

Listening For Historic Manila: Music and Rejoicing in an International City



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The five-voice motet, *Ave, virgo sanctissima*, by Francisco Guerrero (See Example 1), appeared in Guerrero's first book of motets, published in 1570 in Venice. Guerrero was one of the renowned trio of Spanish renaissance composers that included Cristobal de Morales, Tomás Luis de Victoria and Guerrero.¹ A copy of this book or, less likely, a copy of his second book of motets (published in the same city in 1589) appeared in the inventory of the Manila book merchant Pedro de Zúñiga in 1607, as attested in his will.² As *Ave, virgo* was published three times, appearing in two of Guerrero's three motet collections, this work in particular may have been known in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Manila, along with the other musical contents of the volume found in Zúñiga's inventory.

¹*Ave Virgo sanctissima, Dei Mater piisima, maris stella clarissima. Salve semper gloriosa, margarita pretiosa, sicut liliun formosa, nitens olens velut rosa* [Hail, Holy Virgin, most blessed Mother of God, brightest star of the sea. Hail, ever glorious, precious pearl, beautiful as the lily, shining and giving perfume like the rose]. See Francisco Guerrero, *Opera omnia*, Vicente Garcia and Miguel Querol Gavaldà, eds. (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1955), in *Monumentos de la música española*, vol. 36 [1997], pp. 80-95 [Tabla de materias]. *Ave, Virgo sanctissima* was published in 1566 in Guerrero's first book of Masses, then again in 1570, in his first book of motets, and yet again in 1597, in a collection of motets from books one and two [1589] of his motets. The music is edited in vol. 36 on pp. 72-76 [Parte musical]. For biographical information on these composers see, Robert M. Stevenson, *La música en las catedrales españolas del Siglo de Oro*, (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1993, pp. 48-49, 56-57, 435-437; 161-162, 274, 478-479; 123-124, 161-163, 297-298, 339-340) and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, [hereafter NG], vols. VII, pp. 787-789; XII, pp. 553-558; XIX, pp. 703-709.

²See Antonio García-Abásolo, "The Private Environment of the Spaniards in the Philippines," *Philippine Studies*, vol. 44 (1996), pp. 349-373, especially p. 365.

Since the motet collection listed in this will is the earliest-known printed polyphonic music found in Manila to date, it seems appropriate to speculate that this and other music books like it must have formed a significant portion of the musical foundation for the performance life of this city, most especially since they contained compositions suitable for many different liturgical and ceremonial occasions. Polyphonic music such as this would also have found a place in the city's celebratory life, which was intricately intertwined with the bifocal projection of Spanish colonialism, that world-wide enterprise undertaken by the inextricably-interlocked institutions of the Roman Catholic Church and the Spanish Crown.

Though economic historians long ago identified the fact that very significant financial outlays from both the Church and the *Cabildo* (or city government) supported the public ceremony and spectacle in Manila, no current historical study that I have been able to consult makes even the slightest attempt to explain any of the *implications* of this support, or to offer any analysis of the central role that the performing arts—music, dance and drama—played in the ceremonial life of this city, save, of course, studies conducted by Wenseslao Retana, Vincente Barrantes and Doreen Fernandez, on the history of drama in the Philippines.³

But if the importance of these rites and rituals as *central, defining moments* in the life of a Spanish city has also gone largely unnoticed, it is principally because we live in categorically secular societies which emphasize the compartmentalization of life, and also because the types of literacy required to understand music and dance within their setting and time are missing from the training of most historians and students of the past.

³See especially Luis Merino, *The Cabildo Secular, or Municipal Government of Manila: Social Components, Organization, Economics*, vol. II (Iloilo: Research Center of the University of San Agustin, 1980), p. 213, where it is reported that 22.42% of the total expenditure of the *Cabildo* for the years 1571-1800 are devoted to public spectacle. The next largest percentage was spent on the reception of Governors at 5.35%. For drama see Retana, *El teatro en Filipinas* (Madrid: Librería general de Victoriano Suárez, 1909); Barrantes, *El Teatro Tagalo* (Madrid: Hernandez, 1889); Doreen G. Fernandez, "Pompas y Solemnidades: Church Celebrations in Spanish Manila and Native Theatre," *Philippine Studies*, vol. 36 (1988), pp. 403-426.

An even more disabling consequence of this lacuna is the lack of appreciation for the incredible investment of human and monetary resources in the extensive preparations for these defining events in civic and ecclesiastical life. Also missing is any sensitivity to the fact that it was precisely *these events* that catalyzed the most important moments of public cultural intersection between the city's indigenous populations, Asian immigrant communities, and the Spanish colonists.

To put these opening comments into a slightly wider perspective, it should be recalled that each year from November to May, fleets of up to twenty Chinese sea-going junks sailed south from the port cities of Canton and Amoy to Manila.⁴ Their cargoes of silks, other textiles, spices and exotic merchandise were subsequently loaded onto Spanish galleons for shipment to Acapulco, New Spain. The Manila galleons began their regular crossings of the Pacific in 1565. The final ship put into port in Acapulco in 1815, ending 250 years of the longest and most successful sea commerce in human history.⁵

As important and impressive as this massive transshipment of goods to Mexico is, it is the incredible monetary wealth which flowed back to Manila which concerns us more, because it was this prosperity which made possible the city's support of such an elaborate and extensive cultural and celebratory life. No other colonial city in Asia was as prosperous in this way, and no other colonial power had such a profound and lasting impact upon an Asian region, primarily though not exclusively because of sea commerce. The Philippines is today the only predominantly Christian country in all of Asia, with over 85% of its population being Roman Catholic.⁶

Each galleon returning to Manila carried goods valued at an average of one to four million pesos. This represented a return on investments of from 30% to 600% for each legal Spanish resident of Manila, all of whom were automatically allotted a portion of the cargo space on each galleon.⁷ To put some human perspective into this picture, a

⁴William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1959), p. 71 [hereafter Schurz]; and Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 111 [hereafter *Jesuits*].

⁵Schurz, p. 5

⁶*Philippines: A Country Study*, 4th ed, Ronald E. Dolan, ed. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress/Federal Research Division, U.S. G.P.O., 1993), pp.1ff

⁷*Jesuits*, 111ff,

very rough estimate of the individual wealth of the leading citizens of Manila involved with the galleon trade in the early modern period suggests that per capita annual income was roughly 45,000 *reales*.⁸ With this amount as an average, and a very rough one at that, it is no stretch to claim then that Manila was one of the most wealthy medium-sized colonial city in the empire, though the fortunes of the city did fluctuate very widely with any significant disturbance in the galleon crossings.

Manila was surrounded by walls and fully fortified by the mid-1590s.⁹ By 1610, eight major stone churches had been or were being constructed, with additional fortifications and stone buildings to house the Governor and civic officials.¹⁰ All but one attempt by foreign powers to conquer Manila before the twentieth century failed, the one success being the two-year period from 1762-64 that the English occupied the city.¹¹ In 1899, a U.S. occupation force launched an invasion of the entire archipelago. The Philippines were fully occupied by 1904.¹² The historic Spanish district of Intramuros, arguably one of the most beautiful historic cities in Asia, was destroyed completely in 1945 by American bombers as they sought to dislodge the Japanese forces then

⁸*Jesuits*, p. 110; Schurz, pp. 47ff, 59, n. 7, 155ff. The very fact that all the studies of the Galleon trade have focused primarily upon the sea commerce and not upon the impact of the flow of wealth back into the city is the result of the fact that the materials available for study reside primarily in Spanish archives and reflect the point of view of those in Spain who needed to have a particular kind of documentation made available so the trade could be properly regulated from Spain. Controls on the values of return coinage, bullion and other materials were demonstrably weak, seen most clearly in the discrepancy between the official value and actual amount of monetary cargo on the galleons captured by the English. See Schurtz, pp. 303, 326-27. It also has to be clearly noted that students of the Galleon trade have rarely been interested in cultural matters of any kind.

⁹*Jesuits*, pp. 121-123. See also Robert R. Reed, *Colonial Manila; The Context of Hispanic Urbanism and the Process of Morphogenesis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 45-48, especially Map 8 on p. 46.

¹⁰These were the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception; the Jesuit churches of San Ignacio and Santa Ana; the Augustinian church of Sts. Peter and Paul; the Franciscan church of St. Francis; the Dominican Church of St. Dominic; the Recollect church of San Nicholas de Tolentino; and the church of the college of Santa Potentia.

¹¹*Jesuits*, pp. 549, 581.

¹²*Philippines: A Country Study*, pp. 26-27

occupying the city¹³

Printing began in the archipelago in 1593 with the production of a bilingual *Doctrina Christiana*.¹⁴ The first bishop in all of Asia, Domingo de Salazar, a Dominican, brought to Manila in 1581 his personal library, a number of liturgical and music books, some of which almost certainly contained polyphonic music. He also brought a pipe organ, flutes and *chirimiras* (a type of oboe) for use by the *capella* he founded immediately upon his arrival.¹⁵ Two years later, in 1583, a private library of an unidentified Spanish official was shipped from Acapulco and contained 55 volumes, including a copy of Juan Martinez's *Arte de canto llano*, the first known music theory book in the Archipelago.¹⁶

The Jesuits appear to have founded the first formal institution of higher learning in Manila in 1595. The Dominicans opened the College of Santo Tomás in 1611.¹⁷ Both colleges became Universities with curricula that probably contained courses on music theory, a standard requirement of the *quadrivium*, which mandated study in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music.¹⁸ The first doctoral degrees granted in Asia in certain subjects were conferred in Manila by both historic universities.¹⁹

Returning to the subject of rite, ritual and spectacle, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century descriptions of the decorations and furnishings of

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 41. History also tells us that the Americans, who had been demonstrably anti-Catholic from the time of the invasion, had no intention of restoring the remarkable colonial church structures of Intramuros, even though Cologne Cathedral rose miraculously back to life with the help of war reparations.

¹⁴A facsimile of *Doctrina Christiana*, Manila, 1593, with an introductory essay by Edwin Wolf (Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1947).

¹⁵See Robert William Harold Castleton, *The Life and Works of Domingo de Salazar, O. P. (1512-1594)* [hereafter, Salazar], unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, (London: University of London, 1974), pp. 288, 306.

¹⁶See Irving Leonard, *Books of the Brave* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 226-240, especially p. 234; also his "One Man's Library, Manila, 1583," *Hispanic Review*, vol. 15 (1947), pp. 84-100.

¹⁷*Jesuits*, pp. 135, 181.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 559-563. Though Father de la Costa does not spell out all of the elements of the curriculum, music theory would most certainly not have been left out of the arts curriculum.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 353. The first degree granted was conferred on Juan de Cevicós, a diocesan priest, in 1621. The first doctorate was conferred in 1626 in the College of Manila.

the major churches detail elaborately complex altars, monumental paintings, some produced by highly skilled Chinese painters, and reredos with niches filled with richly-adorned statues and reliquaries.²⁰ The palaces of the Governor (the *Audiencia*), and the Archbishop are described as grand and spacious, containing furniture made of the most costly indigenous and imported exotic woods.²¹ Private homes, too, were richly furnished, and the abundance of luxury fabrics used in interior decoration is regularly commented upon. These same textiles were often hung from the windows and balconies of the homes in Manila to adorn the routes taken by the many religious processions for the more than 28 mandatory city-wide feast days observed in the City.²² [See Table 1]

Spoken dramatic presentations, *Loas*, and poetry contests were sponsored on feasts very soon after the founding of the city.²³ In 1611, during the festivities marking the arrival in Manila of the Papal Bull announcing the beatification of Ignatius of Loyola, 250 entries were received for a city-wide poetry contest. Works in Latin, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Basque, Castilian, Mexican, Tagalog and Visayan were displayed on long paper scrolls hung in the churches in the city.²⁴ The remarkable cultural wealth of *all* of the citizens of Manila was no more graphically displayed than during these singularly important religious occasions, when Spanish culture celebrated the intrinsic unity of its way of life in Manila.²⁵

²⁰*Ibid.*, 109, and accounts A and B.

²¹Costa, *Jesuits*, pp. 404-405.

²² *Cabildo*, pp. 262-264.

²³See Francisco Colin, *Labor evangelica, ministerios apostolicos de los obreros de la Compania de Iesvs, fyndacion, y progressos de su provincia en las islas Filipinas. Historiados por el padre Francisco Colin Parte primera sacada de los manvscritos del padre Pedro Chirino, el primero de la compania que passo de los reynos de Espana a estas islas, por orden, y a costa de la catholica, y real Magestad ... Nueva ed. ilustrada con copia de notas y documentos para la critica de la historia general de la soberania de España en Filipinas por el p. Pablo Pastells, S.J.* (Barcelona: Henrich y Compania, 1900-1902), 3 vols., especially vol. II, 104ff. [hereafter Pastells]; Wenseslao Retana, *El teatro en Filipinas*, (Madrid: Liberia general de Victoriano Suárez, 1909); Retana, *Aparato Bibliografico* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1906), vol. 1, #216.

²⁴*Jesuits*, p. 365.

²⁵The very fact that poetry in both the 'academic' languages and living vernacular languages, including native languages from both the Philippines and Mexico, must

The most important and ubiquitous ingredient in all of the rites, rituals and spectacles was, of course, music. Its centrality was made possible by the existence of music books and manuscripts and by the formation of expert cappella in all of the major churches. For example, Bishop Salazar saw to the creation of a choir of men and boys immediately within the first year of his decade-long tenure.²⁶ The Mass and Offices were celebrated with “full dignity” by 1582 in his temporary Nipa palm and bamboo cathedral. In 1583 this structure and most of the rest in Manila burned to the ground. The pipe organ and a substantial portion of Salazar’s personal library perished.²⁷ A replacement wooden Cathedral was itself replaced in 1591 by the first stone edifice.²⁸

The Augustinian church, the first in the city, is described in early historical accounts as having the first choir and orchestra, though I have found no archival evidence in Manila relating to these ensembles.²⁹ The Franciscans, who arrived next in 1578, acquired property on the western side of the city that they occupied until it was completely destroyed by U. S. bombs in 1945. They, too, founded a choir of men and boys upon the building of their first church, and from early on were very active in the teaching of music to boys from many rural churches.³⁰ Again no archival evidence on music has surfaced in Manila for the early years of the Order’s church.

The Jesuits followed the Franciscans to Manila in 1581, arriving along with Bishop Salazar.³¹ They did not found a church within the city for a period of five years on account of their caution and of the uncertainty regarding the purpose of their mission to the Philippines.

be emphasized. Nothing could more powerfully indicate the diversity of Manila’s population than the scope of these poetic submissions, nor the powerful and inherent inclusiveness of major celebratory periods such as this.

²⁶Salazar, p. 68.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ruperto Santos, ed., *Manila Cathedral, Basilica of the Immaculate Conception* (Manila, Archdiocese of Manila, 1997), pp. 1ff.

²⁹The Franciscan Archives in Manila, located at San Pedro Bautista Church, have none of the documentary materials from the historic Spanish Province. Important Franciscan musicians are identified on Table 4.

³⁰Pablo Fernandez, O. P., *History of the Church in the Philippines (1521-1898)*, (Manila, 1979), p. 410ff.

³¹*Jesuits*, pp. 8-10.

Upon the completion of their first church, dedicated to Ignatius in 1586, the need for a formal music establishment was recognized. Their first permanent cappella (the first for which we have archival evidence), was created by the bequest to the Society of nine slave musicians by Captain Esteban Rodríguez de Figueroa in 1594.³² These professional musicians performed on the flute and *chirimira* and were competent singers.

Shortly after this ensemble took up residence in the Jesuit church, they were given the task of training a choir and orchestra of Tagalog-speaking parishioners. By 1596, this choir of Filipinos accompanied by the instrumentalists was granted permission to sing a Solemn Mass on all Sundays when a sermon was preached. This orchestra appears also to have assisted with certain devotions, especially those associated with the singing of the *Salve*, the Saturday Lady Mass, and the taking of the penance in Lent, where they performed a solemn *Miserere* (Psalm 50).³³

The first Dominican friars arrived in Manila in 1587, and the Augustinian Recollects followed them in 1606. The Dominicans immediately set about founding a convent and church within the city, while the Recollects located their first residence and church outside of the walls. No archival information has as yet been uncovered in Manila concerning either congregation's musical activities before the year 1611.³⁴

Accounts describing specific celebratory events in Manila provide extensive evidence about the use of music in the Cathedral and major churches, performed by what are described in all accounts as expert cappella. The first occurred in June, 1597, and involved the solemn festivities devoted to the permanent installation of a large collection of more than 100 holy relics that had been brought to Manila by the Jesuit, Alonso Sanchez, the year before. As the first published chronicler of Manila, Pedro Chirino, states, "...the holy relics were deposited there [in the recently dedicated church of St. Anne] with such rejoicing and festive show as had never been known before."³⁵ The nine days of cel-

³²*Pastells*, II, p. 41.

³³*Ibid.* Also, see Accounts A and B.

³⁴The Dominican and Recollect Archives have been transferred to Spain.

³⁵Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Roberston, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803* (Cleveland: A. H. Clark, 1903-1909), 55 volumes, especially vol. X, pp. 134-135. [Hereafter B&R].

ebriation appear to have required extensive use of music. Of this, Chirino says:

The relics were borne in procession through the principal streets of the city, which although handsome in and of themselves were decorated so elegantly that their very elegance expressed the devotion of the people.... Borne on six platforms, no less splendid than costly, since they carried nearly all the gold, precious stones, and jewelry of the city, which had been offered with much readiness and good will. [Chirino does not mention music in this procession, but clearly it had to have been there]. The Augustinian fathers began the festivities.... They conducted many kinds of music and dances, and besides these were many furnished by *our Indians*, and the Chinese and Japanese (emphasis mine).³⁶

The terms 'our Indians' refers to the recently formed Tagalog-speaking ensemble and to the ensemble of slaves. Chirino continues:

The Divine worship was also improved in the new church [of St. Anne] by the addition of some silver lamps, candlesticks, etc.... Besides all these things, there was the chapel of the singers, who with voices and music of flutes and clarions [sic, chirimiras?] serve in the masses, vespers and Salves, at least on the principal feast days.³⁷

He ends this way:

To show appreciation for their great devotion [the Tagalog-speaking parishioners], and to inspire them to more, a short discourse in their own language was delivered to them every afternoon, preceding the *Salve* sung by the choir, and accompanied by the music of the wind instruments.³⁸

Chirino's pride in both the pastoral and musical accomplishments of his confreres in Manila is clear. We also have a unique vision of the scope of the activities of the Jesuit cappella, with its admixture of native Filipinos and slave musicians.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸*Ibid.*

With some certainty it can also be assumed from this account that the performing choirs possessed a polyphonic repertoire that included music for the ordinary of the Mass, one or more settings of the *Miserere*, the "Salve regina" and/or *Dios te salve*, and perhaps notated music for instruments. I cannot help noting that the Augustinians obviously had an enviable cappella and that various musical contributions made by other non-Spanish residents in the festivities were noted with both *pride and admiration*.

Moving ahead fourteen years to 1611, the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the city, we find an extensive account written by the Jesuit Provincial Gregorio López detailing the elaborate festivities that took place in Manila upon the arrival of the news of the Beatification of Ignatius of Loyola.³⁹ [See Account A]. Summarizing only some of the points related to music in this letter, we see that the celebration began with the initiative of the Governor and of Archbishop Diego Vazquez de Mercado, who ordered the illumination of the Cathedral, the ringing of the bells and the playing of the loud wind instruments, *chirimiras*, *clarines* and the small bells *in alternatim* with the singing of *canzonetas*, *motetes* and *villancicos*.

In the Jesuit Church of St. Anne, the music continued with the organs, harps and other instruments. The Dominican choir and orchestra performed a polyphonic "*Te deum laudamus*" in their church. A gathered ensemble of seven groups of three *chirimira* players (21 in all) led the procession the next day, interrupted by the ringing of bells.

Many of the same people present on the first night returned to the Jesuit church and were greeted with beautiful music in the form of *villancicos*.⁴⁰ Multiple choirs of both native and Spanish populations performed together for Vespers in the Jesuit church, which featured the

³⁹*Pastells*, III, pp. 268-274. (Beatification took place earlier in Rome on December, 1609.)

⁴⁰*Villancico* is a diminutive term for peasant. The basic textual form of a *villancico* is a series of verses (*coplas*) linked by a refrain (*estribillo*), in the vernacular. In the second half of the sixteenth century sacred texts became common and the *villancico* often replaced the motet in liturgical rites throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The term later meant simply Christmas carol. See Isabel Pope and E. Thomas Stanford, "Villancio", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), vol. 19, pp. 767-770. [Hereafter NG]

Cathedral choir, as well as those from the Franciscan parish of Dilao, the Augustinian church in Pasig and the Jesuit ensembles. Imagine the beauty of the music performed by these massed ensembles! *Newly composed* works were presented by the cappella of the Augustinians, and polyphonic music was sung for Mass, Vespers, dramatic events and processions.

Choirs and orchestras are identified for the Augustinians, the mendicants, the Jesuits and most especially the College of San José, as well as the Cathedral. Cappellae from the parishes outside of Manila administered by the Franciscans and Augustinians are noted. A very special ensemble of 12 boys made two very important appearances both as dancer/actors and as musicians. Though this account does not directly identify the race or the sponsoring institution of these boys, they may have been from the College of San José.

If this reading is accurate, there was an astonishing wealth of art music performed, suggesting that each church had its own distinct repertoire and also that certain works were learned by multiple ensembles. Art music for public entertainment was also presented in honor of Ignatius and the Jesuits in the forms of *villancicos*, *canzonettes* and *motetes*.⁴¹ The same instrumental genres utilized in processions were more than likely performed as entertainment as well, though no instrumental music is specifically identified by genre.

Dances and dance music were ubiquitous, and a large number of non-Spanish dances by the Chinese, Japanese and Tagalog-speaking residents and the music accompanying them took place as regular elements in these programs, again noted with enthusiasm by this chronicler. We have to assume that there is the very strong possibility that some of these dances were presented by established ensembles from specific ethnic groups.⁴²

⁴¹*Canzonettes* and *motetes* refer to two of the common musical/poetic forms found in Spanish renaissance music. A *motet* is a musical composition with a biblical, patristic or liturgically-related text in Latin, for from two to eight voice parts. The term *canzonette* as used here suggests that this was a polyphonic composition too, but *canzona* in Italy was a term usually applied to instrumental works in the sixteenth century. Here *canzonette* probably refers to a polyphonic piece with religious poetry in the vernacular which does not employ the verse/refrain structure of the *villancico*. See *NG*, vol. 3, pp. 741-747, and vol. 12, pp. 617-646.

⁴²One suspects that there may be a strong possibility of learning specific information about these ceremonial dances, especially those found described in contem

The multiple accounts of outdoor *alternatim* performances between the bells in the towers and the *clarines, trompetas and chirimiras* suggest a very high level of planning and coordination on the part of the instrumentalists. What a truly remarkable spectacle all of this music must have provided for the *entire population* of the city. Six well-established choirs and instrumental ensembles within Manila emerge from this description, those associated with the Cathedral, the churches of the established orders and the College of San José, not to mention the ensembles from the neighboring parishes. [See Table 2]

Another Jesuit priest, Francisco de Lira, provides a detailed and unique account of the festivities surrounding the feast of the Immaculate Conception celebrated in Manila in 1620.⁴³ [See Account B] You will note from his letter that Fr. Lira had a particular fascination with drama, an artistic enterprise very widely cultivated by the Jesuits as an outgrowth of their particular academic '*ratio studiorum*'. As with so much other news, the permission granted by Pope Paul V for the public observance of this feast had been delayed for over a year in getting to Manila. Beginning on 8 December, 1620, the celebrations lasted for 19 days.

As one can observe, we are no longer dealing with a single orchestra of slaves and a Tagalog-speaking choir in the Jesuit residences, but now have significant music-making, dance, drama and public spectacle carried out by the members of the College of San José. The students have been formed into a remarkable ensemble all of their own. Not only was their procession magnificent, but their use of music is as elaborate as any that I have encountered in chronicles from the first century, clearly supporting Fr. Lira's claim to heretofore unseen brilliance, the likes of which one would expect to see perhaps only in Madrid itself. The collegians performed polyphonic music of many genres, including motets and ballads.

Cappellae in the Cathedral, the Franciscan Church and the Augustinians are still intact and are credited with significant but undescribed music-making at the solemn Masses celebrated in the mornings in the cathedral. Missing altogether from this series of

porary accounts from Japan and China. This is a potentially very important research frontier awaiting exploration.

⁴³ *B&R*, vol. XIX, pp. 61ff.

services were the Dominicans who, following St. Thomas Aquinas, openly opposed the theory and the theology of the Immaculate Conception.⁴⁴

The final Jesuit account to be discussed is that found in a printed description of the festivities held in Manila upon the arrival of the news of the canonization of a former Superior General, Francis Borgia, which had taken place in 1671 in Rome.⁴⁵ Printed in the order's own press in Manila in 1674, this unique publication was dedicated to the Governor Don Manuel de Leon y Sarbia and to his Sergeant Major Don Joseph Sanches del Castel. [See Account C].

For our purposes this description confirms the continuing existence and excellence of the principal cappella identified already: those in the Cathedral, the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian and Recollect churches. The musical repertory continues to involve the genres already identified. We see again that the Cathedral is the principal, but not exclusive, locus for the liturgical life of the city.

The ongoing importance of drama for the Jesuits, both in the number of productions and by the construction of a lavish, temporary theater for this round of feasts, is brilliantly detailed, not only by the inclusion of extensive descriptions of the dramatic works performed but also by the inclusion of extended sections from these dramas at the end of this volume. Whereas Fathers Lira and Lopez had apparently direct interest in and knowledge of music, Father Sanches del Castel makes no attempt to provide anything more than the most summary descriptions of its place in these undertakings. Despite this obvious disinterest in music, one can see that the public celebratory life of Manila continued to be elaborate and extensive.

If we are to do justice to our goal of providing an introduction to the musical life of this historic city, two other important musical organizations in Manila require mention, the *Capilla de triples* associated with

⁴⁴See the *Encyclopedial Britanica*, , Chicago, 1992, University of Chicago Press, vol. 6, p. 267

⁴⁵See *Encyclopedia Britanica*, vol. pp. See also *DESCRIPCION FESTIVA, Y VERDADERA RELACION DE LAS CELEBRES POMPAS, Y ESMERADOS ACIERTOS, CON QUE LA SAGRADA RELIGION DE LAS COMPAÑIA DE JESUS APLAUDIO GOZOSA EN ESTAS PHILIPINAS LA CANONIZAXCION DE SU GRAN PADRE SAN FRANCISCO DE BORJAS....*, En Manila en la emprenta de la Compania de Iesus por Santiago Dimatangoso año de 1674.

the Dominican *Colegio de Niños huerfanos de San Juan Letrán*, founded in 1640, and one of the most recent but also most important choral foundations, the *Colegio de niños triples*, erected in the Cathedral in 1737.

In 1640, Governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera undertook the construction of the first *Capilla Real* in Manila.⁴⁶ Also at this time, he approved the creation of a charitable boys school, the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán*, that had begun three years earlier as an orphanage for boys. Juan Alonso Jerónimo Guerrero, a soldier who had become a poor hermit in Manila, dedicated his wealth and property to this cause. The historical coincidence of the construction of the Royal Chapel and the founding of Letrán College under the Dominicans motivated the Governor, according to the historian of this College, Fr. Bazaco, to offer an annual subsidy of one hundred *pesos* to the *Colegio* in return for the assistance during all Sunday Masses, major feasts, and selected memorial services, of six acolytes, one sacristan and the *Capilla de Triples* from the college.⁴⁷ Bazaco claims that the choir from Letrán served the Royal Chapel until 1826, a span of 222 years. Needless to say, this claim must be carefully scrutinized and needs a great deal of additional substantiation.

A century later, in 1737, the title *Colegio de niños triples de la Santa Iglesia Catedral* was conferred by Archbishop Juan Angel Rodriguez upon the group of boys from the Cathedral School who served as the cathedral boy choir.⁴⁸ Even though a choir of men and boys had served the Cathedral from its beginnings, Archbishop Rodriguez had a special desire to create a canonically-erected and regally-recognized *Colegio* with a charter and explicit regulations. Sadly, Bishop Rodriguez did not live long enough to see his *Colegio* formally recognized, as he died in 1742 before the word of approbation could return from Spain. The bequest for the *Colegio* in his will provided the first endowment and operating capital. Rodriguez also created the posts of Master of Music and sub-Master of Music to govern the *Colegio*.

⁴⁶Evergisto Bazaco, *Historia documentada del real Colegio de San Juan de Letrán* (Manila: Universidad de Santo Tomás, 1933), pp. 9ff.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 68

⁴⁸See William Summers, "Music in Manila Cathedral, Some Historical Vignettes, in *Manila Cathedral: Basilica of the Immaculate Conception*, Ruperto Santos, ed. (Manila: Archdiocese of Manila, 1997), pp. 152-156.

Additional documents from the Archdiocesan Archive of Manila from around this time also enumerate the emergence of a number of new music officers in the Cathedral. [See Table 3 for a listing of cathedral music personnel] In addition to the Precentor, who was a member of the Chapter and ultimately in charge of music, we find the Master of Ceremonies, the first named Cathedral Organist, Simon Ambrosio, the Master and Sub-Master of the college, and an individual identified as the Master Bell Ringer, a position of some significance in the public life of the city, especially if you recall the importance of bell ringing on major feasts. While these new titles may possibly represent a re-naming of preexistent positions, they may also signal a desire on the part of the Archbishop and the Chapter to create a more elaborate and professional musical establishment.⁴⁹

Though there is a great deal more research to be done on the history of this *Colegio* and its continuing influence upon the practice of sacred music in Manila into the twentieth century, it must be observed that with the extensive bombing of the city by the American forces in 1945, virtually every structure within the historic walled city was destroyed. This final cataclysmic event marked not only the end of the *Colegio de niños tiples de la Sancta Iglesia*, but, it appears, also the complete destruction of its archives, music library and instrument collection. Their 209-year history was ended.⁵⁰

Behind all of the remarkable music-making in Manila described in the accounts presented above is a large number of individuals who directed these choirs and orchestras, dance and music ensembles. In addition to the list of Precentors and musicians for the Cathedral, Table 4 provides names of individuals from other institutions who are known to have made significant musical contributions to the life of the city. Some are composers, others singers, instrumentalists and instrument

⁴⁹It should also be pointed out that the second person named to the post of *Ministro y Superior de la Capilla y Musica* in 1657 was Don Baltazar Gat Dobali, a Tagalog-speaking resident of the city.

⁵⁰In the Archdiocesan archive file on the *Colegio* there is a brief narrative of the history of this institution which is unsigned but probably written by the last *Maestro*, Simeon Gutierrez y Mariveles. A choral program was not absent altogether from the Cathedral after the war. See the picture of the Cathedral Choir conducted by Fr. Juan Van de Steen in the *CCP Encyclopedia of Philippine Art* (Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1994), vol. 6, p. 99.

builders. The most important preliminary observation that one can make is the fact that highly-trained musicians came to Manila from the sixteenth century on. These individuals were also responsible for training the musicians who very early in the history of the city held major musical posts, seen most clearly in the case of Don Baltazar Gat Dobali, who was named the second *Ministro y Superior de la Capilla y Musica* of the Cathedral in 1657.

You will also note that the references to newly-composed music appear as early as 1600 and involve a very wide variety of works, including some extensive collections of masses, motets and *villancicos*. At least one individual on this list was well-versed in music theory, Father José de Virgen, O.F.M. He produced a treatise on Gregorian Chant in the Bichol language. Most frustrating for the scholar working at the end of the twentieth century are the descriptions of so much newly-composed music that cannot at this moment be relocated. What a remarkable contribution to the celebratory life of the city all of this music must have made!

Though virtually all of the music in Table 4 remains to be recovered, one collection of anonymous *canciones* and *villancicos* from the historic Santuario Church of San Juan del Monte has been recovered with the assistance of Fr. Eliado Neira, O. P. This collection provides a first unique and important witnesses to music-making in seventeenth-century Manila. The original manuscripts containing the music compositions are presently housed in the Dominican Archives in Avila, Spain. Fortunately, Fr. Neira brought copies with him to Manila and published a page from one of the music pieces in his history of San Juan del Monte.⁵¹ This group of 18 pieces is part of a remarkable longer document which also records the texts of a number of prayers that had been inscribed upon the inner walls of the Santuario Church. The document also provides an exact location for each text, providing perhaps a unique view of the prayer life this church.

As special adornment, perhaps for the feast of Santo Cristo, the famous image from this church, someone composed [and or notated] the musical pieces.⁵² They contain texts in Latin, Spanish and Tagalog. One

⁵¹ Eladio Neira, *Glimpses into the history of San Juan, MM : San Juan del Monte, Convento de la Santa Cruz, Santuario del Santo Cristo, Municipio de San Juan, San Juan, Metro Manila* (Manila: Life Today Publications, 1994).

⁵²*Ibid*, p. 33.

is taken from the Meditations of the first Franciscan Prioress of Manila, Sor Gerónima de la Asunción. If my information on Gerónima is correct, this excerpt may be the only known example from her written works to have survived into our time.⁵³

In music Examples 2, 3 and 4, you can see the opening stanza from the setting with Sor Gerónima's text, another with a text by Lope de Vega, and the last a sacred anonymous text in Tagalog. The existence of these many languages suggests that the audience was very likely multi-racial as well as profoundly interested in a worship life that was connected with the broadly international culture of the city of Manila.

The most rewarding feature evident from the recovery of this music is the unanticipated opportunity it provides us to view the multiple strands of literary, devotional and musical practices existing in Manila, interlacing seamlessly as public praise, presumably for the holy image of Santo Cristo. Spiritual writings, texts from the scriptures and Spanish and Tagalog devotional texts come to life, not only as words inscribed upon the walls of San Juan del Monte Church, but also as speech/prayer acts elevated to a new level of beauty through the medium of music. Though much more research needs to be undertaken to fully contextualize these settings, we can see already that music vivified and brought to life the worship of this important Santuario in a way no other art could. At this point there seems to be no indication of the composer's name, a circumstance that is, alas, just the opposite of that encountered earlier, where we know of numerous musical compositions by identified individuals but have not yet recovered their music.

Now that we have laid out all of this varied information about music in historic Manila, you are probably wondering where that leaves us as far as our hearing of historic Manila. The scattered and *ad hoc* condition of the the evidence painfully reveals that the gaps in our current knowledge do, in fact, greatly overshadow the recovered information. Nonetheless, if we permit our mind's eye to draw back just a bit from the surface of this data, much as a zoom lens permits us to step back

⁵³While consulting the case for her canonization housed in the Archive of the University of Santo Tomás [unpublished manuscript], I found that none of her writings is included. The case was prepared by Fr. Fidel Villaroel, O. P., Archivist, University of Santo Tomás.

from a visual field, we can begin to form a new view of the manifold auditory components of the celebratory life of historic Manila that was, if nothing else, highly elaborate, extensive, cultivated, multi-racial, and *bursting* with music. We can see also that many different types of music were central to the life of this historic city, a fact that persists to this very day.

It can also be contended that all of the people who participated in and observed the ceremonies of the installation of the Holy Relics in St. Anne Church, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1620 or those honoring the canonization of Francis Borgia, took as much pride in and were confirmed and ratified within their individual cultures and also within the greater, urban culture of the international city of Manila. There can be no question that these were multi-faceted defining moments of the highest order. They also were, quite frankly, the peak experiences of *lived life* in historic Manila, not abstractions, constructs, or after-the-fact accounts.

The whole, both musical and ceremonial, was always more than the sum of its constituent parts. Cooperation among diverse *capellae* produced results none could achieve alone. United ensembles of instrumentalists must have produced astonishing aural pageants. Also, what would each individual day of a major celebration be without a variety of musical idioms, dances and theatre? Competition for excellence fueled both the composition of new musical, poetic and theatrical works and the training of ever more expert musicians, poets and actors. Omnipresent also were musical contributions from *all parts of the community*, without which there would have been no celebration at all.

In short, Rite, Ritual and Spectacle in all of their manifestations were central to the city's culture and to the way the people of the city defined themselves. One wonders why these particular human accomplishments, and most especially the music, have not ever been included among the *first topics* of the students of Manila's past. Now, perhaps, as we prepare for our entry into the twenty-first century, we are ready to look again to the past with new eyes that will allow us to see and to *hear* a great, historic, international city immersed in the peak experiences of its life, mindful that these seminal moments were singular undertakings when all of the arts, music, dance, and drama, converged to produce momentous experiences that elevated not only the moment itself but also all of those participating in it to new levels of human re-

alization. To try to understand historic Manila without hearing its music is akin to having a black and white television playing with only half of the screen visible and the sound turned down.

Put quite simply, even given the gaping lacunae that exist in our present knowledge of Manila's musical past, we now know far too much ever to turn our intellects away from the task of trying to understand all of the people from the past in their unique, often splendid setting and time. We will certainly demand nothing less from future historians who will seek to understand us and our own multifaceted culture of the very late twentieth century? By listening for the rich musical past of Manila, we forge a bond with the past that enriches our lives. We also begin to accord to all the people present then an additional degree of humanity just like our own. ↪

Table 1:
Required Feasts in Manila.

From Luis Merino, *The Cabildo Secular, or Municipal Government of Manila: Social Component, Organization, Economics*, (Iloilo: Research Center of the University of San Agustin, 1980), vol. II, pp. 262-264. Though his original list includes special days for the monarchy which changed through time, the days listed here are those that gained fixed status in Manila.

- 17 January, St. Anthony Abad, Patron of Manila against fires;
- 26 January, St. Policarpo, Patron of Manila against earthquakes;
- 2 February, Feast of the Purification of Mary;
- 5 February, Feast of the Franciscan Martyrs of Japan;
- [on Ash Wednesday and the five Sundays of Lent the City attends the Cathedral; on Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday and Good Friday, the City attends the Cathedral]
- 6 April, Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist;
- 19 May, Feast of St. Potentia, patron of the city against typhoons;
- [celebration of Corpus Christi with its octave, the City attends the Cathedral]
- 29 June, Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul;
- 25 July, Feast of Santiago;
- 4 August, Feast of Dominic de Guzmán;
- 12 August, Feast of St. Clare;
- 14 August, Feast of the Ascension of Our Lady;
- 28 August, Feast of St. Agustín, Patron Saint against locusts;
- 30 August, Feast of St. Rose of Lima, Patron Saint of the Indies;
- 10 September, Feast of St. Nicolás de Tolentino, Patron of Manila for the protection of ships;
- 2 October, Feast of the Santos Angeles de la Guarda;
- 4 October, Feast of St. Francis, Patron Saint of Manila;
- 29 November, Commemoration of the Most Holy Eucharist;
- 30 November, Feast of St. Andrés, Patron Saint of Manila;
- 4 December Feast of Las Lágrimas de San Francisco;
- 8 December, Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Universal Patron of Spain and the Indies.

18 December, Feast of the Expectación de Nuestra Señora;
27 December, St. John the Evangelist, Patron Saint of Manila against
lightening.

*Table 2:
Choral/Orchestral Capilla in Manila, 1571-1737:
A Preliminary Listing.*

DATE	INSTITUTIONS		
1571	Augustinians/?		
1578	Franciscans/?		
1581	Cathedral		
1595	Jesuits, Ensemble of slaves		
1596	Tagalog Choir Jesuit Church		
1597	Augustinians	Jesuits 2 choirs?	Dominicans
	Franciscans	Cathedral	
1611	Jesuits, 2 choirs Dominicans	Augustinians/ [Pasig Parish] Recollects	Franciscans [Dilao Parish] Cathedral
1620	Cathedral Augustinians	Franciscans	Jesuits
1640	San Juan Letrán in the Capilla Real		
1674	Cathedral Franciscans	Jesuits Dominicans	Augustinians Recollects
1737	Colegio de Niños Tiples de Sancta Iglesia Catedral		

Table 3

*A Preliminary Listing of the Chantre of Manila Cathedral,
and of other Cathedral Musicians and Officers
Involved with the Cermonial Life. **

- 1581, Don Francisco de Morales, Chantre; [*Historia de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Filipinas* (Manila, 1877), p. 75 (hereafter *Historia*).]
- 1583, Don Santiago de Castro, Chantre, [Castleton, pp. 228; Pastells, vol. 1, p. 195, vol. 2, p. 255. [LG/ 2/19/(16)19, {no. 94}, in LG/8/26/(16)25, {no. 174}, identified as Archdeacon; LG/2/1/(16)28, {no. 245}, Castro is still identified as Chantre. Two individuals with the family name Castro are identified as Chantre by Pastells. The *Libro de Gobierno* does not survive for these years, so a final determination cannot be made at this point.]
- b . 1621, Don Juan de Aguilar, [see entry below.]
- 1621, Don Miguel Garcetas, Chantre [LG/8/9/(16)21, {no. 38}, offering the post of Chantre at the death of Don Juan de Aguilar; LG/9/9/(16)22, {no. 101}, [Pastels, vol. III, 151).]
- 1629, Don Gregorio Ruiz de Escalona, Chantre who became the eighth Dean of the Chapter, [Historia, p. 184, 227-28; at age 49 he became Chantre.]
- 1636, Andrés Maldaleno, Racionero, cantor, Sochantre, Capellania de coro, [Historia, p. 188]
- 1636, Archdeacon Francis de Aguilar, gran talento en los ministerios oficios y funciones de ceremonias eclesiaticas, [Historia, p. 216]
- 1649, Don Juan Fernandez de Ledo, Chantre(?) [B&R, XXXVI, p. 23; (born in México, and a graduate of University of Santo Tomás, Historia, 185).]
- b . 1657, Luis de la Cruz, Ministro Superior de la Capilla y Musica, [identification of postion noted in entry below.]
- 1657, Don Baltazar Gat Dobali, Ministro y Superior de la Capilla y Musica, [LG/5/30/'57; {no. 120}, replacing Luis de La Cruz who is very ill. Dobali was a native and cacique of the municipality of Cainta, district of Morong.]

- b . 1659, Don Juan Fernandez de Sedo, [see entry below.]
 1659, Don Br. Amaro Diaz, Chantre, [LG/8/23/(16)59, {no. 236}, dated 15 March, 1565, replacing Dr. Fernandez de Sedo, deceased.]
 1659, Br. Joseph Cabral, Chantre, [LG/8/6/(16)59, {no. 249}.]
 1661, Don Joseph Baamonde, Sochantre, [LG/8/5/(16)61, {no. 344}, replaced Ldo. Luis de la Cruz, deceased.]
 b . 1662, Don Joseph Cabral, Chantre, see entry below.
 1662, Don Ldo. Francisco de Leon, Chantre, replacing Don Joseph Cabral, who was promoted to Dean, [LG/8/21/(16)62, {no. 409}.]
 1670, Don Alonzo Benavidez Bazan, Chantre, [*Anales*, I, 20 July, 1670, f. 236.]
 1671, Br. Don Nicolas Cordero, [*Anales*, II, f. 3^v, August 17, 1672.]

- 1723, Don Luis Rico, Chantre, [LG/7/11/(17)23, {f. 3,(c)}].
 1723, Br. Don Francisco Colindreo de Zarabia, Chantre, [see below].
 1723, Don Inosencio Haytona, Chantre, former holder of Capellania de coro, [LG/11/9/(17)23, {f.38}, examination to fill vacant post of Chantre, at the resignation of Br. Francisco Colindreo de Zarabia. First place went to Inosencio Haytona.]
 1724, Mro. Simon Ambrosio, Organist, [LG/2/3/(17)24, {f. 49}, a petition from Mro. Simon Ambrosio, organist, requesting that he be allowed to assist in 'funciones' as do the 'Maestro de Capilla (not named) y los cantores' (not named) where they receive some emoluments. Same date and entry, a Decree requiring the 'Maestro de Capilla y los demas cantores' to pay for the (profits) that they may receive when assisting in las 'funciones'.]
 1737, Mro. Isidoro de Arevalo, Chantre and Juez Provisor de testamentos, capellanias y obras pias, [LG/6/18/(17)37, {no. 49}.
 1737-1741, Don Isidoro de Arevalo, Chantre y vicario coral (became Bishop of Nueva Caseres), LG/9/13/(17)41, {no. 457}.]
 1738, Mro. Isidoro Arevalo, Chantre, [LG/6/12/(17)38, {no. 215}, later at LG/5/5/(17)39, {no. 298}, remains Chantre.]
 b . 1737, Don Pascual de Resurrección, Maestro de Música, [see entry below.]
 1737, Don Nicolas Patricio, Ministro de música, [LG/7/24/(17)37, {no. 57}, replacing Don Pascual de Ruserección, deceased.]

- 1737, Pablo Mariano, segundo ministro de música, [LG/7/24/(17)37, {no. 58}.]
- 1738, Don Esteban Gamero y Rueda, Maestro de Música, entry indicates that he was First 'Maestro de la Capilla de Musica', [LG/9/9/(17)38, {no. 230}.]
- 1738, Salvador Santiago, Campanero Mayor, [LG/9/11/(17)38, {no. 232}.]
- 1738, Mro. Isidoro Arebalo, Chantre, [LG/6/12/(17)38, {no. 215}, later at LG/5/5/(17)39, {no. 298}, remains Chantre; Bishop elect of Nueva Cáceras, [LG/12/13/(17)41, {no. 475}.]
- 1738, Br. Inocencio de Leytona, Master of Ceremonies and Rites of Manila Cathedral, [LG/6/28/(17)38, {no. 220}.]
- 1740, Faustino Magsaysay, Organist, Manila Cathedral, [LG/12/15/(17)40, {no. 406}.]
- 1741, Martin Joseph de Endayo y Rayo, Chantre.
- 1748, Br. Inocencio Letona, Master of Ceremonies and Rites, [LG/31/10/(17)48, {no. 296}.]
- b. 1750, Mr. Miguel de Espeleta, Chantre, [LG/??/(17), {no. 498}]
- b . 1751 Esteban Gamero Rueda, Maestro de Música, Teacher, see entry below.
- 1751 Pablo Mariano, Maestro de Música, [LG/12/23/(17)51, {no. 180}, relacing Esteban Rueda, deceased.]
- 1751, Juan Dolores, Segundo Maestro de Música, [LG/12/23/(17)51, {no. 181}, promoted to Segundo Maestro de Música upon the promotion of Mariano.]
- b . 1753, Dr. Juan Sanchez Barbardo de Quiros, Chantre, [LG/4/22/(17)53, {no. 170}, promoted to Archdeacon.]
- 1753, Dr. Vinzente Ibarra, Chantre, [LG/6/11/(17)53, {nos. 174-176}, promoted from Maestrescuela.]
- 1755, Ldo. Esteban Roxas y Melo, Canonigo Magistral, and administrator of the Obras Pias del Colegio de los Niños Tiples. [LG/11/26(15)55, {no. 247}.]
- 1755, Dr. Francisco Ibarra, Chantre, and administrator of the Obras Pias de Ntra. Sra. de Guia y del Gen. F. Carriendo, [LG,11/28/(17)55, {no. 248}; LG/10/29/(17)55, {no.349}, elevated to the Deanship of the Chapter.]
- 1755, Dr. Miguel Cortez de Arrebanda, appointed Chantre, [LG/9/3/(17)55, {no. 353}.]

1796, Br. Don Antonio Maldonado, Sochantre, [LG, 5/1/(17)96, {f. 255v}].

- nd., Gabriel de la Cruz, Chantre, [Historia, p. 77]
- nd., Tomás Barceros de Cardenas, Maestro de ceremonias, [Historia, p. 77]
- nd., Don Amaro Diaz de Acuña, Chantre interim, [Historia, p. 228]
- nd., Don José Cabral, Chantre, interim, [Historia, p. 229]
- nd., Don Juan Velez, Chantre, [Historia, p. 183]

- [1796(?), Francisco Dias Durana, Chantre, (Regalado Trota Jose, *Impreso*, Manila, 1993, p. 258. (hearafter Jose)]
- [1798(?), Don Juan Sanches Bravo, Maestro de Ceremonias, (Jose, p. 261.)]

- 1876, Capellanes de coro, Agaton Estrella, Pedro Dandan, Daniel Adriano, Sochantre, Juaquin Colpe, Luis Ignacio, Chantre, Telesforo Trinidad, [Historia, p. 236]
- [*1755, Dr. Miguel Cortes de Arredando y Oriosolo, Juez Provisor y Vicario General as depository of redemciones. The total amount of capital belonging to chaplaincies and Pious works of Dr. Juan de la Fuente Yepes, elected Bishop of Nueva Segovia, was in the amount of ₱:10,032.00.]

*The names given here appear in the *Libro de Gobierno* of the Manila Archdiocese unless otherwise noted in the Table itself. See Ruperto Santos, STL, ed., *Archdiocesan Archives of Manila: A Catalog of Archival Documents, Testaments and Holdings*, 1994, Intramuros, Manila, Catholic Archdiocese of Manila, pp. 167-168. The *Libro de gobierno* treating the years before 1800 is housed in Boxes 1. C. 7*; 1. C. 8*; 1. C. 9*; 1. D. 10. Fr. Santos also edited, *Annales Ecclesiasticos de Philipinas, 1574-1682*, Manila, 1994, 2 vols., Roman Catholic Archbishop of Manila.

The summary inventory of the contents of the *Libro de gobierno* made by Sr. Maria Rita Ferraris is followed here unless otherwise indicated. Each entry includes LG [*Libro de gobierno*] the date of the entry, and one of two indications used by Sr. Ferraris to further identify locations within a run of documents, a) the folio number(s) {f. 00}, or the item number of a particular entry using the designation {no.}. This entry, LG/1/1/(16)23, {f. 5}, equals *Libro de gobierno*, January 1, 1623, folio 5. LG/1/1/(16)23, {no. 6}, equals *Libro de gobierno*, January 1, 1623, number 6.

It is very likely that Francisco Moreno consulted these documents while preparing to write his *Historia de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Filipinas*, (Manila: Imp. de "El Oriente") before 1877. A number of individuals identified by him do not appear in the *Libro de gobierno* suggesting that the surviving documents are not complete and/or that he consulted other sources for his history. The Archdiocesan archival holdings have been moved a number of times and there are significant gaps in various categories of documents including the *Libro de gobierno*.

For a brief historical sketch of the archives see Sister Maria Rita Ferraris, *Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila*, Manila, 1981, Archives of the Archdiocese, pp. 1-4, and Ruperto Santos, *Archdiocesan Archives...*, pp. 25-39.

Key to the signs:

b = before

•nd = no date

*=reference information

Table 4:

Non-Cathedral Musicians of Note in Historic Manila: A Preliminary Inventory.

Augustinians:

- Fr. Frem.[?] Agustinum Miño[?], 1584, vicar of the choir.□
- Fr. Bartolmeo de Aguirre, 1593, vicar of the choir.□
- Fr. Agustinum de Tapia, 1596, vicar of the choir.□
- Fr. Pedro Loier, Lector de Artes, 1602.□
- Fr. Marcelo de San Agustin, O. S. A., a composer and organist of note who wrote many choir books. Vicar of San Felipe el Real in Madrid. Had been a singer in the cathedrals of Toledo and México. Played the organ, harp, violin and flute. Composed piece for organ and three books of glorias, credos and Christmas Carols(?) *Tres tomos en Folio de Glorias, Credos y Villancicos (Historia de la Povincia Agustiniana, (hereafter Agustiniana), Tomo III, p. 13)*

- Fr. Lorenzo Casteló, O. S. A. (+1743) [cantor and organist of the convent of San Felipe Real, Madrid]. Taught music to more than a thousand Tagalogs and Ilocanos in Manila. In Cebu in 1722 he taught numerous singers.* *Natural de Valencisa, compuso P. Misas clásicas, 2 tomos. 2º. Vísperas y procesiones, 2 tomos. 3º. Villancicos con otras varias composiciones, 2 tomos, in Agustiniiana, Tomo III, p. 13*
- Fr. Juan Jadraque, O. S. A. (arrived in 1718, +1743) with Nicolas Medina, O. S. A., wrote *Arte de canto llano y de canto de organo*. [nd] He also revised and enlarged the church choir books and composed many religious works, such as masses, Christmas carols(villancios?) and various airs. Among his most notable works were six books—two volumes each of classical masses, various visperas and processions.
- Fr. Ignacio de Jesus, O. S. A. (arrived in 1737) penned most of the choir books in Manila.
- Fr. José Calleja, O. S. A., (arrived in 1759) could play any musical instrument masterfully.
- Fr. Juan Andrade, O. S. A., was choir vicar and a celebrated singer of San Agustin Church.
- Fr. Nicholas Servenit, O. S. A., was an organist who taught many pupils in Manila.
- Fr. Juan Alfaro, O. S. A., was a young organist in Manila. S erved for 20 years‡
- Frs. Juan Jadraque and Nicolas Medina, O. S. A., wrote *Arte de canto llano y de canto de organo*. [nd]

Dominicans:

Tiples de Santo Domingo founded in 1587 [no source].£

- Fr. Pedro Bolarios, O. P., founded the *Escuela de Tiples* [no date or place].£

Franciscans:

- Fr. Pedro Bautista, O. F. M. (arrived in Manila in 1583§) the first to teach western music to the Tagalogs.*
- Fr. Jerónimo de Aguilar, O. F. M. (arrived in Manila in 1582§, +1591) first to teach western music [*flutes, chirimiras y violinescanto llano y canto de organo*§] in the Caramines.*