

Hispano-Filipina Church Music in Intramuros, Manila in the Context of Nineteenth-Century Philippine Modernity (1858-1898)

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Abstract: Because conversion was Spain's imperial project in all its colonies, the church, as an institution, became a major player in the colonial enterprise. Christianization became a constitutive force in the country's colonial affairs as friars were sent to the archipelago to realize Spain's mission of conversion. From early accounts, it can be surmised that it was the work of religious missionaries that became the most influential factor in the transformation of the cultural behavior of the people in acquiring a Westernized consciousness.

The article looks at the conditions that underpinned the transformation of church music in nineteenth-century modernity in the colony, approached through the prism of published music scores. It brings to light both friars and non-religious church musicians who had an active role in transforming the musical life of the colonial capital, being prime movers in the musical scene of the city and contributing to the formation of the city's sacred music culture. It is interesting to explore this construction within the musical milieu of Intramuros when the church got preoccupied with significant developments of modernity particularly that of lithographic music printing.

Keywords: Hispano-Filipina Sacred Music, Intramuros, Philippine Modernity, nineteenth-century, transculturation, lithography

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Introduction

Because conversion was Spain's imperial project in all its colonies, the church, as an institution, became a major player in the colonial enterprise. Christianization became a constitutive force in the country's colonial affairs as friars were sent to the archipelago to realize Spain's mission of conversion. From early accounts, it can be surmised that it was the work of religious missionaries that became the most influential factor in the transformation of the cultural behavior of the people in acquiring a Westernized consciousness. Hence, Spanish structures of politics and religion were the twin engines of cross-fertilization that led to the cultivation of a transcultural Hispano-Filipina music, which thrived not only in Manila but also in the major parts of the Philippine islands.

The second half of the nineteenth century was crucial in the process of cultural transformation as the colony had experienced the effects of globalization that ushered a period of modernity¹ witnessed through the introduction of steam-powered shipping vessel, emergence of modern technological innovation such as lithography in 1858, opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and the growth of the capitalist market. Regular commercial sea travel from the peninsula to Manila via the Cádiz, Madrid, Barcelona, Port-Said, Suez, Aden, Punta de Gales, and Singapore to Manila route propelled cultural movements and encounters. Workings of modern global advances in this particular period were highly transformative in the course of the country's colonial history with the traditional church not being exempt.

This article looks at the conditions that underpinned this transformation in church music in nineteenth-century modernity in the colony, approached through the prism of published music scores. It brings to light both friars and non-religious church musicians who had an active role in transforming the musical life of the colonial capital, being prime movers in the musical scene of the city and contributing to the formation of the city's sacred music culture. Their informed knowledge of western music, along with their new experience in the colony, was critical to their early music compositions. It is interesting to explore this construction within the musical milieu of Intramuros when the church got preoccupied with significant developments of modernity particularly that of lithographic music printing.²

¹ Modernity refers to specific modes of social, economic and political organization that are characterized by such developments as the expansion of capitalism, secularism, the rise of nation-states, and the spread of liberal and humanistic ideas. (Giddens 1991:1)

² Although printing was introduced early on in the colony in the late 16th century, the printing of music will only be possible with the introduction of lithography. This is a process of planographic printing (i.e., on a flat surface) done initially on stone that utilized chemical in the process. This major breakthrough of the nineteenth-century made printing easier and faster. The coming of lithography in the colony in 1858 was a significant component of the colony's engagement with modernity.

Intramuros, the Spanish Colonial Enclave in *Las Islas Filipinas*

Intramuros or the *Ciudad Murada* (Walled City) was a Spanish citadel founded by the *conquistador* Adelantado Miguel López de Legazpi. This was made the capital of *Las Islas Filipinas* in 1571. It was built on a delta in a strategic region called Manila (or Maynilad) with the Pasig River crossing its divide and bounded by the Laguna de Bae and the Manila Bay. It was a favorable place to establish a city since it was connected by different waterways, allowing access to local and international trading networks. The name Manila was taken from a tall plant the *nilad* (or *Ixora Manila*)³ that grows abundantly in the place. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the natives, called Tagalogs (Taga-ilog, river people), populated the area and was ruled by the Muslim rulers Rajah Sulayman in the Southern bank and Rajah Lakandula in the North. Upon the defeat of the rulers by the Spanish conquistadores, Manila became a part of the Spanish Empire on June 24, 1571, the Feast day of St. John the Baptist. Manila celebrates its feast on this date until today.

The *Ciudad Murada* was given the honorific title of the “Distinguished and Ever Loyal City of Manila” in 1594. With it, Intramuros became synonymous with Manila. Areas around it were called *pueblos* (towns).

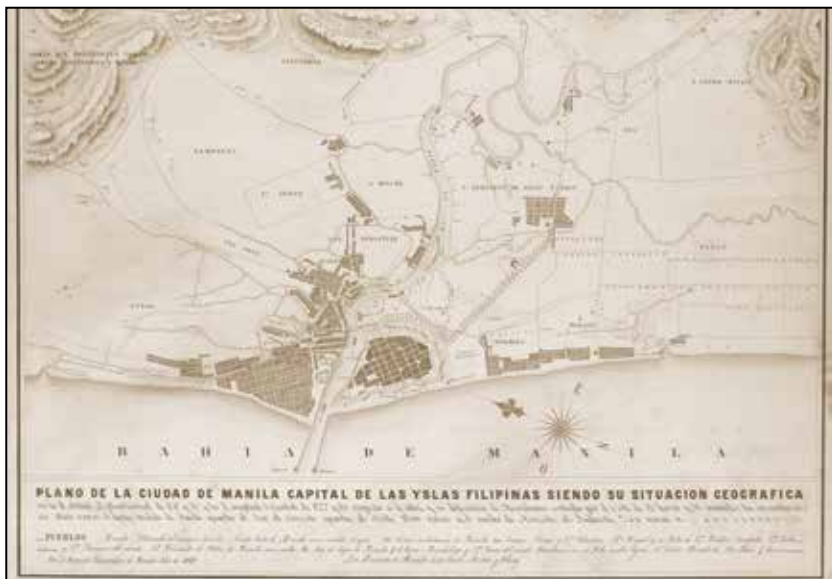


Plate 1: Map of Manila and its Pueblos c. 19th century

³ According to Javellana, the name “Manila” was taken from the word *nilad* which is a type of a mangrove plant that bore white waxy flowers, and was identified in Fray Manuel Blacos’s book, *Flora de Filipinas* as *Ixora Manila*. However, Javellana points out that the more correct scientific name of this plant is *Scyphiphora hydrophyllacea* (Javellana 19).

In 1854, regions surrounding Intramuros were referred to as *arrabales* (suburbs).

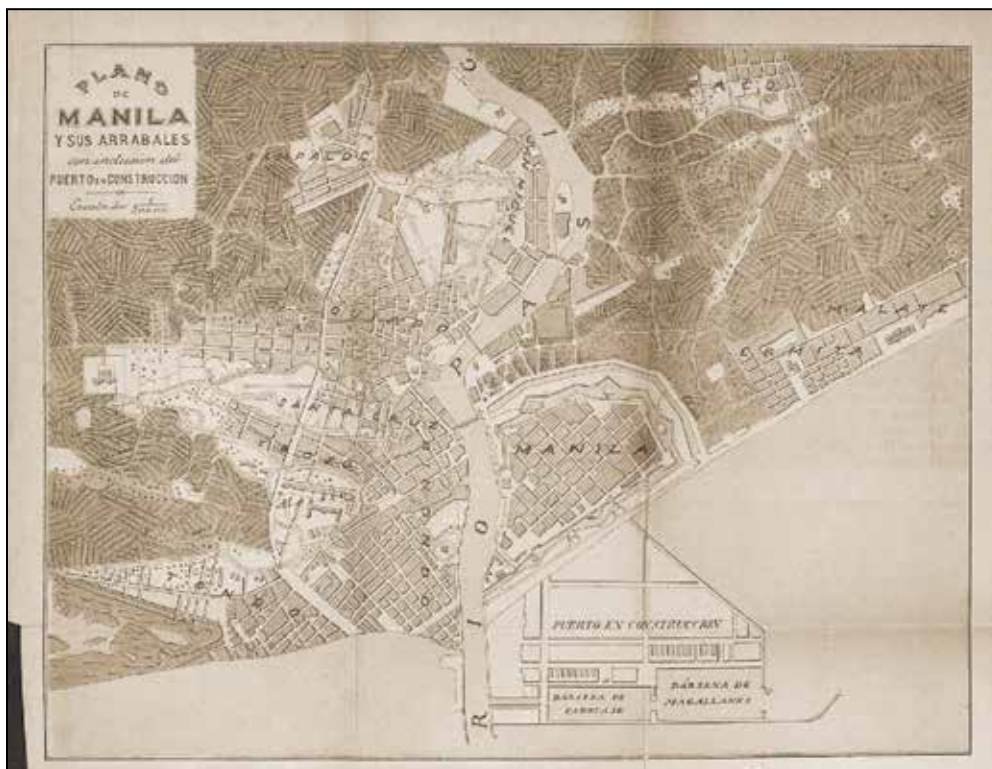


Plate 2: Plan of Manila and its suburbs c. 19th century. *Biblioteca Nacional de Cataluña*.

Religious and political power emanated from within the walls of this Spanish enclave. It was the seat of the colonial government, a place of religiosity, and the abode of various Spanish officials, religious friars, clerics, *monjas*, and important *peninsulares*. Hence, *Intramuros* became the bastion of Hispanism in the country and a formidable space for performances of religious music. According to Diane Taylor, process of cultural assimilation and later transculturation normatively begins in urban and port cities where the impact of foreign cultures is directly experienced due to its geographical accessibility (4). Taylor adds that class is an important factor in the process because the upper class is closely allied with agents from the foreign metropole, historically, and ideologically (4).

Thus, Manila, particularly *Intramuros*, is an excellent site to locate cultural ramifications of the cultivation of the Hispano-Filipina sacred music tradition. Constructed by the metropole, it was the center of the colony. Patterned after the early settlements of Spain, structures were built inside the walls based on the

urbanization ordinance of 1573 in which Philip II codified instructions for a colonial urban planning. Mirroring this was the *reducción* system in the lesser scattered modes of accessible places, wherein the subjects were forced to form compact settlements, each within the hearing distance of the church bells (*bajo las campanas*). This was a strategic tool utilized to facilitate the implementation of evangelization that was one of the means for the empire to control its subjects. Following the coastal system of city construction,⁴ the cathedral was placed in an auspicious position: near a body of water and in front of it was the *plaza mayor*. On the eastern side of the *plaza* was the *palacio del gobernador* and at the West was the *ayuntamiento* (town hall).



Plate 3: Plaza Mayor de Manila, 1847 by José Honorato Lozano (1815-1885).
Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Built inside the citadel were the many churches of the different religious order, various chapels, and convents such as the Monasterio de Santa Clara. It has been said that no other area in the world has had the greatest number of religious

⁴ Javellana discusses two basic colonial city plans: inland and coastal. The plaza mayor is the physical center of the city in the inland plan while in the coastal plan it is built near a body of water. Manila, according to him follows the coastal plan. He states, “the plaza mayor (called Plaza Roma) was built close to where the Pasig River empties into Manila Bay. But reclamation beginning in the 19th century has pushed the river mouth further about 750 meters west. Today Bonifacio Drive, Del Pan Bridge and the South port have come in between Intramuros and the river mouth” (Javellana 34-35).

establishments in such a small space where feasts and celebrations were replete with music, grandeur, and solemnity (Villaroel, 46). Nick Joaquin recounts that “there were seven churches in Intramuros – San Francisco, Recoletos, Lourdes, San Agustin, San Ignacio, Sto. Domingo, and the Cathedral – and about a dozen chapels, the most splendid of which were the chapels of Letran, San Juan de Dios, the Franciscans Third Order, and the Sta. Clara” (Quijano de Manila 17). With the numerous religious establishments in this enclave and with music being an integral component of their services and feasts, one can imagine the rich music making and ceremonial performances that happened in such a colonial urban space.

Friar Musicians in the *Ciudad Murada* and Accounts of Musical Performances

Missionaries were aggressive in the conversion of the natives and music played an instrumental role in the pacification and subjugation of the people of the colony. As friars and other religious, knowledgeable and trained in music, arrived in Spain’s most far-flung province i.e., *Las Islas Filipinas*, beginning in the sixteenth century. Their deliberate efforts afforded the introduction to the Western sacred music tradition and its corresponding appropriation by the natives of the islands. Music was an important tool that was utilized by the religious to evangelize the natives of the colony. Peninsular friar musicians of the different religious orders endeavored to supplant the local tunes with sacred music from the churches of the West, e.g., masses, motets, *gozos*, *Salve Regina*, *Te Deum*, *villancicos*, and others suited for the religious services.

David Irving, in his book *Colonial Counterpoint* discusses lengthily the musician clerics from the different religious orders who came to Manila during the period of the Manila Galleon (1569-1815) and made notable contributions to the colony’s musical development such as Lorenzo Castello, Juan Bolivar, Pedro Bautista, Marcelo de San Agustin, Juan Alfaro, and Diego Cera de la Virgen del Carmen.⁵

These religious missionaries trained in music were purveyors of Hispanization. Through their musical activities in the islands, they initiated the education of the natives in traditional harmonic Western music. The names of Lorenzo Castelló and Juan Bolívar are remembered specifically for writing religious musical works in the Spanish province. These two peninsular composers and their possible link to the important printed music anthology, *Manual-Cantoral de Santa Clara*, will be discussed in detail in the next section.

The teaching of music was a vital tool of conversion and also in the transfer of Western taste for music. One of the high points of Philippine music history was

⁵ See David Irving’s *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila*, pp. 171-174.

the foundation of the *Colegio de Niños Tiples de la Santa Iglesia de Catedral* in 1737,⁶ which trained children with a curriculum similar to that of conservatories in the West, for example, solfeggio, vocalization, composition, organ and string playing were integral parts of the curriculum. This important institution, established by Archbishop Rodríguez with funding from Spain (the *obra pias*), was considered “a significant center of European musical training in early modern Asia” (Irving 2010: 169).

As early as the eighteenth century, native musicians were appointed to key musical positions in the church. William John Summers in his study of early music of Manila has identified local names Don Baltazar Gat Dobali as *Ministro y Superior de la Capilla y Musica* of the Manila Cathedral and Francisco Magsaysay, an organist in the *Libro de Gobierno* in 1740.⁷ These show that *indios* (natives), particularly in Manila, had acquired the musical knowledge and skills in the harmonic Western idiom and were capable of handling music in church services. Another was Marcelo de San Agustín, an organist of the seventeenth century. Marcelo was connected with the San Agustín Church, another important religious institution in the Intramuros enclave.

Hence, the Manila Cathedral and the *Colegio de Ninos de Tiples* became important in the cultivation of music not only for church functions as well as in the secular sphere. This would continue in the nineteenth century as many important musicians of this period, such as Remigio Calahorra, Blas Echegoyen, José Canseco, as well as others, were connected with this institution.

A number of historical accounts in the nineteenth-century praised the exceptional ability of Tagalogs in singing and learning the craft of music. The natives (e.g. *indio*, *criollo*, *mestizos*) of the islands primarily learned through the imitation of and borrowing from the music performed in the context of the church religious rites. This continued in the nineteenth century as John Foreman noted:

The native has an inherent passion for music. Musicians are to be found in every village, and even among the very poorest classes. There was scarcely a parish without its orchestra, and this natural taste was laudably encouraged by the priests. Some of these bands acquired great local fame, and were sought for wherever there was

⁶ For a more detailed discussion of the establishment of the cathedral and the institution of the *Colegio de niños triples* see articles by William John Summers, “Music in Manila Cathedral: Some Historical Vignettes” in *Manila Cathedral: Basilica of the Immaculate Concepcion*, pp. 152-156 and “Listening for Historic Manila: Music and Rejoicing in an International City,” pp. 203-254.

⁷ See William John Summers “Listening for Historic Manila: Music and Rejoicing in an International City,” for listing of early church musicians, pp. 224-231.

a feast miles away. The players seemed to enjoy it as much as the listeners, and they would keep it for hours at a time, as long as their bodily strength lasted. Girls from six years of age learn to play the harp almost by instinct, and college girls quickly learn piano. *There are no native composers – they are but imitators.* There is an absence of sentimental feeling in the execution of set music (which is all European), and this is the only drawback to their becoming fine instrumentalists (195-196). [emphasis added]

In another account, the German ethnologist, Fedor Jagor, who was in Manila in 1856, stated that:

The uncivilized inhabitants of the Philippines *quickly adopted the rites, forms, and ceremonies of this strange religion and, at the same time, copied the personal externalities of their new masters, learning to despise their own manners and customs as heathenish and barbarian.* Nowadays, forsooth, they sing Andalusian songs and dance Spanish dances; but in what sort of way? *They imitate everything that passes before their eyes* without possessing the intelligence to appreciate it. It is this which makes both themselves and their artistic productions wearisome, devoid of skill and patience they devote to them” (37). [emphasis added]

Foreman’s views and Jagor’s comments on music-making in the colony, although derisive from a Westerner’s point of view, speak of the native’s imitation and adoption of Hispanized music as vital, particularly as a first stage in the transculturation process. This is corroborated by an Englishman, Henry Ellis, who traveled in Hong Kong and the Philippines in 1856. He narrated that:

The churches in Manila are numerous, and, generally speaking, venerable, heavy looking buildings for the most part, as Paddy would say, “white-washed yellow,” with a parsonage or convent attached to them. It is, I believe, a matter of fact, that many of these establishments, as well as those of monastic orders, are exceedingly wealthy, but how they manage to spend their wealth always appeared to me a mystery; unless their charities were of that description where one hand knows not what the other does.

So far as external appearance enables one to judge, but little money is spent on the churches themselves, or anything appertaining thereto. Some are barely in decent repair, and – with the exception

of numbers of absurd, and what the Spaniards so admire, blood-bestained pictures of flames and torments, angels, devils, and saints, all in a *melee*, and others that we heretics, in the blindness of our dark ignorance, hardly ever have heard of, working miracles the belief in which is utterly beyond the weakness of our faith to attain unto, - there are few adornments of a costly nature. *The music, too (and this is the most singular fact), is almost invariably very indifferent; the vocal part harsh and discordant, and the instrumental about the worst to be found in the place.* If I remember rightly, few of them have organs, and the style of instruments that the natives excel in are much better adapted to a *bayle* than a church. The congregations are, however, generally pretty good, especially on the feast days; but amongst the worshippers the ladies invariably bear the larger proportion (243). [emphasis added]

Ellis's account is similar to Jagor's and Foreman's narrations of their travels. They offer a view of the condition of the church and its music in the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century. Despite the efforts of the missionaries in the islands, their number was small and teaching music was not their primary obligation. However, what is clear from these accounts is that music was a major part of the ritual of conversion that generated a positive response or at any rate little resistance, judging from the eagerness of Filipinos to perform music in the church. It was this enthusiastic emulation and adoption of Western music that facilitated the way for the appropriation of music styles by the people of the colony. Continued imitation meant cultural assimilation of music practices. From Ellis's extensive account of his visit to the islands in 1859, it appears that the church and the colonial government in *Las Islas Filipinas* seemed to have responded to the reports seriously. They then made steps to improve the customary music performance in church related services and festivities by bringing well-known secular musicians from Spain to the colony in 1860.

Sacred Music of Diasporic Peninsular and Local Composers in the Colony

Possibly to address Ellis's concern on the poor music making in the church, Remigio Calahorra (1833-1899), the first non-religious peninsular music composer, came to the colony with his violinist brother, Apolinar Calahorra, in 1860. These musicians were assigned to the most important religious institution in the colony, the Manila Cathedral. There is no account of who ordered to send them to the colony or if they came in their own volition. But it seems quite obvious that they were sent to help in upgrading the music in church services. Remigio was the music

director of the Royal Chapel of Madrid before coming to Manila. He took the post of *maestro de capilla* of the Manila Cathedral. For someone as important a musician as Remigio, his coming to the islands might have been orchestrated by someone who was of notable position, i.e., who had connections with the Spanish officials in the peninsula. Remigio was already a noted personality before coming to Manila. He had an important post in the King's court. Aside from this, he was already a well-established composer who actively published his music in Madrid.

In Manila, he directed and handled the training of the Colegio de Niños de Tiples (boys' choir) for seven fruitful years from 1860 to 1867.⁸ When he went back to Spain due to health reasons, his brother Apolinar took over the teaching of the boys' choir. Back in Madrid, Remigio returned to his post as music director of the *Capilla Real* (Royal Chapel). His musical compositions manifest sophistication and grandeur as he composed large sacred musical works for the choir, organ, and orchestra. His printed works note the fact that he was a “maestro de capilla que fue de la Catedral de Manila y professor honorario de la R^l. De S.M.”



Plate 4: Remigio Calahorra's *Nuevo Septenario a los dolores de la Santísima Virgen* from *Biblioteca Nacional de España*.

Remigio's coming to the colony and his participation in Manila's musical life improved and enriched the musical activity of the most important church in the

⁸ This information was taken from the *Diccionario de la musica española e hispanoamericana*. See complete biographical entry in Appendix B-1 of Remigio Calahorra.

capital as later music productions in Manila became grander and ostentatious. Even after Remigio's return to Madrid in 1867, fervor and enthusiasm in music making in the churches in Manila continued. As his brother Apolinar assumed the post of the *maestro de capilla*, orchestras in the various churches proliferated.

There is no doubt that Remigio was also actively composing music during his seven-year stay in Manila. However, this study was able to retrieve only two of his compositions: a *villancico* in manuscript form at the UST Miguel de Benavides Library and a “Misa Pastorela” printed in the *Villancico: Mga Awiting Pamasko*.⁹

[illegible]

Plate 5: Transcription of the Calahorra Villancico
from the University of Santo Tomas Archives.

Both of the works are undated but might have been composed from 1860 to 1867 during his stay in the colony. Many of his other works before and after his post in the Manila Cathedral can be found at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, an example of which is shown in Plate 4. Remigio's influence is evident in the stylistic characteristics of later compositions produced by local and native composers such as Marcelo Adonay (1848-1928).

⁹ The *Villancico: Mga Awiting Pamasko* is an anthology of Christmas songs published in 1971 by the Department of Tourism. This is the only publication of Christmas music that was published in Manila and preserved some of the popular villancicos that were performed and composed in Intramuros, Manila.

Aside from the Calahorras who were Madrileños, there was also a group of Catalanes musicians who were active in the capital city beginning in the late 1870s. An account that came out in *La Iberia*, a newspaper in Spain, reported in 1876 that the group of Catalanes in Manila published a notice in Catalan calling the attention of their countrymen to celebrate the feast of Our Lady of Montserrat, the patron saint of their municipality in Spain. The notice stated that part of the celebration, “is the singing of a hymn accompanied by full orchestra, which is also being performed in Cataluña. A solemn mass will be held on the 8th in San Agustin Church, which will be presided by the Catalan priest, Fr. Font.” This shows that there were a number of peninsular musicians in Manila who were active in organizing music church activities. These *Catalanes* were important progenitors in the development of secular transcultural music, particularly in the beginning of music industry in Manila.

Another grand festival held in Manila was the celebration of the 3rd Centenary of the death of St. Therese of Jesus (also known as Teresa of Ávila) in October of 1882. Literary, music, and sculpture competitions were held to commemorate the event. For the music competition, a *plegaria de Teresa de Jesús* (prayer of St. Therese of Jesus) had to be set to original music. The competition was open to everyone. Fascinating in this account was that a native of the colony, José Canseco, won the first prize while Blas Echegoyen, a respected peninsular and director of the *Colegio de Niños Típos* in the Manila Cathedral, only got the second prize. José Canseco was identified as a *cantor* of the Cathedral. He very likely studied under Echegoyen, who was the *maestro de capilla* (church director) of the institution.

Important names of other *criollo* and native musicians who joined and earned a special distinction in the music composition competition were Manuel A. Mata, identified as *joven indigena* (young indigene) and Leonardo Silos y Canseco, *indigena* (indigene). Sung during the celebration, aside from the winning composition was the magnificent mass of Don Oscar Camps, which was brilliantly executed by D. Blas Echegoyen, who was not only a *maestro de capilla*, but was also a distinguished professor in Manila.

The newspaper account in 1882 stated that:

Con motivo del Centenario á Santa Teresa, se han celebrado grandes fiestas en la capital del Archipiélago Filipino; entre éstas una solemne función religiosa en la catedral y en la que ofició de pontifical el prelado de aquella diócesis, cantándose la misa D. *Oscar Camps*, distinguido profesor de aquella ciudad....

Después tocó su turno á la parte musical interpretándose la pieza

que alcanzó el primer premio, original del indio José Canseco, cantor de la capilla de la catedral y que lleva por lema Santa Teresa Doctora, Sed mi protectora; después se cantó la que había obtenido el accésit, que resultó ser del maestro de capilla D. *Blas Echegoyen* y la que obtuvo mención honorífica original de D *Manuel A. Mata*, joven indígena, y otra que con igual distinción, resultó ser del indígena D. *Leonardo Silos y Canseco*.¹⁰ [emphasis added]

(On the occasion of the Centennial to Santa Teresa, great festivals were celebrated in the capital of the Philippine Archipelago. Among them was a solemn religious function in the cathedral in which the prelate of that diocese officiated as pontifical the singing of the Mass by Oscar Camps y Soler, distinguished professor of that city

Then, performed was the musical interpretation of the piece that won the first prize, an original by the Indian Jose Canseco, singer of the chapel of the cathedral, which had the theme “Santa Teresa Doctor, be my protector;” After that the one that obtained the second prize (accésit) was played, which was the work of the chapel master Don Blas Echegoyen, and the one who got the third prize (honorary mention) was an original work of Don Manuel A. Mata, young native, and another with the same distinction, was that of an indigene Don Leonardo Silos y Canseco.)

This particular news article is interesting because José Canseco’s work was identified as an *original de indio* (an original work by a native) although he was a Spanish mestizo. E. Arsenio Manuel referred to Jose Canseco’s father as of Spanish descent. The natives who probably didn’t have Spanish blood like Manuel Mata and Leonardo Silos were identified as *indígena* (indigene). Race distinction was an important affair in the highly hierarchical colonial system. By highlighting the “nativeness” of Canseco, the decision to highlight difference from the *peninsulares* was obvious. Mixing and blending of people of different races is a common feature in the meeting of cultures in the context of colonialism and globalization. Nonetheless, whether they were *peninsulares*, *criollo*, *mestizos*, *indios*, and the *indígenas*,¹¹ the blurring of class distinctions and boundaries was seemingly clear in church because everyone was equal in sacred music making.

¹⁰ *La Iberia: Diario Liberal*; 30 de Noviembre de 1882 Año CXXIV Num. 334. See Appendix 2-C for the full news article on the Celebration of the 3rd Centenary of Saint Therese of the Child Jesus in Manila.

¹¹ These terms referring to racial classes were used in the nineteenth-century colonial context and does not intend to interrogate hierarchical ideology behind them.

The news article on the winning of Canseco provides an interesting point because in that particular moment a local of the colony was able to subvert the hegemony of the *peninsulares*. Canseco, the winner of the competition, lived a productive life in music and later contributed extensively to its development in the country. Born in Intramuros to a father of Spanish descent, José was a *tiple* in San Agustin Church and later became a tenor in the Cathedral under Blas Echegoyen. (Manuel 1:108) He became a band conductor of the orchestra Gruet and helped organized the all-women Pandakan orchestra. He also became the director of the Narvacan band. He helped Ladislao Bonus Santos form an opera company of local singers that presented known Italian operas with an all-Filipino cast. In addition, he was a musical inventor. He devised a musical apparatus called “miratonos” which was renamed “tonopsis mecanica” by Fr. Sauret. This invention is said to help students and musicians in musical transcription and harmonization.¹² (109) The device was presented at the 1895 *Exposición Regional de Filipinas* and won a gold medal at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904.¹³ He also taught piano and solfeggio. He had a number of works, sacred as well as secular music. Unfortunately, he didn’t engage in the music market economy; because none of his music was published.

The name of a young indigene, Manuel Mata, son of Natalio Mata (1833-1896), a native church musician of Quiapo church, also participated in the 1882 competition. Manuel Mata was one of the first Filipinos to compose and publish secular popular compositions in the nineteenth century. His father, Natalio, was a good friend of Jose Canseco. His circle of friends was a group of native musicians who contributed to music making in urban colonial Manila. Natalio, who was trained at the Colegio de Niños Tiples, became an organist of the Quiapo church and a leading conductor of orchestras. He was married to Maria Nakpil.

Another esteemed figure and an international artist from the península who came to Manila in 1879 was Oscar Camps y Soler. He was a distinguished composer, pianist, and *musicógrafo* (a person dedicated to writing about music). His father was the Cónsul General of Spain in Egypt where Oscar was born. He studied music with his uncle Federico Dalmasse, then enrolled in the Escuela de Trieste. He later transferred to Florence, Italy where he studied piano with Teodore Döhler, voice with Geremias Sbolci, and composition with Teódulo Mabellini. He debuted

¹² Arsenio Manuel cites Canseco as saying that an American firm negotiated for the purchase of the invention but the transaction did not materialize. Very little is known of the musical apparatus, it was mentioned that Canseco delivered a lecture that explained about the value of the device on March 20, 1895 and he published “Tonopsis Mecanica su Descripción e Instrucción” (Manila, J. Atayde 1895). However, no copy of it is extant. It is unfortunate that the device was destroyed during the bombing of the liberation of Manila in 1945. (109)

¹³ See E. Arsenio Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography*, vol. 1 p. 108-110 for a more detailed information on José Canseco.

in public under the guidance of Dohler in 1850. He was 13 years old then and the debut was held in the Liceo di Santa Caterina before Rossini, Alejandro Kraus, and Leopoldo Meyer. He enrolled at the Conservatory of Naples to study counterpoint and composition with Mercadante, whom he described as *mi muy amado maestro* (my much-loved professor). He also became a member of the society *Circulo Artistico Musical Bonamici*. He finished his studies in Naples in 1854 and initiated a series of artistic tours in Italy, France, and Scotland. The following year, he went to Spain, passed through Plasencia, and settled in Toro, Zamora where he stayed until 1868. There he taught piano and wrote his *Cartas toresanas*, which was published in the *Gazette Musical*. He also tried to organize a choral society when he was there. He then went to Bilbao, where he composed the zarzuela “Geniska” and sacred works such as “Bone Pastor” and “Agnus Dei.” His stay in the Basque region was not fruitful because of the indifference of the people there to Castilian music. According to Camps, Bilbao had few artists. He decided to go to Manila in 1879 where he stayed until 1899. His life ended in an unknown way. Possibly he died in Manila.

In the colony, he composed the highly praised “Gran misa V4 y orquesta” for the inauguration of the church of San Ignacio de Manila, and a Grand March for two military bands performed at the 1895 *Exposición Regional de Filipinas*. His compositional style followed the fashion of the salon music of the second half of the nineteenth century. He cultivated the genre of song and music for piano as well. His biographical entry in the *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana* further stated that his religious work has a richer harmonic accompaniment than usual and with a certain virtuosity and a curious taste for chromaticism. He wrote studies and essays on music that were published in Italy, Spain, and the Philippines. While in Manila (1879-1899), he collaborated with the newspaper, *El Comercio* and wrote more than a thousand pieces of journalism that influenced the musical taste of the city. He was a true-blooded Romantic and wrote in defense of popular music (*cantos populares*). He was highly critical of the music of Wagner.

There were a number of accounts of the musical activity of Camps in Manila newspapers. An article in the *La Oceanía Española* stated, for example:

El domingo fue el ultimo día de las fiestas al beato Alonso de Orozco en el temple de San Agustín. La fiesta fue ostentosa. La iglesia estaba decorada artística y lujosamente. El atrio perfectamente adornado con su esplendida iluminación, con sus banderolas, arquería de follaje, transparentes y alegorías. Todo era rico y de mucho gusto.

. A las ocho y en la misa solemne, ofició el Excmo. Sr. Arzobispo.

Se canto la misa del Sr. Camps y Soler, magníficamente ejecutada por la orquesta y coros bajo la dirección de D. Blas Echegoyen.¹⁴

(Sunday was the last day of the feasts of blessed Alonso de Orozco in the church of San Agustin. The feast was ostentatious. The church was artistically and luxuriously decorated. The atrium was perfectly adorned with splendid illumination, with its banners, arcade of foliage, transparent and allegorical. Everything was extravagant and pleasant. At eight o'clock, there was a solemn mass officiated by His Excellency the Archbishop. The mass of Mr. Camps y Soler was magnificently performed by the orchestra and choirs under the direction of D. Blas Echegoyen.)

Most of the time, Camps partnered with D. Blas Echegoyen who conducted performances of his music. Camps was also one of the judges in the music competition in the Centenary of Santa Teresa, where his grand mass composition was also performed.

His participation in musical societies in Italy and Spain influenced the organization of art societies in the colony. An account published in the *Nuestro Tiempo* explains that the Liceo Artistico-Literario de Manila was established in 1880 by the “most cultured men in the country” (*en que figuraron los hombres de mayor cultura que en el pais había*) including writers and poets from the different classes in the city, (i.e., *penisulares, criollos, mestizos and indigena*) such as Oscar Camps y Soler (*critica musical*) and Jose Rizal (*poeta y prosissta, indigena, premiado*).¹⁵ The magazine of the same title *Revista de Liceo Artistico-Literario de Manila* initially came out on August 10, 1879 and the society was established a few months after. The main aim of the society was “the propagation of all manifestations of literature and the arts.”

In addition, Camps was listed in the *Anuario del Comercio*¹⁶ as one of the *profesores de musica* in Manila beginning in 1885. He resided in Manila in *Fonda* “El Universo,”¹⁷ a foreign house similar to a hotel. He also taught piano at the Ateneo. Some of his outputs that could have been composed in Manila, aside from the “Gran misa 4v” and the “Marcha a tres partes,” were “Yoyó, op. 81,” “Cuento rosa,” “Aba ang

¹⁴ *La Oceanía Española*, 11 de Enero de 1883, Num. 7.

¹⁵ *Nuestro Tiempo: Ciencias y artes- Política y Hacienda Año X, Madrid Mayo de 1910* Num.137.

¹⁶ *Anuario del Comercio de la Industria Magistratura y de la Administración o Directorio de las 400,000 Señas de Madrid, de las provincias, de ultramar y de los estados Hispano-Americanos*. Madrid: Carlos Bailly-Bailliere, 1885, p. 2032.

¹⁷ In a directory printed in 1888, *Fonda “El Universo”* is in Calle de Palacio, 12, p. 425. Source: *The Chronicle and Directory for China, Corea, Japan, The Philippines, Cochín-China, Annam, Tonquin, Siam, Borneo, Straits Settlements, Malay States & C.* Hongkong: Daily Press Office, 1888.

a suang!, op. 82” and “Tula.”¹⁸ These were all for piano with interesting *costumbrista* titles. Unfortunately, none of his compositions in Manila have been retrieved.

Given the range of his compositions and music activities in the colony, Camps’s contribution to the music culture of the colony was extensive. Undeniably, he made an impact in the music making of the capital city because his music compositions were widely performed, his musical ideas extensively circulated, and his method competently transmitted.

Aside from the non-religious composers who wrote sacred music, friar musicians continued to be actively involved in the musical life of the colony. They, too, produced outstanding sacred musical works. One of the celebrated religious composers of the nineteenth-century was the Augustinian, Fr. Manuel Aróstegui, O.S.A. A notable conductor and composer who became known as “Agustino Filipino,” he wrote many religious compositions while he was music professor at the Philippine Augustinian College in Valladolid (1882-1886). He was also assigned to the Real Colegio de Alfonso XII del Escorial (1887-1895) (Rodriguez 697). Accounts mention that Manuel Aróstegui was the *maestro de capilla* of San Agustin Church in Manila from 1886 to 1887. He returned to Spain upon the death of his brother in 1887 but came back to Manila in 1896. When the Philippine Revolution broke out, he was one of the few Agustinians who chose to remain in the Philippines after the closing of the provincial house in 1901. He died in Manila in 1903.¹⁹ Aróstegui made an impact on the life of Marcelo Adonay (1848-1928), the young native musician trained in San Agustin Church who was nicknamed ‘Palestrina of the Philippines’ because of his numerous sacred compositions.²⁰ It is said that the work of the young Adonay was sent to Fr. Aróstegui in Valladolid who was impressed by it. Marin y Morales’s notes that, “Arostegui wrote 150 compositions altogether. Masses and motets for orchestra and various vocal and instrumental combinations are dominant. Hymns, *villancicos*, pieces in honor of the Virgin, offertories, lamentations for Holy week, requiems, and instrumental pieces (e.g., string quartet, four-hand piano works,

¹⁸ Emilio Casares, José López-Calo et al. (eds.). *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*. Madrid, Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 2002. Vol. 2, p. 1003.

¹⁹ Luis Villalba Muñoz, “El P. Manuel Aróstegui,” *La Ciudad de Dios*, Vol. LXI, 1903, p. 626, as well as Elviro Jorde-Perez, *Catalogo Bibliografico de los Religiosos Agostinos de la Provincia del Ssmo. Nombre de Jesus* (Manila: Establecimiento Tipográfico del Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1901), p. 717.

²⁰ This reference to Adonay as the ‘Palestrina of the Philippines’ is a misnomer as his compositional style is far from Palestrina, who was a composer at the latter part of the Renaissance period. For information on Adonay’s life and music, see *Marcelo Adonay: A Study of His Life and Works* by Mirano, Dioquino, Silvestre et al.

concerto for violin and piano) are found in the list.”²¹ Despite Fr. Aróstegui’s many compositions, only one was retrieved from the Biblioteca Nacional de España: the “Ave Maria Solo de tenor con acompañamiento de Piano ó Armonio” (1886) (Figure 2.2). His other major works were a grand mass for full orchestra (1885), “O Salutaris Hostia” (1885), “Salve” (1885), “Flores de María” (1885), and “Motete al Sismo” (1885) (Bañas 27).



Plate 6: Fr. Manuel Aróstegui’s Ave Maria, Valladolid 1886. *Biblioteca Nacional de España*.

A Franciscan missionary Fray Cipriano González, O.F.M., came to Manila in 1876. One of his exceptional musical outputs was the mass cycle composition, “Misa a tres voces con acompañamientos de orquesta y de organo solo”²² printed by Imprenta de Manuel Perez Hijo in Manila dated 1885 (Plate 7). A total of 75 pages of

²¹ Enrique Cainglet, *Hispanic Influences on the West Visayan Folk Song Tradition of the Philippines*, Vol. 1, A Thesis submitted in Partial Fulfillment for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in Musicology at the University of Adelaide, Adelaide, Australia, 1981, p. 4.

²² This printed orchestral mass composition was retrieved at the *Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental* in Madrid, Spain. It was presented to me by the previous archivist of the institution, Fr. Cayetano Sanchez, O.F.M.

printed music, this is a rare print because the whole orchestration of the music was included. The sheer rarity of this orchestral opus earned him a slot at the Exposición de Filipinas in Madrid in 1887. Fray Cipriano was a promoter of opera. He headed an operatic society called Circulo Musical in Pandacan, Manila. The fact that a friar was at the forefront in the cultivation of the cosmopolitan opera speaks of the overarching influence of modern cosmopolitanism in the colony. As a composer, there is no doubt that his music was influenced by the music of the opera. His preference for theatrical and showy music, which was dominant at that time, is manifested in his sacred music compositions. William Palgrave during his visit in Manila in 1876 observed:²³

Within the church rite and ceremonies of the day - a Malay sermon delivered by one or other of the officiating priests excepted - are what they might be in any small provincial town of Spain itself. But the music, contributed by a native brass band, is not European merely, but, the most of it, operatic. The “Gloria” is accompanied by an inspiring air of the “Trovatore,” the “Credo” cheered by a melodious adaptation from the “Barbiere,” and the host elevated to a passionate outburst of the “Traviata.” But whatever may be thought of the suitability of the music to the occasion and place, it meets beyond a doubt all the aesthetic requirements of the worshippers, and is well executed besides... (Palgrave 144-147, Cited by Laureola, 313)

It was not mentioned if the music that Palgrave heard in a church in Manila was of Fr. Cipriano's. However, what can be surmised from Palgrave's account is that the grand, theatrical, and ostentatious music that had characterized church music in Manila after the 1870s was a stark contrast to the church music that Jagor and Ellis heard in the 1850s. As primary agents in this cultural shift, the non-religious and friar peninsular musicians effected this change as they actively performed, taught, and composed music in the city. The involvement of the *criollos*, *mestizos*, and the *indigenas* in the musical life of the church was extensive. The music that a number of them wrote, as in the case of Canseco, even surpassed the abilities of their colonial masters.²⁴

²³ William Gifford Palgrave was a scholar of Arabic who visited the Philippines in 1876. He wrote an essay entitled “Malay Life in the Philippines” which was published as part of his book, *Ulysses or Scenes and Studies in Many Lands*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1887.

²⁴ The destruction of Intramuros took place in 1945, during the battle for the liberation of Manila. When the Japanese first invaded Manila, it was declared an “Open City.” This resulted in the catastrophic loss of much of the city's material culture. Without the material evidence of music performed and composed in this region, it will be difficult to investigate the appropriation, alteration, and transformation of music cultures from this perspective.



Plate 7: Fr. Cipriano González's *Misa a Tres Voces*, 1885. This was retrieved at the Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental in Madrid, Spain, presented to me by the previous archivist of the institution, Fr. Cayetano Sanchez, O.F.M.

Music Printing and the Revolutionary *Manual-Cantoral de Santa Clara*

The *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las religiosas de Santa Clara de la ciudad de Manila* is a five-volume sacred music anthology provides a clue as to what might have been the music that was composed in Intramuros in the early modern period and sustained until the end of the nineteenth century. Although the corpus of sacred music was printed after 1870, the repertory based on the critical examination of the corpus of music has been composed in Manila as early as the eighteenth century. The presence of this large amount of sacred music compositions from this period of development is propitious. Through it, one can critically investigate early modern composed music that flourished in the colony.

Printed by the Litografía de Oppel²⁵ from 1871-1874, the *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las religiosas de Santa Clara de la ciudad de Manila*, initially intended for use in a monastery for women, was also employed as functional music for the churches and convents in Intramuros, Manila. This music publication is considered a major achievement in the history of printing in the Philippines.

²⁵ The Litografía de Oppel was the first lithographic printing press established in the colony in 1858 by the German brothers Gustav and Jorge Oppel.

To put it in a broader context, it even pre-dates the famous liturgical music book, the *Liber Usualis* of Gregorian chant melodies studied by the Benedictine monks of Solemnes, published by the Desclee family in Tournai, Belgium in the year 1883.

For one, this publication is the only *cantoral* (choir book) known to have been printed in the region. The distinguished Spanish book collector of the century, Pedro Vindel, referred to it as “un ejemplar de esta rarísima obra” (an example of a rarest work) because it was produced locally in the Spanish colony.²⁶ It is interesting to note that although the *Manual-Cantoral* is an anthology of sacred music, a commercial press published it.²⁷ Notwithstanding the high cost of the publication, the printing press engaged in the more difficult lithographic printing process, which suggests that there was a market for this type of music particularly churches even in the provinces. This is probably the most circulated liturgical music book in the country and the Franciscan congregation invested in it for a practical purpose because the large choir book in *facistols* (lecterns) was unwieldy to the users.

The anthology was widely circulated as it has been found in ecclesiastical archives and libraries in the different regions around the country. A copy of the different volumes was found in different repositories in Manila and other provinces such as in the Ecclesiastical Museum of Bohol (parts of volume 2), Archives of the Archbishop's Palace of San Fernando, Pampanga (volume 3), National Library, Manila (Volume 1), Lopez Library in Meralco Avenue, Manila (Volume 1 and 2a), San Francisco Archives in San Francisco del Monte, Quezon City (volume 4), Jose Estella Music Collection UP Music Library, and others. Also, the Biblioteca Nacional de España has the Volume 3 of the collection while the Archivo Francisco-Ibero Oriental (AFIO) in Madrid, Spain, holds the complete set of the anthology. Fr. Cayetano Sanchez, O.F.M., archivist of AFIO, narrated that the entire collection was retrieved from under a hidden compartment beside the pipe organ of a church in Madrid. This is proof that the anthology, *Manual-Cantoral de Santa Clara* was sold and performed extensively even in the metropole.

²⁶ Collection listing from “Los Franciscanos y el Nuevo Mundo, Monasterio de Santa Maria de la Rabida (Abril-Mayo 1992)” Cf. Marin Morales, Fr. V. O.P. *Ensayo de una síntesis de los trabajos realizados por las Corporaciones Religiosas Españolas de Filipinas*. Manila, 1901. Vindel P, *Biblioteca Filipina*, n. 1425.

²⁷ Previous to the coming of lithographic printing to Manila, the church dominated the publishing of books and reading materials in the colony. Since lithography was a commercial venture and an offshoot of capitalist modern technology, it was very costly for the church to engage in this printing technology. Thus, the church partnered with a secular commercial press for the printing of the music collection.

The publication of the *Manual-Cantoral* collection was a brainchild of the Franciscan priest, Fray Pedro Parra, O.F.M. whose name appears in the article by Bañas and Carril.²⁸ Available records show that Fr. Parra was born in Madrid on January 31, 1816. He came to Manila and was appointed Guardian of San Francisco de Manila in 1864. In 1867, he was appointed *Definidor* and *Vicario de Santa Clara* (Gomez Platero, 730). Bañas writes about Fr. Parra that mentioned him to be in a Manila convent in 1864-1867. Bañas also cited that he composed two manuals, one of them for the religious women in the Monasterio de Santa Clara and the other a collection of *cantorales*, that was published in Manila in 1874 (29).

Unfortunately, Bañas did not acknowledge where he got this information, so one does not have a concrete evidence of why this opus was attributed to Fr. Parra. No accounts are available that would inform us about the musical abilities of this Franciscan priest. He could have just ordered or facilitated the compilation of the music sung by the *monjas* (cloistered nuns) of the convent when he was *Vicario of the Monasterio* in 1867. As the diversity of the contents of the work would show, it is doubtful if Fr. Parra was the one who composed all the music in the collection. However, Parra's vision of putting the music repertory of the convent in print was laudatory and for this, he earned significance in the music history of the Philippines.

Fray Parra contracted the Opper brothers to print the collection. The remarkable lithographs and the music notation in the anthology, produced in the course of four years (one volume per year), were done by the brothers. Despite the large corpus of music that survived, it is unfortunate that not a single composer of any of the musical works was identified. It is evident that the music contained in the collection was written specifically for use in churches and monasteries in colonial Manila. One of the mass compositions contained in *Series 2^aB* of the collection was entitled "Misa Hispano-Filipina."

The work is notated in an archaic form of music notation that employs square and diamond note heads representative of eighteenth-century sacred music composition in the colony. The notation of the "Misa Hispano-Filipina" resembles the music contained in the large format manuscript choir books that survived in the ecclesiastical museum of the church of Baclayon in the province of Bohol and in San Agustin Church, Intramuros.²⁹

²⁸ See Ma. Concepción Echevarría Carril, "La Música Franciscana en Filipinas," pp. 197-210.

²⁹ See Chua's *Kirial de Baclayon año 1826: Hispanic Sacred Music in Nineteenth Century Baclayon, Bohol* for a detailed discussion of large format choirbooks, called *cantorales* from the Ecclesiastical Museum of the Church of Baclayon.



Plate 8: Misa Hispano Filipina from the *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila*, Vol. 2. Ecclesiastical Museum of Baclayon Church, Bohol Philippines and in the Archivo Franciscano-Ibero Oriental (AFIO) in Madrid, Spain.

A close examination of the music repertory shows that the compositions were made over different time frames. The differing musical characteristics of the compositions as well as their notational properties are proof that they were composed in different stages of musical development. The “Misa Hispano Filipina” from *Serie 2^a B* is in *canto llano figurado* (measured plainsong), which was the predominant style of church music during the second half of the eighteenth century until the nineteenth. On the other hand, the “Salve Regina” from *Serie 4^a* is representative of the nineteenth century choral singing that employed dramatic dissonances coupled with flowing aria-like melodic passages. This particular composition and the rest of the repertory in *Serie 4^a* were written in modern day music notation.

The repertory of the anthology is noteworthy. *Serie 1^o Officio Difuntos* contains music and prayers for the dead, while *Serie 2^a A* and *2^a B Misas clásicas, bendiciones y procesiones* contain mass cycles such as “Misa Hispano Filipina” (a coro y duo de tiples), “Misa Devota” (a duo y coro), “Misa Caprichosa” (para coro de tenores ó’

tiples y en el 2o caso se acompaña por), “Misa Ysidora” (para duo tiples y coro), “Misa Mariana,” and “Misa del Santísimo” (a coro de tenor y tiple para el Jueves santo, Corpus Christi y dias de Jubileo). “Misa Pastorela” in modern notation is also included in the *Serie 2ª B. Serie 3ª Visperas y Maytines Clasicos* contains music for the Divine Office such as Matins and vespers. *Serie 4ª Miscellanea*, which is in modern notation, is a remarkable set of devotional paraliturgical music sung in various religious celebrations of the Catholic Church, such as *gozos*, *villancicos*, *motets*, *Salve Regina*, *Miserere*, and others.

Gozos (literally joys), are one of the “popular-pious” vocal genres devoted to the “joys” of the Virgin Mary or of some saint (Hamilton 177). These existed in the eighteenth-century in a more or less sophisticated form, but were originally folk songs of a religious nature suitable for use by peasants or simple townsfolk, and were often sung as pilgrimage songs. A majority of the repertory in the collection is in honor of the Virgin such as the “Gozos Inmaculada Concepcion,” “Misa Mariana,” and “Salve Regina.” There are also *motetes* (motets),³⁰ the “O admirable Sacramento,” “Ay Dueño de mi vida,” and “Sepulto.” Included as well is a set of *villancicos* for Christmas (in Spanish), and a set of *villancicos* for the *altares*, which is in Latin, and another *villancico* for the feast of the *Santísimo Domino* sung during Holy Thursday. *Villancicos*,³¹ as we know them today are Christmas carols. Earlier *villancicos* for the church, however, were not solely used for Christmas, proof of which is in this collection.

Sacred music publications prior to the second half of the nineteenth century did not identify authors of the compositions since their main function, was to edify worship. These anonymous composers may have been the musician priests mentioned in accounts, who came from the different religious orders, traveling to Manila via the galleons during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Since they were practicing musicians, these religious friars could have actively composed music for local church services. The most prominent among the names that Bañas cited was Fray Lorenzo Castello, O.S.A.

³⁰ Motets refer to a common musical/poetic form of Spanish Renaissance music. It is a musical composition with a biblical, patristic or liturgically-related text in Latin from four to eight voice parts.

³¹ *Villancico* (A diminutive of villano: peasant) is a term first applied in the late 15th century to a Spanish musical and poetic form consisting of several stanzas (*coplas*) linked by a refrain (*estribillo*). Originally derived from a medieval dance lyric of *virelai* or *ballata* type and associated with rustic or popular themes, the *villancico* was extensively cultivated in secular polyphonic music of the late 15th and 16th century devotional and religious themes that gained in importance. The *villancico* became increasingly known as sacred compositions in the vernacular, which were introduced into the liturgy on feast days. In the 17th century the *villancico* replaced the Latin motet as an occasional piece, and although its artistic quality rapidly declined in the 18th and 19th centuries it remained popular in both Spain and Latin America. Since then “villancico” has come to mean simply Christmas Carol. (Pope and Stanford, “Villancico,” 770)



Plate 9: Gozos de la Inmaculada Concepción, *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila*, Vol. 4, 1874, p. 16.

Lorenzo Castelló (1686-1743), an Augustinian from Valencia, was a preacher, confessor, cantor, and organist at San Felipe el Real in Madrid before he was assigned to the Philippines in 1718. He was dubbed as the “Augustinian Orpheus” because of his singing prowess. Accounts mentioned his rare ability as a composer.

He stood out due to the close similarity of the titles in the collection and those in historical accounts where Castello³² was cited. For example, *Serie 2ª* of the printed choir book had for its title *Misas clásicas, bendiciones y processions*. Castro wrote that Fray Castello “left six volumes of works: two volumes ‘in folio’ of *Misas clásicas*, another two of vespers settings and ‘various processions’ and ‘two big volumes of villancicos and arias’”³³ (Cited by Irving, 171).

³² An Augustinian missionary from Valencia, Fray Lorenzo Castello (1686-1743) was a cantor and organist at the convent of San Felipe el Real in Madrid before coming to Manila in 1718 and was actively composing music for the use of the church (See Irving, 117, 171).

³³ Information on a biographical entry of Lorenzo Castello was included in a work of Agustín María de Castro and published in 1930 (Irving, 171).

Furthermore, Castello was the only one who had an extensive music output to his name and thus a number of works in the printed choir book can be attributed to him. Moreover, the music contained in the *Manual-Cantoral* were of similar musical style to those found in the mass settings of the *cantorales* of Baclayon, which was a musical tradition that had existed as early the late eighteenth-century (Chua 14). Because the tradition of writing mass compositions was in *canto llano figurado* style (notated in square and diamond note-heads), we can infer that the music of the 1871 notation was already heard in the city capital prior to that period. Castello came to Manila in 1718 and stayed in the colony where he was very active as a musician. This was about that time in the eighteenth-century when the music style of the *canto llano*, *canto llano figurado*, and *canto de organo* diffused to the islands. Based on historical conjecture, it is likely that the music presented in the Manual - Cantoral printed music volumes could have been taken from Castello's 6 volumes of music composition.

To end, the published music anthology is remarkable for it preserves a significant body of sacred music crucial to the development of *Hispano Filipina* music in the eighteenth-century that continued to be sung until the next century. The publication of this music book, which included some of the earliest representations of music productions from the period, not only made its preservation possible but also brings to fore pertinent issues. First, it is a source for the identification of genres and musical style of compositions that thrived in Manila churches during the period. Second, and more important, aspects of the early transmission and transformation of music due to the *Hispano-Filipina* cultural exchange becomes evident.^{PS}

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