

Introduction

The center of the city of Cuzco, the Plaza de Armas, lies at the bottom of a shallow valley, with streets fanning out in three directions toward the surrounding hills. During my research in Cuzco's archives I lived in a house perched high on the hillside that leads down to the colonial center and up to the Inka citadel of Sacsayhuaman. As I looked out of my window beside the Cuesta San Cristóbal, the city spread out before me like a relief map, with the cathedral and churches of La Compañía, San Francisco, La Merced, Santa Ana, and Belén overshadowing the two-story buildings around them. It is not just the physical dominance of the church that continues to this day. Living in one of the former *parroquias de indios*, or Indian parishes, I became intimately acquainted with the city's "soundscape" alongside its townscape, and I soon learned that many of the sounds of the colonial city can still be heard in modern-day ceremonies. Confraternities process through the parishes to the sound of trumpets, drums, and fireworks, just as they did three or four centuries ago. Shawms and sackbuts have been replaced by clarinets and saxophones, but the city still echoes with music on saints' days and public holidays. In Cuzco, barely a week goes by without a parish fiesta or funeral procession, each with Andean musicians playing a leading role.

In the city center, the sounds of Cuzco are more diverse. Traditional Andean instruments feature in tourist restaurants and in civic parades in the main square, and there is even an Andean band that plays by the luggage carousel in the airport, ensuring that many visitors' first experience of the city is a musical one. But by night, in the bars and clubs where middle-class Cuzqueños mix with younger foreigners, the music takes listeners to different places. Peruvian DJs spin tunes—rock, salsa, trance, drum 'n' bass—that blend their cosmopolitan aspirations with those of the local dancing public. Foreigners, especially those on longer trips away, may think nostalgically of home.

Such musical imaginings are not new to Cuzco: they have been a feature

of the city for nearly half a millennium, since its conquest by the Spaniards in 1533. Cuzco, a prime “contact zone” (Pratt 1992) between the Andes and Europe, has long seen musical interactions, exchanges, and appropriations. European music lay at the heart of the process of colonization and was widely perceived as the most successful evangelical tool employed by Spanish missionaries in the sixteenth century, but it was also incorporated into native responses to colonialism. Mission music gave way to the formation of a music profession that provided a route for Andeans, in particular members of the indigenous elite, to stake a claim to a key cultural, religious, and educational role in colonial society. The instrumentalists processing through the parish streets today are the descendants of the Andean musicians who ensured the spread of Spanish music throughout the diocese of Cuzco from the mid-sixteenth century onward.

For the early colonizers, the maintenance of European musical traditions provided an affective link to the Old World and a means of domesticating their new environment. Andean music, on the other hand, took on significance for the local *criollo* population—those of Spanish descent born in the New World—as a marker of distinction between colonizers and colonized, but it was also harnessed to the construction of local difference from Spain and even from Lima. Musical interactions both sharpened and blurred the boundaries between ethnic groups, feeding into impulses toward integration as well as differentiation. Music, then as now, was central to the ways in which Peruvians and others thought about Cuzco, themselves, and each other, and about their place within the city and the wider world.

The attention of colonial music historians was first drawn to Cuzco in 1953, when Rubén Vargas Ugarte published his article “Un archivo de música colonial en la ciudad del Cuzco.” While brief, this article signaled the presence of a major archive of colonial music—one of the most significant on the continent—in the Seminary of San Antonio Abad. Vargas Ugarte’s findings inspired two of the most eminent scholars of South American music, Samuel Claro and Robert Stevenson, to travel to Cuzco and follow up on his work. Their landmark publications (Claro 1969a; Stevenson 1980a) brought Cuzco’s great musical treasure to the notice of the wider academic community. Claro’s article included the first catalogue of the seminary holdings, an essential research tool, though he limited his analysis to a handful of dramatic works dating from the years 1743–50. Stevenson, meanwhile, traced the highlights of cathedral music until 1630, revealing this institution to have been a significant musical center in colonial Peru. The diocese of

Cuzco was created in 1536, just three years after the Spanish conquest of the city, and within a decade musical foundations had been laid in the principal church. After 1630, however, information is scarce due to the loss of some volumes of the cathedral chapter acts, and therefore few details emerge about the second or third centuries of colonial rule.

Immensely valuable as these early studies were, they were explicitly limited in scope, and significant lacunae in the city's music history remained. There were clearly temporal gaps: neither author addressed the final quarter of the colonial era (1750–1824), while the mid-colonial period from 1630 to 1740, although nominally covered by Stevenson, is passed over in just three paragraphs due to the lack of surviving cathedral records. Yet there was good reason to believe that musical culture blossomed during this “middle period.” Cuzco was the center of a major school of art that flourished from the second half of the seventeenth century (Mesa and Gisbert 1982). The tenure of Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo (1673–99) is widely considered to be a high point in the city's cultural history, and the bishop himself is unfailingly referred to as a patron of the arts (Villanueva Urteaga 1989; Viñuales 2004). Since this cultural apogee coincided with a period about which musicologists had been virtually silent, I was drawn to investigate the history of music during Cuzco's artistic heyday, as well as during its late colonial decline.

The omissions from these studies proved, however, more than simply temporal. Apart from fleeting references to convents, they focused exclusively on Cuzco Cathedral and the closely aligned Seminary of San Antonio Abad, leaving the rest of the city in almost total silence. In recent years, scholars of European music have begun to pay more attention to institutions and associations that were once marginal to mainstream musicology, such as monasteries, convents, hospitals, parish churches, schools, and confraternities, highlighting the importance of their roles in urban musical culture. This more inclusive perspective on the city seemed to hold out great possibilities for the study of music in Cuzco, where significant numbers of such institutions had been founded. As my research developed and previously neglected archival sources came to light, it became clear that virtually all the churches in the city and the surrounding villages played their part in the musical life of the region, and that confraternities based in even the smallest churches added immensely to this richly textured sound world. By focusing exclusively on the cathedral and seminary—centers of Hispanic ecclesiastical power—musicologists had painted an uneven picture of the musical life of the city and had barely touched on musical activities across

the diocese. This picture did not tally with my own experiences of music and ceremony in Cuzco's parishes, which further encouraged me to believe that previous assumptions about centers and peripheries needed to be questioned. The centrality of the cathedral was both taken for granted and reinforced by colonial Hispanic elites, as it was the heart of Catholic colonialism in the diocese, and at the end of the seventeenth century almost one third of the Hispanic population of the entire diocese lived within a twenty-minute walk of this church (Garrett 2005, 66). Its preeminent role was not equally relevant to all the inhabitants of the city, however, much less of the diocese as a whole, the vast majority of whose lives centered on other institutions.

There is a need, then, for a broadening of social as well as spatial perspective and for a consideration of the musical experiences of a wider cross-section of Cuzco society. Looking at the musicological literature on Cuzco, one question became particularly pressing, the same question posed by Valerie Fraser (1990, 156) with respect to studies of colonial architecture: "Where are the Indians?" Cuzco's fame has for the past millennium rested largely on the achievements of its indigenous inhabitants. It was the capital of the Inka empire, the greatest ever seen in South America, and in spite of Spanish colonial rule it remained, essentially, a native Andean city. According to statistics collected in 1689, 93 percent of the population of the diocese was Andean, 6.5 percent white or mestizo, and the remaining 0.5 percent African. In the city, the percentage of Spaniards was higher, but there were still three indigenous inhabitants for every white or mestizo (Gibbs 1979, 79). A Spanish visitor in 1737 noted that "most of the inhabitants are Indians; although there are many Spanish families, they become lost in the majority of the former" (Lanuza y Sotelo 1998, 121).¹

With such a numerical dominance, the Andean population, its traditions, and its history played crucial roles in the formation of colonial culture and society, for all its subordination to Spanish power. In the early years of the colony, Cuzco was granted the right to refer to itself as "the head of the kingdoms of Peru" (Dean 1999, 24): although Lima was the official viceregal capital, Cuzco stood symbolically at the head of the viceroyalty due to its glorious indigenous past. The Spanish colonists maintained and utilized the indigenous social structure in order to exercise power over the local population, more so in Cuzco than almost anywhere else in the Americas. Cuzco's churches and palaces were built on visible Inka foundations, suggesting that the colonizers' aim was not the total eradication of all traces of Andean civilization. Rather, it implies that this civilization was a necessary

physical, social, and symbolic foundation on which the Spaniards might build the edifice of colonial culture.

It has long been established that indigenous artists played a central role in the development of the Cuzco School of visual art (Mesa and Gisbert 1982; Dean 1990; Damian 1995). Stevenson notes that Andeans were trained as instrumentalists in the cathedral in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and he lists the names of a few seventeenth-century indigenous organ builders: overall, however, native musicians could hardly have occupied a more peripheral place in the musicological literature on Cuzco, which is devoted to the Hispanic musicians who filled the principal posts in the cathedral and seminary musical hierarchy. The Andean musicians so prominent in the city today are almost entirely invisible in historical studies, along with the institutions that patronized them and the parish streets and plazas in which they performed. A major thrust of my research was to discover whether Andeans had genuinely been marginalized in the musical life of the city or whether they had simply been silenced by omission from scholarly accounts.

In Cuzco, as elsewhere, the spatial and the social were inextricably linked: the indigenous majority of the urban population was sidelined to the geographical periphery. In the following pages, therefore, I attempt to decenter Cuzco's music history, expanding the focus from the Hispanic center—the cathedral-seminary axis—to include the geographical and social margins. The Spanish conquest of Cuzco entailed seizing control of the ceremonial center of the Inka empire and creating a Hispanic city in its place. As a result, the power bases of Andean society shifted to sites on the urban periphery: to the Andean parishes that formed a ring around the colonial center, as well as to rural areas of the diocese. If the Hispanic population thought of urban space in terms of a center of authority surrounded by concentric circles of diminishing status, Andean perspectives from the margins were undoubtedly quite different. An exclusive focus on central institutions has a distorting effect on our understanding of musical life in a society in which the indigenous elite, native musicians, and Andean cultural activity were concentrated in the peripheral parishes. Cuzco's musical life was in fact unusually decentralized, and there is therefore a particularly urgent need to problematize the widely accepted hierarchy of institutions in colonial society. Unlike their European counterparts, most colonial cities did not grow organically, but were constructed or reconstructed in order to reproduce a particular vision of social hierarchy in their urban layout. *Central* is thus an ideologically loaded

concept in relation to colonial space, one inextricably linked to the reality of marginalization.

As will become apparent in the following pages, a broader perspective on the city reveals not only that indigenous musicians played a central role in Cuzco's music profession but also that the top posts in many churches were occupied by Andeans of high social standing who were important actors in the shaping of colonial society. Rather than being simply bit-part players in cathedral musical culture, as they have generally been portrayed in studies of colonial urban music, many native musicians were figures of considerable social and cultural significance, something that can only be grasped by encompassing the supposedly peripheral arenas in which they lived and worked. Indigenous church musicians outside the orbit of the cathedral were a distinct and distinguished social group, the study of which makes an important contribution to understandings of the mediatory roles of Andean elites in colonial society and their participation in the creation of Andean Catholicism and colonial culture, issues which have been at the forefront of recent historical studies (e.g., Decoster 2002).

The de-centering that I undertake in this study seeks to uncover the richness of urban musical life, a richness in large part due to the colonized Andean majority. One of my principal aims is thus to shed light on hitherto neglected indigenous musical practices. However, this is not a "decolonized" musicology: it is not the story of the subaltern masses, nor a tale of the survival of indigenous musical traditions in the face of Spanish domination. Such binarism is ill suited to the analysis of a society in which the power of the colonizers depended to a considerable degree on the cooperation of the elite ranks of the colonized, and in which the performance of colonial culture relied on indigenous participation. Many of the indigenous musicians who feature in these pages come from the ranks of intermediary figures who raised themselves, by dint of birth or occupation, above the mass of their fellow Andeans and used "European" music to profit, or at least to minimize their disadvantage, from the organization of colonial society. It is not, then, simply a case of "cheerleading for the subaltern side" (Krimms 2002, 194).

Urban Musicology

Urban musicology as a discipline has attracted increasing interest in recent years. Reinhard Strohm's *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (1985) is widely regarded as a pioneering work within the field, while the collection of essays

Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns (Kisby 2001) provides both an excellent overview of urban approaches to musicology and an agenda for future research. Despite its focus on European urban centers, the latter volume offers many perspectives that are relevant to the New World: the examination of music in urban spaces, the reevaluation of the importance of parishes and confraternities in urban musical life, the “moonlighting” of musicians in other activities, even the use of notarial records to fill in gaps in the urban sound world. Yet these issues take on a distinctive slant in a colonial context. Civic ceremonies involving music constituted key moments in the production and reproduction of colonial power relations; parishes were not just where ordinary people lived but centers of native society, home to the indigenous majority whose experiences have been largely overlooked in studies of mid-to-late colonial musical life. Hispanic cathedral musicians, as members of a colonial elite, sometimes moonlighted to such an extent that they gave up their musical careers altogether, perceiving greater possibilities elsewhere, while many native musicians simultaneously fulfilled important social, religious, and educational roles in their communities. Notarial records, a valuable resource in any context, are in Cuzco the prime means of uncovering the existence of the indigenous music profession—one which was in fact central to urban musical culture. Urban methodologies thus have huge potential for challenging accepted views of the colonial music profession and of the place of music in the cities of the New World.

Such a focus on the urban social and cultural environment has been the exception rather than the rule in Iberian musical scholarship, though Miguel Ángel Marín’s (2002) study of music in eighteenth-century Jaca, Spain, and the volume *Música y cultura urbana en la edad moderna* (Bombi, Carreras, and Marín 2005) have marked recent and significant advances in the field. Urban musicology has yet to make an impact on studies of colonial Latin American music, however, which have tended to center on key institutions (usually cathedrals) and their music archives (e.g., Sas 1971; Perdomo Escobar 1976; Stevenson 1980a, 1980b, 1980c) or, alternatively, on the larger scale of the region or viceroyalty as a whole (e.g., Stevenson 1960, 1976; Estenssoro 1990). Bernardo Illari (2001) provides important insights into urban musical culture in his magisterial study of colonial La Plata, yet the urban context features as a background viewed primarily through the lens of the cathedral, its music archive, and its documentary records. Egberto Bermúdez’s (2001) brief essay, “Urban Musical Life in the European Colonies: Examples from Spanish America, 1530–1650,” is a valuable sketch that

hints at the possibilities of urban methodologies in the study of colonial music in Colombia and, by extension, other parts of the Americas. With regard to the Viceroyalty of Peru, only Juan Carlos Estenssoro's *Música y sociedad coloniales: Lima, 1680–1830* (1989) can be said to approach music from an urban perspective. The orientation suggested by the title is, however, undermined by the author's explicit decision to take the cathedral and its archive of scores as the focal point of his study. Furthermore, as a result of a dependence on printed sources, smaller institutions are given only the briefest of mentions, and the study is slanted toward the late colonial period, when newspapers emerged as useful primary sources. An examination of urban musical culture in colonial Latin America based on local documentary resources is therefore long overdue.

A key aim of urban musicology might usefully be seen as that of revealing interactions, exchanges, and conflicts on both institutional and individual levels in order to reconnect establishments and musical employees to their environments (e.g., Ruiz Jiménez 1997; Burgess and Wathey 2000). Such an approach encourages us to view institutions not as isolated islands but as part of urban networks and to ask questions about the place of musicians in urban society. Many musicians spent much of their time occupied in other fields, and urban musicologists have sought to make connections between their musical and nonmusical activities. The intention, then, is to move away from an excessive focus on a single church, on a handful of important musicians, or on a collection of music from an elite institution and toward a broader description of urban life and music making (e.g., Glixon 2003).

The need for such a widening of perspective with regard to Cuzco is illustrated by José Quezada Macchiavello's study of the seminary music archive, *El legado musical del Cusco barroco* (2004). While extremely valuable with respect to the preservation and description of the seminary's musical treasure trove, this study reveals the limitations of notated musical works as sources of information on urban musical culture. On the one hand, some useful information about the connections between the seminary and other urban institutions can be gleaned from the dedication of a number of pieces to the patron saints of the city's religious orders (see chapter 3). Given that the seminary's musicians were active outside its own walls, its archive sheds some light on the musical life of the surrounding urban environment, as well as on its own internal activities. Limited conclusions may also be drawn from marginalia in the music parts, though the texts and music tend to be less revealing. On the other hand, while Quezada Macchiavello updates and expands on earlier studies by Vargas Ugarte (1953) and Claro (1969a), he

reveals little more about Cuzco's wider musical life than his predecessors, constrained as he is by the inherent limitations of his sources. As with the earlier studies, Andean musicians and most of the urban institutions that sponsored them play virtually no part in this account. The author clearly cannot be held responsible for the lack of evidence of indigenous music making in the seminary archive; indeed, his efforts to include the native population lead him to make the unsubstantiated and improbable claim that many indigenous musicians were educated in the seminary (his evidence relates in fact to the cathedral and dates from two decades before the seminary's foundation). More problematically, his desire for inclusiveness leads him to characterize the seminary repertoire as the legacy of a "mestizo musical culture," despite the fact that, as he is forced to admit, there is no evidence of such a hybrid culture in the written music, or indeed elsewhere (Quezada Macchiavello 2004, 83–86, 98).²

The texts in the vernacular that accompany many musical works in the seminary archive, like those from the cathedral of La Plata (Illari 2001, 442), are generally lacking in local specificity, many either borrowed from Iberian sources or closely modeled on them. In the entire Cuzco repertoire—some four hundred works—there are no textual or musical references to the Andean population. These texts do not simply represent a bland presence, much less a "mestizo culture," but rather mask an absence. The erasure of colonial reality in the musical repertoire is an act of violence, writing the colonial Others out of the script. While recognizing this type of (mis)representation as an integral part of the exercise of colonial power, we must also look beyond this music archive to gain a fuller picture of the place of music in Cuzco society. If there is any kind of *mestizo barroco* to be recovered in Cuzco, it is one of indigenous musical practices and performances that have left traces in historical documents, rather than one to be seen in the surviving musical works of the Hispanic elite, in which it is a *criollo*, rather than *mestizo*, identity that can occasionally be discerned. My contention throughout this study is that by focusing on musical practices rather than on musical works, we are better able to demonstrate the central role of music in colonial society, and thereby to combat any temptation to relegate cultural activities to the margins of historical inquiry. Tim Carter's contention that "the (f)act of performance can signify more than what is actually performed, and the musician may have greater value than the music" (2002, 14) is amply borne out in Cuzco.

If the seminary archive reveals only a few tantalizing clues about musical life beyond the confines of the cathedral-seminary axis, something that does

emerge from studying these scores, however, is a sense of the impressive capacities of Cuzco's seminary musicians: the archive contains a *Dixit Dominus* (LCS 251) and a *Laudate Dominum* (LCS 287), both for seven choirs, while contemporary witnesses described ensembles of fifty musicians.³ Sumptuous music was not limited to the seminary and cathedral but was also heard in monasteries, convents, and parish churches. Yet if we are to seek the roots of this musical splendor—more reminiscent of *La Serenissima* at the time of the *Gabrielis* than of most colonial Latin American cities—then we must look beyond narrow institutional explanations and investigate the musical economy of Cuzco as a whole. In order to understand how Cuzco Cathedral, whose successive bishops and chapters complained endlessly of their institution's poverty, was able to put on displays unrivaled in the Americas and how parish and monastic churches were able to aspire to cathedral-like ostentation, we must examine the distinctive forms of musical employment and institutional interaction that emerged in Cuzco's unique urban context. By exploring the city's musical culture as a whole, we may come to glimpse the mutual influences between the urban environment and the music that was produced within it.

While my focus is predominantly urban musical culture, due to the nature of the available records, I recognize that privileging the city over the countryside may constitute a further example of the valorization of centrality and risks perpetuating a colonial socio-spatial hierarchy based on polarized notions of urban civilization and rural barbarity (Rama 1996, 12). Furthermore, without examining the contours of rural music making, the definition of "urban musical culture" will remain unclear. The relationship between cities and their surrounding regions is arguably a facet of urban historical studies that has made insufficient impact on musicology. My investigation therefore seeks a balance between urban and rural perspectives by encompassing musical activities throughout the diocese of Cuzco, while concentrating on the influence of Cuzco's urban context on musical development and on the role of music in shaping urban experiences.

Although the emphasis of musicological research has been on major Hispanic urban institutions, Spanish-indigenous musical interactions in rural areas have also been the subject of investigation, but the focus has been on the early colonial period and the first encounters between missionaries and native populations (e.g., Stevenson 1976; Estenssoro 1990, 1992a; Turrent 1993). Relatively little attention has been paid to the later history of indigenous musicians under colonial rule, to the further development of musical organization after the missionary years, or to the place of native

musicians in urban societies. A focus on the mid- to late colonial periods encourages an exploration of the ways in which European-derived music became fully assimilated into native communities, both urban and rural, which often became musically self-sufficient and even resisted control from Hispanic authorities as the colonial period drew to a close. During the seventeenth century, in particular, music was actively pursued as a source of social and professional opportunities, rather than being simply accepted in response to missionary efforts. In line with a number of recent historical studies (e.g., Lockhart 1992), I suggest that the aspects of colonial society and culture which flourished in the Spanish colonies were generally those which displayed continuities with the precolonial era and that the incorporation of European music is a sign that it was not, therefore, simply imposed on a passive Andean region, but that it offered particularly useful opportunities and attractions to individual Andeans.

For the musicians who appear in the following pages, music might be a career, an occupation, a source of income, a form of social climbing (Spalding 1970), but also a duty, an offering, a form of worship, a source of joy or satisfaction. Music permeated the city and was grounded in the lives of its inhabitants, yet it did not lose its capacity to transcend the ordinary. As Ruth Finnegan (1989, 339) observes, “musical enactment is at once a symbol of something *outside* and above the usual routines of ordinary life and at the same time a continuing thread of habitual action running in and through the lives of its many local practitioners.” Both these threads are woven into the following pages, in which music is explored as a profession and a part of everyday urban experience, but also as a vital component of beliefs, aspirations, and social identities.

If European music offered distinctive attractions to the Andean population, native music, conversely, had its uses to the Spanish colonizers and their criollo descendants, and it was actively incorporated into important civic displays in order to dramatize the colonial social hierarchy. Music and musicians were bound up with the collective rituals through which colonial society produced and reproduced itself, and underpinned attempts by elites to bolster their status and by subordinates to open up spaces of opportunity. The impression of harmony that emerges from the seminary repertoire erases the discords that were an inescapable part of the colonial urban reality, and this elision of colonial tensions is largely perpetuated in musical studies, in which Cuzco appears as a variation on a Hispanic theme, little different from a provincial Spanish city. The “colonial-ness” of the setting—the racial inequality, coercion, accommodation, and negotia-

tion—is virtually invisible not only in musical texts but also in musicological commentaries. As racial and social stratification are generally considered to be two of the most characteristic issues of colonial Latin American history (Hoberman and Socolow 1986), studies that neglect these issues, treating the “colonial” in colonial music as little more than a temporal marker, will surely fail to grasp the role of music in the production of Latin American society and the elements that most distinguished the musical culture of the New World from that of the Old.

A Note About Archives and Sources

The distinctive view of colonial musical culture presented in the following pages is inextricably linked to the kinds of archival sources that I used. Whereas earlier studies concentrated on the holdings of the cathedral and seminary, I focused my attention on the Archivo Arzobispal del Cuzco (AAC), an archive devoted to historical documentation from the Cuzco diocese, and the Archivo Departamental del Cuzco (ADC) at the University of San Antonio Abad, an archive whose colonial-period resources comprise mainly legal and notarial records.⁴ The Archivo Arzobispal contains a series of account books from various Andean parishes of the city and the surrounding provinces that formed the bishopric of Cuzco. These *libros de fábrica*, as they are known, were supplemented by many *libros de cofradía*, or account books of confraternities based in the parish churches. Further research was carried out in Lima, at the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (BNP), the Archivo Arzobispal (AAL), the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), and in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville (AGI).

The resources of the AAC enabled me to focus my attention on institutions—parish churches and confraternities—that occupied a position so peripheral in the musicological literature of Spanish America that they had barely even registered. Notarial records, meanwhile, are a vast but virtually untapped source of information for musicological endeavor in the region. They illuminate the social and professional worlds of urban musicians in ways that other archival sources rarely do (Peters 1997). Musicians were often recorded in their nonmusical activities: buying or selling land or houses, engaging in financial transactions, writing their wills. Contracts also appeared in some numbers, providing further information about peripheral institutions such as rural parish churches, convents, and monasteries. Most importantly, the professional musicians who appeared in the

notarial records were overwhelmingly Andeans, never previously documented in the city.⁵

If the Archivo Departamental frustrated me in any way, it was in its failure to reveal more than a handful of Spanish musicians. This was, I suspect, largely due to the issue of the perception and self-perception of Spanish musicians, who were almost always ordained or trainee priests and were normally described as such in documents, rather than as musicians. Marín (2002, 34) describes a similar situation with respect to cathedral musicians in Jaca. As many notarial records document musicians in their nonprofessional capacities, they can only be identified as such if their occupation is spelled out after their names. While this was usually the case with indigenous musicians, for whom music often constituted their primary professional activity, their clerical Spanish counterparts seem to have carried only their ecclesiastical tag, such as *clérigo presbítero*, with the exception of those who reached the posts of organist or choirmaster at the cathedral. As I had no access to alternative sources of information to help identify cathedral musicians—the cathedral archives had been closed to researchers for many years at the time of writing—in most cases they probably passed through my fingers without my knowledge. There is undoubtedly much more information on cathedral singers waiting to be unearthed in this archive if only new archival sources on cathedral music could be located.

Contracts to provide musical services are among the most prized gems in the notarial records, but they are limited in number. It is clear, however, that not every agreement between an institution and a musician or ensemble led to a notarized contract. Contracts formalized a particular kind of bond between an institution and a musician or ensemble, a bond that was primarily economic, but other types of bonds, in which religious or social duty played a primary role, were commonplace in the Andes. Financial and legal records clearly emphasize economic ties, and other kinds of relationship therefore have to be approached in a more elliptical manner. Account books, too, raise as many questions as they answer. The *libros de fábrica* and *libros de cofradía* reveal only a small part of the musical activities that went on in their respective institutions since they record payments from only one of several possible sources, and, like the notarial documents, they prioritize economic exchanges. In a society in which cash was in short supply, such exchanges were often of minor importance, and traditional Andean systems of reciprocity, payment in kind, or exchange of services predominated in many contexts.

The parish and confraternity account books held in the AAC date almost exclusively from the mid-seventeenth century onward. While notarial records survive from almost the whole colonial period, the majority of those of musicological interest date from 1620 to 1720, a century generally regarded as the most dynamic period of cultural production in the city's colonial history (e.g., Viñuales 2004). Since I was determined to focus my efforts on the holdings of local archives, I do not consider all parts of the colonial period in equal measure, but devote greater attention to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and to the musical organization and manifestations of a mature colonial society.

The sheer range of documentary sources employed opens up a broad vision of colonial Andean musical culture, outlined in chapter 1. This overview of the city soundscape is enriched by the observations of Diego de Esquivel y Navia, the dean of Cuzco Cathedral, whose *Noticias cronológicas de la gran ciudad del Cuzco* ([1749] 1980) is an invaluable source of information on the first two centuries of colonial rule. Ceremonies and processions appear to have occupied an important place in the mind of this mid-eighteenth-century churchman, providing cultural historians with a wealth of information about civic ritual.

In chapter 2 I explore some of the ways in which the functioning of the cathedral music establishment veered away from standard Hispanic models in the seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries. As all of my information was drawn from records held outside the cathedral, the picture that emerges differs from that of many Latin American studies, revealing distinctive developments in musical organization and illuminating the lives of some important cathedral musicians, most of whom were previously unknown to musicologists. I seek to answer some of the questions raised by Stevenson's original article: how, for example, did the cathedral musical organization develop after 1630? The first century of cathedral music making was dominated by the Sevillian model and by peninsular musicians who came to the Americas in search of professional opportunities. Did Cuzco Cathedral remain on the extended circuit of musical positions available to peninsular Spaniards, or did criollos begin to establish themselves in the musical hierarchy? The importance of the Seminary of San Antonio Abad had become clear from earlier research, but what was the exact nature of the musical relationship between this institution, the cathedral, and the multitude of other churches in the city? In the final part of this chapter, I shift my focus from the institution to an investigation of the lives of several senior

musicians in an attempt to understand their place in Cuzqueño society and the changes that occurred in the Hispanic music profession during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The remaining chapters explore music in institutions that have not previously been investigated by musicologists working on Cuzco, such as convents and monasteries (chapter 3) and urban parish churches (chapter 4). As these establishments have attracted little attention across the continent as a whole, fundamental questions needed to be addressed. To what extent was music performed in these churches? How was the music organized, and who were the musicians—Spanish or Andean, professional or amateur? In many cases it is impossible to know whether the patterns that emerge were typical or atypical in the New World, given the paucity of research that has been undertaken on such institutions in other areas, but a comparison with the Iberian Peninsula gives a sense of the degree to which Old World models were adapted in this new environment.

Chapter 5 moves away from the urban environment into the Andean villages of the bishopric of Cuzco. The diocese was divided into fourteen provinces, each of which was subdivided into ecclesiastical administrative units known as *doctrinas de indios*, which were extensive rural Andean parishes. No investigation of music in these provinces had previously been undertaken, so it was necessary to establish the contours of rural musical organization and activities. By comparing music in urban and rural areas, a sense of their relationship emerges, one in which the cultural superiority of the city cannot be taken for granted. I pay attention throughout to the musical activities of confraternities, lay religious associations that sponsored music in rural villages, urban parish and monastic churches, and the cathedral. A focus on these lay societies greatly enriches our picture of the integration of European-derived music into the lives of the population of the diocese.

