

THE *MINISTRILES* TRADITION IN LATIN AMERICA:
PART ONE: SOUTH AMERICA
1. THE CASES OF SANTAFÉ (COLOMBIA) AND LA
PLATA (BOLIVIA) IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

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Introduction

In recent musicological literature, Kenneth Kreitner and Douglas Kirk have called attention to the *ministriles* instrumental tradition, one of the outstanding features of Spanish cathedral musical practice.¹ Some decades earlier, in the 1960s, Robert Stevenson revealed the fundamentals of this tradition and published first-hand documents that offered avenues for further research as part of his monumental studies of Spanish and Latin American Renaissance and Baroque music.² The purpose of this article is to examine this wind band tradition in the cases of Santafé (present Bogotá, Colombia) and La Plata (now Sucre, Bolivia), based on the scarce but significant documentation housed at the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) in Bogotá, the Archivo y Biblioteca Arquidiocesanos Monseñor Taborga (ABAS) and the Archivo Nacional de Bolivia (ANB), both located in Sucre.³

Both cities were founded in 1538 as part of the expansion of the internal frontier begun in Alto Peru with the conquest of Cuzco (Perú) in 1533, and in present-day Colombia with the foundation of Santa Marta in 1525 on the Caribbean coast. The earlier phases of their history coincide, especially as regards the establishment of European musical practice in their cathedrals. In Santafé, the practice of instrumental music started after the founding of the cathedral music chapel in the 1560s, which counted on ecclesiastics (and presumably musicians as well) coming from Cartagena, Santa Marta, and Tunja. In both cities, this process occurred in the decade following the creation of the bishopric see and the *Real Audiencia*, the Spanish local government body. Such events were almost simultaneous in La Plata and Santafé; the Bishopric Sees were created in 1553 and 1568 and the *Reales Audiencias* in 1559 and 1550, respectively.

During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Spanish legislation on Latin America considered instrumental music to be an effective means of acculturation. The *Ordenanzas* of 1573 prescribed that in order to persuade the native Americans who resisted the Catholic faith, the Spanish authorities allowed the use of “singers and high and low minstrels” to induce them to congregate in towns. In 1618 additional legislation ordered that in the new native towns with a population of a hundred or more, there were to be two or three musicians exempted from paying their tribute.⁴ As we shall see, this legislation was obeyed, but on several occasions, for a variety of reasons, the missionaries tried to increase the number of musicians allowed.

Terminology is also an interesting issue relating to the information contained in the documents. It seems that the generic word *ministril* was preferred. However, in Latin American contexts other generic terms, such as *cantor* (singer), were also used for instrumentalists. During the seventeenth century, *chirimía* (literally, shawm player) was used to refer not only to a player of that instrument, but also to players of other wind instruments, including curtals, sackbuts, and cornetts. By extension, in Colombia a musical ensemble containing shawms was also named a *chirimía* and after these instruments became obsolete, the ensemble maintained its name in spite of having transverse flutes or clarinets as principal instruments.⁵

Ministriles in Santafé and La Plata

The objective of this section is to reconstruct a historical narrative, based on documents contained in the aforementioned archives, of the development of the ensembles of instrumentalists in the cathedrals of these two cities.

The first mention of a group of instrumental players participating in church music in Santafé dates from the end of the sixteenth century. In his brief description of the city of ca. 1598, Captain Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, a newly arrived Spanish government officer, states that Mass at the Santafé cathedral included *ministriles* and *trompetillas*, played by natives.⁶ Most likely he refers to the usual group of *ministriles*, with shawms and probably including sackbuts (sometimes referred to as trumpets), while using the word *trompetillas* to describe cornetts.⁷ Around the same time, in 1584, a trumpet player named Francisco Martín (probably a Spaniard) is documented in notarial records and in 1598 Pedro Trum-peta (a native) is mentioned in some transactions.⁸

At the end of the sixteenth century these instruments were probably common to all urban settlements in Latin America, as indicated in a document from the 1590s, where unspecified instruments are said to have participated with the voices in church services in the parish church of neighboring Tunja (founded in 1539), a town that seems to have had a more refined cultural life than Santafé at this time.⁹

The establishment of the group of *ministriles* at La Plata Cathedral seems to have occurred during the term of Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo (ca. 1545-1622) as chapel master between 1597 and his death in 1622. Fernández Hidalgo arrived in America in 1584 after having held a similar post for a decade at the collegiate church of Talavera de la Reina, his native town. He spent two years as chapel master in Santafé, four in Quito, one in Lima, and was for two periods chapel master in Cuzco before settling finally in La Plata, where he died.¹⁰

After the arrival from Cuzco in 1601 of the master of *ministriles* Luis Enríquez, the cathedral music in La Plata was enriched with several instruments played by “service natives” (*yanaconas*), some of whom Enríquez probably brought with him. A Spaniard, Enríquez had been employed in Cuzco cathedral as master of the Indian *ministriles* from 1589 to 1600 and remained in La Plata in his post until around 1618, when he seems to have died.¹¹ In Cuzco this tradition started in 1580 with Pedro Serrano, *ministril* of shawm and cornett who, as we shall see below, performed other musical tasks.¹²

In 1603 the La Plata Cathedral accounts include payments to the *indios chirimías*, five in all. Their salaries were paid in money, food (corn), and clothing (hats, garments, etc.), and their names were also recorded: Juan Bautista Cavasiquita, Andres Palli, Diego Songo, and Alonso Pusalla; the fifth was Francisco Chiri, a player of shawm and cornett, native of Cuzco and living in San Blas, one of the native parishes of the city.¹³

In 1607 the same accounts record repairs to the sackbut and curtal (*bajón*) and also orders for shoes and shirts for the five *chirimías* or *ministriles*. One of them was Alejandro de la Cruz, a slave (Creole or African), property of the church. The names of the other musicians mentioned are Damian and Velasco, both called *chirimías*.¹⁴ The same year, Cristóbal Hidalgo was paid for repairing the curtal played by Velasco, and special mention is made of their hats, part of the group's uniform—a practice which follows European tradition.¹⁵ A year later the other curtal, this time the one played by Damian, was also repaired, something that happened again in 1609. On this occasion the repairer was Luis Enríquez, the instrument teacher himself. In this year the only players mentioned are Alejandro, Velasco, and Damian.¹⁶

In 1611 the Jesuits in charge of the native American town of Fontibón (located just outside Santafé) tried to reach an agreement with the local government about the aforementioned laws concerning the exemption from tribute for native Americans acting as church officials. P. Jose Dadey indicates that in a synod held in Santafé in 1606 they demanded that in every native town a teacher and six native Americans were to be exempted from paying tribute and dedicated to vocal and instrumental music. The number of musicians exceeded that stipulated in previous legislation, but the Jesuit priest indicates that due to the unpredictability of the natives' behavior it was better to have more musicians available, so if one or two decided to abandon their musical duties, the service was not greatly affected. Dadey also maintained that music was a means of allowing "the growth of the affection and respect to the mysteries of the Holy Catholic faith in the natives' hearts."¹⁷

Fontibón was exclusively a native settlement, already highly populated at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in 1538. Dominicans, Franciscans, and secular clergy had been alternately in charge of the *doctrina* (Indian town) and *corregimiento* (legal jurisdiction) established in 1544.¹⁸ In 1608 the *doctrina* was allocated to the Jesuits, and the Italian priests Giovanni Battista Coluccini (d. 1641) and Giuseppe Tadei or Dadey (1574-1660) began to build a new church according to Roman specifications and to establish a school with a significant musical component.¹⁹ It is possible however that the local native Americans had already been in contact with European instrumental and vocal music in the periods between 1580-85 and 1591-94, when Felipe Alvarez de Acuña (ca. 1555-c1610) was in charge of the church. Alvarez was the pupil of Gonzalo García Zorro (ca. 1547-1617), first chapel master of Santafé Cathedral.²⁰ The consecration of the new church was attended by President Juan de Borja, and the Jesuit chronicler indicates that the natives came with banners marching to the music of "trumpets and other instruments."²¹

In his petition of 1611, cited above, Dadey states that Alonso Tabta, a native from another town but living in Fontibón, was the most advanced in music. It is also possible that by that time a group of instrumentalists was already functioning in Santafé. This is

suggested by the accounts related to the feasts, colloquies, and other celebrations of the Jesuit's Colegio de San Bartolomé in Santafé, where we find payments for *cantores* and shawms (*chirimías*) between 1617 and 1626 and also mentions of drums and trumpets as additional instruments employed in the celebrations.²²

During the first two decades of the seventeenth century the playing of wind instruments might have extended to a reasonable number of native towns of the plateau under the jurisdiction of Santafé and Tunja. The musical and ecclesiastical duties performed by Indians began to be reflected in the surnames they adopted after giving up their aboriginal names. Between 1595 and 1630 in listings of service Indians in Santafé we often find names like *Cantor* (singer or church musician), or others which refer to wind instruments such as *Bajonero* (curtal), *Trompetero* (trumpet or sackbut), *Flautero* (flute), *Chirimía* (shawm or wind instrument), *Gaita* (bagpipe), and *Organista* (organ).²³ In 1617 and 1627 natives holding names related to musical activities come also from neighboring villages such as Fontibón, Facatativá, Zipaquirá, Chocontá, Ubaté, Suesca, Siecha, Zipacón, Tena, Susa, Fómeque, and Guasca. In 1617 the Spanish authorities exempted from payments the musicians of the Jesuit *doctrinas* of Fontibón and Cajicá.²⁴

As to the number of musicians employed in these groups, we find that in the accounts of La Plata Cathedral for the years 1610-11, it is stated that there were six wind players, three of whom were natives and two mulattos or blacks. The three natives were Felipe Choque, Juan Guarache, and Diego Yaesayauri (or Yauri), and they called themselves *ministriles*. On one occasion Felipe signed as "Felipe chirimía" and Andrés is called "Andrés chirimía," probably referring to the instruments they played.²⁵ The two blacks were Antón de Toledo, called *mulato bajón*, but who also played the sackbut, and Alejandro de la Cruz, *corneta y ministril*. The sixth member was Antón de Velasco, already mentioned in connection with previous years.²⁶ Additionally the same account contains records of repairs for some of the shawms, sackbuts and curtals.

Similar instrumental activity may have occurred in neighbouring Potosí. According to Ramirez del Aguila, a chronicler of both La Plata and Potosí, the parishes of the latter city had both native singers and *ministriles* and the principal church had an "excellent chapel of Spanish musicians."²⁷ In fact, in 1611 Gonzalo de los Reyes y Mendoza, a *ministril* from that city, came to La Plata in order to get a job there but was not accepted at the church and obtained only reimbursement for his travel.²⁸ In 1615-16 the same accounts indicate the continuing presence of the same players, with minor changes. One of the natives is now identified as Felipe Layme (= Felipe Choque?); Guarache and Yauri remain on the list, as does Alejandro de la Cruz, who is listed this time as a cornett player.²⁹

Between 1621 and 1625 the *ministriles* continue to appear in the accounts along with the chapel master, singers, and other church employees. During those years the instrumental group consisted of the natives Juan Valeriano, Juan Guarache, Juan Charca, Pedro Ympara, and Juan Fernández Guarache, all of them referred to as *ministriles* or *chirimías*. In addition there were two other natives, Lázaro Hernández, who played the cornett, and Lucas Bautista, who is mentioned only as *ministril*. In 1622 a silversmith was paid for repairs to the sackbut and for adding a new key to one of the curtals.³⁰

During this period the only non-native *ministril* was Pedro de Santacruz, who played the *bajón*. In 1623 he is called a barber and in the same year the church *cabildo* stipulates that he should be in charge of the instruments.³¹ He had been previously employed as *bajón* at Lima Cathedral from 1615 probably until 1623, when he seems to have left his job, since another player appears on the payment lists.³² In 1626 he continued as *bajón* player at La Plata Cathedral and at the same time was music teacher at the Colegio Seminario.³³

The churches of the native villages in the territory controlled by La Plata also developed this instrumental tradition under direct influence of the town's churches and convents. In 1598 in the native village of Cotagaita, *cantores* are mentioned (they are referred to as *músicos* in later years), and in 1627 it is stated that one of them, Diego Vilca, was cantor and also played the cornett. The other was Pedro Condori, who besides being cantor acted as teacher of the native children. The remaining church officials were two *fiscales* and two *sacristanes*, with non-musical duties.³⁴

Returning to Santafé, in 1633 the city was affected by a deadly plague, as had already occurred some decades earlier. The miraculous image of Our Lady of Chiquinquirá was brought in procession from that town, located approximately 100 miles northwest of the city. The image was escorted by four bands of *chirimías* which probably also included sackbuts and *bajones*.³⁵ The groups came from Tunja and from the Indian towns of Chocontá, Suesca, and Cajicá (all located along the route from Chiquinquirá to Santafé).³⁶ During this period the musical activity at Santafé cathedral increased substantially in comparison to previous years. Earlier, only a few singers and choirboys and an organ player participated in the services, from 1586 under the direction of Alonso Garzón de Tahuste (c1555-c1652), Fernández Hidalgo's successor. The small size of the musical establishment, which at this time perhaps did not include a regular group of *ministriles*, probably motivated Fernández' departure in that year.

This group of instrumentalists never consolidated in the church at Santafé as it did at La Plata Cathedral, though the wind band of Fontibón, which as we have seen developed under Jesuit tutelage, participated actively in the musical life of Santafé from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. For example, in 1623 Juan Trompetero, a native American from Fontibón, went to Santafé to play his trumpet at St. Peter's feast, while a century and a half later, in 1766, the "noisy music of Fontibón" accompanied the public festivities celebrating the marriage of the future Spanish King Charles IV, and this time their *chirimías* are described as oboes by the Spanish chronicler.³⁷

In 1639 the census and description of Fontibón identifies a group of seven musicians. Juan de la Cruz, forty-eight years old, was the master of the music and had at his service the following cantores: Pedro Flores, forty-eight; Gonzalo Cantor, thirty-six; Francisco Gasenzana, thirty-three; Francisco Sossa, twenty-nine; and Diego de la Cerda, twenty-eight—all exempted from paying tribute. In the list we find Pedro Trompetero, thirty-seven, who paid tribute but probably also performed musical duties.³⁸ The inventory of the newly established church includes three cornetts, two curtals, and three sets (*juegos*) of shawms.³⁹ Besides the wind instruments the church also had a set of viols. The reference to viols suggests a context in keeping with the Spanish/European tradition, where such instruments

were used in the training of choirboys.⁴⁰ In the same documents the Jesuit *doctrinero* Father Jose Hurtado indicates that the *cantores* had been performing their duties for more than twenty-two years (since approximately 1617), obeying a decree of President Juan de Borja enforcing the legislation mentioned earlier.

The previous year in Cajicá, another Jesuit town, the local inventories included two *cantores*, Alonso and Felipe, but the church had only one musical instrument, a treble shawm. In the same year, the town of Nemocón had three *cantores* (Gregorio, Juan and Diego), but no instruments were to be found in the church inventories.⁴¹

In 1638, in Chocontá, a town halfway between Tunja and Santafé, the church had a trumpet and a complete set (*terno entero*) of shawms.⁴² The same situation obtained in Monguí and Tópaga, Indian towns located on the northern border of the province between 1636 and 1670. In Monguí the church had at its service two singers and two musicians who played shawms, and the inventory of one of the church's confraternities included two trumpets in 1636.⁴³

Tópaga, located in the heights of the Eastern mountain range near the entrance to the immense lowland frontier of neighboring Venezuela, was chosen by the Jesuits as a starting point for the creation of their missions in the Orinoco basin—a cultural and economic complex similar to that created in Paraguay—that became internationally famous after their expulsion in 1767.⁴⁴ In 1636 the Jesuits took over the church and in 1639-40 two *cantores* are mentioned, Domingo Cantor (a *mestizo* from Duitama) and Juan Cantor. In 1643 other musicians are mentioned and in 1651 the church inventories indicate the existence of four trumpets, one of which served to make a sackbut. In 1669 the number of instruments increased, for then there was a set (*terno*) of three shawms of different “voices,” along with the aforementioned sackbut, four flutes, and one curtal, which had been purchased by the Indian inhabitants.⁴⁵

In 1643 the musical activities at Fontibón were described as follows:⁴⁶

The divine office is performed with notable decorum and it is so elaborate that it can easily compete with that of a major cathedral. The church has a sonorous organ, located in a beautifully built choir tribune, and a chapel of eight or more Indians exempted from tribute by the President of the New Kingdom of Granada, with good trebles and without counting the shawms, curtals, and cornetts.

By this time the natives seem to have accepted European musical instruments as part of their new culture. An example is the case of the *cacique* (chieftain) of Chocontá, who in his will declares that two trumpets and an entire set of shawms and flutes should be allocated to his brother, who should supervise their use for the town festivities. In doing so, the *cacique* was following the matrilineal system of inheritance of the local Indian *Muisca* tradition.⁴⁷ The Indians were lured to adopt music as a profession not only by the exemption from paying tribute, but also by vocation. As soon as they showed musical potential they were taught by professionals from an early age and devoted their lives to the service of the church. This was true of Mateo Cantor, who started his musical education in Turmequé at

the age of nine and subsequently served, along with other native Americans, at the church as cantor and shawm player until 1659, at which time he was forty-seven years old.⁴⁸

As was the case in La Plata, church instrumentalists in Santafé were recruited not only from the native population, but also from African and Creole black and mulatto freemen and slaves. In 1632 Juan Criollo, a nineteen-year-old slave born in Santafé, was employed, along with Jerónimo, as a shawm player by his master, the curate of the parish of San Victorino. Later, in 1636, Juan became a musician at the Santo Domingo Convent, playing the sackbut (*sacabuche*).⁴⁹ In that year, in order to improve the quality of the services at his church, the guardian of the San Francisco Convent bought in Cartagena four slaves who also were professional minstrels, but they were returned to their owner two years later. One of them, Juan Sacabuche, was a player of that instrument; the others (Luis Grande, Luis Chiquito, and Francisco Cumplido) were probably players of shawms and *bajón*.⁵⁰ In 1651 another slave, Juan Bernardo de Castro, who was owned by the Jesuits, served as curtal player at the cathedral, in addition to being a carpenter.⁵¹

One example of the civic contexts in which *ministriles* and their wind instruments were employed was the inauguration of the University of Santo Tomás in Santafé in 1639. The parade was heralded by a group of shawm players on horseback, followed by the ecclesiastical authorities. Another group of musicians with the same instruments marched before the university staff, the *cabildo* of the cathedral, and the President and his retinue. The two groups of instrumentalists played in turns, alternately accompanied by kettledrums (*atabales*). The University was established by the Dominicans, who in Santafé and Cartagena had *ministriles* at their service, some of whom were slaves.⁵²

In La Plata throughout the seventeenth century the wind band continued their services without major changes and in the same conditions already described under Fernández Hidalgo's successors, Mateo Gonzalez, Andrés Crespo, and Juan Candidato de Cardenas. In 1633 and 1635 the *ministriles* are mentioned in the accounts, but the only players mentioned by name are the cornett player Agustín de la Camara and Pedro de Santa Cruz, who still played the *bajón* in 1633. In 1675 the payments to the musicians and other church officials include four *ministriles*, Mateo Joseph, Juan Zambrano, Juan Guarache, and Gregorio José Vásquez.⁵³

Only in the following decades, under the term of Jose Cascante as chapel master between 1648 and his death in 1702, did Santafé Cathedral begin to have a regular group of instrumentalists. Up to this point its musical needs had been supplied by the wind players of Fontibón and also those of other churches and convents. In 1692 Nicolas de Zubiaurre y Ortega played the *bajón* at the cathedral, continuing in his post until 1724. Francisco Suárez is listed as *bajoncillo* in 1705, Miguel Sanchez as *cornetilla* in 1706, Pedro Agustín de Torres as *bajón* player from 1706 and 1711, and in 1709, the only native American of the group, José Soraca, as organist, *bajón*, and cornett player.⁵⁴

Something similar occurred in the other cities of the Nuevo Reino. In 1660 in Cartagena the celebration of the canonization of St. Tomas de Villanueva included vocal music, shawms, and *clarines*, both in the procession and also for incidental music in the plays performed.⁵⁵

In 1685 the president of the Nuevo Reino ordered that for every 150 natives, only three *cantores* or shawm players were allowed to be exempted from tribute.⁵⁶ In Chiquinquirá in 1688 the authorities in charge of the Virgin's shrine asked for the appointment of four native *cantores* after the death of the mulatto slaves who had been given to the church and had served as musicians until this date.⁵⁷

Instruments and repertoire

Documents seem to support the notion that some *ministriles* had a broad musical education. This seems to be confirmed by information on Pedro Serrano, an instrumentalist employed at Cuzco Cathedral between 1580 and 1582. His duties included teaching counterpoint to the church officers and choirboys for an hour and a half each workday as well as supervising the native players and teaching them to play their instruments. The circumstances of his dismissal two years later offer valuable information about the *ministriles'* musical activities. In his contract he had agreed not to play outside the church without permission of the chapter. Apparently he did not follow this regulation, for he was accused of playing with his native musicians on the streets at night, "offering his services to anyone," which action clearly violated the exclusivity of instrumental music that the church wanted to protect.⁵⁸

In Cuzco, while working for the cathedral, Luis Enríquez' duties had been to teach the native players how to accompany the singers in first and second Vespers and at Mass on principal feast days and Sundays.⁵⁹ In La Plata, Enríquez performed the same duties, but the documents give more details about the occasions for instrumental usage. In addition to the first- and second-class feast days (Vespers and Mass), they played on Saturdays at Lady Mass and the Salve, during Lent three nights at Compline, throughout the octave of Corpus Christi, and on other occasions designated by the church authorities.

In 1643 some of the duties of the native *ministriles* of Fontibón are stated in the previously cited provincial report of the Jesuits:⁶⁰

They are very well trained and every week they sing three polyphonic Masses: High Mass on Sunday, on Monday one for the Holy Souls of Purgatory with its procession to the cemetery, and on Saturdays that of Our Lady in her altars.

On the other hand, in Santafé in 1651 the *bajón* player Juan Bernardo de Castro himself indicates that his duties at the cathedral included playing at Vespers, which meant being at the church from 2:00 to 5:00 in the afternoon of the day before a major feast. On the feast day he had to be at church early in the morning.

The repertoire of the *ministriles*, as described by Kirk, contains polyphonic instrumental music but principally consists of vocal music played instrumentally.⁶¹ Cognate sources such as the manuscript that also belongs to the original Lerma repertoire, now at the University of Utrecht, contain simpler pieces, dance music, and *fabordón* settings of plainchant tunes. Simple works such as these, as well as the music contained in the Guatemalan San Juan Ixcoi manuscripts, probably formed the basis of the repertoire played by the wind bands of Indian players described here.⁶²

At La Plata the instruments used by the *ministriles* during most part of the seventeenth century seem to have been a cornett, two or three shawms, a sackbut, and one or two curtals.⁶³ Other instruments such as flutes probably were brought to the city by merchants. In 1606, a set (*terno*) of seven *flautas* and one *bajón* is included in a list of merchandise purchased in Cuzco, and flutes are mentioned again in merchant's inventories of 1622.⁶⁴ In Cuzco, when Serrano was acting as teacher, the instruments he played and taught were the shawm, sackbut, cornett, *cornamusa*, and curtal.⁶⁵

In Santafé a flute (without further specification) and a trumpet are recorded in 1590 and 1596 and trumpets and *clarines* are reported in 1617 and 1622.⁶⁶ Probably these were military instruments, but still it is possible that they might refer to the odd sackbut amongst them.⁶⁷ According to European tradition the *ministriles* instrumental group should have included treble and alto shawms, a sackbut, and a curtal (*bajón*), all of which are mentioned, along with their players, both for Santafé and La Plata.

In the Indian towns renowned for musical activities we find complete sets (*terno entero*, or *juego*) of shawms. Sometimes the term *terno* (set) was used to refer to a mixed group of instruments belonging to the *ministriles* tradition. This is also the case of Tópaga in 1669, where the *terno* is said to have contained "the sackbut and three voices."⁶⁸ The "three voices" refer to three different shawms. Their sizes are a matter of conjecture, but one possibility would be to have two sopranos in *d'* and one alto in *a*, the other to have soprano, alto, and a tenor in *c*, and still another one to have one soprano, two altos and a tenor and/or bass. This is suggested by the collection of surviving *ministriles* instruments from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries found in Salamanca Cathedral in Spain. It contains a set of four crumhorns and also eight shawms (two sopranos, four altos, a tenor, and fragments of a bass), probably arranged in two *ternos*, one of one soprano and an alto and another of a soprano, alto, tenor, and bass, all bearing the same maker's mark. The two remaining instruments (two altos) might have complemented either of the groups mentioned.⁶⁹ Other arrangements could be possible, as for example in the three sets of shawms (*tres juegos de chirimías*) of the inventories of Fontibón in 1639, listed separately from the cornetts and dulcians.⁷⁰ These groups might have included shawms of several sizes and also sackbuts. In fact, in 1636 Juan, the previously mentioned Creole slave who played the sackbut, called himself *sacabuche de chirimía*, a term that should be interpreted as "sackbut player of a group of shawms," probably anticipating the generic name *chirimita* that identified the *ministriles* ensemble in later periods.⁷¹

The previously mentioned legacy of the Chocontá chieftain in 1633 included a "new full set of shawms with its flutes."⁷² Here we see how the term "set of *chirimías*" might have been used for a group of instruments including flutes. Concerning these instruments, only in eighteenth-century documents do we find differentiation between recorders and traverse flutes. Those mentioned in Seville in 1582 as part of the *ministriles* church tradition could have been either type.⁷³ However, *pifanos* was the most commonly used Spanish term for the family of the traverse flutes. As the latter customarily were identified with military music, recorders are probably intended in the documents under consideration here.

The documents pertaining to repairs made to the instruments in La Plata also furnish valuable information. They were done by Luis Enriquez the instrument teacher, a silver-

smith, and also by one Alejandro Alemán, also called *el alemán* (the German). The latter repaired the shawms and the dulcians between 1610 and 1613.⁷⁴ It is probable that he was a German maker and repairer, since foreigners (especially metalworkers) were abundant in neighboring Potosí, the most important mining settlement of Spanish America during that period.⁷⁵

Documentary evidence of the purchase of church wind instruments appears only in the eighteenth century and refers to the music activities in the Jesuit missions in the Colombo-Venezuelan plains. In 1719 two *bajoncillos* (tenor and alto) and a *bajón* were among the instruments made in Puebla (Mexico) but bought in the trading ports of Caracas and Veracruz. In 1747 seven sets of flutes (*ternos de flautas*) appear in the accounts of the Jesuit College of Cartagena, probably their port of entry to the Virreinato de la Nueva Granada (Viceroyalty of New Granada).⁷⁶

Conclusions

The Spanish minstrel tradition flourished in Latin America during the seventeenth century and that process implied continuity and change. The choice of instruments and musical repertoire as well as their function in both civic and church music followed European practice. Some other aspects, such as the custom of receiving salaries in food and clothing as well as wearing a colorful uniform, were also retained. Perhaps one of the most important European features was the versatility of the players and their ability on many, and sometimes all, the instruments of their trade. Change is illustrated by the speciality attained by Indians and blacks as players of these instruments.⁷⁷ In Spain the social status of minstrels was lower than that of other church musicians and in America that status seem to have fallen even further with the inclusion of native Americans as well as African (or partly African) slaves or freemen, the lower strata of Spanish American colonial society at that time.

Conversely, the role of Indian musicians as described here became an important factor in the development of modern Indian musical identity and established these European musical instruments as important markers of identity. This is evident in places such as Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador, and some areas of Colombia, where the survival of this European musical tradition serves as a banner for local music.

Additionally, the new situation created in America for these instruments and their players seems to have fostered the continuity of a tradition that was becoming obsolete in Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The documentation of this tradition in Latin American sources offers valuable information on the history of the wind band tradition in general and complements the gradually emerging picture that recent wind band research has helped to create.

NOTES

¹ Kenneth Kreitner, "Minstrels in Spanish Churches," *Early Music* 20/4 (1992): 532-4; and Douglas Kirk, "Instrumental music at Lerma c.1608," *Early Music* 23/3 (1995): 393-408.

² Robert M. Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley: University of California, 1961); idem, *Music in Mexico. A Historical Survey* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1952); idem, *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington: Pan American Union/General Secretariat, 1959); idem, *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968); idem, *La música en la Catedral de Sevilla (1478-1606): Documentos para su estudio* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1985; orig. pub. 1954). In the following decades several articles appeared in *Anuario Musical* concerning original documents from Spanish Cathedrals. In recent years José López Calo has published more of these documents, which contain rich documentation on *ministriles*.

³ Further articles on the history of this tradition in Central America and the Caribbean, as well as the practice of other instruments (trumpets, fife, drums) and the present-day *chirimía* traditions in Latin America are in preparation. I am very grateful to Jeffrey Nussbaum for the generous enthusiasm and patience with which he awaited the completion of the manuscript of this article, and to Stewart Carter for his wise suggestions. I would also like to thank Bernardo Illari for his valuable help about the contents of the Taborga Archive in Sucre as well as Josep Barnadas, Director of this Archive for his kind help. My thanks also to Rene Arze, Director of the Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, and Carlos Seoane for his help in providing me with a computer when my own failed during my visit to Sucre.

⁴ Egberto Bermúdez, *Historia de la Música en Colombia: Música Indígena, tradicional y cultura musical durante el periodo Colonial, Siglos XVI-XVIII* (unpublished ms, 1995), pp. 226 and 242.

⁵ Egberto Bermúdez, *Los Instrumentos musicales en Colombia* (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1985), pp. 31-32, 77.

⁶ Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, *Milicia y Descripción de las Indias* (Madrid: V. Suarez, 1892), 2: 92; and Bermúdez, *Historia*, p. 106.

⁷ There are references to a similar confusion in the nomenclature for the sackbut used in Louvain between 1450 and 1550. See Keith Polk, "Ensemble Instrumental Music in Flanders: 1450-1550," *Journal of Band Research* 11/2 (1975): 12-13. The Spanish terms are *corneta* for the cornett in *a* and *cornetilla* for the cornettino in *d'*. *Trompetilla* is also found in descriptions of Amerindian musical activity in America to refer to unknown instruments of small size whose shape was similar to European shawms and trumpets.

⁸ AGN, Notaria 1, 11A, f. 156 and 19, f. 495.

⁹ This is attested by Juan de Castellanos in the fourth part of his *Elegias de Varones Ilustres de Indias*, written ca. 1592. He arrived in Tunja in 1561 and began his service at the church of Santiago. He indicates that the church had a choir "ansí de voces como de instrumentos." His testimony should be considered trustworthy because we know that he practiced plainchant, polyphonic music, and counterpoint, as he himself stated in a declaration in 1562. *Elegias de Varones Ilustres de Indias* (Bogotá: Biblioteca de la Presidencia de la República, 1955), 4: 442. See also Bermúdez, *Historia*, p. 106.

¹⁰ Egberto Bermúdez, "Estudio Introductorio," in *Gutierrez Fernandez Hidalgo, Opera Omnia*, unpublished ms, 1998.

¹¹ Stevenson, *The Music of Perú*, p. 184.

¹² Stevenson, *ibid.*, p. 67; and "Cuzco Cathedral: 1546-1750," *Inter-American Music Review* 2/2 (1980): 2-3.

¹³ ABAS, Cuentas, Tomo 1603-1612, ff. 64-66.

¹⁴ ABAS, Cuentas, Tomo 1607-1611, ff. 119, 141 y ss, 176.

¹⁵ ABAS, *ibid.*, ff. 182 y ss.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 221 y ss.

¹⁷ AGN, Fabricas de Iglesias, 20, f. 366v.

¹⁸ Roberto Velandía, *Fontibón, pueblo de la Real Corona* (Bogotá: Imprenta Distrital, 1983), p. 26.

¹⁹ The first church built by the Jesuits burned in 1619; the construction of the new enlarged one began immediately thereafter and was completed in 1632. Velandía, *Fontibón*, pp. 72-79.

²⁰ Bermúdez, *Historia*, p. 101; and Velandía, *Fontibón*, p. 61.

²¹ Gonzalo de Lira, *Letras Anuas* (1608), in Juan Manuel Pacheco, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia, I, (1567-1654)* (Bogotá: Editorial San Juan Eudes, 1959), p. 312.

²² AGN, Colegio de San Bartolomé, Libro de Gasto Ordinario y Extraordinario ... 1616-1633, ff. 78v, 87, 89v, 93v, 97, 104v, 111, 119v.

²³ These surnames survive nowadays; however, the concordance between musical activity and name survived only until the eighteenth century.

²⁴ AGN, Caciques e Indios, 47, ff. 706 y ss.; *ibid.*, 69, ff. 15 y ss and Fabricas de Iglesias, 20, f. 371v.

²⁵ ABAS, Cuentas Fábrica, 1610, f. 107.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, ff. 42-44.

²⁷ Pedro Ramírez del Aguila, *Noticias Políticas de Indias y Relación descriptiva de la ciudad de La Plata, metrópoli de las Provincias de los Charcas y Nuevo Reino de Toledo en las Occidentales del gran Imperio del Perú* (1639), ed. Jaime Urioste Arana (Sucre : División de Extensión Universitaria, 1978), p. 88.

²⁸ ABAS, Cuentas, 1603-1612, receipt, s.f.

²⁹ ABAS, Cuentas 1614-1678, ff. 9, 10 and 20.

³⁰ ABAS, Cuentas 1603-1612, Cuentas 1620, f. 7.

³¹ ANB, Escrituras Públicas, 108, 1623, f. 664v and ABAS, Libro de Actas, 4, f. 149.

³² Andrés Sas, *La Música en la catedral de Lima durante el Virreinato: I. Historia General* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1971), p. 143.

³³ ABAS, Libro de Actas, 5, f. 139.

³⁴ ANB, Expedientes Coloniales, 13, 1628, s.f.

³⁵ The payments refer to *chirimías* but from other documents it can be inferred that such groups also included sackbuts and *bajones*. See below, "Instruments and repertoire."

³⁶ AGN, Historia Eclesiástica, 19, ff. 1010-15.

³⁷ Bermúdez, *Historia*, p. 198.

³⁸ In a certificate of the same year, the Jesuit G.B. Coluccini indicates that in both Fontibón and Duitama (an Indian town in Tunja's jurisdiction) there were six native Americans who were dedicated to musical activities. AGN, Tributos, 21, f. 554.

³⁹ AGN, Visitas, Cundinamarca, 12, ff. 967 y ss.

tres juegos de chirimías

dos bajones

un terno de vigolones

tres cornetas

⁴⁰ At the Royal Court in Madrid these references range between 1591 and 1602; see Luis Robledo, "Vihuelas de arco y violones en la corte de Felipe III," p. A seventeenth-century French iconographic source depicts a Jesuit priest and a group of children singing and playing viols. Anon., *Concert before King Louis XIII*, ca. 1630, Musée des Beaux Arts, Troyes; see David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 87.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, ff. 685 y ss.

- ⁴² AGN, Miscelánea, Colonia, 8, f. 674.
- ⁴³ AGN, Visitas, Boyacá, 8, f. 282 y ss.
- ⁴⁴ Egberto Bermúdez, “La música en las misiones Jesuitas de los llanos orientales colombianos, 1725-1810,” *Ensayos, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas: Universidad Nacional* 5 (1998), in press.
- ⁴⁵ Tópaga, Archivo Parroquial, Libro 1, 1633-69, ff. 89v, 146v.
- ⁴⁶ Sebastián Hazañero, S.I., 1643, in J.M. Pacheco, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, pp. 313-14, also quoted in Velandia, *Fontibón*, p. 80 (my translation). “Hacense aquí los divinos oficios con notable aparato, y el culto divino esta adelantado con tanta devoción, que puede competir con cualquiera perfección de catedrales iglesias, porque en un coro bien artificiado tiene un sonoro órgano, un capilla de ocho y mas indios cantores que a este titulo tiene reservados del tributo el señor presidente del reino, sin las chirimías y bajones y cornetas y muy buenos tiples.”
- ⁴⁷ AGN, Testamentarias, Cundinamarca, 5, f. 737.
- ⁴⁸ AGN, Caciques Indios, 10, f. 422.
- ⁴⁹ AGN, Negros y Esclavos, Cundinamarca, 1, ff. 572 y ss.
- ⁵⁰ AGN, Miscelánea, Colonia, 137, f. 792 and Bogotá, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 33, f. 231.
- ⁵¹ AGN, Negros y Esclavos, Cundinamarca, 2, ff. 718 y ss.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 195. In Cartagena the parades of the Autos de Fe held by the Inquisition during the seventeenth century were also ceremoniously heralded by groups of trumpets and shawms. They were organized mainly by the Dominicans, who also had black slave wind-band musicians at their service. Bermúdez, *Historia.*, p. 195.
- ⁵³ ABAS, Cuentas 1614-1678, Gastos 1675, f. 7.
- ⁵⁴ Bermúdez, *Historia*, p. 157.
- ⁵⁵ Juan de Cueto y Mena, *Obras*, ed. Archer Woodford (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1952), pp. 238, 283.
- ⁵⁶ AGN, Tributos, 13, ff. 413 y ss.
- ⁵⁷ AGN, Tributos, 13, *ibid.*
- ⁵⁸ Stevenson, “Cuzco Cathedral,” pp. 2-3: “dando músicas a quien le parece.”
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ See n. 45 above. “Están ellos muy diestros y todas las semanas cantan tres misas a canto de órgano: los domingos, la mayor, a que acude el pueblo; los lunes, la de las benditas almas del purgatorio, con su procesión por el cementerio; y el sábado, la Nuestra Señora en sus altares.”
- ⁶¹ Kirk, “Instrumental Music at Lerma.”
- ⁶² Robert Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington: OAS-General Secretariat, 1970), pp. 55-62, 194-204; and Sharon Girard, ed., *Renaissance Wind Band Music of Guatemala* (N.p. [San Leandro, CA]: Musica Sacra et Profana, n.d.).
- ⁶³ Between 1607 and 1609 there were definitely two curtals and two players in the group. Cf. n. 16 above.
- ⁶⁴ ANB, Escrituras Públicas, 124, 1606, f. 94v and id, 97, f. 54v.
- ⁶⁵ Stevenson, “Cuzco Cathedral,” p. 3. Concerning the *cornamusa*, see the discussion contained in Munrow, *Musical Instruments*, pp. 49-50; and also in Sibyl Marcuse, *A Survey of Musical Instruments* (Newton Abbot/London: David & Charles, 1975), pp. 696-97.
- ⁶⁶ AGN, Notaria 1, 13, f. 444, Testamentarias Cundinamarca, 43, f. 25v and Notaria 2, 17, f. 330v.
- ⁶⁷ It is possible that terminology reflected the already mentioned ambiguity between trumpets and sackbuts. See n. 7 above.
- ⁶⁸ Tópaga, Libro 1, f. 146v. “Un terno de chirimías con sacabuche y tres voces.”
- ⁶⁹ Cristina Bordas, “Catálogo,” *Las Edades del Hombre: La Música en la Iglesia de Castilla y León*

(León: Junta de Castilla y León, 1991), pp. 235-36.

⁷⁰ See n. 38 above.

⁷¹ See n. 39 above.

⁷² “Un terno entero de chirimías con sus flautas, todo nuevo”; see above, n. 46.

⁷³ Kreitner, “Minstrels,” pp. 540-41.

⁷⁴ ABAS, Cuentas Fabrica, 1610, f. 106 and Cuentas, Tomo 1603-1610, receipts.

⁷⁵ Ramírez del Aguila, *Noticias Políticas de Indias*, pp. 84 ff.; and Nicolas Martinez Arsan y Vela, *Historia de la villa Imperial de Potosi*,

⁷⁶ Bermúdez, “La música en las Misiones Jesuitas,” pp. 18-19.

⁷⁷ This seems to have happened as well in Lima, where Indians of Surco are recorded as trumpet players from 1565 and as shawm and sackbut players from 1576. See Sas, *La Música en la catedral de Lima*, pp. 262-23.