lyrics, ending with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Gloria

Et in ter-ra pax ho mi nibus bo-ne bone volun ta tis. Lau- damus te. Bene dicimus

18

te. A do- ra mus te. Glori fi ca mus: Glori fi ca- mus te. Grati as: Grati as a- gi- mus

32

ti— bi propter mag- nam glo riam tu am. Domine Deus Rex coe les tis Deus Pa ter om ni- potens.

46

Domine Deus Agnus Dei Fili us Pa tris. Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun- di mi- se re re no- bis, Qui

63

tol lis pec ca ta mun di, sus ci pes in te de pre ca ti o- nem nos tram. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa- tris.

77

mi se re re no- bis. Quoniam tu so lus Sanctus. Tu so lus: Tu so lus Do mi nus, Tu so lus Al

97

tis si mus Je su Chris te. Cum Sancto Spi ri tu in Glo ri a De- i pa-

108

tris A- men, A- men.

Credo

17 Pa trem omni po ten tem fac to rem coe li et te rre vi si bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi li um. Et in

34 unum Do mi num Je sum Chris tum Fi li um Dei u ni ge ni tum. Et ex Pa tre na tum an te omnia

48 se cu la. De um de Deo, lu men lu men de lu mi ne, De um ve rum de Deo ve ro. Ge ni tum non

63 fac tum consub stan ti a lem Pa tri per quem omnia fac ta sunt. Qui pro pter nos ho mines

77 et pro pter nos tram sa lu tem des cen dit de ce lis. Et in car na tus est de

98 spi ri tu Sanc to ex Ma ri a vir gi ne et ho mo: et ho mo fac tus est. Cruci fi xus e tiam pro no bis

112 sub pon ti o Pi la to. pa sus et se pul tus est. Et re sur re xit ter ti a di e se

126 cundum scrip tu ras. Et as cen dit in ce lum se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et i te rum ven tu rus

143 est cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos, et mor tu os: cu jus reg ni non e rit fi nis. Et in spi ritum

San ctum Do mi num, et vi vi fi can tem, qui ex Pa tre Fi li o que pro ce dit. Qui cum Pa tre et

Sanctus

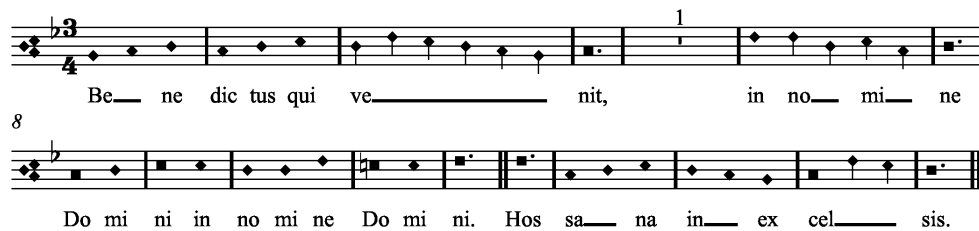


13

Sa nc_____ tus. Do minus De us sa_ ba oth. Ple ni sunt
1
coe_ li, et_ ter_____ ra glo ri a tu a. Hos sa_ na in_ ex cel_____ sis.

The image shows a musical score for the Sanctus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 3/4 time signature. The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style. The lyrics are: "Sa nc_____ tus. Do minus De us sa_ ba oth. Ple ni sunt". A first ending bracket is placed above the final measure of the first staff. The second staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a 3/4 time signature. The melody continues with the lyrics: "coe_ li, et_ ter_____ ra glo ri a tu a. Hos sa_ na in_ ex cel_____ sis." The score ends with a double bar line.

Benedictus



The image shows a musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff is in 3/4 time, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written in a soprano clef. The lyrics are: "Be__ ne dic tus qui ve_____ nit, in no__ mi__ ne". The second staff is in 3/4 time, with a key signature of one flat. The melody is written in a soprano clef. The lyrics are: "Do mi ni in no mi ne Do mi ni. Hos sa__ na in__ ex cel_____ sis." The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

Be__ ne dic tus qui ve_____ nit, in no__ mi__ ne

Do mi ni in no mi ne Do mi ni. Hos sa__ na in__ ex cel_____ sis.

Agnus Dei



Agnus De— i qui— tol lis pecca ta mun di, mi se re— re no— bis. Agnus De— i qui—

13



tol lis pecca ta mun di. Do— na nobis: Do— na nobis pa— cem Dona no— bis pa— cem.

Critical Notes for *Misa Sexto Tono*

(none)

Kirie

18
Ki ri e _____ lei son. Chris te _____ e lei
son. Chris _____ te _____ e _____ lei son. Ki ri
30
e _____ lei son. Ki ri e _____ e lei son. Ki ri e _____ lei son.

Gloria

Et in ter ra pax ho mi ni bus bo ne bo ne vol un ta tis. Lau da mus te.

16

Be ne di ci mus te. A do ra mus te. Glo ri fi ca mus: Glo ri fi ca mus te. Gra ti as:

30

Gra ti as a gi mus ti bi prop ter mag nam glo ri am tu am. Do mi ne De us Rex coe les tis

42

De us Pa ter om ni po tens. Do mi ne De us Ag nus De i Fi li us Pa tris. Qui tol lis pec ca

56

ta mun di mi se re re no bis, Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di, sus ci pe: sus ci pe de pre ca ti o nem nos

71

tram. Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa tris. mi se re re no bis. Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc tus.

86

Tu so lus: Tu so lus Do mi nus, Tu so lus Al tis si mus Je su Chris te. Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu in

105

Glo ri a De i pa tris A men, A men.

Credo

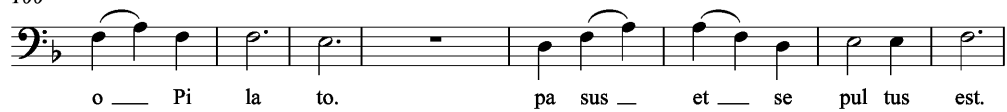
Pa trem om ni po ten - tem fac to rem coe li et te rre vi si
10
bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi li - um. Et in u num Do mi
19
num Je - sum Chris - tum Fi li um De i u ni ge ni tum.
29
Et ex Pa - tre na tum an te om ni a se cu la. De um de De o,
38
lu men lu men de lu mi ne, De um ve rum de De o ve -
45
ro. Ge - ni tum non fac tum con subs tan - ti a lem Pa - tri
55
per - quem om ni a fac - ta sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes
63
et prop ter nos tram sa lu - tem des - cen -
69
dit de ce - lis. Et in car na tus est de spi ri tu
78
Sanc to ex Ma ri a vir gi ne et ho mo: et ho mo

Credo, cont.

90



100



108



114



123



132



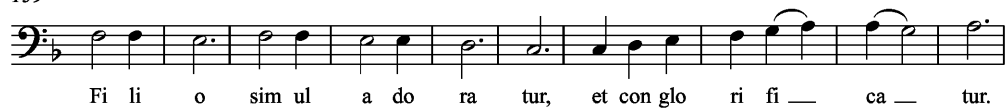
142



151



159



169



Credo, cont.

178



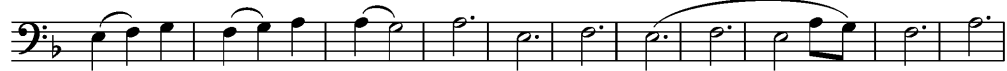
to — li cam, et A pos to — li cam ec cle si am. Con fi te or

187



u num bap tis ma in re mis i o nem pec ca to rum. Et ex pec to

198



re — sur rec — ti o — nem mor tu o — rum. Et

209



vi tam ven tu ri sae — cu li. A —

218



men. A — men.

Sanctus

Sanctus. Dominus Deus sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli, et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis.

10

15

The musical score is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. It consists of three staves of music. The first staff contains the first line of music with the lyrics 'Sanctus. Dominus Deus sabaoth.' The second staff contains the second line of music with the lyrics 'Pleni sunt caeli, et terra'. The third staff contains the third line of music with the lyrics 'gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis.' The music features various note values including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and slurs. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words connected by lines to indicate they span across multiple notes.

Benedictus

Be _ ne dic tus qui ve _____ nit, in no _ mi _ ne

8

Do mi ni in no mi ne Do mi ni.

13

Hos sa _____ na in _____ ex cel _____ sis.

The musical score is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. It consists of three staves. The first staff contains the lyrics 'Be _ ne dic tus qui ve _____ nit, in no _ mi _ ne' with a measure rest after 've'. The second staff contains 'Do mi ni in no mi ne Do mi ni.' with a measure rest after 'ni'. The third staff contains 'Hos sa _____ na in _____ ex cel _____ sis.' with measure rests under 'sa', 'na', 'in', and 'cel'. The score ends with a double bar line.

Agnus Dei

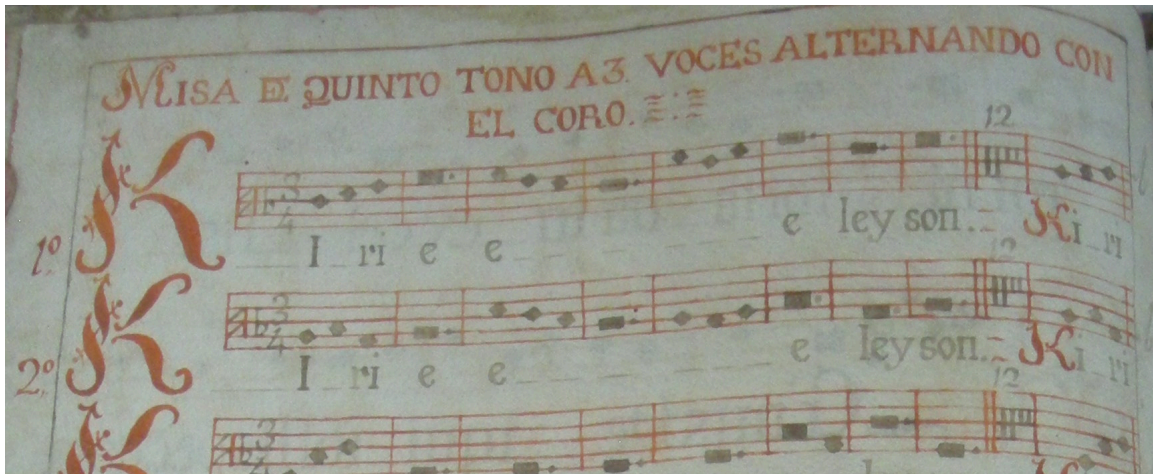
9
Agnus Dei qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di, mi se re re

17
no bis. Ag nus De i qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di.

21
Do na no bis: Do na no bis

pa cem: Do na no bis pa cem.

Misa del Quinto Tono A3 Voces Alternando con el Coro



Kirie

1o
Ki - ri e e _____ e ley son.

2o
Ki - ri e e _____ e ley son.

B
Ki - ri e e _____ e ley son.

C
Ki ri e _____

14

1o
Ki - ri e

2o
Ki - ri e

B
Ki - ri e

C
e ley son.

Gloria

10 Et - in ter ra pax ho mi ni bus pax ho mi ni bus bo .nae vol lun ta - tis.

20 Et - in ter ra pax ho mi ni bus pax ho mi ni bus bo .nae vo .lun ta - tis.

B Et - in ter ra pax ho mi ni bus pax ho mi ni bus bo .nae vo .lun ta - tis.

C Et - in ter ra pax ho mi ni bus pax ho mi ni bus bo .nae vo .lun ta - tis.

Lau da —

14

10

20

B

C

Be ne di ci mus

Be ne di ci mus

Be ne di ci mus

mus te.

22

10

20

B

C

be ne di ci mus be ne di — ci mus te.

Be ne di ci mus be ne di ci mus te.

be ne di ci mus be ne di — ci mus te.

A do ra — mus te.

Gloria, cont.

33

1o
Glori fi ca — mus te.

2o
Glori fi ca — mus te.

B
Glori fi ca — mus te.

C
Glori fi ca — mus te.

Gra ti as a gi mus ti — bi prop ter mag nam

43

1o
Do mi ne De us Rex coe les tis De us pa ter om ni potens.

2o
Do mi ne De us Rex coe les tis De us pa ter om ni potens.

B
Do mi ne De us Rex coe les tis De us pa ter om ni potens.

C
Do mi ne De us Rex coe les tis De us pa ter om ni potens.

glo ri am tu am.

54

1o
Do mi ne

2o
Do mi ne

B
Do mi ne

C
Do mi ne

Do mi ni Fi li u — ni ge — ni te Je — su Chris te.

Gloria, cont.

63

1o De _us Ag nusDe i Fi li us Fi li us Pa tris.

2o De _us Ag us de i Fi li us Fi li us Pa tris.

B De _us Ag nusDe i Fi li us Fi li us Pa tris.

C De _us Ag nusDe i Fi li us Fi li us Pa tris.

Qui — tol lis pec ca ta mun di

75

1o Qui tol lis Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di sus ci pe

2o Qui tol lis qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di sus ci pe

B Qui tol lis Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di sus ci pe

C Qui tol lis Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di sus ci pe

mi _ se re _ re no bis.

87

1o de pre ca ti o nem nos tram.

2o de pre ca ti o nem nos tram.

B de pre ca ti o nem nos tram.

C de pre ca ti o nem nos tram.

Qui se des ad dex te ram Pa _____ tris

Gloria, cont.

98

10 Quo ni am tu so lus tu so lus tu so lus sanc tus.

20 Quo ni am tu so lus tu so lus tu so lus sanc tus.

B Quo ni am tu so lus tu so lus tu so lus sanc tus.

C Quo ni am tu so lus tu so lus tu so lus sanc tus

mi se re re no bis. Tu so

111

10 Tu so lus Al tis si mus Je su Je su Chris te.

20 Tu so lus al tis si mus Je su Je su Chris te.

B Tu so lus al tis si mus Je su Je su Chris te.

C tu so lus al tis si mus Je su Je su Chris te.

lus Do mi nus.

123

10 Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu in glo ri a De i Pa

20

B

C

Cum Sanc to Spi ri tu in glo ri a De i Pa

Gloria, cont.

129

10 A — men, A — men, A — men, A men, A men.

20 A — men, A — men, A — men, A men, A men.

B A — men, A — men, A — men, A men, A men.

C — tris.

Credo

Tenor: Pa — trem om ni po ten tem fac to rem coe li et
14
ter rae vi si bi li um om ni um et in vi si bi li um.
26

Coro: Et in un um Do mi num Je sum Chris tum fi li um De i
38
y ni ge ni tum. **Tenor:** Et ex Pa tre na tum an te om ni a
50
sae cu la. **Coro:** De um de De o lu men de lu mi ne De um
61
ve rum de De o ve ro. **Tenor:** Ge ni tum non fac tum con subs
73
tan ti a lem Pa tri per quem om ni a fac ta sunt. **Coro:** Qui prop
85
ter nos ho mi nes et prop ter nos tram sa lu tem des cen dit de
97
coe —
108 **Largo**
lis. **Trio:** Et in car na tus est de spi ri tu

Credo, cont.

118
Sanc to ex Ma ri a vir gi ne et ho

129
mo fac tus est. **Coro:** Cru ci

139
fi xus e ti am pro no bis sub Pon ti o Pi la to pas

152
sus et se pul tus est. **Tenor:** Et re sur re xit ter ti a di

163
e se cun dum scrip tu ras. **Coro:** Et as cen dit in coe lum

175
se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. **Tenor:** Et i te rum ven tu rus est

187
cum glo ri a ju di ca re vi vos et mor

199
tu os cu jus reg ni non e rit fi nis. **Coro:** Et in spi

211
ri tum Sanc tum Do mi num et vi vi fi can tem qui ex Pa

223
tre Fi li o que pro ce dit. **Tenor:** Qui cum Pa tre et Fi li

Credo, cont.

234
o si mul a do ra tur et con glo ri fi ca tur qui lo

246
cu tus est per Pro phe tas. **Coro:** Et u nam Sanc tam Ca thol i cam

258
et A pos to li cam Ec cle si am. **Tenor:** Con fi te or u

269
num bap tis ma in re mis si o nem pec ca to rum. **Coro:** Et ex

281
pec to re sur rec ti o nem mor tu o rum. **Tenor:** Et vi tam ven

292
tu ri sae cu li. A _____ men.

Sanctus

1o
Sanc tus Sanc tus Sanc tus Sanc tus.

2o
Sanc tus Sanc tus Sanc tus Sanc tus.

B
Sanc tus Sanc tus Sanc tus.

C

Detailed description: This system contains the first four measures of the 'Sanctus' section. It features four vocal parts: Soprano (1o), Alto (2o), Bass (B), and Contralto (C). The music is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). Each vocal line has lyrics 'Sanc tus' repeated four times, with a period at the end of the fourth measure. The Soprano and Alto parts have melodic lines with slurs and ties. The Bass and Contralto parts have simpler rhythmic patterns. The Contralto part has a few notes in the final measure.

12
Do mi nus

1o
Ple ni sunt coe li et

2o
Ple ni sunt coe li et

B
Ple ni sunt coe li et

C
De us sa ba oth.

Detailed description: This system contains measures 12 through 15. It features the same four vocal parts. Measure 12 is marked with a '12' above the Soprano staff. The lyrics 'Do mi nus' are written above the Soprano staff in measure 12. Measures 13-15 have lyrics 'Ple ni sunt coe li et' for the Soprano, Alto, and Bass parts. The Contralto part has lyrics 'De us sa ba oth.' spread across measures 13, 14, and 15. The music continues with melodic lines and slurs in the Soprano, Alto, and Bass parts.

Sanctus, cont.

19

1o
ter ra glo ri a tu a, Ho san na in ex cel sis.

2o
ter ra glo ri a tu a. Ho san na in ex cel sis.

B
ter ra glo ri a tu a Ho san na in ex cel sis.

C
-

Benedictus

10
Be — ne dic tus qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi ni Ho —

20
Be — ne dic tus qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi ni Ho —

B
Be ne dic tus qui ve nit in no mi ne Do mi ni Ho —

9
10
Ho san na in ex cel — sis.

20
san — na in — ex cel sis Ho — san — na in — ex cel — sis.

B
san — na in — ex cel sis Ho — san — na in — ex cel — sis.

Agnus Dei

10
 Ag - nus De i Ag nus De i qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di

20
 Ag - nus De i Ag nus De i qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di

B
 Ag nus De i Ag nus De i qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di

C

8
 10
 mi se re — re no bis.

20
 mi — se re — re no bis.

B
 mi — se re — re no bis.

C

Ag nus De i qui tol lis pec

Agnus Dei, cont.

16

1o

2o

A

B

C

ca — ta mun di mi — se re — re no bis.

23

1o

2o

A

B

C

Ag — nus De i Ag nus De i qui tol lis pec ca ta

Ag — nus De i Ag nus De i qui tol lis pec ca ta

Ag — nus De i Ag nus De i qui tol lis pec ca ta

Agnus Dei, cont.

29

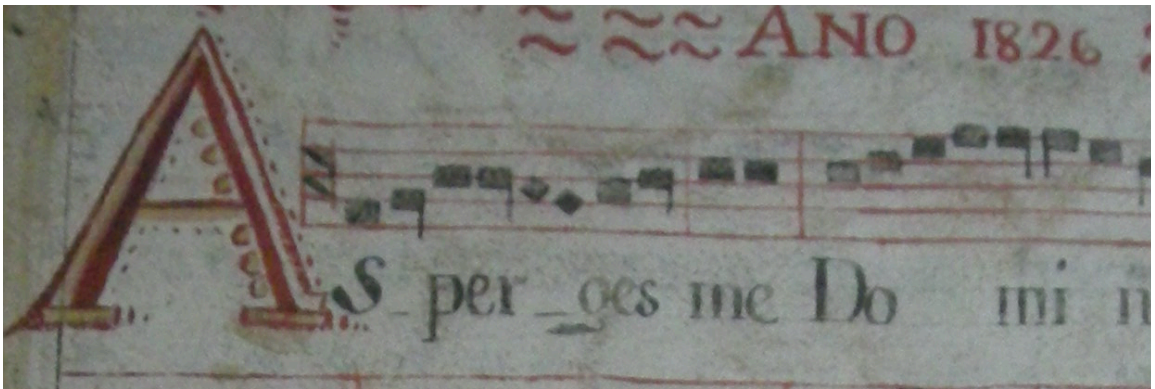
1o
mun di Do na no bis pa cem.

2o
mun di Do na no bis pa cem.

B
mun di do na no bis pa cem.

C

Asperges me



Asperges me

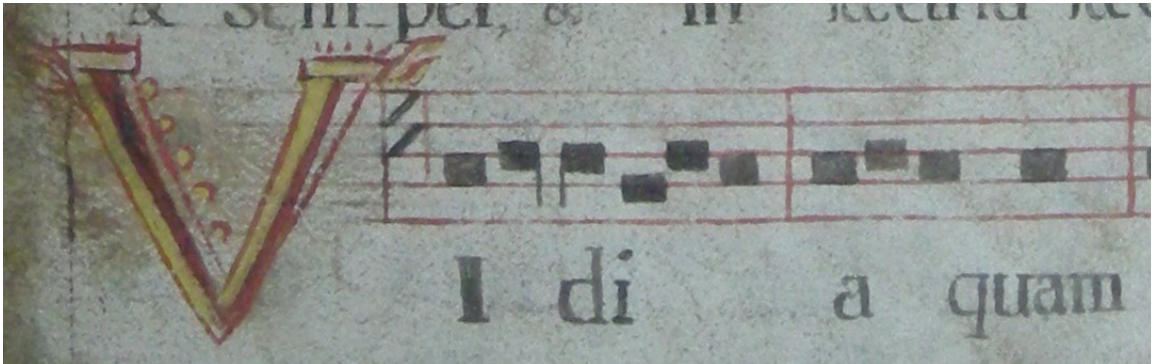
As per ges me Do mi ne Hy so po et mun da bor la va bisme, et su per
10

nivem de al babor. V. Mi se re re me i De us: Se cun dum mag nam mise ri cor diam
18

tu am. V. Glo ri a Pa tri et fi li o et Spi ri tu i Sanc to: Sic cut e rat
26

in prin ci pi o et nunc et sem per et in sae cu la sae cu lo rum. A men.

Vidi aquam



Vidi aquam



7 Vi-di a-quam e gre-di-en-tem de-tem plo a-la-te re dex-tro-

7



alle-lu-ia et om-nes ad-quo-sper ve-nit a-qua is-ta

15



lu ia. V. Con fi te mi ni Do mi no quo-niam

24



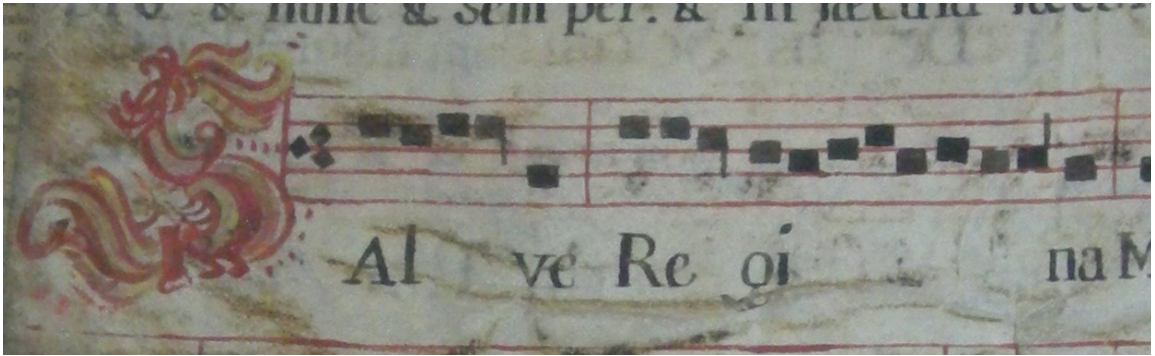
bo nus quoniam in sae culum mise ri-cor di-a ei us. V. Glo-ri a Pa-tri, et Fi-li o: et Spi-ri tu i

36



Sanc to. Si-cut e rat in prin ci pi o et nunc et sem-per. et in sae cu la sae cu lo rum. A men.

Salve Regina



Salve Regina

10 Sal ve Re gi na Ma ter mi se ri cor di ae, vi ta dul ce do: et spes no stra

21 Sal ve. Ad te clama mus ex u les fi li j He vae. Ad te sus pi ra mus ge men tes,

33 et flen tes in hac la cri ma rum val le. E ia ergo ad vo ca ta nos tra il los tu os,

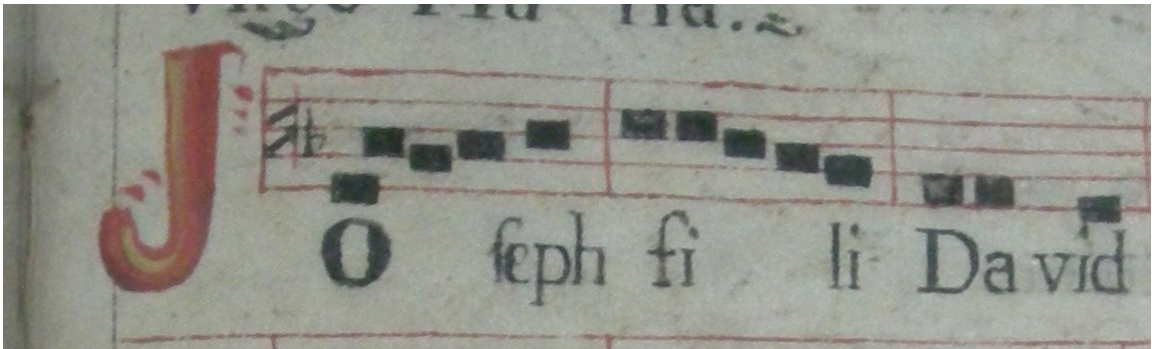
41 mi se ri cor o cu los, ad nos con ver te. Et Je sum

48 hoc e xi li um os ten de. O cle mens, o

pi a, o dul cis, vir go Ma ri a. Alle lu ia.

tiempo
sa Pasqua

Joseph Fili David



Joseph fili David

12 Jo seph fi li David noli ti mere accipere Mari am con iu gem tu am quod e nim

22 in e a na tum est des pir i tu sanc to est pa ri et au tem

fil li um et vo ca bis no men ei us Je sum. Al le lu ia.

Sa Pasco.

Regina Coeli



Regina coeli

1^o
Re gi na coe li lae ta re, alle lu ia alle lu ia: qui a quem me ru is ti por ta re a lle lu ia, a

2^o
Re gi na coe li lae ta re, alle lu ia, alle lu ia: qui a quem me ru is ti por

16

1^o
o lle lu ia: xit si cut di xit a lle lu ia, a lle lu ia:

2^o
xit si cut di xit a lle lu ia, a lle lu ia:

26

1^o
o ra pro no bis De um: a lle lu ia, a lle lu ia.

2^o
o ra pro no bis De um: a lle lu ia, a lle lu ia.

Critical Notes for *Regina Coeli*

m. 33 – changed A to F in lower part.

m. 33 – changed G to E in lower part.

Regina Coeli

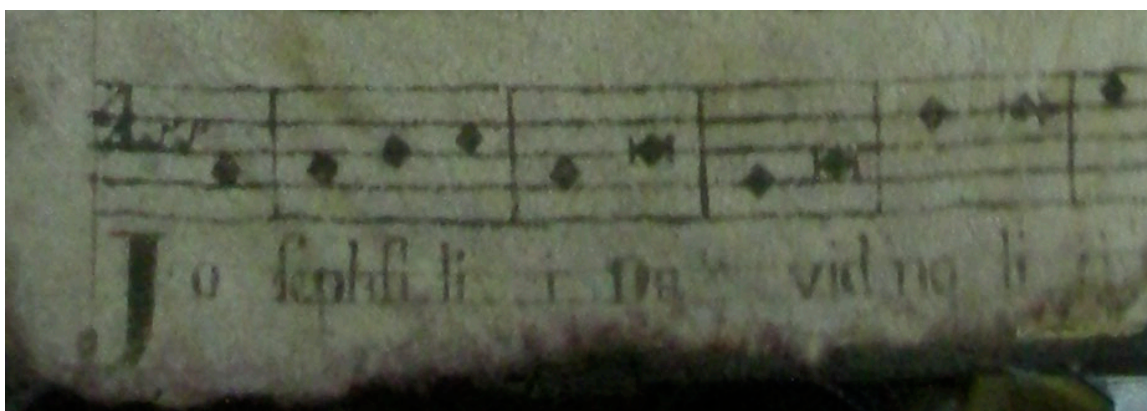
Re gi na coe. li lae ta re, al le_ lu is al le_ lu ia: qui a quem me ru
Re gi na coe. li lae ta re, al le_ lu is al le_ lu ia: qui a quem me ru

11
is_ ti porta re al le_ lu ia, al le_ lu ia: re sur re xit_ si cut
is_ ti porta re al le_ lu ia, al le_ lu ia: re sur re xit_ si cut

21
di xit al le_ lu ia, al le_ lu ia: o ra pro no_
di xit al le_ lu ia, al le_ lu ia: o ra pro no_

28
bis De um: al le_ lu ia, al le_ lu ia.
bis De um: al le_ lu ia, al le_ lu ia.

Joseph Filii David



Joseph filii David

Con iu gem tu am quo
Jo seph fili i Da vid no li time Con iu gem tu am quo

17
deni minea na tum est de spi ri tu Sanc tu est par iet au tem fi li
denim in ea na tum est de spi ri tu Sanc tu est pa riet au tem fi li

28
um, et vo ca bis no men e jus je sum. A lle lu ia.
um, et vo ca bis no men e jus je sum. A lle lu ia.
Tiempo sa Pasqua.

Appendix C

Missa Provincial Cantoliano

Missa Provincial Cantoliano. Organo. Kirie.

Ki ri e e lei

The first system of the Kirie features a vocal line in the upper staff and organ accompaniment in the lower staff. The vocal line begins with a half note 'Ki', followed by a quarter note 'ri', and then a long melisma 'e' that spans across two measures. This is followed by another quarter note 'e' and a half note 'lei'. The organ accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand, providing harmonic support for the vocal melody.

son. Ki ri e e lei

The second system continues the Kirie. The vocal line starts with a half note 'son.', followed by a quarter rest, then a quarter note 'Ki', a quarter note 'ri', and a long melisma 'e' spanning two measures. This is followed by a quarter note 'e' and a half note 'lei'. The organ accompaniment continues with chords and a bass line.

son. Ki ri e e lei son.

The third system continues the Kirie. The vocal line starts with a half note 'son.', followed by a quarter rest, then a quarter note 'Ki', a quarter note 'ri', and a long melisma 'e' spanning two measures. This is followed by a quarter note 'e' and a half note 'lei son.'. The organ accompaniment continues with chords and a bass line.

Chris te e e lei son.

The fourth system concludes the Kirie. The vocal line starts with a half note 'Chris', followed by a quarter note 'te', and then a long melisma 'e' that spans across two measures. This is followed by another quarter note 'e' and a half note 'lei son.'. The organ accompaniment continues with chords and a bass line.

Chris te e lei son. Chris te e

lei son. Ki ri e

e lei son.

Ki ri e e lei son.

Ki ri e

The first system of the musical score consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a single treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. It begins with a half note 'K', followed by quarter notes 'i' and 'e', and then a long melodic phrase of eighth and sixteenth notes. The piano accompaniment is written in grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and features a steady accompaniment of chords and moving lines in both hands.

The second system continues the musical score. The vocal line continues with a melodic phrase of eighth and sixteenth notes. The piano accompaniment maintains its accompaniment pattern, with chords and moving lines in both hands.

e lei son.

The third system concludes the musical score. The vocal line ends with a melodic phrase of eighth and sixteenth notes. The piano accompaniment concludes with a final chord in both hands. The system ends with a double bar line.

Gloria.

Et in te— rra pax ho mi— ni bus, bo— nae—

The first system of the Gloria features a vocal line in 3/4 time, starting with a half note 'Et' followed by a quarter note 'in', and then a series of eighth notes for 'te— rra pax ho mi— ni bus, bo— nae—'. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and block chords in the left hand.

vo— lun— ta— tis. Lau— da— mus te. Be ne— di ci mus te.

The second system continues the vocal line with 'vo— lun— ta— tis. Lau— da— mus te. Be ne— di ci mus te.' The piano accompaniment continues with chords and block chords.

A— do ra— mus te. Glo ri fi ca mus te.

The third system continues the vocal line with 'A— do ra— mus te. Glo ri fi ca mus te.' The piano accompaniment continues with chords and block chords.

Gra ti as a gi mus ti— bi prop— ter mag— nam

The fourth system continues the vocal line with 'Gra ti as a gi mus ti— bi prop— ter mag— nam'. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and block chords.

glo_ri am_ tu_ am. Do mi_ ne De_ us

Rex_ coe_ les_ tis De_ us Pa_ ter om ni po tens.

Do mi ne Fi_ li u_ ni ge_ ni te Je

^{#su} Chris_ te Chris_ te. Do_ mi_ ne_ De_ us

Ag nus De i, Fi li us Pa tris.

The first system of the musical score consists of a vocal line on a single staff and a piano accompaniment on two staves. The vocal line begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are "Ag nus De i, Fi li us Pa tris." The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand and chords in the right hand.

Qui to llis pec ca ta mun di,

The second system continues the musical score. The vocal line has the lyrics "Qui to llis pec ca ta mun di,". The piano accompaniment maintains its rhythmic pattern with chords and a bass line.

mi se re re no bis. Qui to llis

The third system continues the musical score. The vocal line has the lyrics "mi se re re no bis. Qui to llis". The piano accompaniment continues with its established accompaniment.

pec ca ta mun di sus ci pe de pre

The fourth system concludes the musical score. The vocal line has the lyrics "pec ca ta mun di sus ci pe de pre". The piano accompaniment ends with a final chord.

ca ti o nem nos tram. Qui

The first system of the musical score consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a single treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are "ca ti o nem nos tram. Qui". The piano accompaniment is written in grand staff notation (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of one flat. It features a steady accompaniment of chords and moving lines in both hands.

se des ad dex te ram Pa tris,

The second system continues the musical score. The vocal line has the lyrics "se des ad dex te ram Pa tris,". The piano accompaniment continues with similar harmonic support, maintaining the key signature and tempo.

mi se re re no bis.

The third system of the score has the lyrics "mi se re re no bis.". The vocal line and piano accompaniment continue their respective parts, with the piano accompaniment providing a consistent harmonic background.

Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc tus. Tu

The fourth and final system on this page has the lyrics "Quo ni am tu so lus Sanc tus. Tu". The vocal line and piano accompaniment conclude the phrase shown on this page.

so_ lus Do_ mi nus: Tu so_ lus Al ti si mus, Je_ su

The first system of the musical score consists of a vocal line on a single staff and a piano accompaniment on two staves. The vocal line begins with a half note 'so_ lus', followed by a quarter note 'Do_ mi nus:', a quarter note 'Tu', a quarter note 'so_ lus', a quarter note 'Al ti si mus,', and a quarter note 'Je_ su'. The piano accompaniment features a steady bass line and chords in the right hand.

Chris_ te. Cum Sanc_

The second system continues the musical score. The vocal line has a long note for 'Chris_ te.' followed by a rest, and then 'Cum Sanc_'. The piano accompaniment continues with similar harmonic support.

to Spi_ ri tu, in glo ri a De i Pa

The third system shows the vocal line with 'to Spi_ ri tu,' followed by a long note for 'in glo ri a De i Pa'. The piano accompaniment provides a consistent accompaniment.

tris. A

The fourth system concludes the musical score. The vocal line has a long note for 'tris.' followed by a rest, and then 'A'. The piano accompaniment continues to the end of the system.

A musical score for piano and voice. The piano part is written in a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The voice part is written in a single treble clef staff. The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat major or D minor) and a 4/4 time signature. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a bass line with chords in the left hand. The voice line consists of a melodic phrase with a long note on the final syllable. The word "men." is written above the voice staff. The score concludes with a double bar line.

Credo.

Pa trem om ni po ten tem, fac to rem coe li et

This system contains measures 1 through 8. The vocal line begins with a half note 'Pa' followed by quarter notes 'trem', 'om', 'ni', 'po', and a half note 'ten' with a long horizontal line underneath. The music continues with quarter notes 'tem', 'fac', 'to', 'rem', 'coe', 'li', and a half note 'et'.

9
te rrae: vi si bi li um om ni um, et in vi si bi

This system contains measures 9 through 16. The vocal line starts with a half note 'te' followed by quarter notes 'rrae:', 'vi', 'si', 'bi', and a half note 'li' with a long horizontal line underneath. The music continues with quarter notes 'um', 'om', 'ni', 'um,', 'et', 'in', 'vi', 'si', and a half note 'bi'.

17
li um. Et in u num Do mi num

This system contains measures 17 through 24. The vocal line begins with a half note 'li' followed by a half note 'um.' and a whole rest. The music continues with quarter notes 'Et', 'in', 'u', and a half note 'num' with a long horizontal line underneath. The system concludes with quarter notes 'Do', 'mi', and a half note 'num'.

25

Je sum Chris tum, Fi li um De i u ni ge

This system contains measures 25 through 32. The vocal line begins with a half note 'Je' and continues with eighth notes for 'sum', a half note for 'Chris', a quarter note for 'tum', a quarter rest, a half note for 'Fi', eighth notes for 'li' and 'um', a quarter note for 'De', a quarter rest, eighth notes for 'i' and 'u', a quarter note for 'ni', and a half note for 'ge'. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand and chords in the right hand.

33

ni tum. Et ex Pa tre na tum

tr.

This system contains measures 33 through 39. The vocal line starts with a half note 'ni' and a quarter note 'tum'. After a quarter rest, it continues with eighth notes for 'Et', eighth notes for 'ex', a quarter note for 'Pa', eighth notes for 'tre', eighth notes for 'na', and a half note for 'tum'. A trill (*tr.*) is indicated above the first measure of the piano accompaniment in this system.

40

an te om ni a sae cu la. De um de De o,

This system contains measures 40 through 47. The vocal line begins with eighth notes for 'an', eighth notes for 'te', eighth notes for 'om', eighth notes for 'ni', eighth notes for 'a', eighth notes for 'sae', eighth notes for 'cu', and a half note for 'la'. After a quarter rest, it continues with eighth notes for 'De', eighth notes for 'um', eighth notes for 'de', eighth notes for 'De', and a half note for 'o'. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and a bass line.

47

lu me de lu mi ne, De um ve rum de Deo o

55

ve ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum:

62

con sub stan ti a lem Pa tri.

69

Per quem omni a facta sunt. Qui propter nos homi

76

nes, et propter nos tram salutem descendit de

84

coelestis. Et incarnatus est

disp.º

93

et in carna tus est de Spi ri tu Sancto et ho

This musical system consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G major with a treble clef, containing the lyrics. The middle staff is a piano accompaniment in G major with a treble clef, featuring chords and some melodic lines. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment in G major with a bass clef, providing a harmonic foundation with chords and a steady bass line.

101

mo, et ho mo fac tus est.

crucifixos.

This musical system consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G major with a treble clef, containing the lyrics. The middle staff is a piano accompaniment in G major with a treble clef, featuring chords and some melodic lines. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment in G major with a bass clef, providing a harmonic foundation with chords and a steady bass line. The word "crucifixos." is written in bold black text at the end of the system.

111

Cru ci fi xus e ti am pro no bis,

This musical system consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G major with a treble clef, containing the lyrics. The middle staff is a piano accompaniment in G major with a treble clef, featuring chords and some melodic lines. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment in G major with a bass clef, providing a harmonic foundation with chords and a steady bass line.

119

sub Pon ti o — Pi la — to, pa — sus et — se pul —

This musical system contains measures 119 through 126. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower two staves. The lyrics are: "sub Pon ti o — Pi la — to, pa — sus et — se pul —". The music is in a minor key and 4/4 time. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

127

tus est. Et re sur re — xit ter ti a

This musical system contains measures 127 through 134. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower two staves. The lyrics are: "tus est. Et re sur re — xit ter ti a". The music is in a minor key and 4/4 time. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

135

di e se cun — dum scrip — tu — ras. Et as

This musical system contains measures 135 through 142. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower two staves. The lyrics are: "di e se cun — dum scrip — tu — ras. Et as". The music is in a minor key and 4/4 time. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

142

cen dit in coe lum: se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et

This musical system covers measures 142 to 149. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower two staves. The lyrics are: "cen dit in coe lum: se det ad dex te ram Pa tris. Et". The music is in a minor key and 4/4 time. The piano accompaniment consists of block chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

150

i te rum ven tu rus est. cum glo ri a ju di

This musical system covers measures 150 to 157. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower two staves. The lyrics are: "i te rum ven tu rus est. cum glo ri a ju di". The music is in a minor key and 4/4 time. The piano accompaniment consists of block chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

158

ca re vi vos, et mor tu os: cu jus

This musical system covers measures 158 to 165. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower two staves. The lyrics are: "ca re vi vos, et mor tu os: cu jus". The music is in a minor key and 4/4 time. The piano accompaniment consists of block chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

166

reg ni non e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum

This musical system covers measures 166 to 173. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staves. The lyrics are: "reg ni non e rit fi nis. Et in Spi ri tum". The music is in a minor key and includes various chordal textures and melodic lines.

174

Sanc tum Do mi num; et vi vi fi can tem; qui ex

This musical system covers measures 174 to 181. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staves. The lyrics are: "Sanc tum Do mi num; et vi vi fi can tem; qui ex". The music continues with similar harmonic and melodic patterns.

182

Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ce dit. Qui cum

This musical system covers measures 182 to 189. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staves. The lyrics are: "Pa tre, Fi li o que pro ce dit. Qui cum". The music concludes with sustained chords and a final melodic phrase.

189

Pa tre et Fi li o si mul a do ra tur, et con

197

glo ri fi ca tur, qui lo cu tus est per Pro fe tas.

205

Et u nam Sanc tam Cat ho li cam: et A pos

213

to li cam Ec cle si am. Con fi te or

This musical system for measure 213 features a vocal line in the upper staff and piano accompaniment in the lower two staves. The vocal line begins with a half note 'to', followed by quarter notes 'li', 'cam', and 'Ec', then a half note 'cle' with a slur over it, followed by quarter notes 'si' and 'am'. There is a whole rest for the vocal line in the second measure, followed by quarter notes 'Con', 'fi', 'te', and 'or'. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

220

u num bap tis ma, in re

This musical system for measure 220 features a vocal line in the upper staff and piano accompaniment in the lower two staves. The vocal line starts with a half note 'u', followed by quarter notes 'num', 'bap', and 'tis', then a half note 'ma', followed by quarter notes 'in' and 're'. A slur covers the notes from 'u' to 're'. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

229

mi si o nem pec ca to rum. Et ex

This musical system for measure 229 features a vocal line in the upper staff and piano accompaniment in the lower two staves. The vocal line begins with a half note 'mi', followed by quarter notes 'si', 'o', and 'nem', then a half note 'pec' with a slur over it, followed by quarter notes 'ca', 'to', and 'rum'. There is a whole rest for the vocal line in the second measure, followed by quarter notes 'Et' and 'ex'. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

237

pec... to re... sur rec... ti o... nem

Musical score for measures 237-244. The vocal line is in G major, with lyrics: pec... to re... sur rec... ti o... nem. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and bass notes in the left hand.

245

mor... tu... o... rum, mor tu...

disp.^o

Musical score for measures 245-251. The vocal line is in G major, with lyrics: mor... tu... o... rum, mor tu... The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and bass notes in the left hand. The word "disp.^o" is written below the bass line.

252

o... rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae... cu

Musical score for measures 252-259. The vocal line is in G major, with lyrics: o... rum. Et vi tam ven tu ri sae... cu. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and bass notes in the left hand.

260

Musical score for measures 260-265. The system consists of three staves: a vocal line in treble clef, a piano accompaniment in treble clef, and a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The vocal line begins with a whole rest, followed by a melodic phrase starting on a half note G4 and ending on a half note G4. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the right hand and chords in the left hand. The lyrics "li. A men." are positioned below the vocal line.

266

Musical score for measures 266-271. The system consists of three staves: a vocal line in treble clef, a piano accompaniment in treble clef, and a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The vocal line features a melodic phrase starting on a half note G4 and ending on a half note G4. The piano accompaniment continues with the same accompaniment pattern as in the previous system. The lyrics "A men." are positioned below the vocal line.

Sanctus.

Sanctus.

The first system of the musical score for 'Sanctus' consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in 3/4 time, starting with a melodic phrase for 'Sanctus' and ending with a fermata. The middle staff is a piano accompaniment in the right hand, and the bottom staff is the piano accompaniment in the left hand. The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

Sanctus.

The second system continues the musical score. The vocal line begins with 'Sanctus' and ends with a fermata. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and rhythmic patterns. The key signature remains one flat.

tus. Do mi nus De us sa ba

The third system features the vocal line singing 'tus. Do mi nus De us sa ba'. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support. The key signature remains one flat.

oth. Ple ni sunt coe li et ter ra glo ri a tu

The fourth system features the vocal line singing 'oth. Ple ni sunt coe li et ter ra glo ri a tu'. The piano accompaniment continues. The key signature changes to two sharps (F# and C#).

First system of musical notation. The vocal line (top staff) begins with a whole note rest, followed by a half note 'a', a whole note rest, and then a melodic phrase starting with a half note 'Hos' and a half note 'sa' tied to the next measure. The piano accompaniment (middle and bottom staves) consists of chords and moving lines in the right and left hands.

Second system of musical notation. The vocal line (top staff) continues with a half note 'na', a half note 'in', a half note 'ex', and a half note 'cel' tied to the next measure, followed by a half note 'sis.' and a whole note rest. The piano accompaniment (middle and bottom staves) continues with chords and moving lines, ending with a fermata over the final chord.

Benedictus.

Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit, in no mi

The first system of the musical score for the Benedictus. It consists of a vocal line on a single staff and a piano accompaniment on two staves (treble and bass clef). The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/4. The vocal line begins with the lyrics 'Be ne dic tus, qui ve nit, in no mi' and features a long melisma over the word 'nit'.

ne Do mi ni: Hos sa

The second system of the musical score. The vocal line continues with the lyrics 'ne Do mi ni: Hos sa' and includes a melisma over the word 'sa'. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines in both hands.

na in ex cel sis.

The third system of the musical score. The vocal line concludes with the lyrics 'na in ex cel sis.' and features a melisma over the word 'cel'. The piano accompaniment ends with a final chord and a fermata over the final note.

Agnus.

Ag_ nus De i, qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di

The first system of the musical score for 'Agnus Dei'. It features a vocal line in G major and 3/4 time, with lyrics 'Ag_ nus De i, qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di'. The piano accompaniment consists of a right-hand part with chords and a left-hand part with a steady bass line.

mi se re re no_ bis. Ag nus De_ i,

The second system of the musical score. The vocal line continues with 'mi se re re no_ bis. Ag nus De_ i,'. The piano accompaniment continues with similar harmonic support.

qui_ tol_ lis pec ca ta mun_ di mi_ se re re

The third system of the musical score. The vocal line continues with 'qui_ tol_ lis pec ca ta mun_ di mi_ se re re'. The piano accompaniment continues with similar harmonic support.

no_ bis. Ag nus De i, qui tol

The fourth system of the musical score. The vocal line continues with 'no_ bis. Ag nus De i, qui tol'. The piano accompaniment continues with similar harmonic support.

lis pec ca ta mun di Do na no

bis pa cem.