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SACRED MUSIC IN COLONIAL ERA HISPANIOLA: THE
EVANGELIZATION OF THE TAINO PEOPLE

by

Tito José Gutiérrez

A master's thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, The City University of New
York

2021

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SACRED MUSIC IN COLONIAL ERA HISPANIOLA: THE
EVANGELIZATION OF THE TAINO PEOPLE: A Case Study

by

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in
satisfaction of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Introduction

The period deemed by some as the “Age of Exploration” (15th-17th centuries), saw the expansion of different European empires throughout various regions of the world. As a result of this expansion, European culture, government, language and religion were forced onto various native populations, which existed in places reached by these explorers. Following Christopher Columbus’s initial westward expedition, the Catholic Church, in collaboration with the Spanish Crown, began sending missionary groups from the large Catholic orders of Europe, such as the Jesuits, Dominicans, Jeronymites and Fransiscans to name a few, to the Americas. These missionaries were given the task of spreading Christianity and establishing religious infrastructure throughout the newly colonized territories of the Spanish empire in an effort to fully enforce the installation of Spanish culture in these lands. Spreading the Catholic faith throughout the Americas meant converting its native peoples from their indigenous religions towards the teachings of Jesus Christ. In other colonies of the Spanish crown, along with crucifixes, prayer books, and the Holy Bible, the missionaries’ arsenal for converting natives also included choir books. Music had been an important part of Christian ritual dating back for centuries, and the missionaries who came to the Americas, who understood the importance of music to worship, used musical instruction as part of their conversion strategies. Although much research has been conducted on the use of music in the religious conversion efforts all over the Spanish empire in places such as South America, Mexico, Florida, the Southwest U.S., Brazil and the Philippines; little is known about religious conversion, particularly the use of music as a religious conversion tool, in Spain’s first American colony, the island of Hispaniola. In this thesis I argue that the priests and laymen of the aforementioned religious missionary orders brought music with them to the New World, and attempted to use music to assist the conversion

of Hispaniola's Indigenous people who inhabited the island prior to the arrival of Europeans, the Taino. Because of the unfortunate fate of the Taino people, who did not survive the arrival of the Spanish on Hispaniola and were nearly extinct within about 100 years of Columbus' initial arrival, evidence of the missionaries' efforts solely on the Taino people is scant. Information on the conversion of the Taino people to Christianity is also scant in the realm of scholarly research, and evidence supporting my thesis on the use of music in the Taino's conversion is as of now still to be discovered. Therefore, this thesis will also take into consideration the religious conversion of the Indigenous cultures of the Spanish ruled territories surrounding the island of Hispaniola, in particular that of the Aztec, Inca, and native cultures of the southwestern U.S. and Florida. This thesis will show that the original missionaries who arrived in the Americas implemented techniques of musical evangelization which had been gradually developed for centuries by the church and religious orders in Europe. In doing so they combined the musical traditions and rituals of the Meso-American societies and combined them with European sacred musical and liturgical instruction in order to effectively and smoothly convert the island's population. I assert that understanding how music was used to indoctrinate the Indigenous peoples of these other Indigenous American cultures will reveal clues which may illuminate how the same practices occurred on the island of Hispaniola. The nations that comprise the modern day island of Hispaniola are the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Being that today these nations are majority Christian, and that Dominican people still speak Spanish, it is evident that the staying power of the Spanish Crown and the Cross outlasted the Taino people and culture. I argue that even though the Taino people did not survive the first hundred years of the Spanish colonization of the island, they were nonetheless introduced to sacred European music as a form of evangelization by the missionaries who were active in 15th-16th century Hispaniola. I

hypothesize that the main reason for the lack of evidence on the topic of musical evangelization in colonial Hispaniola, is that the attempted conversion of the Taino people was a disastrous failure. Their sudden extinction, resulting from numerous events which will be discussed in this thesis, did not allow for their total conversion to the Catholic Church, despite the evidence of the missionary orders present on the island.

Chapter 1: Conquest

In fourteen hundred and ninety-two, Columbus sailed the ocean blue, or at least that is what I was taught as a child in grade school. Although Christopher Columbus's reputation has recently been taken in to serious question, one of the things about him that is agreed upon to this day is the fact that he did indeed sail from the shores of Palos de Frontera, Spain on August 3rd, 1492 and eventually after four months at sea, he landed on a fairly large island on December 5th, 1492.¹ This island, which was referred to by its own people as both *Ayiti* (Haiti) and/or *Kiskeya* (Quisqueya), was named *La Española* (Hispaniola) by Columbus. Today, the island of Hispaniola is shared by two countries, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. The modern day demographic of this island developed as a result of the intermingling of cultures which began just over five centuries ago when Columbus along with one carrack and two caravels worth of Spanish colonists and military men arrived on Hispaniola's shores, bringing with them the domination of the Spanish empire and the supposed salvation of the Catholic religion. The arrival of the Spaniards to the island of Hispaniola would mark a significant change in the history of the native peoples of the Americas. 1492-1606 constituted the era of early Spanish rule in Hispaniola, a significant era in the history of the west, which saw the inoculation of Spanish culture in the Americas and the emergence of industry, towns, cities, and ecclesiastical and political infrastructure.² The possibly unforeseen result of this forced intrusion by the Spanish

¹ John Dyson, Peter Christopher, and Luís Miguel Coin Cuenca, *Columbus: for Gold, God, and Glory* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1991), 102.

² Frank Moya Pons, *The Dominican Republic: A National History* (New York: Penguin Press, 2016), 29.

was the eventual destruction of a Native people and their culture.³ Notwithstanding the disastrous outcome of the failed experiment that was the first hundred years of the Hispanicization of Hispaniola, Spanish culture and the Cross endured.

When Columbus and his men first arrived on the northern coast of Hispaniola, they were immediately confronted by the native Taino peoples.⁴ The Dominican priest Fray Bartolomé de las Casas (1484-1566) wrote about the immense numbers of the Taino population in his famous *relación*:

This large island was perhaps the most densely populated place in the world....And all the land so far discovered is a beehive of people; it is as though God had crowded into these lands the great majority of mankind.⁵

According to Kathleen Deagan, "Population estimates for the Arawaks on Hispaniola have varied from eight million (Cook and Borah 1971), to three million (Las Casas 1971, vol.2:ch. 18), and to a hundred thousand (Rosenblatt 1954). The highest figure would have reflected a population density of 104.6 people per square kilometer; the lowest, a density of 1.3 persons per square kilometer."⁶ Frank Moya Pon's book *The Dominican Republic: A National History*, puts

³ Pons, *The Dominican*, 37.

⁴ Pons, *The Dominican*, 30.

⁵ Bartolomé de las Casas, "*Brevissima Relacion de la Destrucción de las Indias* (1552) F. 27. Translation By Gutierrez. "*Hay otras muy grandes e infinitas islas alrededor, por todas las partes della, que todas estaban y las vimos las más pobladas y llenas de naturales gentes, indios dellas, que puede ser tierra poblada en el mundo. La tierra firme, que está de esta isla por lo más cercano docientas y cincuenta leguas, pocas más, tiene de costa de mar más de diez mil leguas descubiertas y cada día se descubren más, todas llenas como una colmena de gentes en lo que hasta el año de cuarenta y uno se ha descubierto, que parece que puso Dios en aquellas tierras todo el golpe o la mayor cantidad de todo el linaje humano.*"

⁶ Kathleen Deagan, "The Archaeology of the Spanish Contact Period in the Caribbean," *Journal of World Prehistory* 2, no. 2 (1988): 283. Accessed December 15, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25800541>,

the population of Natives on Hispaniola at the time of Columbus's arrival to be around 400,000.⁷ Whatever the exact population of the island was at the time of Spanish arrival, it is agreed that the people on the island were plentiful, and for the Spanish Crown and Catholic church that meant subjugation and conversion.

The Crown and the Church's Religious "Duty"

In his first letter to Spain, Columbus described the fertile landscape of Hispaniola: "Hispaniola is a marvel: the hills and the mountains, the countryside and lands so beautiful for planting and sowing, for raising livestock of all kinds, for building villas and homes..."⁸ According to Rosa Elena Carrasquillo, Columbus resembles the fertility of the land of Hispaniola with that of the timid nature of its inhabitants, which leaves no doubt of the security with which the expansion of Catholicism could be realized on the island.⁹ In a letter from the Spanish Crown, *Instrucción de los Reyes Católicos al Almirante* (Instruction from the Catholic Kings to the Admiral), Columbus is ordered to draw the natives to the Catholic religion and get them to pay tribute.¹⁰ The Crown's intentions are made even clearer in a Royal Provision dated 1503 to Nicolàs de Ovando (1460-1511), governor of Hispaniola; "The Crown cannot be more crystalline and one-dimensional, the Indians must work for the Spaniards and convert to Catholic

⁷ Pons, *The Dominican*, 34.

⁸ Bernard Quaritch, *The Spanish Letter of Columbus: A Facsimile of the Original* (London, 1893), 2. Translation by Gutierrez. "La Española es maravilla: las sierras ya las montañas y las vegas, i las campiñas, y las tierras tan ferrosas para plantar y sembrar, para criar ganados de todas suertes, para edificios de villas e lugares..."

⁹ Rosa Elena Carrasquillo, "La Creación Del Primer Paisaje Colonial Español En Las Américas, Santo Domingo, 1492-1548," *Antípoda*, no. 36 (July 2019): 66. doi:10.7440/antipoda36.2019.04.

¹⁰ Carrasquillo, "La Creación," 68.

faith.”¹¹ The physical and spiritual conquest of the Indians would soon begin to materialize as Columbus began to wage wars throughout the center of Hispaniola in an attempt to submit the Indians as tenants of the Catholic monarchs.¹²

Columbus began developing settlements in Hispaniola as early as 1492, when he erected the fort of *La Navidad* (Christmas) in modern day Haiti out of the remains of one of his wrecked caravels.¹³ On Columbus’s second journey to Hispaniola (1494), he discovered that the fort of *La Navidad* had been destroyed and that the 39 men he left behind had been killed by Taino rebels, possibly under the command the *Cacique* of *Maguàna*¹⁴, Caonabò, in retaliation for transgressions committed by the Spanish against the Taino wives.¹⁵ Columbus abandoned the fort, and subsequently founded a commercial outpost near modern day Puerto Plata, which he named *La Isabella* (1493) in honor of the Queen of Spain.¹⁶ Despite *La Isabella* later being deserted due to complications linked to disease and starvation, the development of European religious and temporal infrastructures had begun. In 1493, Columbus’ brother Bartolomé, in search of gold mines, had migrated to the south of Hispaniola and founded the city of Santo Domingo there.¹⁷ This new city, the first European city in all of the Americas, was developed in the Spanish urban grid pattern, with a city square which besides being the city center, also served

¹¹ “Provisión real al gobernador Nicolás de Ovando” [1503] 2013, 209-10; “Provisión real a los capitanes” [1503] 2013, 214-216 (69). ed. Carrasquillo, “La Creación,” 68. Translation by Gutierrez. *La Corona no puede ser más cristalina y unidimensional: los indios tienen que trabajar para los españoles y convertirse a la fe católica.*

¹² Pons, *The Dominican*, 31.

¹³ Pons, *The Dominican*, 19.

¹⁴ Modern day San Juan de Maguàna, Dominican Republic.

¹⁵ Pons, *The Dominican*, 20.

¹⁶ Pons, *The Dominican*, 30.

¹⁷ Pons, *The Dominican*, 31.

as a theatre and school where Spaniards, Natives, and Africans were taught obedience to the law, and elements of Spanish Culture.¹⁸ With the increasing development of Spanish cities in Hispaniola, the reach of the church could also extend to other territories on the island. In 1504 the Crown ordered the construction of towns and cities near Indian settlements to “make better use of their services and convert them more easily to the Catholic faith.”¹⁹ Their orders are elaborated in a letter to the Governor of Hispaniola, Nicolas de Ovando: “and that in every town of those who join, there should be a church and a chaplain who is in charge of doctrine and teaching our Catholic faith.”²⁰ The Crown and Church had made it clear that the founding of religious centers all throughout Hispaniola was integral to the Hispanicization and Christianization of the whole island. With the arrival of European culture and religion, sacred/secular Spanish music was also brought to the Americas via Hispaniola.

Religion and Music

As Kristin Dutcher Mann has asserted in her work, prior to the colonization of the Americas there was a long history of coexistence between music and religion in Europe, and through their interdependence a landscape was formed, which eventually cultivated the development of religious evangelization through music. Music and the Christian religion have been inextricably linked for centuries.²¹

¹⁸ Carrasquillo, “La Creaciòn,” 71.

¹⁹ Carrasquillo, “La Creaciòn,” 72.

²⁰ “Carta al Gobernador de la Española, 1503,” ed. Carrasquillo, “La Creaciòn,” 72. Translation by Gutierrez. *Y que en cada pueblo de los que se fisiesen aya yglesia e capellan que tenga cargo de los dotrinar e enseñar en nuestra fe católica.*

²¹ Kristin Dutcher Mann, *The Power of Song : Music and Dance in the Mission Communities of Northern New Spain, 1590-1810* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2010), 43.

The Bible itself contains a multitude of songs and sung poems created for use in the worship of God.²² These songs were also used to secure victory in battle, to supplicate God's power to assist in healing, and to evoke righteousness in everyday life. In the Old Testament of the Bible, the book of Psalms, known in Hebrew scripture as the *Ketuvim*, contains poetry meant to be sung to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument.²³ In *Ephesians 5:19*, the apostle Paul writes to the Ephesians: "sing the words and tunes of the psalms and hymns when you are together, and go on singing and chanting to the Lord in your heart."²⁴ Paul's letter demonstrates that even in the earliest days of the church, music was an encouraging force that held the Christian community together.

Prior to the appearance of Christianity in the Americas, the churches of Europe were already harnessing the power of music and using it to spread their teachings and attract new followers.²⁵ The Roman Catholic liturgy, of which music had consistently been an integral part, had only seen minute changes from as early as the 13th century until the second Vatican Council in the 20th century.²⁶ The liturgy was one of the most important rituals in the Catholic church, and was the embodiment of Catholicism for both members and neophytes. As was the case with the religions encountered by Europeans upon arriving in the Americas, music played an integral part in the rituals of the Catholic church. Music was an essential component of the mass, and therein "the congregation and choir were drawn into worship by singing responses and

²² Mann, *The Power*, 43.

²³ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopedia, "Psalms," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, May 15, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Psalms>.

²⁴ Ephesians, 5:19.

²⁵ Mann, *The Power*, 49.

²⁶ Mann, *The Power*, 45.

psalmody.”²⁷ The purpose of using music, especially during the most integrative and participatory parts of the mass, was to involve all of the people present in the esoteric ritual of the body of Christ.²⁸ The chants used during most important segments of the mass, such as the sacrament of Holy Communion, were supposed to heighten the senses and demonstrate the importance of these rituals to the congregation. The music used for Sundays and feast days was usually more elaborate than chant and often involved accompaniment by instruments and the adding of harmonies.²⁹ By the late Renaissance era, new techniques for the purpose of adding “simple part music,” such as the use of *falsobordone* (harmonizing psalm tones), were becoming more prevalent in church services.³⁰ The sung mass, also known as the High mass, was reserved for performance by the trained choirs of cathedrals, monasteries, convents, and royal chapels; and involved the use of polyphonic music, which was directed by the *Maestro de Capilla* (chapel master) who prepared the singers and instrumentalists for the performances. In the Catholic church, music was also used in private worship and meditation, such as the Divine Office and canonical hours which were performed by the Regular Clergy.³¹ Other larger services, such as Matins, Lauds, Vespers, and the Compline were regularly accompanied by music, and entire communities would congregate and participate in the chanting of services for major church holidays such as Christmas or Easter.³² This same style of liturgy was probably used in the

²⁷ Mann, *The Power*, 45.

²⁸ Mann, *The Power*, 45.

²⁹ Mann, *The Power*, 45.

³⁰ Mann, *The Power*, 46.

³¹ Mann, *The Power*, 46.

³² Mann, *The Power*, 46.

earliest New World settlements such as Hispaniola as well as the other territories reached by Catholic religious orders.

Although music in the Protestant churches of Europe differed in complexity from that of the Catholic churches, musical practice was a language that communicated doctrinal emphasis of Catholics and Protestants alike. Many of Martin Luther's criticisms of the church, which were partly the catalyst that fueled the Protestant Reformation, were complaints concerning the Catholic church's use of music.³³ Prior to the Reformation in Europe, the priest usually chanted the Mass, and was accompanied by choirs and the participation of the congregation, and Martin Luther believed that the music employed in the Catholic liturgy was boundless and difficult.³⁴ He also did not agree with the exclusive use of Latin in Catholic services, a language he considered to be elite and not understood by the greater population.³⁵ Instead, Luther encouraged the writing and use of hymns in the vernacular to take the place of the sung mass, which would become one of the hallmarks of the Protestant movement. Using vernacular language in church music had the effect of attracting larger audiences, and in response to the Protestant criticisms, the Catholic church began to allow the use of spiritual songs in the vernacular, except for in the performance of the mass, where Latin would still be the supreme language.³⁶ These spiritual songs became a tool for evangelization used by Franciscans and Jesuits, who would take this tool with them on their missions to the New World territories, where such spiritual songs would eventually be

³³ Mann, *The Power*, 49.

³⁴ Mann, *The Power*, 50.

³⁵ Mann, *The Power*, 50.

³⁶ Mann, *The Power*, 50.

written and sung in languages such as Nahuatl³⁷ and Quechua³⁸ and used to teach Christianity to the peoples of Mexico and South America.³⁹ In an attempt to reach a larger audience and expand its spiritual and civic power, the Catholic Church was eager to assimilate official church processes with popular religious practice. This new attitude towards embracing the popular led to the integration of genres such as the Spanish *villancico* to the Catholic church's sacred repertoire.⁴⁰ The growing popularity of Protestantism prompted the Catholic Counter-Reformation which was embodied in the Council of Trent (1545-1563).⁴¹ Liturgical music was briefly discussed at the end of the 22nd session of the council, and involved debates by church officials concerning the mixing of secular tunes, voices, and instruments in sacred rites of worship.⁴²

They shall also banish from churches all those kinds of music, in which, whether by the organ, or in the singing, there is mixed up anything lascivious or impure; as also all secular actions; vain and therefore profane conversations, all walking about, noise, and clamour, that so the house of God may be seen to be, and may be called, truly a house of prayer.⁴³

³⁷ Indigenous language spoken in the Aztec Empire.

³⁸ Indigenous language spoken in the Inca Empire.

³⁹ Mann, *The Power*, 50.

⁴⁰ Mann, *The Power*, 50

⁴¹ Mann, *The Power*, 50.

⁴² Mann, *The Power*, 51.

⁴³ 22nd session of the Council of Trent, September 17th, 1562.

There was also discussion about the complexity of liturgical music when questions arose about the polyphonic settings used during the mass. Some of the church leaders worried that the polyphonic settings used in the mass were too complicated and made the sacred texts unintelligible.⁴⁴ According to Mann: “some of the Spanish bishops advocated the continued use of a variety of musical forms, so long as they did not inspire covetousness, irreverence, and superstition.”⁴⁵ In the end, the Council resulted in the preservation of polyphonic music during the mass, despite a number of church officials advocating for the genres’ abolition, and the allowance of secular tunes.⁴⁶ Instruments, besides the organ, that had originally been banned by the Catholic Church, such as harps and guitars, were also allowed as a result of the Council of Trent.⁴⁷ The concessions made by the Catholic Church would greatly impact the future spread of Catholicism around the world. The effect of the Protestant reformation on the Catholic Church and the re-evaluation of music and language in the Church of Rome could be seen as one of the most important events leading up to the Christianization of the New World territories. The assimilation of Catholic songs and music with compositions based on secular music and vernacular texts would eventually lead to the fusion of New World traditions, languages and music with Catholic doctrine. This collaboration of cultures would contribute to the evangelization of whole territories encompassing thousands of square miles through the use of sacred music among other things.

⁴⁴ Mann, *The Power*, 51.

⁴⁵ Mann, *The Power*, 51.

⁴⁶ Mann, *The Power*, 51.

⁴⁷ Mann, *The Power*, 51.

Members of the Catholic church used music to attract people to Catholicism and teach doctrine, and in an attempt to bolster the appeal of the church to the general public, the church began including folk songs and liturgical drama into the sacred repertoire.⁴⁸ Liturgical dramas, which were popular during the middle ages, used spoken and sung dialogues to assist in conveying doctrine to the illiterate population.⁴⁹ *Autos Sacramentales*, allegorical plays performed during the feast of Corpus Christi were popular in Spain and later arrived in the Americas along with the missionary orders.⁵⁰ The format of these plays included the worship and adoration of the sacraments, which communicated doctrinal meanings and strengthened the Catholic identity.⁵¹ Although there existed differences in the form and performance contexts between the sacred music used in the churches and monasteries of Europe and those founded in the Americas, the use of music served a similar purpose in the missionary societies established in both places, namely to convey Christian teachings and Catholic doctrine to prospective church members.⁵² By the 16th and 17th centuries, Spanish churches began to incorporate more practices and aspects from the secular world, such as the performance of stringed instruments, the use of costumes, dancing, and minstrels.⁵³ As the church began to embrace more worldly practices, the line which originally divided the holy and the vulgar became increasingly ambiguous.⁵⁴ In the 16th century in Seville, the church determined that conducting processions

⁴⁸ Mann, *The Power*, 44.

⁴⁹ Mann, *The Power*, 46.

⁵⁰ Mann, *The Power*, 47.

⁵¹ Mann, *The Power*, 47.

⁵² Mann, *The Power*, 47.

⁵³ Mann, *The Power*, 47.

⁵⁴ Mann, *The Power*, 47.

outside of the churches accompanied by music was an effective way of getting the general population to engage in the celebration of the Divine Office and ultimately increasing their devoutness.⁵⁵ Music was essential in establishing religious identities in Europe, and in distinguishing Catholics from Lutherans, Calvinists, and non-Christian groups. Religious celebrations and communal duties for canonical hours created and sustained ties between members of the orders, and those ties would later connect Jesuits and Franciscans in their work abroad.⁵⁶

The combination of secular and sacred elements in the musical processes of the church would become an important part of the missionary work that would be conducted in the Americas. However, some of the most successful Catholic religious orders to be established in the Americas, such as the Franciscans and the Jesuits, had involved music in their evangelization techniques from the time of their foundation.

The Order of Saint Francis

Saint Francis of Assisi (1181-1226) proposed his first rule, the rule of the Order of the Friars Minor, to Pope Innocent III in 1209.⁵⁷ Although the first rule that was developed by Saint Francis has not survived in its original form, it is acknowledged that this initial rule was developed as a guideline for his first followers.⁵⁸ Originally, the rule of Saint Francis was centered around the abandonment of all worldly possessions and the giving of one's material

⁵⁵ Mann, *The Power*, 50.

⁵⁶ Mann, *The Power*, 65.

⁵⁷ Paschal Robinson, "St. Francis of Assisi," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 6. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909. 2 May 2021 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06221a.htm>>.

⁵⁸ Robinson, "St. Francis."

goods to the poor, an ideology that was encouraged by the teachings of Jesus Christ in the writings of the New Testament.⁵⁹ Despite being renowned for living rough lives, charity, and embracing poverty, the Friars Minor, also known as the Franciscans, would also be remembered for their affinity for music, which would become an integral part of their missionary work. After being sanctified as a religious order by Pope Innocent III, the Franciscans settled near Assisi in Italy in the year 1211.⁶⁰ Franciscan diplomat and renowned medievalist Paschal Robinson, mentions about the Franciscans: “Like children ‘careless of the day,’ they wandered from place to place singing their joy and calling themselves the Lord’s minstrels.”⁶¹ The Franciscans were known to have sung simple songs, often based on hymn tunes, while they helped the needy and preached to villagers. In the early years of the order, preaching and helping the needy were usually paired with songs which were used as a tool for communication and teaching.⁶² Franciscan chronicler Agustín de Vetancurt (1620-1700) wrote about how song became a central part of the Franciscan missionary way of life.⁶³ In Friar Agustín’s menology, references to music and or singing are frequent and mention folk tunes with religious themes called *Laudi Spirituali*, which were frequently used by the Franciscans and Dominicans in their missionary efforts.⁶⁴ These songs were sung in the vernacular and were immensely popular in religious confraternities and larger communities.⁶⁵ The singing of spiritual songs in the vernacular was the first step in the

⁵⁹ Robinson, “St. Francis.”

⁶⁰ Mann, *The Power*, 50.

⁶¹ Robinson, “St. Francis.”

⁶² Mann, *The Power*, 56.

⁶³ Mann, *The Power*, 56.

⁶⁴ Mann, *The Power*, 57.

⁶⁵ Mann, *The Power*, 57.

evolution of a form of evangelization which the Franciscans as well as other religious orders would continue to develop. The intermingling of sacred and secular music and traditions would become one of the most frequently used and effective ways to educate new converts to the church, especially in the Franciscan missions in New Spain.⁶⁶ As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, the liturgical drama was added to the Catholic Church's repertory for the purpose of teaching the Catholic doctrine to newcomers. The Franciscan order is also known to have extended the teachings of Catholicism to the public by using religious drama accompanied by music.⁶⁷ According to Thomas of Celano, Saint Francis's biographer, Francis conducted the first coordinated reproduction of the biblical scene of the Nativity of Christ.⁶⁸ The scene was set at a cave in Greccio, Italy, and involved the participation of townspeople and animals for the re-creation of the original setting.⁶⁹ Celano tells us that Saint Francis himself sang the words of the Gospel and preached to the townspeople, and gives a description of the Saint's voice: "And his voice was a strong voice, a sweet voice, a clear voice, a sonorous voice, inviting all to the highest rewards."⁷⁰ The Franciscans would continue in the footsteps of their founder by re-creating the Nativity of Christ in musical dramas throughout Europe.⁷¹ These musical passion plays were created to appeal to all people, but Franciscan teaching and evangelization took precedence

⁶⁶ Mann, *The Power*, 58.

⁶⁷ Mann, *The Power*, 58.

⁶⁸ Mann, *The Power*, 58.

⁶⁹ Mann, *The Power*, 58.

⁷⁰ Thomas of Celano, *St. Francis of Assisi: First and Second Life of St. Francis, with Selections from Treatise on the Miracles of Blessed Francis*, ed. and trans. Placid Hermann (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1963), 42-44.

⁷¹ Mann, *The Power*, 58.

especially among the lower and middle classes.⁷² In the Fransiscan order, music would have been used to communicate Catholic teachings from the very beginning of the Spanish/Amerindian encounters. Fray Juan de la Deuele and Fray Juan Tisin were both lay brothers of the order of Saint Francis who were active missionaries in 15th-16th century Hispaniola. Being that music was an essential means in the Fransiscan manner of missionary work, it is quite possible that Juan de la Duele and Juan Tisin would have been using songs to teach Catholic doctrine to the native Taino people.

The Society of Jesus

The Society of Jesus, more commonly known as the Jesuit Order, was founded by Ignatius Loyola in Paris in 1540.⁷³ The Jesuit Order's approach to evangelization differed from that of the Franciscans, who focused on charity and evangelizing the poor and destitute. Although the main focus of the Jesuit Order was the saving of souls, their missionary work was meant to target the high ranking members of non-Catholic societies of Europe in a hope that their conversion of the elites would cause a ripple effect, spreading the doctrine to the rest of the population.⁷⁴ Part of the Jesuit approach to evangelization involved the foundation of institutions of higher learning across Europe, and they would eventually grow to become a distinguished order of the Catholic church, esteemed by the Pope, and often dispatched on important diplomatic missions.⁷⁵

⁷² Mann, *The Power*, 58.

⁷³ Mann, *The Power*, 59.

⁷⁴ Mann, *The Power*, 59.

⁷⁵ Mann, *The Power*, 59.

Music was an important aspect of Jesuit daily life, but its use was more restricted when compared to the Franciscans, and even to the guidelines agreed upon in the Council of Trent.⁷⁶ The use of complex genres such as polyphonic singing were debated and discussed in the Council of Trent because of the belief by some that overly embellished music could make sacred texts unintelligible. Loyola, who believed that using music of this sort posed a danger in that it could distract clerics from their sacred duties, included in his constitution for the Society of Jesus that the members of the order must abstain “holding choir for the canonical hours, singing, masses, or offices, or using organ accompaniment...”⁷⁷ Loyola's initial regulations concerning music received backlash from both fellow members of the order and local aristocrats. These aristocrats, who often owned chapels in which Jesuits regularly conducted services, would have been affected by Loyola’s strict guidelines.⁷⁸ The grievances prompted Loyola to adjust his restrictions, eventually allowing the performance of sung Vespers during Holy Week so long as they were performed in *falsobordone*.⁷⁹

In a letter to Loyola, Francisco Borgia (1510-1572), a high ranking member of the Jesuit order in Spain, expresses the thoughts of the President of the Royal Council as well as some gentlemen of the order, on the use of music in church services.⁸⁰ Borgia's letter mentions that the President agrees with Loyola’s constitution in all parts except for “this business of choir.”⁸¹ The

⁷⁶ Mann, *The Power*, 59.

⁷⁷ Mann, *The Power*, 59.

⁷⁸ Mann, *The Power*, 60.

⁷⁹ Mann, *The Power*, 60.

⁸⁰ Mann, *The Power*, 60.

⁸¹ Mann, *The Power*, 60.

letter goes on to express that singing should be allowed but reduced solely to the performance of plainchant, because of its devoutness and simplicity. In this letter Borgia also communicates his own conditions concerning music to Loyola, asserting that:

1) That no preacher, nor processed father, nor confessor to choir, 2) that they celebrate [sung] Mass and Vespers only on Sundays and feast days, 3) that all be in plainchant....⁸²

Ignatius eventually relaxed his strict views on music and in concordance with Borgia's letter allowed for the performance of the sung mass and Vespers on Sundays and feast days.⁸³ Despite the concessions made by Ignatius concerning singing in church services, during the 16th century the Jesuit order would continue to closely monitor the use of music in the processes of the church. Although petitions were made by Jesuit fathers banning certain musical aspects, such as preventing new pupils from singing, banning the use of the organ in church services, and the abolishment of music and the sung mass; the general population's affinity for the sung liturgy caused missionaries to hesitate in their enforcement of the order's regulations.⁸⁴

A distinguished musical culture began to emerge in the Jesuit colleges in Europe during the late 16th century, and by the beginning of the 17th century, music became a part of daily worship in the order and throughout its institutions.⁸⁵ As the use of polyphonic and instrumental music by the Jesuit order flourished, increasing numbers of followers flocked to churches to

⁸² Sanctus Franciscus Borgia quartus Gandiae dux et Societatis Iesu praepositus generalis tertius, l11 (1539-1665), in *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, 10 (Madrid: Gabrielis López del Horno, 1908), 262-264, cited in Kennedy, "Jesuits and Music," 77-78

⁸³ Mann, *The Power*, 60.

⁸⁴ Mann, *The Power*, 61.

⁸⁵ Mann, *The Power*, 61.

attend the mass, Vespers, and feast day celebrations.⁸⁶ With music functioning as a magnet to attract neophytes to the church, all that remained was for the priests and friars to teach them the ways of the Catholic faith.⁸⁷ Notwithstanding the multiple decades of regulations being placed on musical practices in the church, the Jesuits would come to value music as a tool for conversion. The instructions sent by Father Nadal to the Jesuit College in Billom in 1562 illustrate the Jesuit's support for the use of music in religious education: "If it could be done for greater edification, let the boys teach Christian doctrine composed in rhythm, by singing it."⁸⁸ As the success rate of Jesuit musical evangelization in the Americas grew, so did the continued support for the musical training of missionaries. The high achievements of the Jesuits in Brazil motivated Jesuits in Spain to adopt the same techniques in their local missionary activity.⁸⁹ A description of successful religious teaching through music in Gandía in Spain comes from Jesuit priest, Fray Juan Alfonso Polanco (1517-1576).⁹⁰ In his description, one of the Jesuit brothers would visit different parts of the town daily, ringing a bell which was meant to invite the village children to religious learning.⁹¹ Doctrine was taught to the children through the singing of cheerful, engaging songs.⁹² According to Fray Polanco: "Throughout the town the only thing that was heard sung, by young or old, day or night, was Christian doctrine."⁹³ Descriptions such as Fray

⁸⁶ Mann, *The Power*, 61.

⁸⁷ Mann, *The Power*, 61.

⁸⁸ Monumenta Nadal IV, *Monumenta Historicum Iesu*, 495, cited in Mann, *The Power*, 61.

⁸⁹ Mann, *The Power*, 62.

⁹⁰ Mann, *The Power*, 62.

⁹¹ Mann, *The Power*, 62.

⁹² Mann, *The Power*, 62.

⁹³ Chronicle, Polcani IV, *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, 350-351, cited in Mann, *The Power*, 62.

Polanco's are a testament to the efficacy of religious teaching through music both in Europe and abroad.

By the late 16th century, Jesuit missionaries and laypersons who specialized in music were being appointed to teach instrumental and vocal music at the Jesuit colleges.⁹⁴ In these colleges, musical learning was part of a student's daily curriculum and neophytes were trained to perform the sung mass and some of the offices. Much in the manner of the Franciscans, in Europe, the Jesuit Order used music and drama to invite new members to the services of the church.⁹⁵ The veneration of the Virgin Mary had become one of the most important elements of Catholic worship during the counter-reformation in Europe, and was a tenet of Jesuit worship. The members of "Marian" congregations began to compose hymns dedicated to the veneration of Mary, which eventually spread throughout the Jesuit institutions and missions around the world.⁹⁶ Marian antiphons such as the *Magnificat*, accompanied by polyphony and instruments, were performed at Saturday-evening Vespers conducted by Jesuits.⁹⁷ Mann suggests that these performances were intended to work as a form of "apostolic outreach."⁹⁸

From the time of the society's foundation, the Jesuits showed an affinity for religious music, but were deeply concerned with assuring that there was a clear separation between unhallowed music and sacred genres.⁹⁹ As a result, they took care to only allow the use of songs

⁹⁴ Mann, *The Power*, 62.

⁹⁵ Mann, *The Power*, 63.

⁹⁶ Mann, *The Power*, 63.

⁹⁷ Mann, *The Power*, 63.

⁹⁸ Mann, *The Power*, 63.

⁹⁹ Mann, *The Power*, 64.

that were meant for education and enlightenment, while regulating music that might be perceived as being too celebratory or worldly. To ensure the sanctity of the music as well as its efficacy as a tool for evangelization, Jesuits began to write and edit their own hymns, a skill which would become an invaluable resource in their missionary work abroad.¹⁰⁰

Missionaries

In 1493, the year after Columbus's first voyage to the Americas, Pope Alexander the VI issued a Papal Bull, *Bull Inter Caetera*. This bull justified the conquering of the Americas by giving these expeditions the backing of the Catholic church.¹⁰¹ Through this act, the seizing of new world lands and the conversion of its indigenous peoples was made the Christian moral duty of the King and Queen of Castille, Ferdinand and Isabelle.¹⁰²

We have indeed learned that you, who for a long time had intended to seek out
and discover certain islands and mainlands remote and unknown and not hitherto
discovered by others, to the end that you might bring to the worship of our
Redeemer and the profession of the Catholic faith their residents and
Inhabitants... - Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the incarnation of our

¹⁰⁰ Mann, *The Power*, 64.

¹⁰¹ Maria Paz-Haro, "Religious Orders, The Indian, And The Conquest: Fifty Years of Dispute and Contradiction" *Encounters*, No. 9 (1992): 1

¹⁰² Paz-Haro, "Religious Orders" 1.

Lord 1493, the fourth of May, and the first year of our pontificate.¹⁰³

By issuing *Bull Inter Caetera*, Pope Alexander the VI gave the crowned couple of Castille exclusive rights to explore and conquer the Americas as a “religious campaign.”¹⁰⁴ This papal bull was to unleash a sudden influx of religious missionaries to the newly conquered lands of the Spanish empire in European expeditions to come.

Columbus’s second voyage to the Americas, in 1493, brought the first Catholic missionaries to the island of Hispaniola. These men were Fray Ramon Pané (d.1502), a Catalán lay brother of the Order of Saint Jerome, and two lay brothers of the Order of Saint Francis, Fray Juan de la Duéle and Fray Juan de Tisín, who were mentioned earlier in this chapter.¹⁰⁵ John Fredrick Schwaller mentions that another Franciscan, Fray Bernardo Buil, also accompanied Columbus on his second journey to Hispaniola.¹⁰⁶ Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, known today for his writings about the early colonization of the Americas and for his staunch defense of the indigenous peoples there, regarded Duele and Tisin as “outstanding men, well educated and experienced.”¹⁰⁷ After the return of Juan de la Duele and Juan Tisin to Spain, they reported to their highest official, Fransiscan Friar Olivier Maillard (1430-1502), about the conditions in the Americas and the urgent need for more missionaries on the island.¹⁰⁸ Maillard discussed this

¹⁰³ Pope Alexander VI. *Inter caetera* by Pope Alexander VI (May 4, 1493). (2020, December 07). Cited in Encyclopedia Virginia. <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/inter-caetera-by-pope-alexander-vi-may-4-1493>.

¹⁰⁴ Paz-Haro, "Religious Orders" 1.

¹⁰⁵ Tibesar, Antonine S. "The Franciscan Province of the Holy Cross of Española, 1505-1559." *The Americas* 13, no. 4 (1957): 377-89. Accessed December 15, 2020. doi:10.2307/979442. 378.

¹⁰⁶ John Frederick Schwaller, *The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond* (NYU Press, 2011), Accessed April 27, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qg53g>. 37.

¹⁰⁷ Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 378.

¹⁰⁸ Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 379.

with the King and Queen of Castille, Ferdinand and Isabella, who agreed to the request. The King and Queen, now having the backing of the church to conduct expeditions for the purpose of spreading the Christianity as a result of *Bull Inter Caetera*, seemed happy to oblige the requests made by the Franciscans, and decreed that anything that would be required for the religious instruction of the natives such as crucifixes, statues, paintings, chalices, and clothing, would be funded by monies from the royal revenues.¹⁰⁹ As a result of Maillard intervening with the king and queen, three more missionaries would be sent to Hispaniola on the next expedition; Fray Francisco Ruiz, Juan de Trasierra, Juan de Robles, as well as Duele and Tisin who returned to Hispaniola in 1500.¹¹⁰

As more missionaries arrived in the New World, more requests were made to the Spanish Crown. Nicholas Glassberger's chronicle, based on a correspondence with Maillard, has it that Maillard sent two other groups of Friars to Hispaniola by 1500.¹¹¹ By this point in time, the missionaries in Hispaniola were already busy working to convert native Tainos, and in letter dated October 12, 1500 and written to Cardinal Francisco Ximenes (Jimenez) de Cisneros (1436-1517), the primate of Spain, it is mentioned that 3,000 souls had been baptized in Hispaniola.¹¹² With these letters came further requests for more missionaries to be sent to the Americas and as the expeditions continued the number of missionaries heading to the New World increased.

¹⁰⁹ Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 379.

¹¹⁰ Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 379.

¹¹¹ Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 379.

¹¹² Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 380.

Seventeen more missionaries arrived in 1502 on an expedition headed by the new Governor of Hispaniola, Nicholas de Ovando.¹¹³

In 1503 Alonso de Espinar established a Franciscan friary, the first permanent residence for a religious order in America, in the New World in Santo Domingo with the help of Ovando.¹¹⁴ Eventually there would be five residences for the friars in Hispaniola including Santo Domingo; Concepción de La Vega, Vera Paz de Jaraguá, Villa de Buenaventura, and Mejorada in Cotui, and by 1505 the Franciscan Observant Province of the Holy Cross was established on the island.¹¹⁵ Now the Franciscans had created an institution that could establish new residencies in the Americas with the permission of the Bishop of Santo Domingo.

Numbers of missionaries entering the New World would increase after 1508 when King Ferdinand made an order to the delegates of the Great Chapter of Barcelona to send as many missionaries to the Americas as possible.¹¹⁶ As the numbers of missionaries traveling to the New World increased, so did the amount of American lands annexed by the Spanish crown, and the territorial expansion had an unforeseen side effect on the future of the island of Hispaniola; most of the missionaries that made the journey to Hispaniola did not stay there for long.¹¹⁷ The island became a transfer hub for colonists and missionaries alike, and a letter from 1516 from the church superiors in Spain to Cisneros mentions that there were only: “12 priests, 4 clerics, and 1

¹¹³ Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 380.

¹¹⁴ Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 380.

¹¹⁵ Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 381.

¹¹⁶ Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 383.

¹¹⁷ Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 387.

lay brother on the island.”¹¹⁸ According to Tibesar, even the Crown bemoaned: “because of new lands all are leaving hispaniola.”¹¹⁹ From the years 1525 to 1534 the Spanish Crown funded the journeys of 42 friars from Hispaniola to other new places in the Americas.¹²⁰ The effect that this mass exodus had on the island is described in a 1528 letter from the town hall at Concepcion de La Vega to the Crown, which mentions that the Fransiscan Friary in Hispaniola only housed two friars.¹²¹ As friars and colonists continued to leave Hispaniola, the situation for the Friars who stayed behind became more difficult.¹²² Because of the scarcity of regular clergy on the island, the Friars had to resort to admitting local Taino boys to the friaries.¹²³ This is a significant detail to this thesis in that it proposes the training of Taino boys to become men of the cloth, which indubitably would meant the use of an instructional system modeled after the Franciscan ideals established throughout the previous 300 years, which would have involved among other things, music. The situation was worsened by the fact that even the Spanish Crown began to favor other places in the new world over Hispaniola and by 1559, the friars of Hispaniola had lost the rank of province only to have it restored at the end of the 16th century.¹²⁴

Despite the fluctuation in the numbers of missionaries who were at Hispaniola at any given time, a Catholic presence had in some way existed on the island since at least 1493 with

¹¹⁸ Letter to Cardinal Cisneros, Santo Domingo, February 15, 1516. Cited in Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 387.

¹¹⁹ The King to the Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Toledo, July 8, 1525. Cited in Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 387.

¹²⁰ Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 387.

¹²¹ Letter from the Cabildo of Concepcion de La Vega to the Crown, May, 1528. Citen in, Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 388.

¹²² Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 387.

¹²³ Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 387.

¹²⁴ Tibesar, "The Franciscan," 387.

the arrival of the first missionaries. Even though many teachers of the faith left Hispaniola for other ventures, it seems that some were dedicated to the conversion of the Taino and the endurance of the church in Hispaniola and the New World. Through the work of these few steadfast priests, Christianity was able to endure on Hispaniola and eventually it left its mark. However, before the missionaries on Hispaniola could even begin evangelizing the Native islanders, they first had to gain a lay of the land as it were. This meant learning new languages, landscapes, and cultures.

Pané and the Early Chroniclers of the Americas:

The indigenous peoples who were affected by colonization already practiced a rich tradition of secular, religious, and ceremonial music. For the missionaries in Hispaniola, understanding the musical customs of the indigenous peoples served as a crucial step towards constructing a process of religious conversion. Through understanding how the native peoples used music in their different ritual traditions, the missionaries could then develop a way to use music to express the teachings of Christianity in a way that the native peoples would find familiar and appealing. Fortunately, contemporary writings by some of the earliest Friars and chroniclers from the colonial era exist which describe in detail some of the musical traditions of the indigenous American societies during the age of colonization.

For the purpose of this thesis, I will discuss some of the writings that were originally compiled by missionaries and historians who witnessed first hand musical practices of these indigenous societies. The missionaries who went on these voyages were very observant of native society, cataloguing different details of how the indigenous people lived. Besides the day to day aspects of indigenous life, the observations made by these missionaries revealed the different

roles that music played in indigenous society. The focus in this section will be that of the musical rituals of the Arawak peoples of the Caribbean Basin, namely the Taino of Hispaniola.

Understanding the musical traditions of people such as the Taino of Hispaniola was a significant discovery for the Spanish missionaries.

Friar Ramon Pané, a lay brother of the Order of Saint Jerome, was the first missionary to come to the Americas.¹²⁵ As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, he arrived in Hispaniola in 1493 along with Christopher Columbus on his second journey to the Americas.¹²⁶ He was charged by Columbus, who he refers to as the “Admiral”, to observe and collect information about the rituals and customs of the “aborigines” of Hispaniola.¹²⁷ Pané completed his report, the *Relación de Fray Ramón*, and presented it to Columbus in 1498.¹²⁸ Pané’s documentation of the Taino people of Hispaniola offers the first written description of Native American music in history. According to Pané, the laws of the indigenous peoples are memorized in chants, passed down orally from ancestors, learned from childhood and accompanied with percussion instruments.¹²⁹ When describing these chants, Pané compares them to how the Moors summarize their laws in old songs: “the same as the Moors, they set their laws in a compendium of old

¹²⁵ Pedro C. Escabí Agostini, *El significado de la música en la sociedad indígena de las Antillas* (Ponce: Centro de Investigaciones Folklóricas de Puerto Rico, 1985), 147.

¹²⁶ Agostini, *El significado*, 147.

¹²⁷ Donald Thompson, “The “Cronistas de Indias” Revisited: Historical Reports, Archeological Evidence, and Literary and Artistic Traces of Indigenous Music and Dance in the Greater Antilles at the Time of the “Conquista”, *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Autumn - Winter, 1993), 181-201.

¹²⁸ Agostini, *El significado*, 147.

¹²⁹ Agostini, *El significado*, 147.

songs...”¹³⁰ Also in Panés’ *relación*, the instrument used in these chants, called *mayohabao*,¹³¹ is referred to as a wooden drum: “when they want to sing their songs, they play a certain instrument, called Mayobahao, made of wood, hollow, strong, and very slim, an arm’s length and half an arm’s width...” Pané’s *relación* also describes a firsthand account of a healing ritual, in which a *Behique* (shaman), sings songs to pacify the gods in order to heal the afflicted person: “and then they begin to sing their said song, and lighting a torch, they consume the said drink (made from güeyo leaves). That done first, the *Behique* rises and goes to the sufferer...”¹³² Pané’s observations reveal that music was an integral part of Antillean life, an important discovery for the early missionaries in Hispaniola.¹³³

Historian and professor at the University of Alcalá de Henares in Spain, Francisco López de Gómara offers another account of a native ritual where music is used. According to Pedro Escabi Agostini in *El Significado de la Música en la Sociedad Indígena de las Antillas* (The Significance of Music in the Indigenous Society of the Antilles), Gómara spent four years in the Americas as chaplain to the conquistador, Hernán Cortés.¹³⁴ In his *Historia General de las Indias* (General History of the Indies), published in 1552, he describes a five day ritual performed by the natives of Hispaniola to celebrate the ending of the winter.¹³⁵ Gómara refers to this ceremony

¹³⁰ Fray Ramón Pané, *Relación Acerca de las Antigüedades de los Indios: nueva versión con notas, mapas, y apéndices*, por Jose Juan Arrom (America Nuestra, 1978) 34. Translation by Gutierrez. “Pues, lo mismo que los Moros, tienen a su ley compendiada en canciones antiguas.”

¹³¹ Pané, *Relación*, 34. Y cuando quieren cantar sus canciones, tocan cierto instrumento, que se llama Mayobahao, que es de madera, hueco, fuerte, y muy delgado de un brazo de largo, y medio de ancho.

¹³² Pané, *Relación*, 36. “Entonces comienzan a sonar el canto susodicho; y encendiendo una antorcha se toman aquel jugo. Hecho esto primero, se levanta el Behique, y va hacia el enfermo...”

¹³³ Agostini, *El significado*, 147.

¹³⁴ Agostini, *El significado*, 148.

¹³⁵ Agostini, *El significado*, 149.

as the final ceremony of the ritual of the birth of the sun, and mentions the performance of a type of music called *Areito*; a song accompanied by dance in which praises of idols, kings, ancient victories, *caciques*, and the histories of the tribe are sung.¹³⁶ Similar to Fray Pane's *relación*, Gómara makes reference to the Moors of his time when describing the *areito*.¹³⁷ He describes the *areito* as being like "la Zambra de los Moros" (the Zambra of the Moors).¹³⁸ According to Sophia Martin: "The term zambra is closely connected to these Moorish festivities. Zambra is an Arabic term and was originally used to describe the sounds made by a lively crowd and certain musical instruments."¹³⁹ In the ceremonies described by Gomara, the *Cacique* would have an *atabalejo* (kettle drum) next to him which he would sound to greet the arriving priests, men and women, who would enter dancing to the rattling sounds of sea shells and snail shells.¹⁴⁰ The *Cacique* with his *atabalejo*, would be followed by all of the priests into the *batey* (plaza) to await the procession of the people.¹⁴¹ A processional ritual dance would be performed in the *batey* accompanied by the sounds of sea shells and flutes.¹⁴² An *areito* would be sung by the *Cacique* and the priests, welcoming the sun (the god being praised) to the tribe.¹⁴³ A notable moment in

¹³⁶ Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia Vitrix de las Indias* (1965: 53) Cited in Agostini, *El significado*, 148.

¹³⁷ Gómara, *Historia Vitrix* (1965: 53) Cited in Agostini, *El significado*, 148.

¹³⁸ Agostini, *El significado*, 149.

¹³⁹ Sophia Martin, "The Remains of a Lost Culture - Moorish Zambra in 16th century Granada," (MA thesis, University of Music Franz Liszt, 2014)

¹⁴⁰ Gómara, *Historia Vitrix* (1965: 51-52) Cited in Agostini, *El significado*, 149. "se ponían los sacerdotes como en corro junto al Rey, y el Cacique a la entrada del templo con Atabalejo al lado...entraban al son de las conchas"

¹⁴¹ Gómara, *Historia Vitrix* (1965: 51-52) Cited in Agostini, *El significado*, 150.

¹⁴² Gómara, *Historia Vitrix* (1965: 51-52) Cited in Agostini, *El significado*, 150.

¹⁴³ Gómara, *Historia Vitrix* (1965: 51-52) Cited in Agostini, *El significado*, 150.

this ceremony was the ritual blessing of loaves of bread.¹⁴⁴ Baskets of *cassava*, a bread made from yuca, are given to the *Cacique* and the priests to be blessed.¹⁴⁵ The ceremonial blessing of the loaves is strikingly similar to the blessing of the communion in a Catholic mass. Without making the assumption that this ceremony was somehow already linked to Christianity, its similarity to Christian ritual and its symbolism would have possibly been used by the missionaries to familiarize the natives with Catholic ritual while maintaining a connection to their own belief system.

Anecdote from De las Casas

In a story which Bartolome de las Casas accredited to the Italian historian Peter Martyr, a sailor, who is sick, was left behind with a group of Tainos while his companions go on a journey.¹⁴⁶ During his stay with the Tainos, the sailor teaches them some of the basic aspects of Christian worship. He teaches them to venerate the Virgin Mary by drawing a picture of her while reciting “Ave Maria.”¹⁴⁷ According to the story, the Tainos are urged to build a church with an altar, with offerings of food and water to the Virgin. Subsequently, the *Cacique* and his people enter the church, kneel in adoration of the Virgin, and honor her with dances and songs repeating the words “Ave Maria”.¹⁴⁸ According to Professor Emeritus of Spanish and Portuguese and scholar of Hispanic Studies, José Juan Arróm (1910-2007), this story is an “extremely

¹⁴⁴ Agostini, *El significado*, 150.

¹⁴⁵ Agostini, *El significado*, 150.

¹⁴⁶ Thompson, “Cronistas”, 192.

¹⁴⁷ Thompson, “Cronistas”, 192.

¹⁴⁸ Thompson, “Cronistas”, 192.

superficial case of Christian conversion”.¹⁴⁹ His reason for this conclusion is because the Tainos in the story are not taught anything about Christian doctrine except the words “Ave Maria,” and that their devotion of the Virgin through offerings of food and water could be interpreted as the Tainos worshiping the Virgin as another *ceimi* or idol of their own religion. Arrom’s opinion on this story is warranted, however, I argue that this story is an example of the Taino people embracing a Christian ritual and intermingling the traditions of their own religion with that of the Spaniards. Even though the religious instruction was performed by a sailor and not a priest, the significance of the act, the teaching of Christian ritual by a Spaniard to a group of natives possibly in the hopes of converting them, is what is most relevant about this anecdote. Whether the story is fictional, or not, it proposes that some of the colonists might have felt a moral duty to spread the Christian faith to the indigenous people. It also suggests that religious education of this type was perhaps occurring outside of the friary and the work of clerics. Christian ritual and doctrine was an important part of daily life for the general population of Spanish colonists in the Americas. Although there were no priests or missionaries present on Columbus’s first journey to the Americas, prayers and religious songs were part of the daily routine on the three ships that made the first journey.¹⁵⁰ This meant that these colonists were educated in Catholic doctrine, and were thus able to communicate those teachings to the Indigenous people they encountered if they so desired.

¹⁴⁹ Thompson, “Cronistas”, 192.

¹⁵⁰ John Frederick Schwaller, *The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond* (NYU Press, 2011. Accessed May 4, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qg53g>.), 36.

Lengua de los Indios

(Language of the Indians)

The missionaries who traveled from Europe to the Americas came equipped with an extensive knowledge of Christian scripture and doctrine, crucifixes, religious paintings, chalices and other objects needed for the religious education instruction of the indigenous peoples they were to encounter. Yet they were confronted with one major problem upon their arrival to the New World. The new people they encountered upon their arrival spoke languages which they had never heard. Thanks to some of the early manuscripts written by the Friars, we know that some of these missionaries were forced to learn the language of the natives they were attempting to convert. Stone explains that for 250 years, Catalán friars had been closely studying the texts and languages of Islam and Judaism in preparation for missionary campaigns in North Africa.¹⁵¹ By the time of Fray Pané, the study of languages was the forte of Catalán friars, which is probably why this task of learning the languages of the natives was specifically given to Pané.¹⁵² Pané himself is understood to have become fluent in at least one of the dialects spoken by the Taino of Hispaniola. In his *relación*, Pané states: “However, I said to the governor, Don Christopher Columbus, "Sir, how can your Lordship ask me to stay with Guarionex, when the only language I know is that of Macorix?”¹⁵³

In 1620, the Spanish historian Antonio de Remesa (1570-1627), compiled a list of entries naming several friars of the Dominican order who worked as missionaries during the 16th

¹⁵¹ Erin Woodruff Stone, “*Indian Harvest: The Rise of the Indigenous Slave Trade and Diaspora from Española to the Circum-Caribbean, 1492-1542*,” (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2014), 110.

¹⁵² Stone, “*Indian Harvest*,” 110.

¹⁵³ “*Señor, como quieres Vostra Señoria que yo valla a vivir con Guarionex, no sabiendo más lengua que la de Macoris?*” Pané, XXV.

century in Guatemala. Each entry includes information such as each friar's contributions to their respective missions, as well as the age at which each Friar died. Most of the entries list the phrase *lengua de los Indios*, which exactly translates to "tongue of the Indians,"¹⁵⁴ which means that the friar in question spoke the Indian language. Speaking the language of the Indigenous peoples greatly assisted the missionaries in their conversion efforts. One of the entries, that of Friar Diego Martinez, mentions that he was a preacher who spoke the language of the Indians and died in *Comacayagua* at the age of 49 in 1573.¹⁵⁵ Another phrase that shows up twice on this list is, *acudía con cuydado al coro*.¹⁵⁶ In modern Spanish, *acude con cuidado al coro*, means, "go carefully to the choir." The word *acudia* is the past tense version of the word *acude*, and implies that the proper translation of the phrase is "went carefully (or with care) to the choir," which seems to imply that these friars were involved with, and possibly directed the church choirs. The mention of the friars as possible choral instructors or directors and even the mention of the choir alone implies a strong possibility that sacred music, potentially in the language of the natives, was being used to spread the Christian religion in Guatemala, as well as in the surrounding regions such as the Caribbean. The use of music for the evangelization of the Indigenous people of Guatemala was not a unique occurrence. Evidence exists which shows that as early as the 16th century, European sacred music was being brought to new colonies all over

¹⁵⁴ Antonio de Remesal, *Historia general de las Indias Occidentales, y particular de la gobernación de Chiapa, y Guatemala: escriuese juntamente los principios de la religion de nuestro glorioso padre Santo Domingo, y de las demas religiones*. (Madrid : Por Francisco de Abarcay Angulo, 1620)

¹⁵⁵ Remesal, *Historia general*.

¹⁵⁶ Remesal, *Historia general*.

the world. In places such as: Goa, India, Mexico, Brazil, and the Philippines; missionaries were using sacred polyphonic music to assist in converting the native peoples of these colonies.¹⁵⁷

The role of music in doctrinal teaching and in the services of the church, as they were used in the Spanish Americas, had its origins in the early scriptures of the Jewish and Christian religions. Sacred music in Europe developed over centuries, and went through frequent alteration by both Protestant and Catholics churches as well as religious orders. For missionaries in the Americas, music was a form of sacred communication with God as well as a language used to connect with the people they were attempting to convert.¹⁵⁸ The techniques of musical evangelization, which these missionaries would gradually adapt, would be pivotal in the conversion of a great part of the western hemisphere. Mann asserts: “music served as a bridge to connect literate and non-literate society, Europeans and non-Europeans.”¹⁵⁹ Music allowed both missionaries and natives to experience and understand each other's culture.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Victor Coelho, “Music in New Worlds.” in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 93.

¹⁵⁸ Mann, *The Power*, 64.

¹⁵⁹ Mann, *The Power*, 64.

¹⁶⁰ Mann, *The Power*, 64.

Chapter 2

Music Education in Colonial America

The history of the Christianization of the Indigenous people of 16th and 17th century Hispaniola has yielded little documentary evidence, particularly when it comes to the use of music as a tool for conversion and doctrinal education. I propose that studying the evidence of missionary activity, particularly that of the Franciscan order in the Spanish territories of modern day Mexico, New Mexico, Florida, and Ecuador during the 16th-18th centuries, will help shed more light on the missionary work that occurred in Hispaniola during the first hundred years of Spanish occupation, most notably conversion through music. I make this conclusion in light of the fact that the spread of Christianity by the combined powers of the Catholic Church and the Spanish Crown was a pattern of processes that was first developed in Spain's *reconquista* as well as in the conquest of the Canary Islands.¹ These processes were eventually dispersed throughout the Spanish empire.² This presumably means that the processes of Christianization being used by missionaries in places besides Hispaniola were similar if not the same to the processes initially used on that island. As will be evident in this chapter, the Franciscans were one of the most successful religious orders in achieving a high level of Christianization of American Indigenous peoples through music education. Being that they were the first religious order to arrive in Hispaniola, aside from the arrival of Jeronymite Ramon Pané, and that their presence on the

¹ Kathleen Deagan, Jose Maria Cruxen, "From Contact to Criollos: The Archaeology of Spanish Colonization in Latin America" *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 81, 67-104 (1993): 70

² Deagan, "From Contact." 70.

island was significant in its early colonization, following the trail of Franciscan missionary work throughout the Americas could possibly yield clues about their early work in Hispaniola. In addition to the general music activity of the Franciscans and other religious orders during the 16th-18th centuries in the above mentioned territories, techniques such as translation of Christian texts into Indigenous American dialects for the teaching of doctrine through music and their effect on the Indigenous American population will be discussed in the following section.

Escuelas Para Los Hijos de Caciques

(Schools For the Sons of Chiefs)

In a 1512 response to the complaints made by missionaries, primarily Fray Antonio de Montesinos and Bartolomé de las Casas, the Laws of Burgos were passed in an attempt to regulate the comportment of Spanish colonists and their treatment of the Indians on Hispaniola.³ Although these laws were initially drafted for the purpose of reform on the island of Hispaniola, their authority would eventually spread to encompass the islands of the Greater Antilles.⁴ Aside from attempting to reform the current *repartimiento* (partition) system, which allowed colonists to draft Indigenous people for mandatory labor, it was also meant to further encourage the conversion of the Indigenous islanders to Catholicism.⁵ A section of the introductory proposal of the Laws of Burgos reads:

³ Gordon Campbell, "Laws of Burgos," In *The Oxford Dictionary of the Renaissance* (Oxford University Press, 2003)

<https://www-oxfordreference-com.queens.ezproxy.cuny.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198601753.001.0001/acref-9780198601753-e-601>.

⁴ Francisco Macías, "The Laws of Burgos: 500 Years of Human Rights," Library of Congress, accessed April 19th, 2021, <https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2012/12/the-laws-of-burgos-500-years-of-human-rights/>.

⁵ *Ordenanzas Reales Para El Buen Regimiento Y Tratamiento De Los Indios*, Leyes de Burgos. : 1512,1.

...the most beneficial thing that could be done at present would be to remove the said chiefs and Indians to the vicinity of the villages and communities of the Spaniards, this for many considerations and thus, by continual association with them, as well as by attendance at church on feast days to hear Mass and the divine offices, and by observing the conduct of the Spaniards, as well as the preparation and care that the Spaniards will display in demonstrating and teaching them, while they are together, the things of our Holy Catholic Faith, it is clear that they will the sooner learn them and, having learned them, will not forget them as they do now...⁶

In an attempt to further facilitate the spread of Catholicism on Hispaniola, the 17th section of the Laws of Burgos ordered that the sons of all Caciques aged thirteen or younger be given to Franciscan friars for a duration of four years in order to be instructed in reading, writing, and “the other things of our holy Catholic faith.”⁷ According to the laws, after the duration of four years, the said educated sons of Caciques would be returned to the persons “who have them in encomienda⁸ and have their parents so that these sons of chiefs may teach the said Indians, for

⁶ Leyes de Burgos, XVII, F.605 v.- F.606 r. Cited in Rafael Altamira, "El Texto De Las Leyes De Burgos De 1512," *Revista De Historia De América*, no. 4 (1938): 24. Accessed May 24, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20135913>. Translation by Gutierrez “...lo mas provechoso que de presente se podia proveer seria mudar las estancias de los caçiques e los yndios cerca de los lugares e pueblos do los españoles por muchas consyderaçiones y asy porque con la conversacion continua que con ellos ternan como con yr a las iglesias a los días y de fiesta y a oir misa y los ofiçios divinos y ver como los españoles lo hazen y con el aparejo y cuydado que tienen dolos juntos consygo ternan de les mostrar e yndustriar en las cosas de nuestra santa fe catolica esta claro que mas presto las aprenden y después de aprendidas no las olvidaran como agora...”

⁷ Leyes de Burgos, XVII, F.614 v. Cited in Altamira, “El Texto,” 35. Translation by Gutierrez “...los dichos frailes le muestren leer y escribir y todas las otras cosas de nuestra fe...”

⁸ Encomienda - a system which existed in the Spanish American colonies where by a Native person would be entrusted to be supervised by a Spanish colonist, for whom the said Native would have to labor either in mining or farming.

the Indians will accept it more readily from them.”⁹ These orders prompted the development of schools for *los hijos de Caciques* (the sons of chiefs).¹⁰ In 1513, Bachiller (baccalaureate) Hernan Suarez, received supplies with which to begin a school for the sons of caciques at the monastery at Verapaz, modern day San Juan de la Maguana in the Dominican Republic.¹¹ These supplies included twenty grammar books, several reams of paper, and other books.¹² Although the intention was for the Franciscans to train the future leadership of the island- the native youth- in Spanish culture and Catholicism, the school closed within ten years.¹³ One of the most notable students educated by Franciscans at Verapaz was the Taino Cacique Enriquillo.¹⁴ Enriquillo, who would later be remembered throughout history for his valiant revolt against the Spanish which lasted almost fifteen years,¹⁵ maintained a lifelong friendship with Franciscans who educated him, and remained a Catholic until his death.¹⁶ Two more schools of this sort were founded in Hispaniola at Concepción de la Vega (1517) and at Santo Domingo (1523).¹⁷ Although both Altman and Ruedas do not make any mentions of music being taught to Indians by the

⁹ Leyes de Burgos, XVII, F.614 v. Cited in Altamira, “El Texto,” 35. Translation by Gutierrez “...y despues los vuelvan a las personas que se los dieran y los tenían encomendados e tienen a sus padres para que los hijos de casyques muestren a los otros yndios por que muy mejor lo tomaran de ellos...”

¹⁰ Erin Woodruff Stone, “*Indian Harvest: The Rise of the Indigenous Slave Trade and Diaspora from Española to the Circum-Caribbean, 1492-1542*” (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2014), 124.

¹¹ Stone, “*Indian Harvest*” 124.

¹² Stone, “*Indian Harvest*” 124.

¹³ Stone, “*Indian Harvest*” 124.

¹⁴ Sonia Fernández Rueda, “El Colegio de Caciques San Andrés: Conquista Espiritual Transculturación,” *Procesos* no. 22 (2005): 5-22.

¹⁵ Ida Altman, “The Revolt of Enriquillo and the Historiography of Early Spanish America,” *The Americas* 63, no. 4 (2007): 587-614. Accessed April 11, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4491300>.

¹⁶ Altman, “The Revolt,” 589.

¹⁷ Stone, “*Indian Harvest*” 124.

Franciscans at Verapaz or in other monasteries in Hispaniola, the Franciscans are known to have relied heavily on music as a tool for religious education as is evident from their missionary work in Europe throughout the other territories of Spanish Americas.¹⁸

During the mid-16th century, the Franciscans began to establish themselves in Quito, modern day Ecuador. The Flemish friars, Jodoco de Rique (Joos de Rijcke) (1498-1575) and Pedro Gocial (1498-1570) are credited with being the founders of the Franciscan Order in Quito.¹⁹ The success of the Catholic Church in the Spanish-American territories partly depended on the conversion of the upper-class of Indigenous society.²⁰ This is undoubtedly because the Indigenous leaders held a strong influence over the native population.²¹ As was mentioned earlier in this thesis, one element of the Spanish process of colonization was the recognition of Indigenous social structure.²² This recognition would assist the Spaniards in their efforts to “civilize and convert” the native people through the coercion of their aristocracy.²³ Educating and indoctrinating the Native ruling class would allow for the general Indigenous population to follow suit, creating a society of native peoples assimilated to Spanish culture and Catholicism. One of the first conversion strategies used by the Franciscans in Quito was to build their first monastery on a strategic site.²⁴ According to Rueda, they built their monastery on the “houses of

¹⁸ Kristin Dutcher Mann, *The Power of Song : Music and Dance in the Mission Communities of Northern New Spain, 1590-1810* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2010), 82.

¹⁹ Rueda, “El Colegio,” 5-22.

²⁰ Rueda, “El Colegio,” 5-22.

²¹ Rueda, “El Colegio,” 5-22.

²² Deagan, “From Contact” 70.

²³ Deagan, “From Contact” 70.

²⁴ Rueda, “El Colegio,” 5-22.

the most powerful captains of the Inca,”²⁵ nearby the Inca enclosure where the native elites were housed for political control, and near to the home of the Incan emperor Atahualpa.²⁶ The juxtaposition of these important establishments was the first step in the Franciscans’ religious conquest of the Inca.²⁷

Since the early 16th century in Quito, there was an enthusiasm on the part of the Franciscans to educate the indigenous nobility in all things Catholic.²⁸ The Roman Catholic Prelate and second Bishop of Quito Ramón de la Peña (d. 1583) urged about the necessity for education of the Indians in his *Probanza about the Bishopric of Quito* (1569):

... the said friars have had in the exercise of the doctrines that have been in their charge two leagues around the city, many sorcerers have been found who they used their sorcery and other rites and superstitions and these between caciques and singing boys with whom the said friars celebrated divine offices and administered.²⁹

The Franciscans in Quito used strategies and processes of evangelization which were similar to those used by the Franciscans in Mexico, where they had founded the *San José de Naturales* (Saint Joseph of the Naturals) school, for the education of noble Indigenous children.³⁰ Fray

²⁵ Rueda, “El Colegio,” 5-22.

²⁶ Rueda, “El Colegio,” 5-22.

²⁷ Rueda, “El Colegio,” 5-22.

²⁸ Rueda, “El Colegio,” 5-22.

²⁹ *Probanza Acerca de las Cosas Tocantes al Obispado de Quito*, 189. F.34. Cited in Rueda, “El Colegio,” 5-22. Translation by Gutierrez “...Los dichos frailes an tenido en el ejercicio de las doctrinas que an sido a su cargo dos leguas a la redonda desta ciudad se hallado muchos hechiceros que usaban de su hechicerías e otros ritos y supersticiones y estos entre caciques e muchachos cantores con quienes los dichos frailes celebraban los oficios divines e administraba los sacramentos...”

³⁰ Rueda, “El Colegio,” 5-22.

Rique was the leading founder of the *Colegio de Caciques San Andrés* (Saint Andrew's School for Caciques), as is evident from its name, a school for the education of the sons of the Incan elites.³¹ The *colegio* was also a craft school where Indigenous peoples besides noble children, such as descendants of Inca Quiteños (from Quíto), indigenous commoners, poor mestizos, orphans, and children of Spaniards would be taught "all kinds of trades", including writing, reading, Spanish, Latin, Quichua (Incan language), catechism, the building of yokes and plows, instruction in singing and playing strings, keys (keyboard instruments), trumpets, horns and organs.³² The type of education these students received depended on their social standing.³³ Academic and intellectual education was reserved for the children of Spaniards, while Natives and Mestizos were given an education that involved the practice of arts for the offices.³⁴ In this case, the practice of arts could have possibly included Catholic music for use in the divine office.³⁵ As a result of their education, Caciques became "transmitters of ideology and Hispanic knowledge" in their own communities as well as in the Franciscan schools.³⁶ Some of these Caciques were enlisted to teach "plain singing and part-singing" as well the playing of *chirimias* (an oboe like instrument) and flutes.³⁷ The evidence of the Catholic and European education of the Inca directly follows the intentions of the Laws of Burgos, primarily that of the 17th section which, as was described earlier in this chapter, focuses on the education of sons of Indigenous elites by the Franciscans .

³¹ Rueda, "El Colegio," 5-22.

³² Rueda, "El Colegio," 5-22.

³³ Rueda, "El Colegio," 5-22.

³⁴ Rueda, "El Colegio," 5-22.

³⁵ Rueda, "El Colegio," 5-22.

³⁶ Rueda, "El Colegio," 5-22.

³⁷ Rueda, "El Colegio," 5-22.

The Franciscans in Quito, in administering the processes commanded by the laws, saw it fit to include the learning of music as part of the curriculum in their *colegios*. These hints at the possibility that the *colegios* established by the Franciscans in Hispaniola could have operated under the same tenets, which presumably involved music education.

Entradas

In 1573, colonial authorities were directed to employ singers and instruments in the service of pacifying, soothing, and influencing the Indians. Otherwise peaceful acceptance of Catholicism and Spanish rule were thought to be impossible...³⁸

Aside from its use in the evangelical activity that was conducted by the Catholic orders in the Americas, music was also an important strategic tool used by secular European colonial powers.³⁹ The expedition to colonize a new territory was referred to as an *entrada* (entry).⁴⁰ Successful colonization of a territory involved a combination of high ceremony and military victories.⁴¹ Included in these ceremonies were the recitations of a ritual speech, the *requerimiento* (requirement), and the Catholic mass, as well as the erection of crosses and altars and displays of royal banners and military ordinance.⁴² All of these rituals were seen as a

³⁸ Mann, *The Power*, 70.

³⁹ Mann, *The Power*, 70.

⁴⁰ Mann, *The Power*, 70.

⁴¹ Mann, *The Power*, 70.

⁴² Mann, *The Power*, 70.

necessary part in establishing Spanish dominance in these new territories.⁴³ These rites of conquest also included the performance of improvised dramas.⁴⁴ For the missionaries, the objectives of the *entrada* was to get the native population to submit to the church, and to eventually establish a mission in the newly possessed territory.⁴⁵

Florida

In Franciscan and Jesuit missions throughout North America, music was the most essential part of the evangelization process, and involved the use of music similar to that used by Franciscans and Jesuits all over Latin America.⁴⁶ Just like the Spanish, the colonial French sent a multitude of missionaries to their New World territories in hopes of spreading European culture as well as Catholic doctrine and music to the Indigenous population there.⁴⁷ According to Koegel, both Spain and France put a greater importance on the performance of sacred music by Indigenous musicians than did their British rivals.⁴⁸ Notwithstanding the negative effects that the colonization of American lands by Europeans had on Indigenous people, such as warfare, disease, and cultural subjugation, ‘music usually served a powerful and positive force, one that was often willingly embraced by local peoples.’⁴⁹ Before the Spanish would establish the settlement of San Agustín, today’s Saint Augustine, Florida, in 1565, French Huguenots would

⁴³ Mann, *The Power*, 70.

⁴⁴ Mann, *The Power*, 72.

⁴⁵ Mann, *The Power*, 73.

⁴⁶ John Koegel, "Spanish and French Mission Music in Colonial North America." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 126, no. 1 (2001): 1. Accessed April 18, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3557512>.

⁴⁷ Koegel, "Spanish," 1.

⁴⁸ Koegel, "Spanish," 2.

⁴⁹ Koegel, "Spanish," 2.

build an ephemeral settlement forty miles north of San Agustín at Fort Caroline.⁵⁰ Contemporary accounts mention that the French were greeted by a multitude of Indians playing music on reed pipes.⁵¹ Both French and Spanish contingents would send musicians along with the colonizing forces to provide entertainment for soldiers and military officers, to perform music for military purposes, and probably to help cajole the local Indians to the “French cause”. The French were known to send a spinet-player, violin players, trumpet players, horn players, three drummers and at least one fifer.⁵² The military commander Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (1519-1574), who established the town of San Agustín in 1565, previously attacked the French at Fort Caroline, allowing only women, children, some Catholics, and musicians to be spared from being executed.⁵³ The sparing of the musicians at the attack at Fort Caroline implies that musicians were viewed as an important commodity and were probably a valuable element of the Spaniards’ diplomatic efforts. The musicians who were spared would be integrated into the group of instrumentalists brought by Avilés’ company.⁵⁴ This musical group included a harp player, viol player (*vihuela de arco*), six singers, and a dwarf dancer.⁵⁵ Within these early years of Spanish colonization in Florida, Indians and Spaniards would both hear each other’s music.⁵⁶ The Indian

⁵⁰ Koegel, “Spanish,” 2.

⁵¹ Koegel, “Spanish,” 2.

⁵² Koegel, “Spanish,” 2.

⁵³ Koegel, “Spanish,” 5.

⁵⁴ Koegel, “Spanish,” 5.

⁵⁵ Koegel, “Spanish,” 5.

⁵⁶ Koegel, “Spanish,” 5.

Cacique Carlos, provided a celebration in honor of Avilés and his soldiers where both Spanish and Indian music was performed.⁵⁷ Menéndez de Avilés commented in his official report:

On the following day, the adelantado set forth (to the feast) with 200 Harquebusiers (cavalry), a flying standard, two players of the pipe and tabor (snare drum played with sticks), three trumpeters, players of the harp, viol and psaltery, and a little dwarf who was a good dancer. The cacique Carlos ordered the meal to be brought in; many kinds of good stewed and broiled fish, and large oysters were served. In order to contribute to the feast, the adelantado ordered that a hundredweight of hardtack, jugs of wine and honey, and sugar be brought from the ship. He shared all of these things with the Indians, He also gave them some quince preserves. When the meal was brought in, the trumpeters who were waiting at a distance played and while the adelantado was eating the other instrumentalists played and the dwarf danced. Then five or six Indian men who had good voices sang. Since the adelantado was a music-lover, he always took with him a number of musicians. The Indians liked our music so much that the cacique Carlos told some girls who were singing some distance away from the feast to be quiet because the Christians knew a lot [about music?]⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Koegel, "Spanish," 5.

⁵⁸ Vida y Hechos de Pedro Menendez de Aviles, cavallero de la ordem de Sanctiago, adelantado de la Florida (Mexico City 1902) 92, 94. Cited in Koegel, "Spanish," 5. Translation by Koegel. "*Otro dia siguiente sale el adelantado con doscientos arcabuceros y una bandera y dos piphanos y tambores, tres trompetas, y una harpa, una bihuela de arco, y un salterio, y un enano muy chiquito, buen danzador. Manda traer la comida, donde ubo muchos generos de pescado muy buenos, cocidos y asados, ostiones, sin lo que el adelantado hizo desenbarcar, que fue un quintal de bizcocho, una botija de bino, y otra de miel, azúcar, y repartió por todos los yndios: dioles alguna confitura y carne de membrillo: cuando trageron la comida, tocaron las trompetas que estauan de fuera, y en cuanto comió el adelantado, tocaron los instrumentos y danzauba el enano: después cantaron cinco o seis gentiles hombres que tenían muy buenas boces, porque como el adelantado era amigo de musica, siempre traya consigo buen recaudo; contento a los yndios nuestra musica en tal manera, que el cacique dijo a las mozas que estauan de fuera cantando, que callasen porque los cristianos sauian mucho.*"

Although the mention of musical activities by contemporary sources in 16th century Spanish Florida are scant, it is evident from sources like Avilés' report that Spanish and Indian music were omnipresent, and that the music used by the Spanish in Florida was similar to the music being performed in the other territories of Spanish America.⁵⁹ Testimonies such as these also demonstrate the inherent potential that music had as a diplomatic device in the initial encounters between Amerindian and European cultures.

Franciscans in Florida were engaged in teaching liturgical and paraliturgical songs, and instrumental music to the Indigenous people of Florida in an attempt to convert them to Christianity.⁶⁰ This method of musical conversion was the same or similar to the evangelization tactics used by Franciscans throughout Mexico and Latin America.⁶¹ Soon after the initial arrival of the Spanish in Florida, missions are documented as having used part-singing (*canto de organo*) and chant, and according to Koegl, the parish at San Agustín had an organ.⁶²

New Mexico

In 1540, a Spanish expedition led by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado (1510-1554) commenced exploration into the modern day American Southwest.⁶³ The Franciscan missionary Juan de Padilla (1500-1542), who was part of Vasquez's expedition, is believed to have taught

⁵⁹ Koegel, "Spanish," 5.

⁶⁰ Koegel, "Spanish," 7.

⁶¹ Koegel, "Spanish," 7.

⁶² Koegel, "Spanish," 7.

⁶³ Koegel, "Spanish," 7.

European music to the Indians there.⁶⁴ The Vasquez expedition was short lived and the Spanish occupation of this territory was not realized for another fifty years when in 1598 Juan de Oñate (1550-1626) led his expedition to New Mexico. During the Oñate expedition European music was first effectively introduced to the Indians of New Mexico.⁶⁵ The pueblos of New Mexico were regularly being exposed to Catholic and military music and the frequent performing of these musical forms was seen as an effective strategy in the conquest and religious conversion of the Indigenous people.⁶⁶ By the late 1590s the Franciscans had already established missions in New Mexico, and by the early 1600s the missionary activity had healthily grown. By this time thirty missions had been established on the locations of existing pueblos.⁶⁷ Fray Cristòbal de Quiñones (d. 1609), a Franciscan, is credited as being the first trained music teacher in the American Southwest.⁶⁸ He is reported to have directed the building of the church in the pueblo of San Felipe and instructed the Indians to sing in the services there.⁶⁹ He is also believed to have had an organ installed at the same church.⁷⁰ The chronicler for the Franciscan Provincia del Santo Evangelio (The Province of the Holy Gospel), Fray Agustín de Vetancourt (1620-1700), wrote about Fray Quiñones in his *Menologo Franciscano*:

Fray Cristòbal de Quiñones, a son of our Province of the Holy Gospel, was a diligent worker in the conversion of the gentiles. He went to the New Mexican missions with this

⁶⁴ Koegel, "Spanish," 8.

⁶⁵ Koegel, "Spanish," 8.

⁶⁶ Koegel, "Spanish," 8.

⁶⁷ Koegel, "Spanish," 8.

⁶⁸ Koegel, "Spanish," 8.

⁶⁹ Koegel, "Spanish," 8.

⁷⁰ Koegel, "Spanish," 8.

strong desire. Learning the language of the Queres, in which he was well versed, he baptized many Indians, he was the Custos of the Order in New Mexico. With his accustomed charity, he sought to cure the sick and alleviate their suffering. He built a convent at San Felipe pueblo, where he also established a pharmacy and infirmary. He installed an organ to enrich the Divine Service and encouraged music-making by the skilled singers [whom he trained]. Full of virtue and depleted by work, he died on 27 April 1609.⁷¹

Vetancourt also mentions the *vitas* of two brothers, the Franciscans Bernardo and Juan de Marta.⁷² According to Vetancourt, Juan travelled to the Indies along with his brother and later died a martyr in Japan in 1618, but Bernardo, who was a music teacher, became a missionary in New Mexico where he was considered a “fine orator,” and “organist of the heavens.”⁷³ According to Ventancourt: “He also taught many Indians in different pueblos to sing and play instruments.”⁷⁴

⁷¹ Augustín de Vetancurt, *Menologio Franciscano De Los Varones Más Señalados: Que Con Sus Vidas Exemplares, Perfección Religiosa, Ciencia, Predicación Evangélica, En Su Vida, Y Muerte Ilustraron La Provincia De El Santo Evangelio De México*, (México: s.n., 1697). Cited in Koegel, “Spanish,” 12. Translation Koegel. “Fray Cristobal de Quiñones, hijo de esta Provincia del Santo Evangelio; fervoroso caron en la conversión de los infieles; con este desseo fue a las Custodia del Nuevo Mexico; aprendió el idioma de los Queres en que fue erudito; bautizo muchos infieles; fue Custodio; y con la charidad que tuvo compasiba solícito el alivio, y cura de los enfermos; hizo la iglesia y convento de S.Phelipe, donde puso botica, y le señaló para enfermería, por ser el temple acomodado; solicitó para el Culto Divino órganos, y musica, y por su diligencia aprendieron los naturales, y salieron para el Officio Divino diestros cantores, lleno de virtudes, y de trabajos; murio en S. Phelipe en 27 de Abril del año 1609.”

⁷² Koegel, “Spanish,” 12.

⁷³ Koegel, “Spanish,” 12.

⁷⁴ Augustín de Vetancurt, *Menologio Franciscano De Los Varones Más Señalados: Que Con Sus Vidas Exemplares, Perfección Religiosa, Ciencia, Predicación Evangélica, En Su Vida, Y Muerte Ilustraron La Provincia De El Santo Evangelio De México*, (México: s.n., 1697). Cited in Koegel, “Spanish,” 12.

Fray Roque de Figuredo, considered an expert in the performance of plainsong and polyphonic music, was a missionary in the territory of the Zuni people.⁷⁵ He was held in high regard by his fellow friars and was known to have a fine singing voice as well as being a gifted player of organ, dulcian (bajòn), and cornett (corneta).⁷⁶ Fray Alonso de Benavides (1578-1635), a church observer visiting the Zuni mission, commented in his report that as soon as Figuredo arrived to evangelize the Zuni people he immediately taught “canto de organo (part singing) to the boys with the best voices which enhanced the Mass and the divine service with much solemnity”.⁷⁷ Fray Esteban de Perea (b 1566), also a Franciscan, also taught European music to Indigenous peoples in New Mexico.⁷⁸ Perea was an influential figure in New Mexico, frequently using his clout to resolve the friction between the Franciscans and Spanish jurisdictions.⁷⁹ This influence, in the form of grievances to the Inquisition of Mexico City, led to the appointment of Fray Alonso de Benavides to the position of Custos of the Franciscan missions of New Mexico and Commissary of the Holy Office for New Mexico in 1623.⁸⁰ Benavides was given more than 20,000 pesos to purchase and ship supplies needed for his new position.⁸¹ Besides food stuffs, tools, religious garments and ornaments, the list of necessities included a variety of musical supplies, three large choir books, five bells, one set of *chirimias* and a *bajon*, five sets of missals of the saints of the Franciscan order, five ritual books, five antiphonaries composed by Fray

⁷⁵ Koegel, “Spanish,” 13. Translation by Koegel. “*Enseño a tocar y cantar a los Naturales en muchos pueblos...*”

⁷⁶ Koegel, “Spanish,” 13.

⁷⁷ Koegel, “Spanish,” 13.

⁷⁸ Koegel, “Spanish,” 13.

⁷⁹ Koegel, “Spanish,” 13.

⁸⁰ Koegel, “Spanish,” 13.

⁸¹ Koegel, “Spanish,” 13.

Geronimo who was the Ciruelo of the Franciscan order, and five choir books for Mass and Vespers.⁸² Two reports of Benavides' visit to the missions of New Mexico (to King Phillip the IV in 1630 and Pope Urban in VIII 1634) state that schools for the learning of European music were founded at San Felipe, Galisteo, Pecos, Isleta pueblos, Santa Fe, El Paso (part of modern day Texas), and Sandia.⁸³ It is likely that instruction in part-singing and accompaniment would have been a common part of the curriculum in the aforementioned schools, as this was the type of musical instruction with which Fray Figuredo evangelized the Zuni people, and was commonplace in the Spanish governed pueblos in Mexico. The reports also mention that part-singing (*canto de organo*) in church services was accompanied by *chirimias*, *bajones*, and trumpets, and that Fray Tomás de Carrasco, from the pueblo at Taos, directed a "choir of excellent Indian musicians".⁸⁴ In Benavides' words, "Most outstanding in this pueblo is the marvelous choir of wonderful boy musicians, whose voices the friar (Carrasco) chose from among more than a thousand who attended the schools of Christian teaching."⁸⁵ What is most significant about this statement, besides the acknowledgment of the high quality of Indian singers, is Benavides' mention of "more than a thousand who attended schools of Christian teaching". This reveals the success of Christianization, musical evangelization in particular; in New Mexico as opposed to its unfulfillment among the Indigenous peoples of the 15th and 16th century Caribbean islands. In the 1600s the Spanish crown was funding the Franciscan Order with money to purchase food, clothing, building materials, objects for religious matters and

⁸² Koegel, "Spanish," 14.

⁸³ Koegel, "Spanish," 14.

⁸⁴ Koegel, "Spanish," 15.

⁸⁵ Fray Alonso de Benavides, "Revised Memorial," ed. Hodge and Hammond and Rey, 71. Cited in Koegel, "Spanish," 15.

rituals, musical instruments, and liturgical books as well as for the allowances for newly assigned missionaries.⁸⁶ The financial support from the Crown meant that supplies for the missionaries were arriving regularly to New Mexico and that the missionaries for whom those supplies were sent were growing in number. The increase in musical activity is reflected in a report from 1661 that mentions that wherever there was an organ in New Mexico there was also an organist.⁸⁷ A document from 1664 states that in 17 of the New Mexican pueblos there existed excellent musical choirs, organs, and musical libraries, and that nineteen of the missions in these pueblos owned collections of instruments.⁸⁸ Out of all of the seventeen pueblos, Santo Domingo, Isleta and Acoma were the most highly regarded in terms of musical excellence (15). These reports all indicate that the missionaries in New Mexico were achieving a high success rate in music education and that the Crown was heavily investing in the musical infrastructure of the missions there.⁸⁹ Koegel mentions that the authorities of Mexico City regularly instructed the missionaries to send inventories of church possessions to the capital.⁹⁰ The inventory reports from 1672 mention that the pueblos of Oraibi and Shongopovi in the Hopi territory each had a “band of very skilled singers and sufficient [liturgical] books.”⁹¹ Within these documents are also mentions of a large organ, a set of *chirimias*, bassoon, and trumpets, at the Acoma pueblo,

⁸⁶ Koegel, “Spanish,” 15.

⁸⁷ Koegel, “Spanish,” 15.

⁸⁸ Koegel, “Spanish,” 15.

⁸⁹ Koegel, “Spanish,” 16.

⁹⁰ Koegel, “Spanish,” 16.

⁹¹ Fray Jose de Espeletta, “Memoria y Relación de Algunas Cosas Sacadas Fiel y Legalmente del Libro en que Están Escritas las Cosas Pertenecientes a la Iglesia y Sacristía de Oraiuí, Último Poblado del Mundo Xongopauí,” (August, 1672, Archivo Franciscano, Biblioteca Nacional de México) 19/423.1, ff. 1-2. Cited in Koegel, “Spanish,” 16.

trumpets, *chirimias*, and trumpets at the churches at both the Tajique and Chilili pueblos.⁹²

During the second half of the 17th century, the community of Franciscans and Spanish settlers was forced to abandon their pueblos and migrate down to El Paso as a result of Indian revolts, Apache raids, drought and famine.⁹³ The missionaries did not return to the northern pueblos for a decade, but promptly re-established religious and musical operations when they did.⁹⁴ By the late 17th century, the inventories produced by the New Mexican missions affirmed that the New Mexican churches had continued to use instruments, musical supplies, and employ teachers of music.⁹⁵

In the New Mexican pueblos the Franciscans were able to achieve tremendous accomplishments in religious conversion and music education. From the time of their arrival in New Mexico, the Franciscans heavily relied on music to captivate the Indigenous people and beckon them to the church. The blueprint for evangelization used by the Franciscans in New Mexico followed a template for evangelization established earlier by their brethren in Central Mexico and in other territories of New Spain.⁹⁶ One effective technique taken from the early missionaries in Central Mexico was the allowance of native cultural elements and traditions in Christian worship.⁹⁷ This technique would be integral to the successful missionary work which was being conducted by Fray Bernardino de Sahagun and Fray Pedro de Gante in Central Mexico.

⁹² Koegel, "Spanish," 16.

⁹³ Koegel, "Spanish," 17.

⁹⁴ Koegel, "Spanish," 17.

⁹⁵ Koegel, "Spanish," 17.

⁹⁶ Koegel, "Spanish," 22.

⁹⁷ Koegel, "Spanish," 22.

Music and Education in Central New Spain

On August 13, 1523 shortly after the Spanish conquest of the Aztec people, Fray Pedro de Gante (1480-1572) often credited with being the first teacher of European music in America arrived in New Spain.⁹⁸ Soon after, he began to teach Catholic doctrine through the use of music.⁹⁹ He was accompanied by two friars, Arnaldo de Bassacio and Juan Caro, both would found a *schola cantorum* in the chapel at San Jose for the purpose of adding chant and polyphonic singing to the celebration of the mass.¹⁰⁰ All three of these men spoke Nahuatl and implemented music in their teaching of Christian doctrine as well as reading and writing.¹⁰¹ Gante began his work in Texcoco, Mexico (1532) by instructing the sons of the local nobility in Christian doctrine as well as reading, writing, singing, and playing musical instruments.¹⁰² After that he continued to teach at the new Franciscan convent of San Francisco el Grande in Mexico City in late 1526 or early 1527.¹⁰³ In a letter to King Phillip II of Spain, de Gante lamented that there were three years where he struggled immensely to connect with the native people.¹⁰⁴ He described their behavior to that of animals who flee the church as the devil flees from the cross.¹⁰⁵ According to de Gante, all aspects of the natives worship to their gods involved singing

⁹⁸ Candelaria, "Psalmody," 619-684.

⁹⁹ Mann, "The Power," 75.

¹⁰⁰ Mann, "The Power," 75.

¹⁰¹ Mann, "The Power," 75.

¹⁰² Candelaria, "Psalmody," 619-684.

¹⁰³ Candelaria, "Psalmody," 619-684.

¹⁰⁴ Candelaria, "Psalmody," 619-684.

¹⁰⁵ Candelaria, "Psalmody," 619-684.

and dancing before them.¹⁰⁶ These aspects of native Mexican worship as described by Gante have a great similarity to the manner of musical worship performed by the Taino of Hispaniola, who performed the *areito* in their religious rituals, as described by Gómara's account in the first chapter of this thesis. To remedy his setbacks with the Mexica, de Gante began to develop a way of writing Christian music that would be performed in the manner of the native people.¹⁰⁷ One of the songs which he wrote he himself described as '*very solemn, about the Law of God, the Faith, how God became man to save the human race, and how He was born of the Virgin Mary leaving her pure and intact.*'¹⁰⁸ Besides writing in a style that would integrate the native practices, de Gante provided wardrobes for the natives for them to decorate and don during the dances, which was already a custom of the Mexica.¹⁰⁹ Around the year 1527, a song and dance ceremony was premiered in a courtyard of the monastery of San Francisco in Mexico City after a rehearsal period of two months on a Christmas night. In his own description of that ceremony, he wrote, the indigenous of New Spain "first came to the obedience of this church and, since then, the churches and the patios [courtyards], swell with people."¹¹⁰ In the time following that Christmas night, de Gante declared that the "many ceremonies that [the natives] had dedicated to the demons had soon been forgotten."¹¹¹ This letter from de Gante to King Phillip II of Spain is an

¹⁰⁶ Candelaria, "Psalmodia,"619-684.

¹⁰⁷ Candelaria, "Psalmodia,"619-684.

¹⁰⁸ Candelaria, "Psalmodia,"619-684.

¹⁰⁹ Candelaria, "Psalmodia,"619-684.

¹¹⁰ "Carta de Fr. Pedro de Gante al Rey D. Felipe II (duplicado)" in Garcia Icazbalceta, ed., Nueva Colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, vol. 2, Codice Franciscano, siglo XVI, 211-16.1. Cited in Candelaria, "Psalmodia,"619-684. Translation by Candelaria. " ...*desta manera vinieron primeramente a la obediencia de la Iglesia, y desde entonces se hinchen la iglesias y patios de gente...*"

¹¹¹ "Carta de Fr. Pedro de Gante al Rey D. Felipe II (duplicado)" in Garcia Icazbalceta, ed., Nueva Colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, vol. 2, Codice Franciscano, siglo XVI, 214-15.. Cited in Candelaria,

important artifact to this study. De Gante's description gives us first hand insight into the techniques developed by missionary music teachers, and how those techniques were adapted in order to function as a tool of religious conversion.

In accordance with the doctrine of Fray Alonso de Molina (1513-1579), Indigenous neophytes were taught prayers, such as the *Pater Noster*, *Salve Regina*, and *Ave Maria*, through texts translated into native dialects and set to music.¹¹² According to Mann, the neophytes were taught prayers and doctrine in a call and response manner, which involved a "catechist asking a question and the students repeating a standard answer."¹¹³ This question and answer type of learning was occasionally set to music, as is evident from a Franciscan training manual from the college at Zacatecas which "instructed friars to teach children by singing the doctrina."¹¹⁴ One of the ways missionaries were able to facilitate the spread of Catholic teachings in Mexico was by drawing on different aspects of native culture.¹¹⁵ In the other areas of New Spain, just as Fray de Gante had done in Mexico City, the Franciscans drew upon the Mexica's affinity for art (painting), dance, and music; inserting Christian meanings onto native Nahua songs and dances.¹¹⁶ Religious dramas performed on feast days and holidays involved numerous indigenous

"Psalmodia," 619-684. Translation by Candelaria. "...muchas ceremonias que ellos tenían, dedicadas a los demonios...lo iban quitando, de tal manera, que en poco tiempo no había memoria de ello."

¹¹² Mann, "The Power," 75.

¹¹³ Mann, "The Power," 75.

¹¹⁴ Mann, "The Power," 75.

¹¹⁵ Mann, "The Power," 75.

¹¹⁶ Mann, "The Power," 75.

men and boys as well as women in all of the facets of production, which involved writing scripts, designing and making costumes, and performing.¹¹⁷

In some circumstances pre-conquest indigenous music and dance rituals were allowed by the missionaries.¹¹⁸ In the Central Mexican Valley, the Montezuma Mitote, a combination of interpretive dance and pantomime which was originally performed to venerate the then Aztec Emperor Montezuma, was now being performed in a slightly altered form where the gestures of veneration and honor were directed toward the Eucharist and sacraments instead of the Emperor.¹¹⁹ A version of this ritual is recorded to have been performed shortly after Lent at the Colegio San Gregorio.¹²⁰ The arts were used to teach doctrine throughout the Spanish Empire and according to Mann, music, drama, and festivities drew communities to the church.¹²¹ The techniques used by the Fransiscans, De Gante and Vetancurt (liturgical drama, painting, drawing and song) which were successful in filling the churches and courtyards with more people than they can hold and “paying honors to our saviour Jesus that formerly had been paid to devils,” would be replicated by Fransiscans in Quito, Ecuador, and in Peru.¹²² Beyond teaching doctrine, these techniques instilled European customs, culture, discipline and behavior into the natives so that they could cultivate an understanding of doctrine in the manner of the European colleges.¹²³ The indigenous students and their teachers would take part in celebrations and performances as

¹¹⁷ Mann, “The Power,” 76.

¹¹⁸ Mann, “The Power,” 76.

¹¹⁹ Mann, “The Power,” 80.

¹²⁰ Mann, “The Power,” 80.

¹²¹ Mann, “The Power,” 76.

¹²² Mann, “The Power,” 77.

¹²³ Mann, “The Power,” 77.

well as chant the divine offices that were in the same manner as the celebrations and performances at the institutions of higher learning in Europe.¹²⁴

A report which was prepared by the Franciscans for the visit of the president of the Council of the Indies, Licenciado Juan de Ovando, describes the role of sacred music in New Spain:

The Indians themselves play...instruments and their harmonious sounding together is truly a wonderful attraction to Christianity as far as the generality of the natives is concerned. The music is most necessary. The adornment of the church and all of the beauty of the music lifts their spirits to God and centers their minds on spiritual things.¹²⁵

Fray Martin de Valencia (1474-1534) also gives a description of the Franciscan methods of musical and religious instruction:

We devote much time to them, teaching them how to read, write, sing both plainsong and polyphonic music. We teach them how to sing the canonical hours and how to assist at mass; and we try to encourage the highest standards of living and conduct.¹²⁶

Friars thought that performance, painting, and practice would keep the minds of the students' minds away from material interests and the uneasiness brought on by the impingement of Spanish rule, such as disease and social interruption.¹²⁷ Indian students in the valley of Mexico

¹²⁴ Mann, "The Power," 77.

¹²⁵ Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México, vol. II, 65-66. Cited in Mann, "The Power," 77.

¹²⁶ Martín de Valencia to Charles V, 1532, *Cartas de Indias* (Madrid: Imprenta de M.G. Hernandez, 1877), 56. Cited in Mann, "The Power," 77.

¹²⁷ Mann, "The Power," 77.

were taught chant, polyphony, instrument making, performance and copying music.¹²⁸ After students had achieved a certain level of education they were sent out to other pueblos to work as translators, teachers, and musicians for the church.¹²⁹ This successful relaying of musical and doctrinal education from missionary to native and then from native to native was not a mere coincidence, but an extension in the pattern evangelization initiated by the Laws of Burgos on Hispaniola, and realized in the conquest of the Inca territories.

Psalmodia Christiana

Psalmodia Christiana (Christian Psalmody) is a Hispanic devotional psalm book written by Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, which dates to the 16th century.¹³⁰ This psalm book was written in Mexico and is compiled of 236 folios which contain 333 short religious songs and includes fifty-four illustrations of Christ and saints of the Catholic Church.¹³¹ The main purpose of this book was to educate the native *Mexica* people, as is clear from the title, *Christian Psalmody and Sermonary for the Saints in the Year 1583 in the Language of the Mexica [Nahuatl]* Written by the Very Reverend Friar Bernardino de Sahagun of the Order of Saint Francis, in Christian doctrine.¹³² Fray Sahagun wrote the song book in a Hispanicized version of the Mexican dialect of *Nahuatl*.¹³³ After the Spanish occupation of Mexico (1519) this Hispano-Nahuatl dialect

¹²⁸ Mann, "The Power," 77.

¹²⁹ Mann, "The Power," 78.

¹³⁰ Candelaria, "Psalmody," 619..

¹³¹ Candelaria, "Psalmody," 619.

¹³² Candelaria, "Psalmody," 620.

¹³³ Candelaria, "Psalmody," 620.

became the main language in Mexico's central valley region.¹³⁴ It was spoken by the Mexican peoples as well as by Mestizos, Criollos, Spaniards and Blacks.¹³⁵ Even bi-lingual and trilingual peoples around New Spain spoke Nahuatl, and its popularity led to it being the more frequently used language for religious instruction in indigenous settlements.¹³⁶ For Example, the Bishop of Tlaxcala, Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, spoke Nahuatl fluently and maintained the use of Nahuatl when he carried out the sacraments in native villages.¹³⁷ According to Lorenzo Candelaria, this psalm book is unique because the lessons within it were intended to be sung and danced by the Mexica.¹³⁸ A very interesting detail in this book comes from the descriptions of observations made by the Spaniards of the song and dance rituals performed by the Mexica.¹³⁹ Candelaria asserts that the Spaniards at first, incorrectly, called these "dynamic forms of religious singing and dancing," *areito*. He then specifies that this term is actually the name of a similar type of communal song and dance form performed by the Taino of Hispaniola and observed by the Spanish at the turn of the 15th century.¹⁴⁰ The term *areito* was first mentioned by the historian Francisco Lopez de Gomara, as is mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis. This matter of the term *areito* is also discussed in the writings of Franciscan friar Toribio de Benavente (d. 1569), who specifies that the word *areito* is a term from the islands (vocabulo de

¹³⁴ Candelaria, "Psalmody,"620.

¹³⁵ Irene Chavez-Barcenas, "Native Song and Dance," in *Acoustemologies in Contact: Sounding Subjects and Modes of Listening in Early Modernity* (2021) 43.

¹³⁶ Barcenas, "Native Song," 43.

¹³⁷ Barcenas, "Native Song," 44.

¹³⁸ Candelaria, "Psalmody,"619-684.

¹³⁹ Candelaria, "Psalmody,"619-684.

¹⁴⁰ Candelaria, "Psalmody,"619-684.

las islas).¹⁴¹ The terms used by the Mexica for their own religious songs and dances were *netotiliztli*, dances for recreation and amusement, and *macehualiztli*, solemn dances.¹⁴² The lessons in Sahagun's *psalmodia* are arranged in canticles of psalms created to be performed in churches by the Mexica people.¹⁴³ The psalms in this book were used to relate biblical stories and characters to the native Mexica. In one example, the Spanish conquerors are shown as the warriors of God who are sent to deliver the Mexica from the devils by whom they were enslaved.¹⁴⁴ In another example, the book relates the life of Saint Hippolytus to the Mexican neophytes.¹⁴⁵ Saint Hippolytus was originally a pagan who was converted by Saint Lawrence. This was intended to make a connection between Saint Hippolytus and the Mexica people, who, like Hippolytus, were pagans and were to be saved, in their case, by the Spanish missionaries.¹⁴⁶

There are two other manuscripts of music written in the Nahuatl language that date from the 16th century. One is the *Cantares Mexicanos* (Songs of the Aztecs) and the other is the *Romances de los señores de la Nueva España* (Romances of the Lords of New Spain).¹⁴⁷ Both of these manuscripts are significant because they each describe two-tone drumming patterns to be performed on the native Mexican percussion instruments, huehuetl or teponaztli during the

¹⁴¹ Candelaria, "Psalmodia,"619-684.

¹⁴² Candelaria, "Psalmodia,"619-684.

¹⁴³ Candelaria, "Psalmodia,"619-684.

¹⁴⁴ Candelaria, "Psalmodia,"619-684.

¹⁴⁵ Candelaria, "Psalmodia,"619-684.

¹⁴⁶ Candelaria, "Psalmodia,"619-684.

¹⁴⁷ "Cantares mexicanos," Mexico City, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 1628-bis; "Romances de los Señores de la Nueva España," The University of Texas at Austin, Ms. CDG-980 (G-59). Cited in Candelaria, "Psalmodia,"619-684.

performances of some of these songs.¹⁴⁸ These instruments were essential to native Mexican religious ceremonies.¹⁴⁹ In the *Cantares Mexicanos*, there are several songs referred to as *melahuac cuicatl*.¹⁵⁰ These are songs that are written in the plainchant style of the Catholic Church but in the Nahuatl language.¹⁵¹

The *Psalmodia Christiana*, *Cantares Mexicanos*, and *Romances de los señores de la Nueva España* are evidence that the Spanish missionaries were using and adapting European sacred music in order to teach and convert the native Mexica. This proposes the possibility that the missionaries working on the island of Hispaniola could have been using the same or very similar processes in their missionary work. However, there is at least one problem with this assumption. Fray Pedro de Gante, credited as being the first teacher of European music in America, arrived in the Americas in 1523, thirty years after the arrival of the first missionaries to the island of Hispaniola. This means that there is a possibility that the lack of information about musical conversion from the 15th and 16th centuries in Hispaniola is a result of possible lack of “official” teachers of music on the island for the first thirty years of its conquest. However, this is not to say that music was not being used as a part of evangelization since, as was mentioned earlier, Franciscan missionaries placed a great importance on the use of music for evangelization.

¹⁴⁸ Candelaria, "Psalmody," 619-684.

¹⁴⁹ Candelaria, "Psalmody," 619-684.

¹⁵⁰ Candelaria, "Psalmody," 619-684.

¹⁵¹ Candelaria, "Psalmody," 619-684.

Villancicos

One of the most important musical genres used in the Hispano-American Catholic church during the 16th-19th centuries was the *villancico*. The word *villancico* was first used to describe a refrain from a bucolic, popular song and then later evolved to describe a variety of poetic and musical models based on the same type of refrain.¹⁵² These songs originated as popular medieval dance tunes that eventually, gradually, became associated with religious topics by the late 16th century.¹⁵³ As Dutcher-Mann describes: “They were sung in the vernacular, based on popular tunes with dance-like rhythms, and contained verses with easily memorizable refrains.”¹⁵⁴ The Christianization of the *villancico* became a strategy used by the church in Spain to attract neophytes. In the 16th century in Seville, the church determined that conducting processions outside of the churches accompanied by music was an effective way of getting the city residents to participate in the Divine Office and increased the population’s devotion.¹⁵⁵ The *villancico* would later be used in the same manner to attract the Indigenous peoples of the Americas to Catholicism.

By the 17th century, the *villancico* became predominantly religious and was often used in cathedrals and monasteries as a replacement for Latin responsorials during Matins, at Christmas and the feast of the Epiphany.¹⁵⁶ It was also used during the Marian feast of the Immaculate

¹⁵² Isabel Pope, Paul R. Laird “Villancico,” Grove Music Online, 2001, Accessed 12 Apr. 2021.

¹⁵³ Mann. “Musical Cultures,” 50.

¹⁵⁴ Mann. “Musical Cultures,” 51.

¹⁵⁵ Mann. “Musical Cultures,” 50.

¹⁵⁶ Laird “Villancico.”

Conception, in procession for Corpus Christi, and for Saint's day celebrations.¹⁵⁷ According to Paul R. Laird, during the 17th and 18th centuries, the *villancico* was one of the most "pervasive" musical genres in the western world and had become a symbolic social phenomenon.¹⁵⁸ While the *villancico* maintained its core religious underpinnings, it often became integrated with characters taken from popular theatre, such as "cowardly peasants, foolish mayors, and stereotypical representations of minority groups."¹⁵⁹ This integration, in turn, expressed the contemporary demographic and social milieu of the different Spanish territories in the world.¹⁶⁰ The use of minority groups, such as Amerindians, as characters in the *villancicos* was intended to create a strong connection between the indigenous neophytes and the characters, such as humble shepherds adoring the Christ child, being portrayed in the songs. This forging of these connections is similar to Bernardino de Sahagun's songs describing the life of Saint Hippolytus and how connections were made between the Saint and the Mexica people.¹⁶¹ By the 1650's, a multitude of *villancicos* were being composed by the chapel masters at important religious institutions throughout Spain, Portugal and Latin America.¹⁶²

In America, the *villancico* was used to celebrate the same religious celebrations as it was historically used for in Spain.¹⁶³ *Villancicos* were performed during the 16th-19th centuries at significant religious sites such as the cathedrals at Mexico City, Puebla, Lima, La Plata, and

¹⁵⁷ Laird "Villancico."

¹⁵⁸ Laird "Villancico."

¹⁵⁹ Laird "Villancico."

¹⁶⁰ Laird "Villancico."

¹⁶¹ Candelaria, "Psalmody," 619-684.

¹⁶² Laird "Villancico."

¹⁶³ Laird "Villancico."

Bogotá.¹⁶⁴ In the same way that Bernardino de Sahagun Pedro de Gante used the appropriation of Indigenous language and music to lure native Mexicans to Christian teachings, the *villancico* was also being modified with Nahuatl song and dance tradition for the same purpose.¹⁶⁵ Notable composers of *villancicos* and poetry used to set *villancicos* in America include Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (1590-1664), who was *maestro de capilla* at Puebla, and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648-1695).¹⁶⁶ Sor Juana was a Jeronymite nun and poet who wrote many popular *villancico* texts (at least twenty sets) for use at the Cathedrals of Mexico City and Puebla.¹⁶⁷ Her texts were set to music by Mexican composers such as Antonio de Salazar (1650-1715), and Joseph de Loaysa y Agurto.¹⁶⁸ Besides writing some works in a mixed Hispano-Nahuatl language, some of Sor Juana's most important literary accomplishments include her *villancicos de Negros* (Black *villancicos*).¹⁶⁹ Traditionally, the *villancicos de Negros* were a subset of what Geoffrey Baker refers to as an "Ethnic *Villancico*," a subgenre of *villancico* in which "sections were sung by non-Castilian characters."¹⁷⁰ In the *villancicos de Negros*, sections are sung by white singers imitating the behavior and speech of black Africans.¹⁷¹ Although *villancicos de Negros* often depicted black Africans in a comedic light, emphasizing on their love of dance and music.¹⁷² Sor

¹⁶⁴ Laird "Villancico."

¹⁶⁵ Barcenas, "Native Song," 39.

¹⁶⁶ Laird "Villancico."

¹⁶⁷ Robert Stevenson. "Juana Inés de la Cruz, Sor," Grove Music Online, 2001, Retrieved 14 Apr. 2021.

¹⁶⁸ Stevenson, "Juana."

¹⁶⁹ Stevenson, "Juana."

¹⁷⁰ Geoffrey Baker, "The Ethnic Villancico," in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World*, (Adlershot, Hampshire, England: Ashgate 2007) 399.

¹⁷¹ Baker, "The Ethnic." 399.

¹⁷² Baker, "The Ethnic." 399.

Juana's *villancicos de Negros* have been lauded for their compassionate portrayal of Africans and the bitter reality of their daily lives.¹⁷³ A prime example of this can be seen in Sor Juana's *villancico* for the Assumption (1676), in which the two African characters express their sadness and the tribulations they have experienced from their labor in textile mills.¹⁷⁴

Gaspar Fernandes (1566-1629)

Some of the most notable examples of the *villancico* genre were composed during the 16th-17th centuries by Gaspar Fernandes (1566-1629). His collection of *villancicos*, *Cancionero Musical de Gaspar Fernández*, is one of the most extensive compilations of the genre from the 17th century Spanish Americas.¹⁷⁵ Fernandes was a Portuguese composer and organist who emigrated from Portugal to the Americas and by 1599 is listed as being the organist at Guatemala Cathedral.¹⁷⁶ By 1606 he was appointed *Maestro de Capilla* at the Puebla Cathedral where he would be in charge of organ playing as well as teaching polyphony to the cathedral's choir boys.¹⁷⁷ As chapel master of the Puebla cathedral, one of the highest positions in the viceroyalty of Mexico, Fernandez's duties involved the composition of new *villancicos*, of which he would compose more than 250 for major church festivals between 1609 and 1620.¹⁷⁸ Included in his extant works are four *villancicos* written in Nahuatl and *Mestizo* for Christmas celebrations in

¹⁷³ Baker, "The Ethnic." 404.

¹⁷⁴ Stevenson, "Juana."

¹⁷⁵ Barcenas, "Native Song," 50.

¹⁷⁶ Stevenson, "Fernandes."

¹⁷⁷ Stevenson, "Fernandes."

¹⁷⁸ Laird "Villancico."

Puebla between the years 1610-1614.¹⁷⁹ *Mestizo*, defined by Merriam-Webster as being a person of mixed European and Amerindian genealogy, is described by Barcenas as being a “mixed dialect which imitates the way in which Nahuatl speakers pronounced Spanish.”¹⁸⁰ These Nahuatl-Mestizo compositions are referred to as *Villancicos en Indio* (villancicos in Indian) by Barcenas.¹⁸¹ I conclude from Barcena’s identification of this genre, that *villancicos en Indio* can be viewed as another subset of what Baker refers to as the “ethnic villancico,”¹⁸² and classified in the same league as the *villancicos de Negros*. In *villancicos en Indio*, Indigenous Mexicans are often depicted as the gentle laborers, commiserating with Christ’s hardship and martyrdom.¹⁸³ Although some of the *villancicos* composed by Gaspar Fernandes were in the Nahuatl language, they were not written to be performed by native singers and dancers, but by trained members of the chapel or Cathedral.¹⁸⁴ Despite the fact that the general population of Indigenous parishioners did not sing these *villancicos* and they would have frequently heard new *villancicos* written in vernacular texts, since this genre was the only type performed during the liturgy.¹⁸⁵ We can infer that while the Natives were not being taught the *villancicos* by rote, they were still able to absorb biblical narratives through hearing the music reign down in their own language.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁹ Barcenas, “Native Song,” 39.

¹⁸⁰ Barcenas, “Native Song,” 51.

¹⁸¹ Barcenas, “Native Song,” 51.

¹⁸² Baker, “The Ethnic.” 399.

¹⁸³ Barcenas, “Native Song,” 51.

¹⁸⁴ Barcenas, “Native Song,” 50.

¹⁸⁵ Barcenas, “Native Song,” 51.

¹⁸⁶ Barcenas, “Native Song,” 51.

In Fernandes' four *villancicos* for Christmas, Indigenous Mexicans are portrayed as shepherds in the nativity scene.¹⁸⁷ The texts of these four songs represent monologues depicting a Native person (shepherd) partaking in a biblical scene, in the case of these songs, the moment the adoration of the Christ child.¹⁸⁸ Barcenas has argued that these depictions were “an image rooted in a post-Tridentine pastoral tradition that promoted the spiritual values of humility, innocence, and servitude, especially during the Christmas season.”¹⁸⁹ One of these *villancicos*, *Xicochi Conetzintle* (Sleep Sweet Baby), depicts the Native character singing a lullaby to the infant Jesus.¹⁹⁰ The merging of Nahuatl and *Mestizo* dialects is visible in different sections of the text. The text: *cao mizhuihuijoco in angelosme, Aleloya*, translates to “because the angels have come to lull you, Alleluia.”¹⁹¹ Words such as *cao mizhuihuijoco* are from the Nahuatl language, but *Aleloya*, an example of *Mestizo*, mimics a Nahuatl speaker pronouncing the word Alleluia.¹⁹² The use of the Nahuatl and *Mestizo* dialects in these songs gave the would-be converts to the faith a sense of familiarity; one that could directly link them to Nahuatl traditions.¹⁹³ In another of Fernandes' *villancicos* for Christmas entitled *Jesos de mi Gorazon* (Jesus of My Heart), it is believed that Fernandez drew inspiration from traditional Mexican song and dance rhythms as well as language.¹⁹⁴ In the same manner as *Xicochi Coneztintle*, the text in *Jeso de mi Gorazon*

¹⁸⁷ Barcenas, “Native Song,” 39.

¹⁸⁸ Barcenas, “Native Song,” 52.

¹⁸⁹ Barcenas, “Native Song,” 39.

¹⁹⁰ Barcenas, “Native Song,” 52.

¹⁹¹ Barcenas, “Native Song,” 52.

¹⁹² Barcenas, “Native Song,” 51.

¹⁹³ Barcenas, “Native Song,” 49.

¹⁹⁴ Barcenas, “Native Song,” 54.

uses *Mestizo* words, such as *Jesos* (Jesus) and *Gorazon* (heart).¹⁹⁵ In the only section of the song that is fully in Nahuatl, where the text reads: *tleycan timochoquilia* (why are you crying?) the music suddenly changes to a homorhythmic texture.¹⁹⁶ It is conceivable that in this section of the music Fernandes was inspired by the drumming pattern of the *Teponatzli*, the slit drum traditionally played along with the *Huehuetl* (skin drum) during Mexican ritual song and dance.¹⁹⁷

The gradual evolution of sacred music in America from the time of the first arrival of the Spanish colonizers depended on, among other things, the willingness of the church and its officiates to compromise their views of the proper use of music, the ability and eagerness of the missionaries to understand and syncretize Native rituals, languages, and culture with Christian foundations, and the receptivity of the Native people to doctrinal learning. The success of the religious orders in America, particularly that of the Franciscans, in indoctrinating Indigenous populations through music education, is a testament to the efficiency of the musical techniques described in this chapter and used by missionaries around the western hemisphere. The skill and steadfast dedication of these missionaries as teachers of music is only matched by their relentless loyalty to the spreading of Christianity to those who they deemed deserving of salvation.

The territories that experienced the arrival of Christianity in the 15th - 17th centuries, which have been discussed earlier in this chapter, were all discovered for the Spanish after the initial arrival of the conquistadors and the first missionaries to Hispaniola and the islands of the Caribbean. Notwithstanding, the history of the evangelization of the native people of Hispaniola

¹⁹⁵ Barcenas, "Native Song," 52.

¹⁹⁶ Barcenas, "Native Song," 54.

¹⁹⁷ Barcenas, "Native Song," 54.

remains equivocal, especially when considering the wealth of evidence of musical evangelization in the surrounding Spanish-American colonial territories. Auspiciously, the evidence of musical conversion discussed throughout this chapter can enlighten the ambiguous history of the missionary activity in colonial Hispaniola. Through understanding the activities of the missionary orders in Mexico, South America, south west U.S. and Florida, we can make inferences about the possible history of the evangelization of the Indigenous people of Hispaniola.

Chapter 3

The Taino, The Crown, and The Cross

The colonial history of the island of Hispaniola is a difficult one, rife with war, revolts, enslavements, and changes in regime. The history of the Christianization of this island and of the activities of the missionaries who arrived there around 500 years ago is also complex, and becomes even more ambiguous when the question of evangelization through music is proposed. However, the evidence of the activities of the Catholic religious orders in the other Spanish territories besides Hispaniola, particularly the use of music as a tool for evangelization of Natives and neophytes, has revealed that religious music education was commonplace in the New World during the 16th-18th centuries. Conversely, my investigation did not discover any second hand studies concerning this same type of evangelization in colonial Hispaniola during the 15th and 16th centuries. However, in the course of my research I have discovered fragments of first hand evidence which confirm the existence of sacred music in 15th and 16th century Hispaniola and its use as a device for the evangelization of the Native islanders. This evidence comes in the form of correspondences between the officials of Hispaniola and the Spanish Crown and councils, and will be presented later in this chapter.

That notwithstanding, the evidence concerning religious musical activity in Hispaniola pales in comparison to the scope of evidence concerning this same topic found in places such as Mexico, the South West U.S., and South America. One possible explanation for this lack of information could come as a result of the destruction of Santo Domingo by the English explorer

and privateer Sir Francis Drake (1540-1596) in 1586.¹ The sacking of the city of Santo Domingo by Drake resulted in the burning of a large number of civic and religious buildings and the loss of the oldest archives in the Spanish Caribbean.² Anthropologist and ethnomusicologist Martha Ellen Davis affirms that the lost archives possibly contained ninety years' worth of documents regarding Spanish presence in Hispaniola.³ This great loss of documentation certainly poses an enormous problem for this thesis, however, I propose that there exists a multi-faceted answer to the question of the lack of evidence concerning musical evangelization of Natives in Hispaniola; one which is connected to the fact that Hispaniola was the starting point of the coexistence between Spanish and Amerindian cultures and the testing site for the Spanish-Catholic experiment of colonization and Christianization in the New World. I argue that the difficulties associated with the initial conquest of Hispaniola, in which; the mismanagement of the island by secular and clerical establishments, indigenous revolts as a result of the subjugation of its native people, the premature decline of the Indigenous population as a result of enslavement, disease and maltreatment, the consistent conflict among the religious orders present on the island, and the early abandonment of the island by clerics and colonists alike, resulted in the failure of the attempted conversion of the Taino population. Those things notwithstanding, I suspect that there is also a solution to the dilemma at hand. Despite there not being a substantial amount of extant evidence concerning the church and sacred music in Hispaniola, there is considerable data regarding the important events apropos of the founding of the Catholic church and settlement of Europeans in the Caribbean, which in turn will elucidate the obscurity surrounding the early

¹ Jose Antoñio Ortigueira Amor, "La Expedición De Francis Drake a Las Indias Occidentales (1585-1586):Y El Ataque a Santa Cruz De La Palma: Apuntes de Estrategia Naval Y Otras Noticias Histórico-Culturales," *Tebeto anuario del Archivo Histórico Insular de Fuerteventura, Islas Canarias*, (1988 Puerto del Rosario): 141.

² Amor, "La Expedición," 141.

³ Email correspondence with Matha Ellen Davis, April 9th, 2021.

Christianization of that island. This chapter will discuss the initial establishment of temporal and ecclesiastical infrastructures and processes on Hispaniola and the intentions behind the development of said processes as well as their consequences and effect on the Indigenous population there. In addition, this chapter will revisit the connections that were discussed in the second chapter surrounding the evidence of the religious evangelization of the Mexica, Inca, and Indians of the American Southwest by the Franciscan Order, and the correlation of those incidents to the events which occurred in the early colonization of Hispaniola and the Taino people.

Rush to Establish Religion

Religion and music were a part of the colonization of the Americas from the time of the arrival of Europeans on the shores of the Caribbean islands. The priests that accompanied Christopher Columbus on his voyages were trained in chanting the Catholic Mass, and did so throughout those journeys.⁴ On January 6th, 1494, the feast of the Epiphany, the first mass was sung in the Americas at La Isabela (Dominican Republic) in an improvised chapel (*una capilla improvisada*).⁵ After Columbus's first journey to the Caribbean, the Spanish Crown developed a plan for the colonization of its new territories which was largely based on commerce and increasing the population of these territories by colonists.⁶ Eventually, the Crown's policies for

⁴ John G. Cale, *French Secular Music in Saint-Domingue 1750-1795 Viewed as a Factor in America's Musical Growth* (PhD diss., The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1971),

1.

⁵ Cale, *French Secular*, 2.

⁶ Johannes Meier and Laënnec Hurbon, *Historia General de la Iglesia en América Latina IV* (Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 1995), 21.

colonization shifted to involve a strong religious motivation as well as a commercial one, and a new program was developed to realize the spread of Christianity throughout the West Indies and ensure the amalgamation of both natives and colonists within the Catholic religion.⁷ This new program called for the establishment of an ecclesiastical infrastructure which would require a large amount of funding. To legalize and sanctify this new policy of Christendom, a papal bull, *Eximiae Devotionis Sinceritas* (1501), was passed by Pope Alexander VI giving the Spanish Crown the right to conquer any overseas territories which were not ruled by Christian monarchs with the condition that new churches would be built in these territories.⁸ By 1504 a new papal bull, *Ilius Fulciti Praesidio*, was being written by Pope Julius II, which included orders for the development of three Catholic dioceses on the island of Hispaniola, Santo Domingo, Concepción de La Vega, and Lares de Guahaba.⁹ Another papal bull, *Romanus Pontifex*, delineated the foundation of the dioceses of Santo Domingo, Concepción de La Vega, and Puerto Rico, and decreed that all the inhabitants living in these territories were parishioners of the church.¹⁰

In the context of daily life in colonial New Spain, music was not an important enough event to be written about in communications to Spain unless a missionary was perhaps describing a special celebration or requesting supplies.¹¹ This assertion is even more apt when considering the situation in 16th century Hispaniola. As was discussed in the first chapter of this

⁷ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 21.

⁸ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 21.

⁹ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 23.

¹⁰ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 23.

¹¹ Mann, *The Power*, 3.

thesis, although missionaries were being sent from Spain to Hispaniola during the early 16th century, by 1528 many of them had left the island to venture out into the other newly discovered territories of the Crown. Considering the low population of missionaries on the island during the middle of the 16th century, it is possible that the missionaries on Hispaniola did not yet have “special celebrations” of which to inform the church and Crown. However, some of the evidence that has emerged throughout my research concerning ecclesiastical structures and the appearance of European sacred music in the Caribbean comes in the form of Royal decrees and letters of correspondence from Spain. Many of these documents dictate the opinions of the Crown and Councils of Spain concerning the happenings of the church and state in the Americas. The data within these first hand documents helps illuminate the obscure history of religion and music in 16th-century Hispaniola.

Letters to the Audiencia

The *Real Audiencia de Santo Domingo* (Royal Audience of Santo Domingo) was the first judicial court and governing body in the Americas. It was founded in Santo Domingo in 1511.¹² In its earliest form, the *Audiencias* jurisdiction spanned over the island of Hispaniola, the islands of San Juan (Puerto Rico) and Jamaica. By 1523, the *Audiencia de Santo Domingo*'s authority grew to encompass Fernandina Island, Castilla del Oro, New Spain, Veragua, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Honduras, Venezuela, Santa Marta and Florida. Modeled after the *audiencias* which had existed in Spain since the middle ages, the function of the *Audiencia de Santo Domingo* was to oversee the administration of royal justice throughout the New World Spanish territories. Aside from arbitrating disputes and hearing grievances, the *audiencia* was also charged with

¹² “Audiencia de Santo Domingo,” PARES Portal de Archivos Españoles, accessed May 17, 2021, <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/autoridad/137295>

defending the rights of the Indigenous peoples.¹³ The reigning regent often weighed in on important issues occurring in the Americas and often made requests, intervened on behalf of other persons, and settled disputes via letters of correspondence with the *Audiencia de Santo Domingo*.

Some of these letters are significant to this thesis in that they discuss the activities of the Catholic church in Santo Domingo, particularly concerning Native peoples. In a letter addressed to the president of the *Audiencia* dated October 2nd, 1528, King Charles V of Spain relays a request made to him by the *canonigo* (canon) of the church of Santo Domingo, Benito Muñoz. The King describes that Muñoz asks for the permission to instruct two “muchachos Indios” (Indian boys), who were under the care of the Franciscan Fray Remigio de Mejia, “in the services of the altar and the choir, which would to make them good lectors and singers of plainchant and part singing.”¹⁴ The King commands the president of the *Audiencia* to “observe what was said in the letter and provide as best you can, according to the request in the manner that is for the service of the Lord and and the good of the Indians.”¹⁵ Fortunately for this study, the letter is very descriptive in its mentions of teaching Indigenous boys in plainchant and part singing, which offers rare evidence of sacred music being taught to the Indigenous peoples of Hispaniola. In a second letter to the president of the *Audiencia* also dated October 2nd, 1528, King Charles V again makes a request on behalf of *Canonigo* Benito Muñoz. In this letter, the

¹³ "Audiencia." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, September 27, 2011. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/audiencia>.

¹⁴ Genaro Rodriguez Morel, *Documentos Para El Estudio De La Historia Colonial De Santo Domingo (1511-1560)*, (Santo Domingo: Archivo General de Indias, 2018), 83. Translation by Gutierrez, “señor quería instruir y doctrinar en las cosas del servicio del altar y coro de la dicha iglesia y hacerlos buenos letores y cantores de canto llano y de órgano y dos muchachos indios de los del pueblo que tenía a cargo fray Remigio de la Orden de San Francisco...”

¹⁵ Morel, *Documentos*, 83. Translation by Gutierrez, “Por ende yo vos mando que vea des lo suso dicho y proveáis cerca de ello como más convenga al servicio de nuestro señor y bien de los dichos indios...”

King states that Muñoz requires “four young choir boys for the services of the altar and choir, and for carrying incense and candles.”¹⁶ The King then mentions that Muñoz “begged that the church serve the four Indian boys who are in the care of Fray Mejia because in the said church (Santo Domingo) they will be well treated and educated in the things of our holy Catholic faith...”¹⁷ This second letter, strangely similar to the first one in that it requests Native boys overseen by Fray Mejia, shows evidence of the intent of *Cabildo* Muñoz and the church to indoctrinate Natives, aside from instructing them in the services of the church and music. The mention that the boys will be educated in “the things of our holy Catholic faith,” confirms that music was being used by the church as a tool for evangelization of the Indigenous people of Hispaniola.

Other Evidence of Sacred Music in Hispaniola

Aside from the two letters of correspondence between King Charles V and the *Audiencia of Santo Domingo*, additional information concerning the performance of sacred music in Hispaniola has emerged during the course of my research. In a Royal decree dated April 4th, 1520 and addressed to the Bishop of the Diocese of Concepcion de La Vega (Dominican Republic), Pedro Suarez de Deza; King Charles V presents *Bachiller* (Baccalaureate) Cristobal de Salcedo, a cleric from the Diocese of Seville in Spain, for the position of “chantry of that

¹⁶ Morel, *Documentos*, 82. Translation by Gutierrez, “*necesidad de cuatro mozos de coro para el servicio del altar y coro así incensar como para llevar cirios..*”

¹⁷ Morel, *Documentos*, 82. Translation by Gutierrez, “*por merced mandásemos dar a la dicha iglesia para que sirviesen los suso dichos cuatro indios muchachos de los del pueblo que tiene a cargo fray Remigio de la orden de San Francisco pues en la dicha iglesia serán bien tratados y industriados en las cosas de nuestra santa fe católica...*”

church.”¹⁸ The Oxford Dictionary defines *chantry* as: “an endowment founded for a priest or priests to celebrate masses for the soul of the founder or for another or others specified in the endowment.”¹⁹ In the journal article *Liturgy and Music in the Role of the Chantry Priest*, the chantry Priest or chaplain is described as being one of the “executants of the plainsong liturgy.”²⁰ Chantry priests were normally charged with the singing of private masses for the remembrance of the founder of the Chantry Chapel, as well as assisting the parish priest with the singing of the daily office, vespers, and the high mass.²¹ These descriptions suggest that Chantry priests such as Cristobal de Salcedo would have likely been involved in the singing of the mass and the daily offices in the churches of Hispaniola during the early 16th century. Another Royal decree, with a subject headline of *Chantria de la Catedral de Santo Domingo October 3rd, 1537*, and addressed to the Bishop of Santo Domingo, does not mention a chantry priest *per se* but does mention the existence of a chantry, and that a certain Diego Rodriguez refused to perform the “collation of the chantry of the cathedral of Santo Domingo.” The existence of chantries and chantry Priests delineated in these royal decrees suggests the possibility that Indigenous peoples were exposed to sacred music in the dioceses of Concepcion de La Vega and Santo Domingo during the 16th century.

¹⁸ Real Provisión del Rey Dn. Carlos a Dn. Pedro Suárez de Deza obispo de la Concepción de la Isla Española, April 4th, 1520, La Coruña, Translation by Gutierrez, “*Concepción de la Isla Española, presentando al bachiller Cristóbal de Salcedo, clérigo de la diócesis de Sevilla, para la chantría de aquella iglesia.*” PARES Portal de Archivos Españoles <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/248165?nm>

¹⁹ “Chantry, n.”. OED Online. March 2021. Oxford University Press. <https://www-oed-com.queens.ezproxy.cuny.edu/view/Entry/30532?redirectedFrom=chantry> (accessed May 17, 2021).

²⁰ Roger Bower, “*Liturgy and Music in the Role of the Chantry Priest*,” *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 164, no. 1 (July 2013): 1.

²¹ Bower, “Liturgy,” 1.

The amicable relationship between the Catholic church and the Spanish crown led to Pope Julius II's papal bull which created the Archdiocese of Santo Domingo in 1504, granting permission to erect the first cathedral in the Americas in Santo Domingo in 1512.²² That same year the Bishop of Seville, Francisco Garcia, began to organize the development of various positions for the future cathedral.²³ Aside from the clerical positions, such as priest, arch-priest, deacon, scholar, and treasurer, positions related to church music such as cantor and organist are also listed in Garcia's order.²⁴ The order for the creation of these posts is evidence that music was a necessary part of the foundation of the first diocese of the Americas. The musical positions at the cathedral seem to have been of great importance to the church heads, as they were saved from being deferred despite the positions of arch-deacon, treasurer, and dignitaries being temporarily suspended due to low funding.²⁵

As the church in Hispaniola gradually grew, the appearance of music related elements increased. The existence of organs in the churches of Santo Domingo is attested to in a report of the damage caused by Sir Francis Drake's 1586 assault on the city.²⁶ The report also mentions the destruction of "choir and books." Although it cannot be definitively said that this mention means choirbooks, it does however reveal that choral music and performance existed in these churches.

²² Cale, "*French Secular*," 5.

²³ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 25.

²⁴ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 26.

²⁵ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 26.

²⁶ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 25.

They burned, they broke, they destroyed with the entrails of demons the image, altarpieces, gates, stacks, choir, books, and organs and everything which seemed to them to be more dedicated to divine worship, and they took the thirty-one lamps, organs and clocks and bells and what they thought was the most expensive...²⁷

Although the destruction of the city of Santo Domingo occurred in the late 16th century, at a time when it was very possible that the Indigenous islanders might have been extinct and therefore not exposed to the musical environment of 1580's Hispaniola, I argue that the mentions of organs, choirs, and books represent the significant growth of Catholic music in Hispaniola and of Catholicism in the Americas which dated back to the time of Native inhabitants on the island. The founding of another important establishment demonstrates the growth of music in Santo Domingo in the later half of the 16th century. In 1538, a charter granted by Pope Paul III sanctioned the foundation of the University of Santo Tomas de Aquino in Santo Domingo, the oldest institution of its kind in the Americas.²⁸ The post of organist at the cathedral of Santo Domingo was held by Cristóbal de Llerena (b. 1540) who was an organist and Canon in Santo Domingo at the Cathedral and a rector at the Universidad Santo Tomás de Aquino.²⁹ Llerena was responsible for installing music as a prerequisite for the Doctor of Art degree at Aquino during the 16th century.³⁰

²⁷ E. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Relaciones históricas de Santo Domingo II*, Ciudad Trujillo (Santo Domingo 94, n.o 48. AGI 1945) 48. Cited in Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 30. Translation by Gutierrez, *Quemaron, quebrantaron, destruyeron con entrañas de demonios la ymagen, rretablos, rrexas, pilas, coro, libros y órganos y todo lo lemas, que les pareció ser mas dedicado al culto divino, y se llevaron las 31 lánparas, los organos y rrelox y campanas y lo que de mas precio les pareció.*

²⁸ Cale, "French Secular," 5.

²⁹ Cale, "French Secular," 15.

³⁰ Cale, "French Secular," 15.

The documentation of organs, organists, cantors, choir, and books during the first hundred years of the existence of the church in Hispaniola implies that music was being performed in the dioceses around the island. In Europe as well as the Americas, the sung or high mass was reserved for the services of cathedrals and performed by trained choirs. This suggests that the Cathedral of Santo Domingo would have included the sung mass in its services. The ruling of the papal bull *Romanus Pontifex*, that all inhabitants of the territories including Hispaniola were parishioners of the church, strongly proposes that, in Santo Domingo, the native Taino were being exposed to the singing of the liturgy. In the early 16th century, the position of cantor and organist existed in the dioceses of Santo Domingo, San Juan in Puerto Rico, and Santiago de Cuba.³¹ This confirms that sacred music was being performed in the church services in these territories. Considering the ambitions of the Catholic church to indoctrinate all of the parishioners, including the Indigenous people of these lands I presume that Spanish sacred music was being used as a tool for evangelization of the Indigenous Americans by the church, as well as to provide Spanish colonists a familiar spiritual experience in a foreign land.

During the first fifty years or so of the Spanish colonial period in Hispaniola, the Catholic church and Spanish Crown had a zealous motivation to spread Christianity throughout the island, as is evident from the rapid founding of institutions backed by papal support, and the successful baptism of many of the native Taino. In the Cacicazgo (realm or kingdom) of the *Cacique* Guarionex, Fray Ramon Panè in collaboration with Fray de la Duele promoted

³¹ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 55.

Christianity to the Guarionex and his subjects.³² Through this work of cooperation, the first Tainos were baptized. The first Taino baptism, that of Juan Mateo Guaticabanú, occurred at La Magdalena in the Fall of 1496.³³ The methods of conversion used by both Fray Pané and De la Duéle involved teaching the natives the memorization of simple prayers, the construction of small altars, and the teaching of mystical catechisms which were central to Catholicism. In 1502, King Ferdinand sent twelve Franciscan missionaries, which included Fray Bartolome de las Casas, to Hispaniola to aid in the conversion efforts of the Franciscans who were already on the island.³⁴ Once they arrived in Hispaniola, these missionaries separated themselves into three groups of four, and set out for different Taino settlements where they were expected to construct small communities. A monastery and a cathedral were expected to be erected in each of these settlements.³⁵ The two largest groups of missionaries settled in the regions of Hispaniola with the largest populations of Spaniards at this point in time, Santo Domingo, and Concepción de La Vega, where the dominant Franciscan monastery on the island was located.³⁶ A smaller group of two or three Franciscans travelled to the Cacicazgo of Jaragua and founded a monastery in the village of Santa Maria de Vera Paz in 1504.³⁷ As was mentioned in chapter 2 of this thesis, this monastery, one of the first in the Americas, would later house a school for the education of native aristocrats, according to the decrees in the Laws of Burgos. By the year 1500, Fray de la

³² Stone. *"Indian Harvest,"* 112.

³³ Stone. *"Indian Harvest,"* 112.

³⁴ Stone. *"Indian Harvest,"* 116.

³⁵ Stone. *"Indian Harvest,"* 117.

³⁶ Stone. *"Indian Harvest,"* 117.

³⁷ Stone. *"Indian Harvest,"* 117.

Deule claimed that he had converted 2,000 Tainos.³⁸ The grand agenda of the church and Crown seems to have been fruitful, considering the fervent growth of the church in Hispaniola and the multitude of Natives being converted to the faith. Despite this positive image of the early presence of the Crown and church in Hispaniola, things on this island were not what they had seemed, and the efforts of the Crown and Catholic church to subjugate and indoctrinate the Indigenous islanders, as well as turn a profit, would have disastrous consequences.

The negative repercussions resulting from conquest of Hispaniola by the Spanish can be seen early on in the history of those events. Before landing on Hispaniola, the first place where Columbus landed on his initial journey to the Americas was on an island located in the modern day Bahamas. The island was inhabited by native peoples who referred to the island as *Guanahani*.³⁹ After meeting with the natives and initially having peaceful relations with them, Columbus requested the apprehension of seven of them for the purpose of using them as guides in his search for Japan.⁴⁰ After the natives had completed their service, Columbus planned to have them taken to Spain where they would be educated in Spanish as well as the teachings of the Catholic faith. The taking of these Natives as “guides” and the plans for their baptism demonstrates the condescending view which Columbus and perhaps his colonists had of the Natives as people without a free will of their own. This first acquisition of Natives would mark the beginning of a pattern of subjugation that would mark the first century of the European presence in the Americas. After his first voyage in 1492, Columbus ordered the capture of natives in every island visited, and all who survived Columbus’ first return to Spain, were

³⁸ Stone. “*Indian Harvest*,” 117.

³⁹ Stone. “*Indian Harvest*,” 58.

⁴⁰ Stone. “*Indian Harvest*,” 58.

baptized in Barcelona with both the King and Prince present as godfathers to the newly baptized neophytes.⁴¹ The gradual enslavement of the Indigenous Americans continued when in 1494 Columbus had developed the idea of capturing Caribs (Natives from the island of Guadalupe, and Dominica) for the purpose of sending them either to Spain or the Canary Islands as slaves. The first part of this plan involved the Catholic indoctrination of all of the enslaved, which was thought would “save their souls.”⁴² This plan would also be exercised on the Taino people of Hispaniola. One possible reason for the scant evidence of conversion in the early colonization of the islands, is that the constant capture of natives all over the circum-caribbean as well as their mistreatment at the hands of *encomenderos* contributed to their mistrust of the Spaniards.⁴³ Bishop Juan de Quevedo of Darien in Panama, related to the Crown that the enslavement of natives was depopulating his lands and causing a mistrust on the part of the natives and impeding their conversion to Catholicism.⁴⁴ The policy of enslaving Natives would soon become a legal process sanctioned by the Spanish Crown.

Repartimiento

During Christopher Columbus’s tenure as Viceroy of the Indies, the Spanish Crown sanctioned the implementation of the *repartimiento* (partition) system in Hispaniola.⁴⁵ In this system, the Crown allowed conquistadors and other high ranking persons to draft native people

⁴¹ Stone. “*Indian Harvest*,” 63.

⁴² Stone. “*Indian Harvest*,” 70

⁴³ Stone. “*Indian Harvest*,” 105.

⁴⁴ Stone. “*Indian Harvest*,” 105.

⁴⁵ “Repartimiento.” Encyclopedia Britannica, January 25, 2016. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/repartimiento>.

into forced labor.⁴⁶ In order to acquire laborers a person had to appeal to the Viceroy, whose decision depended on whether the labor for which the Indians were needed would provide residual goods for the country.⁴⁷ Officially, there were certain rules and guidelines for exercising the *repartimiento* system, which included a work limit not exceeding five weeks at a time for laborers in the mines, and two weeks at a time for laborers elsewhere.⁴⁸ In reality, the rules and guidelines were consistently disregarded and the Indigenous laborers were treated as slaves.⁴⁹ In order to procure Indians for the purpose of partitioning them among colonists, and submit them as tenants of the Catholic Monarchs, Columbus led war campaigns throughout the center of Hispaniola.⁵⁰ By 1500, Christopher Columbus's mismanagement of the island convinced the Spanish Crown that he was no longer fit to be governor of Hispaniola. Francisco de Bobadilla was sent there to act as interim governor until the arrival of Nicolas de Ovando.⁵¹ Ovando was given the authority to deal with the disarray left over from Columbus's administration of the island. Although Ovando was also given instructions calling for the improved treatment of the Indians, he continued the distribution of Natives which began under Columbus.⁵² To continue amassing Natives for enslavement, Ovando led two military campaigns into the until then sovereign chiefdoms of Higüey in the modern day Dominican Republic, and Xaraguá in modern

⁴⁶ Britannica, "Repartimiento."

⁴⁷ Britannica, "Repartimiento."

⁴⁸ Britannica, "Repartimiento."

⁴⁹ Britannica, "Repartimiento."

⁵⁰ Pons, *The Dominican*, 31.

⁵¹ Pons, *The Dominican*, 32

⁵² Pons, *The Dominican*, 33.

day Haiti.⁵³ As a result of these campaigns, *Caciques* were violently executed and their territories were turned over to be governed by colonists. The Natives who were apprehended following these campaigns were forced to labor in gold mines where all would be subjected to abhorrent work conditions. Even though in 1501 the Crown decreed that the Native islanders were free people deserving of fair treatment, the colonists and encomenderos remained oblivious of the ruling.⁵⁴ Two years later, Ovando warned the Crown that without the forced labor of the Natives the colonists would abandon the island, risking the survival of the colony.⁵⁵ Even as more Franciscans continued to arrive in Hispaniola, the number of Tainos steadily declined as a result of disease, overwork, and maltreatment at the hands of Spanish colonists whose presence on the island was growing.⁵⁶

Encomienda

In 1503 the Crown, swayed by Ovando's warning and further motivated by the necessity for gold to settle debts, instituted the legal system known as the *encomienda* in Hispaniola and the surrounding Spanish territories.⁵⁷ The *encomienda* had its origins in a similar system used during the Spanish *reconquista*, where Jews and Muslims were forced to pay tribute to their Spanish rulers.⁵⁸ Part of the original premise for the implementation of this system in Hispaniola was to limit the maltreatment of the Natives through the forced labor of the *repartimiento*.

⁵³ Pons, *The Dominican*, 33.

⁵⁴ Pons, *The Dominican*, 33.

⁵⁵ Pons, *The Dominican*, 33.

⁵⁶ Stone. "Indian Harvest," 118.

⁵⁷ Pons, *The Dominican*, 33.

⁵⁸ "Encomienda." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, August 14, 2019. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/encomienda>.

However, the *encomienda* soon would become a system of oppression synonymous with slavery.⁵⁹ Similar to the *repartimiento* system, in the *encomienda*, the Crown would grant an *encomendero* who could be a conquistador, official, or soldier, a set number of Indigenous peoples. The *encomendero* would be allowed to obtain tributes of either gold or labor from the Natives, but in turn was required to teach them the doctrines of the Catholic faith.⁶⁰ The *encomenderos* often took ownership of the lands originally owned by the Natives under their control, and seldom realized their duties as teachers of the faith.⁶¹ The initiation of the *encomienda* would mark the beginning of the end for the Taino. In the *encomienda* system as it existed in Hispaniola, the Natives, according to the Crown, were considered “free vassals” of the Spanish empire. However, these “free vassals” were still compelled to perform extreme labor for the Spanish and could be executed for refusing to, which made their lives no different from that of the enslaved.⁶² Horrid work conditions combined with disease and malnourishment practically obliterated the Native population. Natives who were able to survive a year or so of mining labor often eventually took their own lives as a measure of desperation.⁶³ Many of these suicides took place in ritualized group ceremonies where large numbers of forlorn Natives would escape the abysmal misery of their existence. The brutality of this reality led pregnant Indigenous women to abort their own fetuses and mothers to dispatch their own children lest they be taken as slaves.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Britannica, “Encomienda.”

⁶⁰ Britannica, “Encomienda.”

⁶¹ Britannica, “Encomienda.”

⁶² Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 108.

⁶³ Pons, *The Dominican*, 33.

⁶⁴ Pons, *The Dominican*, 34.

Census records show that in 1508 the number of living Indigenous people in Hispaniola was about 60,000, a decrease of more than 300,000 persons originally inhabiting the island.⁶⁵

In order for the Spanish mining operations to compensate for the shortage in labor forces due to the decline of the Natives of Hispaniola, Ovando sanctioned organized raids of Cuba, the Bahamas, and the islands of the Lesser Antilles for the purpose of capturing Natives for enslavement.⁶⁶ To justify these slave hunting raids, the Spaniards referred to the islands in question as “useless” because of their lack of gold, and because the inhabitants of “useless” islands would not otherwise be Christianized by the Spaniards, therefore making them ripe for enslavement.⁶⁷ Between the years 1508 and 1513, Ovando's expeditions were able to capture 40,000 Indigenous people. However, the native population continued to decline, numbering 33,523 in a census from 1511.⁶⁸

By 1514 the situation on Hispaniola had worsened, resulting in the replacement of the *encomienda* system with a new *repartimiento*. In this version of the partition, Natives were redistributed to men who the Crown considered honorable. Also, the Crown entrusted political power to this small group of colonial aristocrats.⁶⁹ This redistribution of Natives and power left a great number of colonists without a work force and virtually no means of earning a living unless by their own manual labor, which they considered to be beneath them. This eventually led to a growing resentment in the colonial lower class and their eventual abandonment of Hispaniola in

⁶⁵ Pons, *The Dominican*, 34.

⁶⁶ Pons, *The Dominican*, 34.

⁶⁷ Pons, *The Dominican*, 34.

⁶⁸ Pons, *The Dominican*, 34.

⁶⁹ Pons, *The Dominican*, 35.

search of fortunes in the nearby territories of Venezuela, Cuba, and Darien.⁷⁰ By 1514, the Natives of Hispaniola were severely endangered and numbered 26,334, almost half of which were scattered among mining towns around the island.⁷¹

The Dominican Order

In the early 16th century the situation in Hispaniola was failing and it was obvious that the original intention of spreading Christianity was not taking effect. The Crown complained of this and castigated the clerics on the island for not efficiently carrying out their religious duties.⁷² By 1509, Diego Columbus (1479-1526), the son of Christopher Columbus, was ordered by a royal decree to “bring the Indians to Christianity.”⁷³ The Royal order to Christianize the Indians did not change their status as “free vassals,” as they remained *encomendado*; subjugated by the system of *encomienda*.

In 1512, Dominican missionaries first arrived in Hispaniola, an island whose religious landscape was dominated by the members of the Franciscan order.⁷⁴ Even though the main goal of both the orders was to achieve the conversion and salvation of the native peoples of the island, they both differed in their ideals about how to obtain their objectives. The differences between these two orders would create unrest in the Spanish court in Hispaniola and in Spain, causing a

⁷⁰ Pons, *The Dominican*, 36.

⁷¹ Pons, *The Dominican*, 35.

⁷² Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 108.

⁷³ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 108.

⁷⁴ Stone. “*Indian Harvest*,” 118.

rift which would eventually divide the religious presence on Hispaniola and prove to be a hindrance to the overall effort to evangelize the native population.⁷⁵ Shortly after the arrival of the Dominican Order to Hispaniola, the Dominicans quickly became aware that the system of *encomienda* was a failure, and did not function as a way to evangelize the natives.⁷⁶ From then on, the Dominicans would staunchly protest the exploitation of the natives by the Spaniards.

The sermons given by Fray Antonio de Montesinos (1475-1540), repudiating the behaviour of the Spanish, gives evidence to the manner in which the Indians were being treated. In one sermon Montesinos mentions that the colonists: kept the Indians in appalling servitude, exploited them without feeding or healing them when they became ill, and forced them to mine for gold even if it results in their death “only to procure gold daily.”⁷⁷ Montesinos’s criticism caused resentment among the colonists and high ranking officials in Hispaniola, which only intensified when Montesinos asserted that whoever continued enforcing *encomienda* would not be granted spiritual absolution by him or his brothers.⁷⁸ As a result of these sermons, which were considered scandalous by the colonists, Diego Columbus aligned himself with the Franciscan order, who had never objected to the *encomienda*, and petitioned to the King for the removal of the Dominican Order from Hispaniola.⁷⁹ In a letter to Diego, the King replied, after consulting the lawyers and theologians in Spain, that the compelled labor of the Indians was not against the

⁷⁵ Stone. “*Indian Harvest*,” 121.

⁷⁶ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 109.

⁷⁷ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 109.

⁷⁸ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 109.

⁷⁹ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 110.

law.⁸⁰ The head of the Dominican Order in Spain, Alonso de Loaysa, who was alarmed by the actions of Montesinos and the Dominican Order in Hispaniola, forbade the Dominicans from making any more damning sermons and threatened the order with being removed from the island.⁸¹ Fray de Montesinos, unsatisfied with King Ferdinand II's decision, left for Spain to make an appeal and uphold his position. Montesinos, who was accompanied by fellow Dominican Pedro de Cordoba (1460-1525), was able to secure an audience with King Ferdinand II and vehemently informed the King of the Dominican Order's views on the abhorrent situation of the Indians on Hispaniola.⁸² Montesinos's appeal resulted in the creation of a new commission of lawyers and theologians for an investigation into the charges attested to by Montesinos. This new commission, presided over by the Bishop of Valencia, Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca (1451-1524), resulted in the establishment of the Laws of Burgos, which redefined the legal status of the Indigenous peoples of Hispaniola as "free vassals."⁸³

As opposed to their earlier status, the Laws of Burgos dictated that the Indians, as "free vassals," while still being obligated to work for the Spanish Crown, should have the guarantee of proper dwellings, payment for labor, provisions such as clothing and utensils, as well as regulated work schedules with limited time off for rest.⁸⁴ Despite the slight concessions made by the Laws of Burgos, the program of the *encomienda* was maintained and the policy of "bringing the Indians to the Catholic faith," was still to be fully enforced. Naively, the commission who

⁸⁰ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 110.

⁸¹ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 110.

⁸² Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 110.

⁸³ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 110.

⁸⁴ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 110.

developed these laws believed that there could be a peaceful coexistence between colonists and Natives, where the colonists would serve as “big brothers” and guide the natives towards the Catholic faith. This hypothesis, however, did not take into consideration the colonists' desire for wealth and their obvious disregard for the wellbeing of the Indians.⁸⁵ The Dominicans, still unsatisfied with the results of the Laws of Burgos, were able to secure concessions of their own through fierce negotiations which were ultimately affirmed in Valladolid in 1513.⁸⁶ These modifications to the Laws of Burgos included a nine month work limit per year for Indians in the *encomienda* system with three months of off time for the cultivation of their personal lands and the prohibition of forced labor on married indigenous women.⁸⁷

The negative repercussions of the Spanish conquest were beginning to affect the Christianization of the Natives. While the missionaries traversed the island attempting to gain more Taino converts, the Spanish colonists were preoccupied with exploiting them for their personal gain.⁸⁸ Erin Woodruff Stone asserts that the colonists, who were at least partly responsible for spreading Christianity to the native peoples, themselves stopped celebrating regular masses and doing penance.⁸⁹ This decline in spirituality on the part of the colonists combined with the increasing mistrust of the Spanish by the Natives can be seen as one of the reasons for the failure of the Catholic Church to fully indoctrinate the Taino of Hispaniola. In many cases, this mistrust of the Spaniards only worked to make the Natives more reluctant to

⁸⁵ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 110.

⁸⁶ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 111.

⁸⁷ Meier and Hurbon, *Historia General*, 111.

⁸⁸ Stone. “*Indian Harvest*,” 118.

⁸⁹ Stone. “*Indian Harvest*,” 118.

accept the faith. John G. Cale elaborates on this with a comparison to the success in the church in Mexico, where the native people were more “readily adaptable to European supervision than were any of the natives of the islands.”⁹⁰ This resulted in slow progress during the building of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, while in Mexico; twenty churches had been built, mostly by native labor, by the year 1531. Compared to the experiences of missionaries and natives in Mexico, where sacred music and education seemed to be thriving, the situation on the islands of the Caribbean was much different. Despite schools and religious institutions being founded in Hispaniola and Cuba, the Taino peoples as well as the Africans who arrived later were not as eager to learn music and crafts from the Spanish as were the Mexicans.⁹¹

By 1511 the animosity between the Franciscan and Dominican orders on Hispaniola had reached a boiling point.⁹² The ferocity of this war over ideals was most evident in the overwrought debates during court sessions, which ultimately resulted in the temporary expulsion of the Dominicans from the colonies. One last hope for the survival of the Native islanders came after the death of King Ferdinand in 1516.⁹³ Until Prince Charles would come of age and assume the throne, Cardinal Cisneros would be appointed as regent of the realm. During the time of the King’s death, the Dominicans, although banned from Hispaniola, were still making appeals defending the Natives and repudiating their treatment by the colonists. Cisneros, who was now in charge, agreed to a plan developed by the Dominicans in order to save the remaining Natives.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Cale, “*French Secular*,” 5.

⁹¹ Cale, “*French Secular*,” 15.

⁹² Stone. “*Indian Harvest*,” 136.

⁹³ Pons, *The Dominican*, 36.

⁹⁴ Pons, *The Dominican*, 37.

The plan involved expropriating all the existing Natives from the *encomenderos* and rehoming them in indigenous, *Cacique* ruled villages to be allowed to live peacefully and propagate.⁹⁵ These villages, or *pueblos* as they were called, were to be developed by three priests of the Jeronymite Order, who in 1516 were dispatched to Hispaniola as governors of the island.⁹⁶ The Jeronymites, who Cisneros believed would be an impartial presence, were charged with investigating and reorganizing the government of the Indies, securing the spiritual salvation of the native population, and the resuscitation of the declining economy.⁹⁷ Besides that long list of tasks, the Jeronymites would also have to figure out how to quell the vigorous disputes between the religious orders on the island, which Stone affirms were worsened by the new *repartimiento*.⁹⁸ One of the first reforms executed by the Jeronymites was the prohibition of the Indian slave trade to the northern part of South America which the Spanish referred to as *Tierra Firme*. The noble plan envisioned by the Dominicans proved to be a failure as the Natives suffered an outbreak of smallpox on their way to their new homes, which reduced the already withered population from 11,000 down to less than 3,000 in February 1519.⁹⁹ The devastation caused by the smallpox pandemic destroyed all hopes for the salvation of the Indigenous islanders. As a result, the Dominicans changed their stance on the existence of the *encomienda* system in an attempt to convince the colonists, most of whom were abandoning Hispaniola, to stay on the island. The incentive for this involved allowing the colonists to use Natives, as well

⁹⁵ Pons, *The Dominican*, 37.

⁹⁶ Pons, *The Dominican*, 37.

⁹⁷ Stone. "Indian Harvest," 136.

⁹⁸ Stone. "Indian Harvest," 137.

⁹⁹ Pons, *The Dominican*, 37.

as African newcomers, as a labor force in the recently established sugar business. Consequently, the Indigenous population on the island declined to about 500 by the end of 1519.¹⁰⁰

In 1519, the few remaining Jeronimites in Hispaniola were recalled to Spain by the Crown as a result of their failed reform policies.¹⁰¹ After their departure the island was left in a state of disarray and most of the efforts undertaken by the Crown and church authorities at governing and evangelizing Hispaniola's population resulted in failure.

Misconceptions About Missionaries

The history of the Christianization of the Amerindian peoples has historically been viewed with a one sided lens. Typically the study of the workings of the Franciscan Order in the Americas has often come from the Franciscan chroniclers themselves, with little evidence coming from other points of view. This assertion poses the issue that the conversion of Amerindians has often been interpreted more as a "part of a negotiation" as Louise Burkhart puts it, and less as a "forgone conclusion."¹⁰² The history of missionaries in the Americas is now being viewed under a new lens, and as a result, different aspects of this history are coming to light. From the earlier perspectives, the Franciscan missionaries were seen as sympathetic, saintly, embracing of poverty, and as having a paternalistic duty to the humble and simple Indians who were keen to espouse the teachings of Christianity. In reality "the secular clergy and most Spanish officials were characterized as being poorly educated, venial, corrupt, and lazy."¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Pons, *The Dominican*, 37.

¹⁰¹ Stone. "Indian Harvest," 148.

¹⁰² John F. Shwaller, "Introduction: Franciscans in Colonial Latin American" *The Americas* 61, no. 4 (1944): 565.

¹⁰³ Shwaller, "Introduction," 565.

The Friars Jerónimo de Mendieta (1525-1604) and Bartolome De las Casas both criticised the evangelization efforts of the encomenderos and religious representatives in Hispaniola.¹⁰⁴

According to Mendieta, besides Pane, Tisin, and Fray Juan el Bermejo, no other person, clerical or otherwise, was able to learn enough of the native languages. These people only had use of a sailor named Christobal Rodriguez as a translator.¹⁰⁵ Mendieta also mentions that it was not the difficulty of the languages that was the reason for this but that these men did not seem to care to teach the natives about God, but instead their interest was to use the natives for their own benefit and therefore only used their language to the extreme of fulfilling these interests. To say the least, new research is emerging which shows that the history in question is not exactly what it seemed to be.¹⁰⁶

Within the context of this study it is easy to mistakenly view the Native islanders as perpetual victims. Perhaps the most common narrative associated with this history is that of humble people who were reduced to servitude, readily accepted Christianity, and were utterly defenseless against their European oppressors. While there is some truth to this narrative, these people were not necessarily the innocuous, simple servants as history often depicts them. In the same context, their reluctance to trust the Spanish and accept the Christian faith, despite many of them being converted in the early days of Spanish conquest, manifested itself in the waging of valiant uprisings and revolts against their oppressors. Adverse to the effects which the Spanish

¹⁰⁴ Corrine Lisette Hofman, *“La contribución indígena a la biografía del paisaje cultural de la República Dominicana: Una revisión preliminar”* (Leiden University, 2016): 7.

¹⁰⁵ Hofman, *“La contribución,”* 7.

¹⁰⁶ Shwaller, *“Introduction,”* 566.

colonization had on the Native peoples, the result of the large-scale defiance on the part of the Natives significantly contributed to the failure of the early conquest of the Native islanders.

The Christianization of the Rebel Cacique Enriquillo

The account of Enriquillo is a curious one in the context of this thesis. Enriquillo, a native Taino of royal lineage, was born in Hispaniola during the Spanish colonization of the island. Enriquillo would be remembered for staging a revolt against the Spanish authorities and establishing his own sovereign village, in the mountains of Bahoruco (Dominican Republic), where African and Native fugitives as well as women and children lived free from the subjugation of the Spanish Authorities. The story of Enriquillo's revolt is no doubt an important part of the colonial history of the Americas, but for the purpose of this thesis, emphasis will be directed on the lesser known segment of his life. He was educated by Franciscans at the monastery of Verapaz.¹⁰⁷ During his education at Verapaz, Enriquillo was taught reading, writing, and Catholic doctrine.¹⁰⁸ As was discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis, the Franciscans were known to have used music as an evangelization tool from the time of the foundation of their Order in the 13th century, and subsequently throughout their history in the evangelization of the American Southwest, Mexico, and South America. Just as the Franciscans in the *Colegio de Caciques San Andres* in Quito were educating the sons of the Indigenous nobility in music, it is plausible to assume that Enriquillo was being indoctrinated in the same manner. In a meeting to discuss peace terms, the Spanish men sent to speak with him who brought gifts of goodwill as

¹⁰⁷Altman, "Enriquillo," 589.

¹⁰⁸Altman, "Enriquillo," 589.

well as objects requested by Enriquillo. The gifts were sent by the Spanish audiencia, and they included, among other things, images and a bell for Enriquillo's church. Barrionuevo, one of the men charged with visiting Enriquillo, had mentioned that he saw crosses in all of Enriquillo's houses. Despite his revolt against the Spaniards, it seems that Enriquillo's education by the Franciscans at Verapaz had endured, for Enriquillo had accepted Christianity.¹⁰⁹ One of the requests made by Enriquillo to Pedro Romero, an officer who had also been sent to meet with Enriquillo, was for Franciscans to be sent in order to baptize all of the children in Enriquillo's pueblo.¹¹⁰ Enriquillo died in 1535, and in his will, among other things, he requested to be buried in the church in the town of Azua in the modern day Dominican Republic. The Spanish audience reported to the crown that Enriquillo "died as a Christian, having confessed and received the sacraments."¹¹¹

The revolt of Enriquillo is probably the most successful and famous of all the Indigenous rebellions that occurred in colonial Hispaniola. However, it certainly was not the first instance of defiance against the Spanish invaders on the island or in the Americas in general. Early on, the natives of Hispaniola, being mistreated by the Spaniards, attempted to defeat them to no avail.¹¹² One of the first instances of recalcitrance from the Natives occurred when the thirty-nine Spaniards left behind at La Isabella after Columbus's first journey were assassinated by Taino of Maguana. Oviedo tells us that at one point the natives, in an act of insubordination, refused to

¹⁰⁹ Altman, "Enriquillo," 606.

¹¹⁰ Altman, "Enriquillo," 607.

¹¹¹ Altman, "Enriquillo," 608

¹¹² Carrasquillo, "La creación," 70.

sow crops which led to starvation and the death and sickness of many of the colonists.¹¹³ The resentment of the Spaniards by the natives also meant that the natives were less inclined in accepting the Catholic faith being brought upon them by invaders.

The Christianization of Hispaniola eventually took hold, as the Dominican Republic and Haiti are both majority Christian nations today. However, the indoctrination of the Native islanders to the Catholic faith and their subjection as vassals to the Spanish Crown was never realized. Despite the fervent efforts of missionaries to instill the teachings of the Catholic Faith in the hearts of the Indigenous population, their rapid decline, due to war, mistreatment, disease, starvation, suicide, and murder; did not allow their full evangelization to come to fruition. De Las Casas elaborated on the decline of the Natives in his *relacion*: “We are certain that our Spaniards, through their cruelties and vile acts, have destroyed and depopulated these lands, and today they are barren, even though at one time they were entirely inhabited by rational men.”¹¹⁴

Conversely, the failed experiment of indoctrination which occurred on Hispaniola had an important impact on the subsequent history of the Spanish colonization of the Americas.¹¹⁵ The lessons learned by religious and secular institutions as a result of the failed enterprises in Hispaniola and the Caribbean would lead to the social, religious, and economic developments that would later be achieved across the Spanish Americas.¹¹⁶ It seems that the later alteration of the supervision of religious indoctrination and enslavement of natives as a result of the

¹¹³ Carrasquillo, “*La creación*,” 70.

¹¹⁴ Las Casas, *Brevissima*, F. 37. Cited in Carrasquillo, “*La creación*,” 70. Translation by Gutierrez. “*estamos seguros que nuestros españoles, a través de sus crueldades y viles actos, han destruido y despoblado esas tierras, y hoy están desiertas y vacías, aunque una vez estaban enteramente habitadas con hombres racionales*”

¹¹⁵ Stone. “*Indian Harvest*,” 148.

¹¹⁶ Stone. “*Indian Harvest*,” 148.

catastrophic events that played out in Hispaniola, led to the eventual success of the Spanish evangelization and subjugation of a greater part of the Americas.¹¹⁷ Importantly for this thesis, the evangelization of native peoples, including musical evangelization, was more successful in the subsequently conquered indigenous societies as a result of the failure of evangelization in Hispaniola.

Conclusion

The history of Christianity in the Western Hemisphere begins with the people of the Caribbean, namely the Taino of Hispaniola, and the amalgamation of their culture with that of the Europeans who first brought religion and government to their lands. Despite the fact that all of the countries that encompass Latin America today are majority Christian nations, the people who were first introduced to Catholicism in the Americas, the Taino, did not survive its forced implementation.

The research that survives today concerning the evangelization of the Taino people, reflects more the development of the Catholic church in Hispaniola as an infrastructure and center for Catholic jurisdiction, rather than the evangelization of the Indigenous islanders themselves. Typically the evangelical activities of the major European religious orders who appeared on the island during the 15th and 16th centuries are obscure, and evidence concerning the use of music in the indoctrination of the Taino people is almost non-existent. However, the evidence provided by this thesis asserts that the intention of the Spanish Crown and the Catholic church was to Christianize and Hispanicize the whole of the Spanish Americas, beginning with

¹¹⁷ Stone. "*Indian Harvest*," 148.

the island of Hispaniola. The various papal bulls which were created to legalize the subjugation and evangelization of the Native Americans, in combination with the Laws of Burgos, which required religious education through the development of Franciscan schools, were developed for initial implementation on the island of Hispaniola. Notwithstanding the obvious existence of the Catholic church in Hispaniola and the clear intention of the Spanish Crown and European Church to convert the Taino people, whether or not the missionaries on the island used music in their indoctrination efforts, has remained an obscurity. As has been re-stated in this study, the combination of the extinction of the Taino people within little more than a century of their exposure to Europeans, and the destruction of ninety years of archives by Sir Francis Drake in his sacking of Santo Domingo in 1586, contributes to the ambiguity of this niche topic.

The missionaries who arrived on Hispaniola's shores during the 15th and 16th centuries brought with them techniques of evangelization which the churches of Europe had been developing for centuries. Although the Spanish system of evangelization had been developed in 15th-century Spain, it was dispersed throughout the Americas from Hispaniola's Catholic centers. Music, which had been an important part of evangelization in Europe, had also been brought by missionaries, first to the island Hispaniola, and eventually to the surrounding Spanish conquered American territories. The teaching of part-singing and plainchant, which was used in religious education during the 16th century in the Catholic diocese of Santo Domingo, as is evident from the letters to the *Real Audiencia*, eventually became part of the religious education curriculum in Mexico, South America, and the South West U.S. The schools for education of Indigenous noble sons, also developed first in Hispaniola such as the monastery at Verapaz, would eventually appear in South America and Mexico.

Despite Hispaniola being the stage for the early development of the Catholic church, and religious music education in the Americas, its role as the first testing ground for this endeavor has been overshadowed by the successes of the church and missionaries in Mexico, South America, and the South West U.S. The premature breakdown of colonial society in the 16th-century, due to the repercussions of this first intermingling of American and European cultures, resulted in the extinction of the Taino, the abandonment of the island by many colonists and clergy members, and the failure of the initial Christianization of the island.

Despite the unsuccessfulness of the church and the retrogression of the island into backwater, the small evidence discussed in this thesis demonstrates that sacred music was cultivated and used to communicate the faith to the Taino in Hispaniola. Even though the majority of evidence concerning religious indoctrination through music in the Americas comes from Mexico, South America, and the Southern U.S, among other places, the spread of Christianity into those subsequent territories would not have been realized as it did if not for the initial efforts of Christianization and religious musical instruction in the early colonial era in Hispaniola.

The failed experiment of indoctrination which occurred on Hispaniola had an important impact on the subsequent history of the Spanish colonization of the Americas.¹¹⁸ The lessons learned by religious and secular institutions as a result of the failed enterprises in Hispaniola and the Caribbean would lead to the social, religious, and economic developments that would later be achieved across the Spanish Americas.¹¹⁹ Although American Indigenous civilizations would continue to be subjugated, it seems that the revision of some of the policies of religious

¹¹⁸ Stone. "*Indian Harvest*," 148.

¹¹⁹ Stone. "*Indian Harvest*," 148.

indoctrination and enslavement used by the colonizers as a result of the catastrophic events that played out in Hispaniola, led to the eventual realization of the Spanish evangelization and subjugation of a greater part of the Americas.¹²⁰ The changes in processes of colonization which led to the secure Christianization of the greater parts of South America, the Southern U.S., Mexico, and Florida, also cultivated the continued evolution of sacred music instruction which greatly increased the rate of conversion in these places. The Natives of Hispaniola, however, due to their premature demise as a result of the colonial experiment which occurred on their island, would not see the flourishing of sacred music in their lifetime.

¹²⁰ Stone. "*Indian Harvest*," 148.

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