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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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EL COLEGIO DE SAN MIGUEL DE BELEM: MEXICO'S FIRST FEMALE MUSIC CONSERVATORY

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

MUSIC

by

Faith S. Lanam

March 2018

The Dissertation of Faith S. Lanam is approved:

_____
Professor Leta Miller, chair

_____
Professor Nina Treadwell

_____
Professor Craig Russell

_____
Tyrus Miller
Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

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2018

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ABSTRACT

EL COLEGIO DE SAN MIGUEL DE BELEM: MEXICO'S FIRST FEMALE MUSIC CONSERVATORY

Faith S. Lanam

The Colegio de San Miguel de Belem was the home of the first female music conservatory in Mexico. Founded in 1683 as a *recogimiento* (a place where women withdrew from society), the school accepted *criollas* (girls of European heritage who had been born in the Americas). The girls were trained in skills deemed appropriate for their sex, social class, and ethnic group. Belem's *escoleta de música* (school of music) employed an Italianate pedagogy with the primary purpose of enabling its alumnae to profess as nuns who offered their skills as musicians in lieu of a dowry paid to a convent.

This study discusses women's education and social positions in colonial Mexico and considers the social impact and importance of Belem's school of music. Archival documents and musical scores collected from the Archivo Histórico del Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas, in Mexico City provide examples of women who trained at Belem and the music that they studied and performed. Interwoven with the story of Belem's escoleta de música is the musically influential Jerusalem family. A biography of María Micaela Jerusalem illustrates one Belem alumna's career path and enduring legacy.

Volume II presents music studied and performed at Belem. Complete editions of two pedagogical manuscripts—the student-copied "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' del Colegio de Belem" and "Vezerro de Lecciones" by Francesco Feo, Leonardo Leo, and Ignacio Jerusalem—illustrate the Italian pedagogy employed in Belem's escoleta de música and are presented in treble and bass clefs for use by today's scholars, educators, and students. Editions of music intended for performance in Belem's religious services include Ignacio Jerusalem's "Non fecit taliter à dos voces y Bajo," Guadalupe Ortuño's "Gradual á la Santísima Virgen de Guadalupe á Duo, con acompañamiento de Órgano," and Marcos Vega's "Versos para el organo para tocarlos en visperas o maytines."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I extend my most sincere thanks to the many people who have supported me and made this research possible. First, my reading committee has my undying gratitude. My advisor, Leta Miller, has helped me mold this project from the very beginning. Her focus and academic rigor are inspiring, and I am immensely grateful for her guidance. Nina Treadwell has challenged me to shape my thinking about the institutions of early modern women, provided excellent scholarly advice, and been a constant source of positive support. Craig Russell introduced me to numerous institutions and people in Mexico who have been integral to my work, imparted invaluable insight into the music of New Spain, and consistently delivered encouragement and infectious excitement.

Without the help of the fabulous staff of the Archivo Histórico del Colegio de Vizcaínas, this research would not have been possible. I am extremely thankful to Ana Rita Valero García Lascurain, Maria Eugenia Almaraz Galarza, Janet Toledo García, and Juana Dominguez Brenes. Muchas gracias por todo su ayuda. Esta investigación no hubiera sido posible sin ustedes. Los aprecio mucho como colegas y amigas. Mtra. Elena Sánchez Cortina, the former director of the Museo Vizcaínas graciously allowed me to tour the museum, and—most thrillingly—to play the colegio's nineteenth-century organ.

Marta Navarro, Nazli Jimenez Rosas, Dalmau Cudney, Pablo Rubio Vargas, and Christopher Pratorius helped me with various aspects of Spanish–English translation. Muchas, muchas gracias. Numerous proof-readers most generously

volunteered their time. Joshua Lanam and Ruth White graciously gave many hours of their time reading the entirety of Vol. I, some parts mulitple times. Christopher Millay, Michael Lindsey, Pablo Rubio Vargas, and Karla Davis each read and provided feedback on specific portions of the dissertation. Charles E. White, Ruth White, and Joshua Lanam served as test audiences for my defense presentation and cheered me on, both in person and from thousands of miles away.

Aurelio Tello provided me with wonderful insight into Latin American cultures and music and most generously gave me a copy of Muriel and Lledías's *La música en los instituciones femeninos novohispanos*, which served as the starting-point for my research. Bryan White, Clive McClelland, and Linda Burman-Hall all contributed to the discussion of organ accompaniments written in a fashion that alternates between figured bass and a fully-realized right hand. I am grateful for the help of Matthew Weber and Helen Holder in understanding liturgical practice and Daniel Gonzalez's feedback on organ registration. I am also very thankful for baroque violinist Benjamin Dorsey's observations on Olivari's "Livro de Lecciones."

Several members of the Choir of Saint Ann Chapel—Helen Holder, Mary Tusa, and Victoria Chang—graciously volunteered their time to record an anonymous "Non fecit taliter," Ignacio Jerusalem's two-voice setting of "Non fecit taliter," and Guadalupe Ortuño's "Gradual for the Virgin of Guadalupe." I am honored to perform with such phenomenal, professional singers every week and am so thankful that they have been enthusiastic and supportive of my work. I was also extremely pleased to provide editions of a setting of "Non fecit taliter" and several organ versos by José

Antonio Gómez y Olguín to the Michigan State University Young Women's Chorus. To the fabulous singers and their director, Kyle Zeuch, I say, “Bravo!” and that I look forward to working with you again.

The Music Deptartment at UC Santa Cruz has not only encouraged my work, but it has also given me the opportunity to continue teaching and applying my research in the classroom. This research has been supported by the Eugene V. Cota-Robles Fellowship and the UCSC Arts Division Summer Fellowship.

I extend heartfelt appreciation and thanks to Joshua Lanam, who has shared in my excitement and exhaustion, and without whose love and support this project would have been exceedingly more difficult. He has been beside me the entire time: digitizing part books and geeking out over seventeenth-century Roman missals in the Vizcaínas archive, preventing me from getting lost in Mexico City, fostering my love of early music, listening to endless recaps of research discoveries and frustrations, providing a practitioner’s insight on liturgical music, performing extensive acts of wizardry with technology, sitting with me at the organ and playing through “Vezerro de Lecciones” in the original clefs, proof-reading and formatting ad nauseum, procuring pizza during late nights of revisions, and telling me that I can do anything I put my mind to. Thank you, Love, for being my equal partner.

For my parents, whose unfailing love, support, indulgence, and self-sacrifice have seen me through seemingly endless years of piano, percussion, and organ lessons; several international and cross-country moves; and navigating numerous worlds very different from the one in which I grew up:

Charles Elmer and Ruth E. White

In memory of my grandparents, whose hard work in the fields, factories, railroads, mechanical shop, and homes enabled me to be where I am today:

Helen Jean and Charles Philip White

Forest and Mary Jane Felger

Agnes and Walter Becher

And in memory of my great-aunts, trouser-wearing professional trailblazers of their day:

Mary E. Felger

Viola Virginia Felger

INTRODUCTION

Through the generous advice of Professor Craig Russell, I was first introduced to the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas, a school whose building, music, and people (both alive and long-deceased) I would grow to love over the coming years. I came to learn that Vizcaínas, now a co-educational school, held the music not only from its own history, but also from that of the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem and Colegio de Niñas de Nuestra Señora de la Caridad. I first began researching Vizcaínas, but later my focus shifted to the earlier girls' school of Belem. In the initial stages of investigating these institutions, I had a multitude of questions.

- Why were girls trained in music? Was it to make them more marriageable?
- From what backgrounds did the students come? Were they Native American, criolla, and/or European? Was this an integrated school? Were they tuition-paying girls from rich families or students like the orphans of Vivaldi's *Ospedale*?
- How much training did the girls receive? Were they only taught skills that were deemed appropriate for women? How did their general and musical education compare to that of boys?
- Where did the young women go after studying at Belem? Did they have jobs? Was Belem a "finishing school"?
- What music was taught? Was it European, Mexican, or both?

- Were the girls taught by men or women?
- What skills were the girls taught? Did they sing, play instruments, or compose?

I came to learn that the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem (the College of Saint Michael of Bethlehem) was originally founded as the "Recogimiento de Belem" in 1683. As a *recogimiento* (a place where women withdrew from society), it served as the home for women from a large variety of social backgrounds and cultural groups—women escaping domestic violense or prostitution, women without financial support, and women sent there as punishment for crime, to name a few. Although Belem housed adult women throughout its existence, its eighteenth-century patrons shifted its focus away from the "protection" of adult women and toward the education of girls of European lineage. In 1740, it became the home of the first female music conservatory in Mexico and in 1751, was renamed the "Colegio de San Miguel de Belem."

Predominantly employing male music teachers from Mexico City's Metropolitan Cathedral, Belem's *escoleta de música* (school of music), trained girls to perform as singers and instrumentalists for church services, primarily so that they could become *monjas del coro* (nuns of the choir). Becoming a nun in the eighteenth century was more than a religious calling: it was the opportunity for upper-class women to lead a professional life with a greater degree of independence. Belem was quite remarkable in the fact that it endowed girls with skills that would allow their services as church musicians to take the place of a prohibitively large dowry given to

the convent, enabling at-risk young women to enter the highest stratum of society and profess as nuns on their merit alone.

Although most alumnae of the escoleta either married or professed as nuns, two graduates, María Micaela Jerusalem and María Joaquina Jerusalem (whose father, Igancio Jerusalem, served as *maestro de capilla* [composer and director of music] of the Metropolitan Cathedral) became music teachers at the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas. María Micaela Jerusalem (1750–1824) enjoyed a long career at Vizcaínas, being elected thrice as the *rectora* (headmistress) of the school.

The Colegio de San Miguel de Belem was not an isolated island, but rather a female institution with strong ties to the world outside its walls and a vital contributor to the musical life of the capital of Mexico. Its students performed music both composed in Mexico and imported from Europe, trained with teachers from the nearby cathedral, professed as nuns in several of the city's convents, and became active members of Mexico City's society.

Belem employed a sophisticated curriculum that empowered eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women. Many of the graduates became wives and mothers, but others became nuns and teachers who, through the musical skills they learned at the escoleta de música, increased their level of independence and autonomy in a patriarchal culture.

Drawing on my editions of musical manuscripts, performance scores, part books, and archival documents that I collected from the Archivo Histórico del Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas, in Mexico City and secondary sources

in historical musicology, music education, and studies in colonialism and gender, my research increases our understanding of historically underrepresented foci in musicology, specifically eighteenth-century music pedagogy and the professional training of female musicians, situated within the greater context of the musical and social life of colonial Mexico City.

The Archivo Histórico del Colegio de las Vizcaínas (AHCV)

The Archivo Histórico del Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas, is the historic archive housed at the present-day co-educational private school, the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas, in Mexico City. The AHCV contains archival documents and music from three colonial-era Mexico City girls' schools that provided instruction in music: Vizcaínas, Belem, and the Colegio de Niñas.

The earliest of these three schools, the Colegio de Niñas de Nuestra Señora de la Caridad (commonly referred to as the Colegio de Niñas) (1548–1862), was founded in in the sixteenth century by the Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento y Caridad (the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament and Charity), a society formed by *conquistadors* and early Spanish settlers.[1] The school was first established for the benefit of *mestiza* girls (girls of mixed European and Native American heritage, in

[1] Josefina Muriel and Luis Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2009), 42.

this case, daughters of conquistadors and Native American women). The Colegio de Niñas taught both instrumental and vocal music for daily prayers and services.[2]

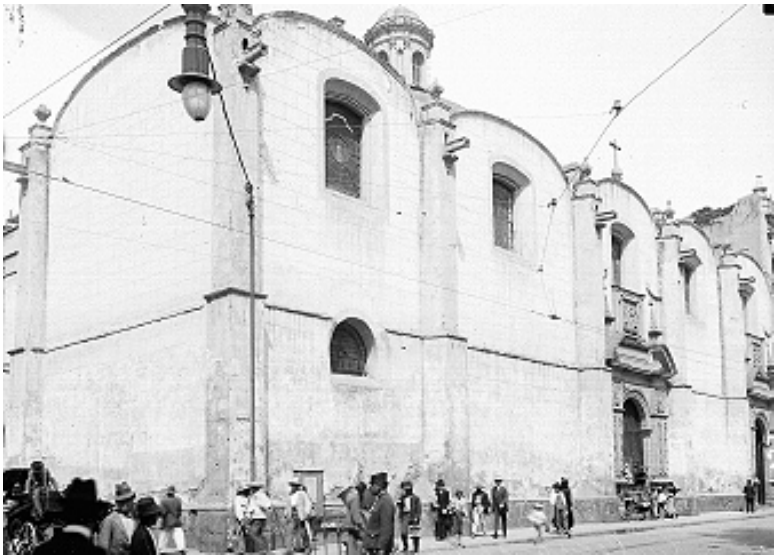

FIGURE 1. The building of the former Colegio de Niñas.[3]
Courtesy of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología (INAH).

The focus of this dissertation, the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem[4] (1683–1862) was originally established as a recogimiento (a place of refuge [or imprisonment] for at-risk women and their children) in the seventeenth century and was later converted into a school. In the eighteenth century, the *colegio* (school)

[2] Muriel and Lledías, 42.
[3] "Colegio de Niñas Bolivar," Núm. Inv. 175197, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.
[4] Also spelled "Belém," "Belen," "Belén," and "Bethlen"

established a dedicated escoleta de música—the first female conservatory of music in Mexico.[5]

FIGURE 2. The building of the former Colegio de San Miguel de Belem.[6] Courtesy of the INAH.

Since its founding in 1732 and official opening in 1767, the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas, has been continuously operating to the present day under a variety of names:

- El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola (1732–c.1821)[7]

[5] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 76.
[6] "Hombres descargan camión en la entrada de la Carcel General," Núm. Inv. 3306, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.
[7] Saint Ignatius of Loyola is the patron saint of the Basque region of Spain.

- El Colegio Nacional de San Ignacio de Loyola (c.1821–c.1863)[8]
- El Colegio de la Paz (c. 1863–1997)[9]
- El Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas (April 1997–present).[10]

Vizcaínas was founded as a school and home for widows and orphans by three members of the Basque Cofradia de Nuestra Señora de Aránzazu (the Confraternity of Our Lady of Aránzazu). ("Vizcaínas" refers to the women of Basque origin ["vasco" meaning "Basque"], for whom the school was established.) The three founders—Francisco de Echeveste, Manuel de Aldaco, and Ambrosio de Meave—fought with the authorities to establish the school as a secular institution, a struggle that proved vital to its continued existence throughout the nineteenth century.

[8] "Nacional" replaced "Real" (Royal) around Mexican independence (c. 1821).
[9] The patron saint's name was removed from the title during the Reform Era, when many church institutions (including schools) were being closed by the government.
[10] Saint Ignatius's name was reinstituted and "Vizcaínas" added referring to the Basque girls the school was originally founded to serve.

FIGURE 3. The Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas.
Photo by the author.

Belem and Vizcaínas maintained several close links. Belem served as the academic model for Vizcaínas, and approximately seventy girls were taught music at Belem while waiting for Vizcaínas to open.[11] Two students of Belem—María Micaela Jerusalem and María Joaquina Jerusalem—went on to teach at Vizcaínas.[12] Both institutions held close ties to the musicians of the Metropolitan Cathedral in Mexico City. Today, the most apparent link is that the AHCV preserves the music and documents formerly belonging to Belem.

[11] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 329.
[12] Josefina Muriel, "El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, 1734–1863," in *Los Vascos en México y su Colegio de las Vizcaínas*, ed. Graciela Romandía de Cantú and Josefina Muriel, 2nd ed. (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, UNAM; Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, UNAM, 2006), 59.

During the Liberal Reform Era (1855–1876), Mexico's government led by Benito Juarez (1806–1872) sought to limit the power of the church by closing institutions under ecclesiastical authority, including many schools and convents.[13] Vizcaínas was safe from these changes due to its founders' dogged insistence that it be established as a secular institution (though still very Catholic in practice), governed by a board of directors rather than the church. When Belem and the Colegio de Niñas were forced to close in 1862, the government sent their staff, students, music, and archival documents to Vizcaínas.

FIGURE 4. The Archivo Histórico
del Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas (AHCV).
Photo by Joshua Lanam. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[13] Muriel, 61.

The AHCV now holds not only the music and archival documents from Vizcaínas, Belem, and the Colegio de Niñas, but also documentation related to female education from other institutions, including confraternities and convents. It is through the dedicated work of Doctora Ana Rita Valero de García Lascuráin—who succeeded Josefina Muriel as director and curator of the AHCV upon her retirement—and her excellent staff that The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has recognized the AHCV by listing it in three categories of its Memory of the World program: "Memoria del Mundo de México" (2007), "Memoria de América Latina" (2010), and "Memoria del Mundo Universal" (2013).

The creation of the AHCV catalogue represents a major undertaking by Muriel and Valero and is available as a PDF document online.[14] It is very detailed for some items and considerably less so for others. The catalogue does not identify some items regarding their school of origin; however, in some cases, the name of the school is indicated on the documents themselves. Where the catalogue lacks specificity, the archive staff make up for it in excellent and generous assistance, both on-site and by remote communication.

One of the most recent AHCV projects is the digitization of the entirety of the archive, made possible by a €30,000 grant by the Provincial Council of Bizkaia (Basque Country in northern Spain). The archive staff is currently digitizing various sections of documents. On my first trip to Vizcaínas in 2014, I spent a week digitizing

[14] "Catálogo Del Archivo Histórico Del Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas. Archivo José María Basagoiti," accessed June 23, 2016, http://www.Colegiovizcainas.edu.mx/conocenos/consulta/.

a comparatively small number of music manuscripts for my own research. Returning two years later, I was delighted and extremely honored to be the first musicologist to consult the complete and newly digitized music section of the archive.

Most of the archive is housed in the former dormitories of the colegio. Catalogue numbers describe the physical location of the archival document, narrowing from largest unit of organization to the smallest. Bound books (both printed and manuscript) are arranged by *estante* (large shelving unit), *tabla* (shelf), and *volumen* (book), and thus, are represented by a series of three numbers. For example, the "AHCV 26-I-18" citation for "Vezerro de Lecciones" means that it is found in the following location:

- Estante (shelving unit) no. 26
- Tabla (shelf) no. I
- Volumen (book) no. 18

Unbound materials are arranged by *estante* (large shelving unit)-*tabla* (shelf)-*caja* (plastic case or tub)-*legajo* (file), and thus are represented by a series of four numbers. A *legajo* may include only one document or a large stack of documents, typically unbound or smaller number of pages bound together. For example, an anonymous collection of organ versos cited as "AHCV 26-I-2-52" are located thus:

- Estante (shelving unit) no. 26
- Tabla (shelf) no. I
- Caja (case) no. 2
- Legajo (file) no. 52

Paquetes (parcels) are not indicated in the catalogue, but may be used to group several legajos (files) together inside a caja (case).

The main section of the archive comprises Estantes 1–25 and 27–31. The music section (containing parts, scores, and method books from Vizcaínas, Belem, and the Colegio de Niñas) is found in Estantes 26–27. Estante 32 holds a collection of photography, and Estantes 57–59 is the Basagoiti section, donated by the Vizcaínas board president and archive benefactor José María Basagoiti Noriega.

When Vizcaínas accepted the music collections of Belem and the Colegio de Niñas upon their closures in 1862, the music was not simply archived for safekeeping, but rather absorbed by the Vizcaínas library for use in its own music classes. A small number of pieces and books have notes written in them, such as "De la Escoleta de Belem," "Del Colegio de Belen," "De la comunidad de Belem," or "Comunidad" (community). Unfortunately, relatively little of the music is marked regarding its school of origin. Many are stamped as "Colegio de la Paz" (i.e. Vizcaínas), but may have actually come to Vizcaínas from Belem or the Colegio de Niñas. In some instances, deductions can be made using the process of elimination if one considers the date (if it is provided or if it can be deduced by examining the musical style) and instrumentation. For example, music composed after 1863 would have to belong to Vizcaínas because both Belem and the Colegio de Niñas had closed. Likewise, music calling for a chamber orchestra probably belonged to Belem, because neither Vizcaínas nor the Colegio de Niñas taught the full complement of

orchestral instruments. For much of the music in the AHCV, however, the original owner cannot be identified.

The composers of many pieces in the AHCV are unidentified. Of the approximately two hundred composers who have music held in the archive and for whom we have full or partial names, I have tentatively identified and categorized 113 according to their time period and nationality.

In order to form an idea of the variety of music used by the Colegio de Niñas, Belem, and Vizcaínas, the identified composers whose music is held in the AHCV can be divided in the following categories:

Century in which the composer predominantly lived and worked	**Number of composers represented in the AHCV**
1500s	5
1600s	4
1700s	16
1800s	68
1900s (Vizcaínas only)	14

TABLE 1. Composers whose music is held in the AHCV, categorized by time period.

Nationality	**Number of composers represented in the AHCV**
Mexico	27
Italy	26 (2 of them active in Mexico)
France	11
Austria and Germany	9
Spain	4 (2 of them active in Mexico)

TABLE 2. Composers whose music is held in the AHCV, categorized by country.

Scope of the Dissertation

This dissertation covers the history of Belem as an institution, focusing on its escoleta de música; discussion of specific women who studied at Belem; and the examination of pedagogical and performance music played at Belem. Although I will address male composers and teachers and place Belem in its male-dominated historical, social, and musical context, the emphasis here is the **women** of Belem and their **music**. As Belem only admitted girls of European ancestry, focus on the elite, European population of a colonial territory is inherent in this topic. It is not my aim to dismiss or further marginalize the Nahua and other Native American peoples of Mexico; Africans brought to the colonies as slaves; or *castas* of mixed racial parentage, but to acknowledge the limits of the topic and to treat the women of Belem as Asunción Lavrin advocates: "as members of their specific social class, ethnic group, [and] station in life."[15]

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation is two-fold: 1) to fill one small gap in the history of women—the corner where music history, pedagogy, and a colonial society intersect—and to do so by focusing on one institution, its music, and its women, and 2) to provide editions of presently lesser-known music formatted in a manner that is useful to performers, scholars, and educators.

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[15] Asunción Lavrin, ed., *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, Contributions in Women's Studies, no. 3 (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1978), 6.

The AHCV holds three unique didactic manuscripts (one of which has already been edited and published) and dozens of pieces intended for performance in Belem's escoleta de música. It is my intent that the editions of "Vezerro de Lecciones" and "Manuscrito J.M.J del College de Belem" will add to our understanding of musical pedagogy and the skills expected of young musicians in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Mexico and make these exercises available to today's teachers and students. Similarly, I hope that my editions of pieces for voices and organ will offer a glimpse of the types of music performed by the girls of Belem and provide today's performers with "new" material for church services, classrooms, and the concert stages. Creating editions that contain the necessary information for scholars and are equally usable for performers necessitates a challenging series of compromises. For example, to present the material in a performer-friendly fashion, all editions are provided in treble and bass clefs with solutions to copying mistakes and inconsistencies. For scholars, prefatory staves are given at the beginning of any piece that has been transcribed to a different clef, and any editorial solutions that depart from the text of the original manuscript are specified in the critical commentary. In addition, I have included a catalogue of incipits for the manuscripts containing collections of pieces: "Vezerro de Lecciones," the student-copied "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' del Colegio de Belem," and "Versos para el organo para tocarlos en visperas o maytines" by Marcos Vega. More information regarding the creation of the editions is available in Volume II under the heading "Statement of Editorial Practice."

The primary goal of this dissertation is to contribute to our understanding of women's experiences in seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century Mexico by focusing on the escoleta de música of the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem. I briefly discuss the social, political, and religious landscape of Mexico in order to place Belem within its cultural and historical context. I examine the pedagogy by which the girls of Belem's escoleta de música were taught and the music that they performed. I look at how their musical education and experiences at Belem shaped them as professional musicians and for what kind of careers this training prepared them. Most importantly to me, I attempt to piece together the biographies of individual women who made their livelihoods as musicians. These were women who were less defined by their relationship to men—in other words, in their roles as wives, mothers, or daughters—but by their own skills and accomplishments.

A Note Regarding Terminology

The term "New Spain" is geographically, temporally, and culturally specific. I use it to signify the Spanish-controlled territory in North America north of the Isthmus of Panama during the years 1521–1821 and to consciously reference the imposition of European colonial rule. Herein, I use "Mexico" to mean the geographical area that is currently the Estados Unidos Mexicanos (the United Mexican States), regardless of time period. I consciously avoid the phrases "New World" and "Old World," terms coined from a singularly European vantage point.

CHAPTER 1:

MEXICO CITY UNDER AZTEC, SPANISH, AND HOME RULE

We have already said that the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem's escoleta de música trained criollas to become nuns and teachers. It is significant that the colegio limited student enrollment to criollas, who fit into a specific stratum of New Spanish society. Criolla women had few socially acceptable career options, two of which were in religion and education. Numerous societal pressures influenced their decisions. Belem supported a similar curriculum to other female institutions of the time, and its colegio represented one of several types of institutions that served women. Religious and political shifts in New Spain and independent Mexico shaped Belem's founding, funding, governance, and—ultimately—closing. To examine each of these aspects of the Colegio de Belem, we must first establish a general timeline and understanding of the political, social, religious, and cultural powers in play. Acknowledging that an exhaustive study of Mexico City society over multiple centuries is not possible in these pages, the goal here is to give relevant and reasonably concise context, which will allow us to situate the girls and women of the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem in the time, place, and culture in which they lived.

Aztecs of Tenochtitlán

Aztecs (also known as *Mexicas*) founded Tenochtitlán (present-day Mexico City) in 1325 on an island in Lake Texcoco.[16] They were one of many groups that made up the Nahua peoples whose commonality was the Nahuatl language (which encompassed many different dialects). Aztecs were governed by an individual ruler, a *tlatoani*, as early as the 1370s, and a single, hereditary dynasty that incorporated the concept of the divine right to rule was established in 1426. Aztecs had both a strong oral tradition and a glyphic writing system.

Aztecs built three causeways in the early 1400s to connect Tenochtitlán (an island in the middle of a lake) to the mainland in the north, west, and south. Transportation was by foot or canoe. By the late 1400s, Tenochtitlán's population was over 150,000. The Valley of Mexico was highly urbanized and supported by a sophisticated agricultural system that included the use of irrigation and terraced farming on mountains, *chinampas* (floating gardens in a lake), dikes, aqueducts, and canals.

The city-states of Tenochtitlán, Texcoco, and Tlacopan formed the Triple Alliance (commonly referred to as the Aztec Empire) in 1409 with the aim of

[16] "Aztec" in Nahuatl means "the people who came from Aztlan." A group of Aztecs who followed Huitzilopochtli (also known as Mexi) divided from the rest of the Aztecs, renamed themselves "Mexica," and eventually founded Tenochtitlán (also known as Mexico, "the home of the Mexica").

overthrowing their competing neighbors, the Tepanecs. The Triple Alliance remained in power from 1409 to the Spanish conquest and Moctezuma II's death in 1520.[17]

The members of the Triple Alliance controlled a large part of the Valley of Mexico and collected tribute from subordinate city-states to which they introduced their gods. Aztec *pochtecas* (merchants) traded both within and outside of the Aztec Empire, but the Triple Alliance prohibited subordinated states from trading outside Aztec-controlled territory. The Triple Alliance preferred a military strategy that involved terrorization, coercion, and small-scale fighting, which rendered large-scale war unnecessary. Beginning in the mid-1400s, Aztecs sacrificed large numbers of warriors from rebelling subordinate territories and neighboring hegemonic states—Tarascans and Tlaxcalans—in Tenochtitlán to pacify the gods, encourage a bountiful agricultural season, and (presumably) quell anti-Aztec resistance.[18] John Gibler relates Aztec human sacrifice to European punitive executions for political or religious rebellion (e.g. drawing and quartering) in that both demonstrate imperial power and brutally discourage resistance.[19]

The European Incursion

In 1519, Hernán Cortés and five hundred Spanish *conquistadores*, motivated by the promise of social prestige and gold, arrived on the coast of the Aztec Empire.

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[17] John Gibler, *Mexico Unconquered: Chronicles of Power and Revolt* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2009), 23–24.
[18] Tarascans and Tlaxcalans also engaged in human sacrifice. Gibler, 24–25.
[19] Gibler, 25.

When the Aztec *tlatoani* Moctezuma II sent gifts of gold to Cortés, the offering had the undesired effect of attracting Spanish mercenaries to Tenochtitlán with the intent to conquer the prosperous capital. Several Native American groups opposed to Aztec rule—including the Tlaxcalans (another predominantly Nahuatl-speaking group)—sought to capitalize on the arrival of the Spanish, making alliances with Cortés in the hope of defeating their Aztec rivals.

Cortés and his conquistadors seized Tenochtitlán in 1520 after several weeks of fighting coupled with the decimation of the Native American population from the first wave of smallpox introduced to the continent by Europeans. Many scholars (such as Brian Hamnett) posit that from the perspective of the subjugated states within the Aztec Empire, Native Americans merely exchanged one ruling power (the Aztecs) for another (the Spanish). By contrast Gibler cautions against the marginalization and scholarly erasure of diverse Native American groups still represented in Mexico today and against "Aztec-reductionism," which draws a seemingly logical narrative from Aztec to Spanish exploitation, making imperialism appear "natural" or justifiable. He explains that there were many cultural and linguistic groups throughout the region that is present-day Mexico. Moreover, Aztecs represent one of many hegemonic societies in the Valley of Mexico: the inhabitants of the city of Teotihuacan (0–500 AD), Toltecs (capital of Tollan, 500–1179 AD), and Tepanecs (contemporary to the Aztecs), to name a few.[20]

[20] Gibler, 23.

The Native American population collapse from "slaughter, forced labor, and disease" throughout the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries was staggering. In 1491, Native Americans numbered eighty million; by 1550, only an eighth survived. The decimation of the peoples in the area of present-day Mexico was even more drastic: from twenty-five million in the pre-conquest era to one million by 1550.[21] The population of the Valley of Mexico dropped from an estimated 1.5 million to seventy thousand between 1520 and 1650, with a gradual rebound to two hundred thousand in 1800.[22] Demonstrating great resilience through a mixture of adaptation and resistance, numerous Native American communities survived both Aztec and Spanish colonial rule.

After the initial military conquest, there quickly followed the "spiritual conquest" of Mexico. The Church and State (i.e. the Crown) were closely linked. Franciscan friars began missionary work in the mid-1520s, followed by Dominicans and Augustinians, and finally Jesuits (founded by Saint Ignatius of Loyola) in 1572. Native Americans adjusted to the colonial reality of a compulsory religion by adopting the parts of Christianity that were compatible with their understanding of the universe. The idea of Jesus's death as expiation recalled the practice of blood sacrifice performed by Aztecs as well as Tarascans and Tlaxcalans. American deities took on new identities as Christian saints as Hamnett explains:

> The process of evangelisation did not result in a full-scale onslaught on indigenous belief but in an attempt to shift this into Christian directions. The Hispanic cults of the saints and the many and varied forms of the Virgin

[21] Gibler, 26.
[22] Gibler, 27.

> Mary, the product of an even earlier grafting-on of 'pagan' cults in Europe and a conscious reaction to the exclusive monotheism of Islam, lent themselves to early adaption to existing indigenous devotions. This, however, meant more than just a changing of the names, since by incorporation into the world of Roman Catholicism, indigenous America became gradually subsumed into a universal, religious power, the focus of which lay far away from the American world and had emerged from a completely different historical tradition.[23]

The sixteenth century in Mexico is characterized by evangelization. Friars sought to convert Native Americans to Catholicism and yet protect them from the abuses of the secular colonizers. Spanish priests did not oppose the compulsory acceptance of Christianity and forced labor; they merely objected to physical violence perpetrated on Native Americans by Spaniards.[24]

Small groups of Native Americans converted to Christianity and supported Spanish authority, but many resisted up to the late 1500s, sometimes violently. Europeans forcibly replaced the Aztec concept of cyclical time with the idea of a linear history and destroyed many Nahuatl glyphic texts. Churches became formidable, visible symbols of the power of the Spanish Empire and the Roman Catholic Church.

The circumstances of the destruction of Tenochtitlán and founding of Mexico City in its place set the scene for the founding of the Recogimiento de Belem in 1683. Although Aztecs laid the foundation of the city that would become the location of Belem, the Spanish subjugation and erasure of the complex political, economic, and

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[23] Brian R. Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 65.
[24] Gibler, *Mexico Unconquered*, 27.

social systems of American cultures created space for Hispanic systems, under which Belem operated. The great force of religious zeal that motivated the spiritual conquest of Mexico also prompted the founding of the Recogimiento de Belem. The power and wealth of the church and Spaniards who profited from the colonial endeavor funded Belem.

The Establishment of Spanish Institutions in New Spain

Crucial to an understanding of life in New Spain during the colonial period is an awareness of the Hispanic systems established to control land and labor (the *encomiendas* and *haciendas*) and the groups or individuals charged with governance (the *Audiencia*, the viceroyalty, and the Inquisition). *Encomiendas* (from the Spanish *encomendar*, meaning "to entrust") were areas of land granted to Spaniards (often conquistadors or soldiers) by the Spanish Crown. *Encomenderos* (owners of encomiendas) did not own the land itself, but rather the right to collect tributes from the people who lived on the land. Typically, tributes took the form of labor, often in silver mines. Although encomenderos were meant to protect and convert the Native Americans "entrusted" to them in exchange for their labor, the encomienda system was a form of colonial control and enslavement. Despite the fact that encomenderos did not legally own the land, in practice they gained control of it, effectively stealing it from the population. Against the wishes of the Crown, encomenderos ultimately passed encomiendas down within a family. Thus, a sort of inherited nobility, which challenged the power of the Crown, began to form.

Over time and along with the population collapse (largely due to European-introduced disease, forced labor, and food shortage), encomiendas gave way to *haciendas* (privately owned estates). In an hacienda, the owner (*hacendado*) possessed the land, not the people on it. Employees of the hacienda included permanent workers and those recruited from local villages during the agrarian cycle. Haciendas produced a large variety of goods and materials, including silver, crops, and especially livestock. In the beginning of the colonial period, most foodstuffs came from semi-rural villages. By the mid-1600s, hacienda workers produced most of the food in the viceroyalty.[25]

In the first half of the sixteenth century, two state governing institutions were established in New Spain to oversee the general administration of the colony: the viceroyalty and the *Audiencia*. The term "viceroy" comes from the Latin *vice* ("in the place of") and French *roi* ("king"). The king appointed the viceroy of New Spain, who acted in his stead in governing the colony. As such, the viceroyalty depended on the authority of the Spanish Crown for its own legitimacy. The viceroy held court, gave patronage, and acted as a substitute for the king. The tenure of each viceroy was very brief, thereby preventing the accumulation of too much power by any one noble. The *Audiencia* was the highest court of law in the Spanish Americas. It served to limit the power of the viceroy and hold him accountable to the king.

The Holy Office of the Inquisition, originally established in twelfth-century France to counter heresy, took a different form in Spain and its colonies. Medieval

[25] Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico*, 84.

Iberia was a multicultural region, home to Christians, Jews, and Muslims. With the mandatory conversion or expulsion of Jews and Muslims from Castile and Aragon, the Spanish Inquisition—formed in 1478 by Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon to maintain the unification of their two countries after their deaths—targeted forced converts suspected of the continued practice of Judaism or Islam. Although it employed clergy, the Spanish Inquisition acted on authority from the Spanish Crown, not on papal authority. Established in New Spain in the second half of the sixteenth century, it demonstrated the unity of the church and state, punishing crimes in both spheres. It served to keep the elite class in power and discourage the lower classes from questioning authority and the established moral order.

Hispanic systems governing land and labor (encomiendas and haciendas) amassed Spanish wealth that would directly and indirectly support the Recogimiento and Colegio de Belem. The founder and patrons of Belem repeatedly navigated the Hispanic political system, soliciting approval of foundation from the king and viceroy and intervening to have patronage pass to the archbishop. Shifting food production from villages to haciendas continued to take away income from Native Americans and funnel it to Spainards. Moreover, the cultivation of livestock eclipsing that of cereals created subsistence crises in the late 1700s and early 1800s that would force rural families to migrate to the city, prompt the opening of free day schools, and ultimately fueling the insurrections that would eventually lead to Mexican independence.

Race and Class

The societal status and roles of the population of colonial New Spain—and later independent Mexico—were predominantly determined by factors outside of their control: class, lineage (or race), legitimacy of birth, and sex. Mexico's social and political system followed a complicated and interwoven hierarchy of lineage, socio-economic status, religion, and culture. It was a diverse society comprising *españoles* (literally meaning "Spanish," although the term was applied to all Europeans), *indios* (Native Americans), *negros* (people of African descent), and *castas* (people of mixed racial descent). Españoles were further divided into two groups: *peninsulares* (Europeans who immigrated to the Americas) and *criollos* (people of European descent who were born in the Americas).

In a seminal study of the elements that contributed to the social framework of New Spain—*limpieza de sangre* ("purity of blood"), *sistema de castas* (the classification of people of mixed-race), purity, gender, sexuality, religion, race, and patriotism—María Elena Martínez describes limpieza de sangre not as a purely racial concept, but rather as a nuanced idea linked with lineage, culture, and religion.[26] The idea of limpieza de sangre originated in fifteenth-century Castile as a mechanism by which authorities excluded Jewish converts to Christianity from certain social and religious positions. By the sixteenth century, the concept had widened both

[26] María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008).

geographically (being observed also in Aragon) and conceptually (including the discrimination of anyone with Muslim heritage).[27] Martínez elaborates:

> By the middle of the sixteenth century, the ideology of purity of blood had produced a Spanish society obsessed with genealogy and in particular with the idea that having only Christian ancestors, and thus a "pure lineage," was the critical sign of a person's loyalty to the faith. Descent and religion—"blood" and faith—were the two foundations of that ideology, and the same would be true in Spanish America.[28]

The conquistadors encountered in the Americas a sophisticated and urbanized society with its own social hierarchy. Natividad Gutiérrez describes how the conquistadors acknowledged the titles and status of *caciques* (Native American nobility) in a tactic to coerce their cooperation in the colonial project, all the while stealing their lands.[29] The Aztec *altepetl* (a city-state or small area governed by a cacique) was converted into the Spanish *pueblo* (described by Hamnett as a grouping "designed for the congregation of dispersed indigenous settlements into a political unit for the purpose of evangelisation, government, and taxation").[30] Caciques who had converted to Christianity were granted royal protection in 1557, and with their positions preserved by the Crown, they became effectively fettered to the colonial scheme.[31] The recognition of Native American communities and their social

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[27] Martínez, 1–6.
[28] Martínez, 1.
[29] Natividad Gutiérrez, "Miscegenation as Nation-Building: Indian and Immigrant Women in Mexico," in *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, ed. Daiva K. Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995), 165.
[30] Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico*, 74.
[31] Hamnett, 69, 74.

hierarchy led to the establishment of dual "commonwealths" within the colony: the Spanish state and a separate *república de indios* ("Indian Republic"), which governed Native Americans. Hamnett writes that "indigenous frameworks of reference survived for more than a century after the initial conquest, while at the same time the Nahua peoples adopted from the Spanish what they saw as useful for their own survival."[32] The cacique class remained in existence until the end of the colonial period by continuing to marry within their own communities and class.[33]

Cacique women, however, did not marry exclusively within their own communities. The late 1400s and 1500s saw many Spanish men entering the Americas, but not Spanish women. The absence of European women resulted in many conquistadors marrying, cohabiting with, and/or exploiting Native American women.[34]

Asunción Lavrin writes that in the first century of colonialization, a person's lifestyle was determined more by their class than by their race. For example, a member of the cacique class could have enjoyed a more privileged way of life than a Spaniard of low economic status. During this period (prior to the immigration of Spanish women), importance was placed on marriage between individuals of comparable social status rather than between individuals of the same race.[35] Native

[32] Hamnett, 75.
[33] Gutiérrez, "Miscegenation as Nation-Building," 165.
[34] Gutiérrez, 165.
[35] Asunción Lavrin, "Women in Colonial Mexico," in *The Oxford History of Mexico*, ed. Michael C. Meyer and William H. Beezley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 251.

American women who married Spanish men were typically uprooted from their communities, and their children were integrated into Spanish society and were expected to continue to marry within their social class.[36] A minority of mestizos (people with one Native American parent and one Spanish parent) were the result of these high-ranking marriages. Most mestizos were born of what Gutiérrez aptly describes as the "widespread rape and coercion of indigenous women."[37]

As huge numbers of Native American men died from European-introduced disease and labor exploitation, the importation of (mostly male) African slaves further diversified New Spain's society.[38] Whereas American peoples were conscripted to forced labor, Africans were explicitly denominated as "slaves."[39] The perception of African women—who frequently were forced into domestic service—was much more negative than that of Native American women, the former being stereotyped as "mistresses and providers of sexual services."[40]

From the late 1500s through the 1700s, European women began immigrating to New Spain, ushering its transformation into a settler society.[41] Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis delineate "settler societies" from "colonies of exploitation." In the latter, Europeans (predominantly men) expropriate a locale's resources, including land and labor, but do not typically take up permanent residence. In a settler society, on the

[36] Lavrin, 255; Gutiérrez, "Miscegenation as Nation-Building," 166.
[37] Gutiérrez, "Miscegenation as Nation-Building," 165.
[38] Gutiérrez, 166.
[39] Gibler, *Mexico Unconquered*, 30.
[40] Gutiérrez, "Miscegenation as Nation-Building," 167.
[41] Gutiérrez, 163.

other hand, both men and women establish permanent homes in the colony.[42] Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis emphasize that settler societies still shut out and abuse colonized populations and thus they present a paradox of colonized peoples both opposing and adapting to European rule.[43]

Once the Spanish colony in Mexico was deemed secure, the state promoted the immigration of women to New Spain. Although Native American women still married and cohabited with European and African men, the arrival of Spanish women drew to a close the practice of Spanish men forming unions with cacique women who had been trained and groomed to marry into Hispanic society.[44] As is common in settler societies, European women proved the most efficacious colonial instruments through whom European values and institutions were planted and took root in New Spain. Women brought with them and firmly established in Mexico a Christian domestic morality within the European concept of the monogamous, patriarchal family.[45] It was in these Spanish homes that African and Native American women often worked as servants or slaves and became familiar with European culture and practices.[46]

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[42] Daiva K. Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis, "Introduction: Beyond Dichotomies—Gender, Race Ethnicity and Class in Settler Societies," in *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995), 3.
[43] Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, 4.
[44] Gutiérrez, "Miscegenation as Nation-Building," 167.
[45] Gutiérrez, 163, 167.
[46] Gutiérrez, 168.

With the increased heterogeneity and miscegenation in the Spanish colonies of the Americas, the Iberian concept of limpieza de sangre expanded to accommodate the diversity of New Spain. The early-modern Spanish idea of purity of blood originally held a religious implication: it was linked to Christian heritage (specifically excluding Jewish and Muslim lineage). It was absent of gradation: either one had purity of blood, or did not.[47] Christianized Native Americans, according to that belief, possessed limpieza de sangre by virtue of their "voluntary" conversion to Catholicism and by not being "tainted" by Jewish or Muslim heritage.[48]

By the 1700s in the Spanish colonies, ideas of lineage were shifting away from religious identification toward what we today define as "race." This concept in its reinvented form did not revolve around Christian, Jewish, or Muslim lineage, but rather focused on European, Native American, and African heritage. Martínez writes that by the eighteenth century, "notions of race were starting to become secularized."[49] In the later colonial period, purity of blood became closely linked with "Spanishness."[50]

Eventually the Hispanic preoccupation with lineage and limpieza de sangre produced in New Spain a sistema de castas, which is depicted in a visual art in a genre known as casta paintings.[51] Martínez writes that the "secularization of the concept [of purity of blood]—made visual in casta paintings—gradually came to link

[47] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 2.
[48] Martínez, 5–6.
[49] Martínez, 2.
[50] Martínez, 21.
[51] Martínez, 1.

limpieza to white skin color and thus mapped it onto the body."[52] Until the eighteenth century, paintings in New Spain were sacred in nature, the two exceptions being portraits and casta paintings.[53] María Concepión García Saiz, in her excellent bilingual catalogue and discussion of casta paintings, defines the genre:

> The specific subject is the representation of couples comprising individuals coming from three specific ethnic groups: whites (identified as Spaniards), Indians, and Blacks, along with a child or children resulting from the marriage."[54]

García Saiz includes a chart showing, for each casta, its origin, meaning, and possible parentages.[55] There are discrepancies in the definitions of specific groups among various casta paintings.[56] The castas—which were even indicated on baptismal records[57] and many of which are blatantly derogatory—include *Criollo, Mestizo, Mulatto, Zambo, Castizo, Morisco, Albino, Ahí te estás, Albarazado, Barcino, Calpamulo* (or *Calpamulato*)*, Cambujo, Coyote, Chamizo, Chino, Cholo, Grifo, Jenízaro, Jíbaro, Lobo, No te entiendo, Salta-atrás, Tente en el aire, Torna-atrás,* and *Sambaigo*.[58] (See Table 3.)

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[52] Martínez, 21.
[53] Diego Angulo Iñiguez, "Forward," in *Las Castas Mexicanas: Un Género Pictórico Americano*, by María Concepción García Saiz (Olivetti, 1989), 12.
[54] María Concepción García Saiz, *Las Castas Mexicanas: Un Género Pictórico Americano* (Olivetti, 1989), 38.
[55] García Saiz, 24–29.
[56] García Saiz, 32.
[57] Miguel Angel Fernández, "The Human Landscape," in *Las Castas Mexicanas: Un Género Pictórico Americano*, by María Concepción García Saiz (Olivetti, 1989), 20.
[58] For the origin and meaning of each casta name and its possible parentages, see García Saiz, *Las Castas Mexicanas*, 24–29.

Mexican painter Luis de Mena created the casta painting in Figure 5, dated c.1750. On either side of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the artist depicts daily life in New Spain: "'Matachines' dancing to Our Lady of Guadalupe" on the left and "Promenade of Jamaica" on the right. The lowest section of the painting shows various types of produce native to the Americas, including bananas, avocados, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and peanuts. The middle of the work portrays children representing eight different castas and their parents (Table 3).[59]

[59] García Saiz, 66–67.

FIGURE 5. Luis de Mena, *Castas*.[60]
c.1750
Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid.

[60] Luis de Mena, *Castas*, c. 1750, Oil on canvas, 119 x 103 cm, c 1750, inventory number 00026, Museo de América, Madrid, http://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Viewer?accion=4&AMuseo=MAM&Ninv=00026.

Casta Title	Position in Painting	Description in Painting	Lineage of Casta	Description of Casta Title[61]
Mestizo	Row 1 No. 1	"From Spanish woman and Indian man, Mestizo."	1/2 European 1/2 Native American	"Mestizo" means "mixed-blood."
Castizo	Row 1 No. 2	"From Spanish woman and Mestizo, Castiza"	3/4 European 1/4 Native American	"Castizo" is a derivative of "caste" and in 1513 meant "class, condition, social position."
Español	Row 1 No. 3	"From Castiza and Spanish man, Española"	7/8 European 1/8 Native American	Someone with seven Spanish great-grandparents and one Native American great-grandparent was considered "Spanish."
Mulatto	Row 1 No. 4	"From Black woman and Spanish man, Mulatto"	1/2 European 1/2 African	"Mulatto" comes from the Latin *mulus* ("mule") and aligned the miscegenation between Africans and Europeans with the interbreeding of donkeys and horses that results in mules.
Morisco	Row 2 No. 1	"From Spanish woman and Mulatto, Morisca"	3/4 European 1/4 African	"Morisco" comes from the Spanish *moro*, referencing "Moors" of North-West Africa.

[61] Information in this column is taken from García Saiz, *Las Castas Mexicanas*, 24, 28.

Albino Torna-atras	Row 2 No. 2	"From Morisca and Spanish man, Albino Torna-atrás"	7/8 European 1/8 African	"Albino" comes from the Latin *albus* meaning "white." "Torna-atrás" comes from Spanish *tornar*, meaning "to turn" and *atrás,* "back," and is possibly a reference to his/her 1/8 African heritage.
Lobo	Row 2 No. 3	"From Mestiza and Indian man, Lobo"	3/4 Native American 1/4 European	"Lobo" comes from the Latin *lupus*, meaning wolf.
Indio	Row 2 No. 4	"From Indian woman and Lobo, Indian"	7/8 Native American 1/8 Spanish	Someone with seven Native American great-grandparents and one Spanish great-grandparent was considered "Indian."

TABLE 3. The eight castas shown in Luis de Mena's casta painting.

Whether casta paintings were intended as souvenirs for Spaniards returning to Iberia or for some other purpose is not entirely clear, but scholars tend to agree that they were a genre intended for Europeans (living on one or either side of the Atlantic).[62]

Casta paintings were not just an illustrated taxonomy; they also provide us a picture of society and life in New Spain.[63] They show us period perceptions of gender, race, and class, albeit through the eyes of individual artists.[64] García Saiz

[62] Iñiguez, "Forward," 12; Fernández, "The Human Landscape," 20.
[63] Iñiguez, "Forward," 12.
[64] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 5.

generalizes the depiction of several groups. Spanish men are typically of high social status, military or scholarly, or "at leisure." Spanish women are much less frequently shown, but when they appear they are in proper European attire (sometimes in great contrast to their partners in the painting). Native American men are rarely shown, are never of high social status, and are often street vendors. Native American women are frequently depicted, with their social status and clothing dependent on their husbands' occupation.[65]

The Spanish colonies in the Americas comprised a diverse society of Europeans, Native Americans, Africans, Filipinos, and numerous castas resulting from miscegenation among groups. The early-modern Spanish concept of limpieza de sangre with its religious undertone thus morphed in New Spain into a secularized notion associated with "Spanishness" and identifiable in part by physical characteristics. Purity of blood (i.e. being entirely of European descent) was a requirement for employment in judiciary, royal bureaucracy, and the church.[66]

People of Spanish origin were at the top of the power structure of New Spain. A small number of peninsulares—who were appointed to the most influential positions in the government and church by the Crown in Madrid—held most of the power, followed by criollos born in the Americas.[67] Hostility over this distribution of power, along with a new nationalism that focused on an idealized concept of

[65] García Saiz, *Las Castas Mexicanas*, 38.
[66] Lavrin, "Women in Colonial Mexico," 252.
[67] Gutiérrez, "Miscegenation as Nation-Building," 168.

mestizaje (the "process of racial and cultural miscegenation") was a motivating force in the fight for Mexican independence in the 1810s.[68]

Limpieza de sangre was a requirement for some educational institutions and limited who could profess as a nun. As the Colegio de Belem's escoleta de música's primary purpose was to enable girls to profess as nuns without a dowry, the requirement of limpieza de sangre also limited who would be accepted to a formal music education. Belem's founder and patrons were españoles who established and perpetuated Spanish elitism within the institution.

Mexico City was not representative of the entirety of Mexico, standing in contrast to much of the rest of the viceroyalty. As the capital of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, it was the center point of the Spanish government, Roman Catholic Church, and international trade for North and Central Americas and Caribbean. Whereas most of present-day Mexico was rural, Mexico City was extremely urban with very distinct and disparate social classes and a higher percentage of the population from Spanish descent.[69]

Finance and Political Power in Spain and New Spain

Gradually throughout the colonial period, Spain's control over its American colonies waned, in part due to its attitude toward its colonies and its own declining

[68] Gutiérrez, 168–69.
[69] Silvia Marina Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), 5–10.

position in the fight for European dominance. Spain's American colonies were large producers of silver, which was in high demand and short supply in Europe.[70] Spain attempted to monopolize trade with its colonies, desiring them to only trade directly with Spain and prohibiting them from trading with other countries or colonies (even those also within the Spanish Empire). Even though Spain attempted to direct all Mexican silver into the European market, New Spain also traded its silver for Cantonese goods coming through the port of Manila in the sixteenth through early nineteenth centuries. New Spain differed from both Peru and the Portuguese colony of Brazil in that it traded over both the Atlantic and Pacific.[71]

In the first half of the seventeenth century, Spain maintained its power over its American colonies. The populace did not challenge royal authority, which was supported by the Church. Moreover, the colonies still needed peninsular military support for defense (for example, against the Dutch).[72]

From the mid-1600s through 1700s, however, Spain's power in Europe diminished, and as a result its American colonies were mostly, as Brian Hamnett writes, "left to their own devises."[73] By the late eighteenth century, Mexico City had become the new power-center in the Spanish Empire, eclipsing Madrid and boasting the largest mint anywhere on the globe.[74] Although landowners were at the top of the social pyramid, merchant-financiers, whose large amounts of capital had been

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[70] Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico*, 80.
[71] Hamnett, 82.
[72] Hamnett, 110.
[73] Hamnett, 80.
[74] Hamnett, 115.

accumulated through monopolies in Atlantic trade, were the real wielders of power. The *Consulado* of Mexico (established in 1591) was made up of mainly Basque and Santander merchants and held close ties with the Audiencia and viceregal government, repeatedly loaning capital to the Spanish Crown to strengthen its European position throughout the 1600s.[75] With these changes, people with ties to the Americas (rather than solely to Spain) began to be appointed to important positions. Hamnett describes the dynamic shift:

> The *audiencia*, originally the bastion of Castilian absolutism, gradually became an organism which expressed the views of the resident interest-groups, whether of Spanish or American provenance. The viceregal court in Mexico City similarly reflected such interests.[76]

Spain prioritized the interests of the Spanish Empire rather than those of its individual colonies. By the late 1700s, Spain was at war with other European powers and could not support all its colonies. It relied on New Spain to bolster its finances.[77] During these several centuries of Spain's weakness, the institutions that Hamnett dubs the "pillars of colonialism"—the Church, Audiencia, and Consulado—held New Spain together.[78]

Exploitation of Mexico's natural resources directly benefitted the españoles and criollos who financially supported the Colegio de Belem. The eventual collapse of Spain's financial system was one catalyst for Mexican independence, which would throw Belem into a period of financial instability and ultimately lead to its closure.

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[75] Hamnett, 81–82.
[76] Hamnett, 110.
[77] Hamnett, 112.
[78] Hamnett, 82.

Three Spanish merchants who amassed great wealth used their privileged position to found the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas, a school with close ties to Belem.

Insurrection in Mexico: Enlightenment, Food Shortage, and Power Imbalance

Many factors led to the insurrection of 1812 and Mexican independence in 1822, not least of which were frustrations over divisions in class, distribution of power, the weakening of Spain's hold on its American colonies, and the spread of Enlightenment ideals throughout New Spain.

According to Fernando Navarro y Noriega, the population of Mexico in 1810 comprised 60% Native Americans, 21.7% mestizos, 17.9% criollos, 0.2% Europeans, and 0.1% Africans.[79] (See Figure 6.) Yet the Spanish Crown granted the most powerful positions in the Church and State to a group that constituted less than one percent of the population—the European-born peninsulares.

[79] Fernando Navarro y Noriega, *Catálogo de Los Curatos y Misiones de La Nueva España, Seguido de La Memoria Sobre La Población Del Reino de La Nueva España* (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Histórico-jurídicas, 1943), 65, as cited in Victoria Lerner, "Consideraciones Sobre La Población de La Nueva España (1793-1810): Según Humboldt y Navarro y Noriega," *Historia Mexicana* 17, no. 3 (1968): 338, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25134694.

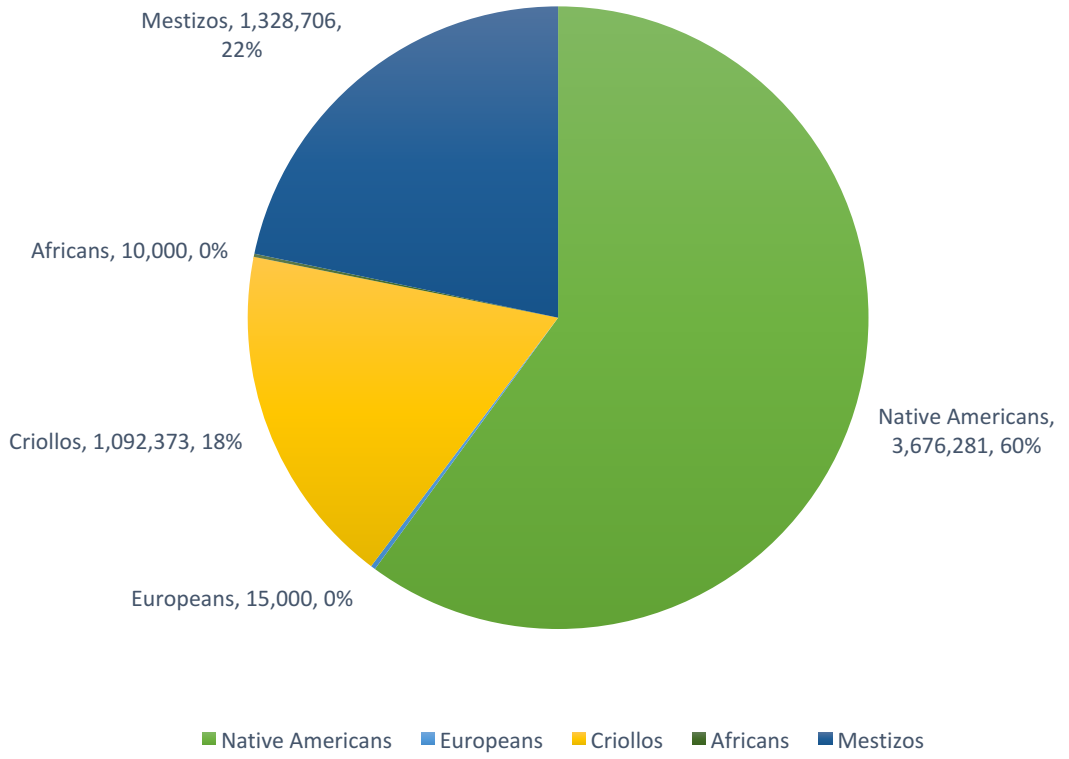

FIGURE 6. The Population of Mexico in 1810.[80]

The pre-Columbian agricultural system that primarily produced cereals (e.g. maize) had supported a very dense urban population under the Aztecs. The Spanish colonial regime overhauled the system of land management to focus on livestock production (replicating the agricultural priorities of the Iberian Peninsula), which was to have devastating effects on food security once the Native American population began to rebound after being decimated. The government and financiers poured money into mining rather than agriculture, including grains that would support the

[80] Navarro y Noriega, *Catálogo de Los Curatos y Misiones de La Nueva España*, 65, as cited in Lerner, "Consideraciones Sobre La Población de La Nueva España (1793-1810)," 338.

growing lower classes.[81] Left vulnerable, agriculture affected all other parts of the economy.[82] These conditions led to the subsistence crises of 1785–1786 and 1808–1809, which had an impact on the educational institutions of Mexico City and, in part, prompted the aforementioned insurrection of 1810.[83]

During the eighteenth century, the authority of the Church and Crown were under threat from various sides: European revolutions, Enlightenment philosophies, and the beginnings of Liberalism. Conflict between the pope and the Spanish monarchy resulted in the Crown challenging the ecclesiastical authority and church finances. Meanwhile, the Enlightenment laid siege to the Church and its restrictions on education and the sciences. The expulsion of the Jesuits (The Society of Jesus)—who were accused of amassing wealth through commerce and speculation and neglecting to tithe—from all Spanish-held territories by Carlos III in 1767 drove another wedge between Mexican criollos and the Spanish colonial regime. In Mexico, the Society of Jesus, which encouraged Mexican devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe (observed primarily by criollos), was instrumental in the education of the children of the criollo elite, and served as confessors to convents, which were home to high-society criollas.[84] The criollo population of Mexico resented the forcible exile of vital contributors to their society and culture from their home by a far-away colonial authority. The years from 1700 to 1767 had constituted, according to Gerard

[81] Hamnett, 116.
[82] Hamnett, 118.
[83] Hamnett, 119.
[84] Hamnett, 129.

Decorme, "the golden age of the Jesuits in Mexico."[85] The Jesuits promoted the formation of criollo culture, illustrated by Our Lady of Guadalupe, the celebration of whom is well-represented in Belem's music.

In the latter half of the 1700s, members of the clergy began to dissent from the Spanish government. Many members of the secular clergy resented the colonial regime, which appointed only peninsulares to the most prominent positions, leaving criollo and mestizo clergy living in poverty.[86] Members of the secular clergy—who lived integrated in their communities—held great influence with the populace.[87] As the European Enlightenment—which challenged accepted education and the authority of the Church—spread throughout New Spain, the clergy diverged into two groups: "modernisers" and "traditionalists."[88]

The decades on either side of the turn of the nineteenth century saw the collapse of the system of colonial finance and the military conflicts of 1810s, both of which heralded Spain's loss of Mexico.[89] The redirection of agricultural production away from the Native American cultivation of maize and toward the Hispanic

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[85] Gerard Decorme, *La obra de los Jesuítas mexicanos durante la época colonial, 1572-1767 (compendio histórico)*, vol. I (México: Antigua Librería Robredo de J. Porrúa e Hijos, 1941), 103, as cited in Pilar Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820: (María Ignacia de Azlor y Echeverz y los Colegios de la enseñanza)*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Instituto "Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (C.S.I.C.)," 1981), 261.
[86] Regular clergy took vows to a monastic order and lived according to the rule of an institute (e.g. monks) and differed from secular clergy, who did not belong to an order and lived in the secular world (e.g. parish priests).
[87] Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico*, 131–32.
[88] Hamnett, 129.
[89] Hamnett, 122.

husbandry of cattle resulted in food insecurity in the lower classes and contributed to the insurrection of 1810. Hamnett writes that "the breakdown of a once viable system of government finance well before the impact of the insurrection of 1810 ensured that Independent Mexico would inherit an exhausted treasury and a mountain of internal debt."[90] The failing finances of independent Mexico were one reason for the nationalization of ecclesiastical properties, which appropriated the Colegio de Belem's building and heralded its closure in 1862.

Independence to the Reform Era (1821–1855)

The Spanish House of Bourbon fell in 1808 with Napoleon's defeat of King Fernando VII, precipitating the collapse of Spain's hold in the Americas in 1820.[91] With the Spanish Bourbon house removed from power by the French, the viceroy ("vice-king") no longer held authority as a representative or proxy of the king. Viceroy José de Iturrigaray (ruled 1803–1808) attempted to ally with Mexican groups promoting home rule, but was overthrown by a royalist coup.[92] With royalists in power in the capital, the demand for autonomy was taken up and furthered by provincial civil servants and members of the secular clergy, such as Miguel Hidalgo (1753–1811) and his student José María Morelos (1765–1815), both of whom led

[90] Hamnett, 123.
[91] Hamnett, 112.
[92] Hamnett, 133.

significant peasant rebellions.[93] The two primary motivations for the latter was independence and the end of the sistema de castas.[94]

The failure of Spain's Constitution of 1812 to compromise on the issue of New Spain's home rule pushed many to take up the banner of independence.[95] The elite classes in Mexico City—backed by the military—wanted limited representation, but not an end to Spanish rule, which by 1813 was again under Fernando VII and the House of Bourbon.[96] The commander of the army, Agustín de Iturbide (1783–1824), consolidated with rebel forces under the Plan of Iguala and led the "Army of Three Guarantees" (Independence, Union, and Religion) into Mexico City in 1821 to suppress the rural lower classes, restore power to the Mexico City elites, and establish limited constitutionalism. That same year, the Treaty of Córdoba established the Mexican Empire, which would have autonomy within the Spanish Empire and shift the power center from Madrid to Mexico City.[97] Iturbide was proclaimed Emperor Agustín I and was overthrown in a revolt by Antonio López de Santa Anna, which resulted in the fall of the First Mexican Empire in 1823.[98] Santa Anna ruled Mexico intermittently for a turbulent three decades. After attempting and failing to turn back the tide of United States citizens settling in Mexican territory (Texas), Santa Anna

[93] Hamnett, 134.
[94] Hamnett, 137.
[95] Hamnett, 108.
[96] Hamnett, 141.
[97] Hamnett, 143.
[98] Hamnett, 144.

recognized Texas's secession from Mexico and independence in exchange for his own life in 1836.

North American power continued to shift away from Mexico and to the United States of America as Mexico's northern neighbor expanded south and west with the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and addition of Florida (1819). Exploiting a border dispute with Mexico and the U.S.-annexed state of Texas, President James K. Polk goaded Mexico to war in 1846 to enable westward expansion and the realization of Manifest Destiny. Lasting seventeen months, the Mexican-American War ultimately resulted in General Winfield Scott's army marching into Mexico City and Mexico surrendering nearly half of its territory (all of present-day California; most of Nevada, Arizona, and Utah; and portions of New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming) in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Santa Anna returned to claim power in 1853, sold the southern-most portions of Arizona and New Mexico to the United States in the Gadsden Purchase (*Venta de La Mesilla*) for $10 million in 1853, and was again driven out of office.

The Reform Era (1855–1862)

In 1857, Mexico established a new constitution, which (in part) sought an end to feudalism, increased rights for Native American peoples, and decreased the Church's power. The Liberal Reform Era consisted of two primary periods of law-

making: 1855–1857 (including the federal Constitution of 1857) and 1858–1860.[99] The second wave of laws included the Law for the Nationalization of Ecclesiastical Properties, passed on July 12, 1859.[100] The purpose of the law was two-fold: to diminish the Church's power and to increase the federal revenue. The government had hoped that the sale of ecclesiastical properties would net 150 million pesos, but the actual income totaled a little more than 10 million pesos by 1863 (when Mexico City fell to the French Intervention) and 23 million pesos by 1910.[101] Prior to the Reform Laws, the Church had owned half of Mexico's land and was exempt from paying taxes on it. The new laws prohibited the Church from owning property other than its own buildings, which disallowed it from charging rent on its properties, the money from which supported various institutions, including convents and schools. Under the 1859 Law for the Nationalization of Ecclesiastical Properties, the government claimed all properties administered by the church.[102] Because it was under the patronage of the archbishop, the government claimed the building of the Colegio de Belem and closed the school.

[99] Hamnett, 160.
[100] Hamnett, 163.
[101] Hamnett, 163.
[102] Josefina Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres: respuesta a una problemática social novohispana* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1974), 108.

CHAPTER 2:

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN NEW SPAIN AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY MEXICO

Secular Women

In colonial settler societies, European women were often the agents through which imperial ideals—both racial and moral—were transferred and solidified in their new homes. Spanish women proved the most efficacious colonial instruments through whom European values and institutions were planted and took root in New Spain. Women brought with them and firmly established in Mexico an ingrained Christian domestic morality within the monogamous, patriarchal family.[103]

In early modern Spain and throughout its empire, as elsewhere in the Western world, the socially elite feminine ideal was a gentle, passive woman, chaste before marriage and faithfully devoted to her husband and children after marriage. Asunción Lavrin describes the different markers of "appropriate" feminine and masculine behavior:

> Sharp definitions of femininity and masculinity and a consequent polarization in education, socialization, and division of labor between men and women are themes inherent to the Iberian and indigenous worlds. The definitions of what was properly masculine and feminine and the specific forms of behavior that they generated seem to have had a lasting influence on Latin American culture. Both European and Indian sources establish very clear models of proper behavior from childhood through adulthood. Separation of the sexes after a certain age, preservation of female honor by the individual herself or through the family, fidelity of the wife to the husband and the dedication of the woman to the task of motherhood mark the boundaries of acceptable femininity in these societies. Femininity was closely identified with good,

[103] Gutiérrez, "Miscegenation as Nation-Building," 163, 167.

> chaste, loving, and demure behavior, physical and emotional weakness, and the need of man's strength and attention. Those values were inculcated through education and preserved by a set of normative restrictions—personal and social—that women were expected to observe. Protective devices such as physical guardianship or legal and institutional safeguards prevented the loss of those desirable traits of femininity and buttressed the normative restrictions.[104]

In the Americas, society expected españolas—both peninsulares and criollas—to advance their families' position by marrying a man with a higher social status at a young age. Single women (including widows and women separated from their husbands) were met with suspicion and censure because of their lack of male guidance—i.e. oversight.[105] In his study of Mexican crowned-nun portraits, James M. Córdova discusses the dichotomy of women's positions—the rift between the commonly held view of women as "morally weak, intellectually frail, and dangerously vulnerable to sin, like the first woman, Eve" and the ideal of the Virgin Mary:[106]

> [Women were] subject to a pervasive Euro-Christian construct that held women to be sinful, irrational, and in constant need of male supervision. Considered naturally corrupt, women were to model themselves after the Virgin Mary, who was intrinsically pious, humble, and obedient. Women in New Spain navigated between these gendered markers throughout their lives.[107]

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[104] Asunción Lavrin, "Introduction," in *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Asunción Lavrin, Contributions in Women's Studies 3 (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1978), 16.
[105] Lisa Vollendorf, *The Lives of Women: A New History of Inquisitional Spain* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005), 147.
[106] James M. Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico: Crowned-Nun Portraits and Reform in the Convent* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 6.
[107] Córdova, 1–2.

Peninsular and criolla women had few options that society deemed respectable. Women were not legally permitted to work in the public sphere until 1799.[108] Women who did not marry made that choice at the jeopardy of their own reputation and risked familial dishonor. Córdova writes that they "were subject to the harsh realities of navigating through a patriarchal world that condemned them for straying from the social model."[109]

Nuns

One alternative to marriage that was highly respected in New Spanish society—available only to women in the most elite strata of society—was profession as a nun. Asunción Lavrin explains that profession was also only available to women whose families had considerable financial means. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the dowry paid to a convent ranged from two thousand to four thousand pesos.[110] For a small number of aspirants who could not afford a convent's dowry, there were two choices: a girl could be sponsored by wealthy benefactors who

[108] By order of Viceroy Miguel José Azanza on April 22, 1799, so that women could "provide for their subsistence and to contribute to that of their families." "Bando Sobre Que Las Mujeres Puedan Libremente Ejercer Todas Las Labores Propias de Su Sexo. México," 1799, Cédulas Reales, vol. 2979, no. 213, Archivo del Antiguo Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:270; Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857*, 27.
[109] Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico*, 17.
[110] Asunción Lavrin, *Brides of Christ: Conventual Life in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 24; Lavrin, "Women in Colonial Mexico," 253.

considered the support of a nun's profession to be a pious work (as was the situation with the famous seventeenth-century writer and feminist Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz); or a woman's skills could, in special cases, be accepted in lieu of a dowry.[111]

Although they operated under the sometimes-invasive male ecclesiastical authority, convents were female institutions operated by the women living in them. Lavrin observes that "there is no better example of upper-class women's ability to fill spaces of self-rule and authority than that offered by the administration of nunneries."[112] Nuns directed and executed all aspects of the operation of the convent, including managing accounts and properties. Convents needed not only women who possessed the skills necessary for the administration of the convent, but also women who had acquired the musical skills integral to the observance of the Eucharist and Divine Office. A small number of convents occasionally waived the requirement of a dowry for a postulant who could fill such a need. It was primarily for this purpose that the Colegio de San Miguel Belem trained students in music.

In addition to being cost-prohibitive, the option to profess as a nun was also only available to young women of European heritage, legitimate birth, and high social standing.[113] As profession was accessible only to women of European lineage, training to become a nun—as was Belem's escoleta de música's primary purpose—

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[111] Women born out of wedlock (*hijas naturales)* could be legitimized if the girl had been accepted and raised by the family and had financial backing and social standing (e.g. Sor Juana Inez de la Cruz, whose patrons forged documents testifying to her legitimate birth).
[112] Lavrin, "Women in Colonial Mexico," 267.
[113] Postulants were typically between age fifteen and thirty-five, although exceptions were made. Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 23.

would also have been restricted to girls of European provenance. Prior to the founding of the first convent for Native American women in 1724, only women of European origin were eligible to become nuns. (The sixteenth-century granddaughters of Moctezuma II—Doña Isabel Cano Moctezuma and Doña Catalina Cano Moctezuma— were of Nahua and European heritage and were extremely rare exceptions). Even in convents for Native American women, high social status and limpieza de sangre were imperative. Castas were excluded from the religious life. They often worked at convents, but as servants or slaves, a stark illustration of the great hierarchical divide between them and the nuns of "pure blood."[114]

Women's Education

Throughout the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, the philosophies that governed women's education, like assumptions regarding their social roles, underwent significant shifts. These changes influenced what skills were taught to which socio-economic and racial groups and how various educational institutions developed. The following survey of women's education throughout Mexico's colonial and early independence periods provides the context in which we will situate the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem.

Early modern Spanish thinking, represented by moralists such as Fray Martín de Córdoba (*Jardín de nobles doncellas* [*Garden of Noble Maidens*], c. 1460) and

[114] Lavrin, "Women in Colonial Mexico," 269.

Juan Luis Vives (*Instrucción de la mujer cristiana* [*Instruction of the Christian Woman*], 1523), prioritized female chastity and viewed women as intellectually frail, lacking reason, susceptible to evil, and requiring men's guidance. Women were discouraged from—among many things—teaching. The eighteenth-century Spanish Enlightenment, reflected in *La educación de las mujeres* ("The Education of Women") by Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi (1776–1827), shifted focus from the collective to the individual and recognized women's intellectual abilities.[115] Female education and social inclusion was encouraged, but only to the extent that it did not conflict with women's "higher destiny" as mothers and wives.[116]

Social, political, and ecclesiastical authorities often censured and suppressed intellectual and skilled women.[117] In her research of female education and literacy on both sides of the Iberian Atlantic, Lisa Vollendorf describes the fine line that female writers tread:

> Constrained by dominant ideologies that exhorted women to contain their pride, vanquish their vanity, and limit their interaction with the public sphere, women developed strategies to simultaneously assert authority while also embodying chaste, obedient, self-controlled Catholic femininity.[118]

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[115] Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico*, 17–18.
[116] Lavrin, "Introduction," 10.
[117] Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City,* 24.
[118] Lisa Vollendorf, "Navigating the Atlantic Divide: Women, Education, and Literacy in Iberia and the Americas," in *Women of the Iberian Atlantic*, ed. Sarah E. Owens and Jane E. Mangan (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), 28, ProQuest Ebook Central, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/lib/ucsc/detail.action?docID=1047627.

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651–1695) is well documented as one of the greatest thinkers and poets of the colonial period. Nearly any study of women in New Spain is likely to mention her. Fluent in Spanish, Nahuatl, and Latin, she was celebrated in her day on both sides of the Atlantic as "The Tenth Muse." She professed in the Jeronymite Order so that she, in her own words, could engage in, "la estudiosa tarea (que para mí era descanso en todos los ratos que sobraban a mi obligación) de leer y más leer, de estudiar y más estudiar, sin más maestro que los mismos libros" ("the studious task [that for me filled every moment outside of my obligation] of reading and reading more, of studying and studying more, with no other teacher than books").[119] Her criticism of a sermon by Antonio Vieira, a Jesuit from Portugal, sparked conflict with church authorities. Sor Juana's response, *La respuesta* (The Answer), defends women's right to education. Ultimately, the Catholic church to which she professed confiscated her library and silenced her pen.

The type of education that children received in colonial Mexico depended on three factors: their sex, socio-economic status, and race. Asunción Lavrin expands upon the profound role that gender played in children's education and socialization:

> The Spanish concept of appropriate and expected behaviour in public and private, broadly called honor, had its counterpart in well-known pre-Conquest indigenous formulations that demanded restraint and composure from men and women. Gender relations began with the informal education imparted at home in childhood. It was based on the assumption that men and women should be educated differently for their different roles and kept separate while that process was taking place.... Such gendered education inculcated passivity, obedience, religiosity, and submissive behaviour among girls. Reading and writing were deemed superfluous for poor women, whether Indian, white, or

[119] Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Antología de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, ed. María Luisa Pérez Walker (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1993), 304.

> casta. When a formal primary education was available, it was provided by self-taught women or by nuns in convents, and it benefitted mostly white girls. Womanly occupations, such as sewing and embroidering, or cooking for the poor, were sufficient for the formation of most women.
>
> Boys were expected to lead, guide, and dominate.... Forming a man to lead was an implicit recognition of their right to be the wielders of power undisputed by either females or lower-class males.... Women were expected to follow feminine rules of comportment, and men assumed that masculinity was, in part, the exercise of authority over women.[120]

The education of most girls consisted of training in skills deemed appropriate for women, such as sewing, embroidery, and (for women of lower socio-economic status) cooking. Like elsewhere in the Americas and Europe, literacy was regarded as unnecessary for lower class women of all races.[121]

The First Hispanic Institutions for Female Education (1500–1700)

The church established the first post-conquest female educational institutions less for the purpose of education, per se, than for Christianization—of both the girls and their families.[122] Emerging as humanist endeavors, numerous institutions for female education were established in New Spain beginning in the early 1500s, mere decades after the Spanish military conquest. Europeans deemed it their Christian responsibility to provide shelter, physical and spiritual care, and education for disadvantaged women and girls, especially those of high social rank. These

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[120] Lavrin, "Women in Colonial Mexico," 258–59.
[121] Lavrin, 258–259.
[122] Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:199, 206.

institutions' most significant effect—which was seen as a positive and intended result by the colonizers but which we recognize today as immeasurably injurious—was the enforcement of European Christian norms in the colonial territory, imposition of Hispanic hierarchy, and control of women's sexuality and social position.[123] Early institutions involved in female education fall into five categories: *beaterios*, *recogimientos*, convent schools, *miga* schools, and *colegios*.

Beaterios

María Luisa Cárdenas de Vega begins her study of the development of female education with the founding of the first *beaterios*.[124] *Beatas* were laywomen who chose to live and work collectively. They were not nuns: they were free to marry, were not cloistered, and did not take vows of obedience. Catalina de Bustamante (1490–1546)—who traveled in 1514 from Spain to Mexico with her husband, two daughters, and two nieces—was active in organizing various women's institutions and groups and established the first notable Mexican beaterio.[125] Bustamante's beaterio in the city of Texcoco was sponsored by the Franciscan missionary Fray Pedro de Gante (c. 1480–1572) and received financial support from Hernán Cortés (1485–1547). Its purpose was to evangelize and protect Native American women and

[123] Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico*, 11.
[124] María Luisa Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain: Colonial Mexico, 1521-1821* (Phoenix, AZ: Biblioteca Hispano-Americana de Divulgación, 1986).
[125] Archivo General de Indias, Pasajeros a Indias (Sevilla, España), vol. 1, núm. 1747, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, 3.

mestizas from Spanish abuses and train them to help in missionary work in hospitals, schools, orphanages, etc.[126] It housed six hundred students and, in the words of the first Archbishop of Mexico Juan de Zumárraga (1468–1548, served 1530–1548), educated "daughters of Indian lords of the province in the Christian doctrine and in all virtue and good manners."[127]

Throughout the second quarter of the sixteenth century, Zumárraga repeatedly requested women to be sent from Spain to the Americas for the purposes of female education. In 1528, Cortés asked Carlos V of the Holy Roman Empire (King Carlos I of Spain; 1500–1558) for support for beaterios. Empress Isabella of Portugal (1503–1539)—who administered the Spanish colonies in the Americas in the absence of her husband and who was a staunch advocate of women's education—sponsored the journey for ten women.[128] Four years later, in 1532, Bishop Zumárraga persuaded Isabella to send eight more female teachers back to New Spain with him.[129] In 1532, Bustamante petitioned Isabella in person (in Spain) to send more women;[130] at that point, Bustamante had at least fifteen Spanish women under her supervision. By 1537, Bustamante had many women (not just Spaniards) working with her. The

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[126] Cárdenas de Vega, 3–4, 6.
[127] Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico. (México: Francisco Diaz de Leon, 1892), 1:501, and García Icazbalceta, Zumárraga, pp. 17–18, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, 6.
[128] Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Papeles de Simancas (Sevilla, España), est. 58, caj. 3, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, 2, 6.
[129] Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Contratación, leg. 4675b, fol. 116–117v, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, 7.
[130] Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Reales Cédulas, est. 4122, leg. 62, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, 7.

imported Spanish women were not the only teachers: older Native American and mestiza girls trained at the beaterios taught the younger girls. Soon beaterios spread to other towns and numbered more than fifteen.[131] In a letter to Zumárraga, Carlos V gives us an idea of the size of these beaterios: "I have been greatly pleased with what you tell me, that there are large institutions of girls and young ladies, daughters of the Indian lords with eight or ten houses of three hundred and four hundred girls each."[132]

It was not long before male authorities in the church and state attempted—and failed—to exert control over the activities of the beatas. Córdova writes that a negative conception of beatas grew, cultivated by comparing them to nuns: "many people considered these women [beatas] to be wayward, living immoral lives and perpetuating social ills, especially since they did not take a vow of enclosure as nuns did. In addition, they were not under the same kind of close religious and patriarchal supervision that regulated nuns."[133]

The first conflict between beatas and male authority involved the state government. The women had resorted to begging for alms to maintain their properties and petitioned the Audiencia for medical care for their charges.[134] When the Audiencia appealed to Isabella in 1532, she firmly responded that it was the

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[131] Cárdenas de Vega, 8.
[132] Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de Ultramar (CDU), capit. 10, num. 38, pp. 125–126, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, 9.
[133] Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico*, 19.
[134] Genaro García, Documentos inéditos o muy raros para la Historia de México, 36 vols. (Mexico: Porrua, 1974), 15:19, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 9.

responsibility of the government of New Spain to provide buildings and healthcare for beatas.[135] The second—and greater—conflict was between beatas and Franciscans, headed by Zumárraga. Beata Juana Velásquez reported directly to Isabella that the rift stemmed from overreach on the part of Franciscan friars who visited beaterios, seeking to control the women's activities.[136] In a 1537 letter to the Council of the Indies, Zumárraga eludes to his frustration with beatas, who have not taken vows of enclosure or obedience, and over whom he would seek control:

> It seems to us, by the past experience, that [these beatas] should rather be religious nuns…. Because the ones who have come up to now don't show any interest nor are humble enough to teach the girls and treat them as they need; they try to measure their minds and capacity; they don't observe the seclusion proper of nuns; and some of them—the ones that I brought—worry more for their own children, the ones who came with them, and the ones who came later; and some have come out from their houses, although I have forbidden them to do so and threatened them with excommunication. They have said that they are not slaves, that they don't want to work for nothing, and that they need money—one hundred ducats—for doctor and medicines; that they have to go from house to house begging; that they are starving, even though I have provided them with as much as I can and is necessary. For this and other reasons we are here of the opinion that it is better to have nuns here or *beatas who have taken vows*… [italics added].[137]

Zumárraga, still angry with beatas, continues in another letter:

> The woman teachers who have come from Spain have refused to take vows and so they cannot be forced into enclosure and obedience; they come out from their houses and walk and make decisions without admitting to be

[135] Genaro García, Documentos inéditos o muy raros para la Historia de México, 36 vols. (Mexico: Porrua, 1974), 15:19, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, 9–10.
[136] Cárdenas de Vega, 10.
[137] Archivo General de Indias (AGI) Patronato, leg. 185; Alberto María Carreño, ed. Un desconocido Cedulario del Siglo XVI: Pedro Ocharte MCLXIII (México: Victoria, 1944), p. 106, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, 11.

> compelled to stay inside their home, or even not to leave us, as many of them have left already, because they find better pay being secular teachers.[138]

The church revoked its assistance, and beaterios were forced to raise their own finances, which they did through various means, including by charging tuition. These developments represented the beginnings of secular education in New Spain.[139]

Recogimientos

Nancy E. Van Deusen explores the numerous meanings and practices of *recogimiento* in Iberia and the Americas in her seminal monograph that focuses on recogimiento in colonial Lima. She writes that the connotations of recogimiento changed over several centuries and that its meanings fall into three categories: "a theological concept, a virtue, and an institutional practice."[140] Luis de Granada (1504–1588) first used "recogimiento" to refer to a theological concept in *Libro de la oración* (1554), in which it signified "separation or interior abstraction of all that is earthly in order to meditate or contemplate."[141] As a virtue, recogimiento represented "modest, controlled behavior, enclosure in an institution or the home, and a retiring or quiescent nature," and was a gendered concept applied more to women (on the

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[138] Archivo General de Indias (AGI), leg. 185, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, 27.
[139] Cárdenas de Vega, 13.
[140] Nancy E. Van Deusen, *Between the Sacred and the Worldly: The Institutional and Cultural Practice of Recogimiento in Colonial Lima* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), xi, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/lib/ucsc/reader.action?docID=3037439#.
[141] Diccionario de la lengua, 520-21; Corominas y Pascual, Diccionario crítico, 121, as cited in Van Deusen, xi.

assumption that "women's bodies, sexuality, and social freedoms should be controlled") than to men.[142] The third designation of recogimiento is the one that most concerns us here and is described in detail by Van Deusen:

> As an institutional practice, recogimiento involved substantial numbers of women and girls called recogidas living voluntarily or involuntarily in convents, in pious houses called *beaterios*, in hospitals, or schools. Founded throughout Spain and Latin America, recogimientos served a myriad of functions as schools, asylums, or centers of legal deposit (*depósito*) supported by the Spanish state but often under the guardianship of a religious order. They housed women and girls of different social conditions, from orphans to creole schoolgirls, from prostitutes to mestiza daughters of the conquerors, from destitute to reformed women. They operated as depositories for women called *divorciadas* seeking an annulment or divorce (a permanent separation, with neither party able to remarry). They also served as a temporary residence during a husband's absence, or as prisons or correctional houses. Some functioned as schools. Between 1525 and 1550, recogimientos housed and educated the daughters of the Nahua nobility in Mexico; one hundred years later, they operated as centers of learning exclusively for Spanish and creole elite girls in Lima and Mexico. Finally, recogimientos served as rudimentary religious houses aspiring to become beaterios or convents following receipt of the necessary license.[143]

Pilar Foz y Foz writes that when a young woman entered a recogimiento or monastery she was to remain living a semi-monastic life until she married or entered a convent as an adult. Many women remained in recogimiento until their death, without returning to the outside world, and were counted with the "niñas" regardless of their age.[144] In her pioneering research on feminine institutions of New Spain,

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[142] Van Deusen, xii.
[143] Van Deusen, xii.
[144] Gonzalo Obregón, *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de México (Las Vizcaínas)* (México: Colegio de México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1949), 33; Josefina Muriel de la Torre, *Conventos de monjas en la Nueva España* (México: Santiago, 1946), 41.

Josefina Muriel divides recogimientos into two groups: those that protected/helped women and those that imprisoned them. Van Deusen argues that the situation was not so clearly delineated: each recogimiento generally served both purposes.[145] These are the circumstances of the founding of the Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belem in 1683, which would become the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem.

Convent-Schools

In 1540, as a reaction to the lack of ecclesiastical control over the activities in beaterios, Bishop Juan de Zumárraga sought and was granted permission to establish the first convent in New Spain: the Convento de Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción (The Convent of Our Lady of the Pure Conception) in Mexico City.[146] This institution was the first of numerous convents of the Conceptionist Order, which had originated in fifteenth-century Portugal with the primary purpose of teaching girls. These convent schools were markedly different than beaterios: not only were the nuns cloistered, but also the students were as well.[147] Convents were feminine cities within a city. They housed professed nuns, potential nuns, female relatives and companions, students, servants, and slaves.[148] Girls aged fifteen and younger could enter a convent in order to study with a particular nun.

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[145] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 45.
[146] Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico*, 14.
[147] Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 28.
[148] Mariano Cuevas, *Documentos inéditos del siglo XVI para la historia de México*, vol. IV (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1975), 176–79, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:202.

Conceptionist convents were purpose-built for family-style living. Each nun could have several girls live with her in her cell, which included a kitchen, dining room, and sleeping space. Although the convent capacity records are no longer extant, the size of the convent would typically support several hundred women and girls. Once their tuition was paid, the girls (called *niñas*, regardless of their age) became the nuns' responsibility; when it came time for a girl's marriage, however, it was the duty of the parents to arrange for a husband.[149]

The first nuns of the Convento de Nuestra Señora de la Purísma were Spanish elites and Native American caciques, including Ana de San Buenaventura and Isabel de los Angeles (daughters of conquistadors) and Isabel de la Encarnación and Catalina de San Miguel (mestiza daughters of Juan Cano and Isabel Moctezuma and granddaughters of Moctezuma II).[150]

Córdova writes that the first convent schools served "native and mestizo girls, groups that because of their distinct ethnic and cultural background and circumstances were thought to be at risk of falling outside Hispanic social norms."[151] By the mid-1500s, Conceptionist convents also accepted and taught españolas. Several other nunnery schools built in Mexico City during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries include Regina Coeli (1570), Jesús María (1580), San Jerónimo (1585), La Encarnación (1594), and San Lorenzo (1650). Most monastic schools became very wealthy through donations, the tuition of students, and the dowries of

[149] Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 28–29.
[150] Cárdenas de Vega, 29–30.
[151] Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico*, 15.

women who professed there.[152] Subjects taught at the convent schools included Spanish and Latin (for the observance of the Daily Office), literacy, arithmetic, food preparation, sewing, embroidery, and singing.[153] The Dominican friar Thomas Gage (c. 1597–1656) reported on musical activities at several convents during his travels in 1648:

> Gentlemen and citizens give their daughters to be brought up in these nunneries, where they are taught to make all sorts of conserves and preserves, all sorts of needlework, all sorts of music, which is so exquisite in that city that I dare be bold to say that the people are drawn to their churches more for the delight of the music than for any delight in the service of God. More, they teach these young children to act like players; and to entice the people to their churches, they make these children act short dialogues in their choirs, richly attiring them with men's and women's apparel, especially upon Mid-summer Day, and the eight days before their Christmas. These are so gallantly performed that there have been many factious strifes and single combats—some were in my time—for defending which of these nunneries most excelled in music and in the training up of children.[154]

By 1700, there were sixteen monasteries in Mexico, fourteen of which received and educated girls.[155]

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[152] "This source of income did not seem to amount [to] very much; indeed, some of these institutions did not charge anything to the poor parents, and some others, like Jesus Maria in Mexico City and Santa Maria de Gracia in Guadalajara, were established expressly for indigents." Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 30–31.

[153] Cárdenas de Vega, 29; Muriel de la Torre, *Conventos de monjas en la Nueva España*, 487–490.

[154] Referring to the performances in "the eight days before their Christmas," Thompson notes, "The reference is to the posadas, the old Mexican custom of acting the vain search of Joseph and Mary for accommodation at an inn. Note how Gage uses the expression 'eight days,' which is a direct translation of the Spanish term for a week." Thomas Gage and J. Eric S. Thompson, *Travels in the New World.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 72.

[155] Francisco de la Maza, *La Ciudad de México En El Siglo XVII* (México: Fondo de la Cultura Económica, 1968), 48–58, and Elisa Luque Alcaide, *La Educación en Nueva España en el siglo XVIII.* (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones

FIGURE 7. The Convento de Regina Coeli.
Photo by Joshua Lanam.

científicas, 1970), 180–81, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:202.

Miga Schools

By the turn of the seventeenth century, the viceregal government in Mexico City required male teachers to obtain a teaching certificate, for which literacy, basic mathematical skills, and more advanced knowledge of a specific teaching area were required. (The proposed ordinance also limited the issuance of teaching certificates to those with limpieza de sangre, a stipulation that the viceroy removed before approval.) The ordinance also limited teachers from educating students of the opposite sex.[156]

By contrast, female teachers were not required to obtain licensure, and female secular schools largely outnumbered male ones.[157] Small *amiga* schools ("schools of the friendly lady")— colloquially called *miga* schools—proliferated in the seventeenth century, each serving a small number of female students.[158] The requirements for opening a miga school were minimal: an application to the judge who oversaw male teacher licensure, proof of baptism, and certification from the parish priest that the prospective teacher had been instructed in Christian doctrine and observed social etiquette ("buena vida y costumbres").[159]

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[156] "Ordenanzas Para El Buen Uso Del Nobilísimo Arte de Leer, Escribir y Contar. Dados En La Ciudad de Mégico a Nuebe Del Mes de Octubre de Mil y Seiscientos Años," October 9, 1600, Historia, vol. 197, f. 21, Archivo General de la Nación, México, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:203.
[157] Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 16.
[158] Miga schools were similar in administration and curriculum to English "Dame" schools. Cárdenas de Vega, 16.
[159] Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:203.

These schools varied widely in the competence of the teachers and the quality of education. Some were run by disenfranchised women (widows or elderly women) for whom teaching was their only financial support; however, some were run by excellent teachers who charged minimal or even no tuition. The curriculum was generally rudimentary: Christian doctrine, household management, and limited training in reading, writing, and arithmetic.[160] Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, like many criollas of the seventeenth century, began her education in a miga school, which gives evidence to the high quality of some miga schools.[161] Miga schools were much less expensive than most convent schools, for which students also had to pay room and board.[162]

Colegios

Colegios de niñas (primary/secondary girls' schools) were established for Native American and mestiza girls in the early sixteenth century, the first appearing in Texcoco in 1528.[163] Córdova writes that colegios reflected a humanist perspective and purpose: "to Hispanicize native girls so that they might adapt better to viceregal

[160] Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 17.
[161] A. Curtis Wilgus, *Readings in Latin American Civilization* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1946), 128–29; Salvador de Madariaga, *El auge y el ocaso del imperio español en América* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1977), 192, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:204.
[162] Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 16.
[163] Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico*, 20.

society and teach their families what they had learned, thereby spreading the faith and mainstream cultural values."[164]

By the mid-1500s, colegios for peninsulares and criollas also appeared.[165] In Mexico City, the Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento (Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament) founded the Colegio de Niñas de Nuestra Señora de la Caridad—whose music and archival documents are held in the AHCV—on June 19, 1548.[166] The colegio's original purpose was to educate at-risk (impoverished or orphaned) criollas and mestizas in Christian doctrine and Hispanic customs.[167] In charge of the Colegio de Niñas, the cofradía placed "one or two virtuous Spanish women, to teach the girls in all necessary things of virtue" ("una o dos mujeres españolas virtuosas, para que les enseñasen en todas las cosas de virtud necesarias").[168] The daily schedule at the colegio included religious observance (daily mass and morning and evening devotions), academic work, and handcrafts. The last of these were to provide training pertinent to managing a household, and the products were sold. The school

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[164] Córdova, 20.
[165] Córdova, 20.
[166] Ana Rita Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register. Old Fonds of the Historical Archive at Colegio de Vizcaínas: Women's Education and Support in the History of the Word," UNESCO, 4, http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/mow/nomination_forms/mexico_historical_archive_Colegio_vizcainas.pdf.
[167] Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico*, 20.
[168] "Origen y Fundación Del Colegio de Doncellas, Real Cédula Fechada En Monzón de Aragón," December 18, 1552, Cofradías, vol. 10, ff. 4-5, Archivo General de la Nación. México, and Luque Alcaide, *La Educación en Nueva España en el siglo XVIII.*, 167, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:200.

administrators applied the income from the crafts to that student's expenses, with any remaining funds allocated to the girl's dowry.[169]

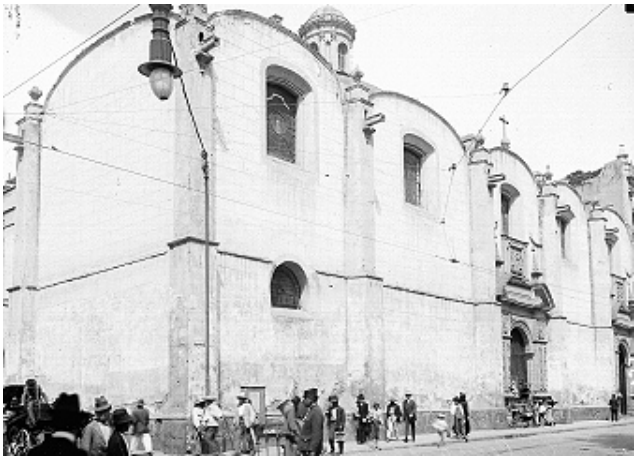

FIGURE 8. The Colegio de Niñas.[170]
Courtesy of the INAH.

[169] Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 21.
[170] "Colegio de Niñas Bolivar."

FIGURE 9. The Colegio de Niñas.[171]
Courtesy of the INAH.

A girl from the Colegio de Niñas had several options for adult life: go to a convent, remain at the school, marry, or go into domestic service. An alumna who went to one of the eighteen convents present in Mexico City by the end of the 1600s likely did not profess as a nun, but—as an Native American or mestiza

[171] "Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Lourdes, Interior," Núm. Inv. 121167, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.

woman—served as a companion or servant.[172] If she chose to stay at the Colegio de Niñas, she would remain semi-cloistered to "live in perpetual chastity."[173] If a girl chose to marry, only the male administrators of the school (the rector, school deputies, and the majordomo) were to be involved in arranging the match. The girl must receive permission from all the specified administrators, after they had investigated the potential husband's socio-economic status, comportment, and profession/trade, and unanimously agreed to the marriage. The colegio would then contribute fifty pesos to the dowry, which would be returned to the colegio if the alumna died without children. If the alumna chose to enter domestic service, the same male officers who were charged with arranging students' marriages would scrutinize the social and financial status of the family. The Colegio de Niñas was required to protect and advise its former students who entered the workforce, and to ensure that her employers paid her what she was owed if she later chose to leave their service in order to marry.[174]

[172] Of the thirty-four convents in New Spain at the turn of the eighteenth century, eighteen of them were in Mexico City. Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 21.
[173] Steck, "La Cofradía..." p.372, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, 21.
[174] Steck, "La Cofradía..." p.374, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, 21.

Female Education in the Eighteenth Century: Convents and Colegios

El Colegio de San Miguel de Belem

Domingo Pérez de Barcia originally founded the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem as the Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belem in 1683. During the mid-1700s, the institution became refashioned as an educational insitution.[175] In 1740, Don Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta (c. 1685–1747), Archbishop of Mexico and Viceroy of New Spain, founded Belem's escoleta de música. In 1751, the future archbishop and viceroy Alonso Núñez de Haro y Peralta (1723–1800) renamed it the "Colegio de San Miguel de Belem," placing the focus on its educational role.[176] These transitions will be discussed in much more detail in Chapter 3.

La Compañía de María

La Compañía de María Nuestra Señora (La Compagnie de Marie-Notre-Dame, The Company of Mary Our Lady), a religious order formed in France by Jeanne de Lestonnac (1556–1640), brought to New Spain a new type of monastic education. Historian and Compañía de María archivist Pilar Foz y Foz compiled a survey of female education in Mexico, including an exhaustive study of primary source documents relating to La Compañía de María.[177] She writes that, unlike other

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[175] Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:206.
[176] Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 8; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 76.
[177] Pilar Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820: (María Ignacia de Azlor y Echeverz y los Colegios de la enseñanza)*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Instituto "Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (C.S.I.C.)," 1981); a chapter of which—the one dealing with the order's founding in France—is translated into English and

orders, La Compañía de María fostered the "fusion of the active and contemplative life."[178] Nuns took a fifth vow "to devote themselves for life to education."[179] According to the order's founding documents, "The union of these two lives is the particular characteristic, the proper essence of the Company of Mary."[180] The focus on apostolic work required that other aspects of the religious life be moderated, including the following:

- the choir: 'this Congregation cannot and ought not be obliged to it, for it is incompatible with the daily, ordinary teaching of youth which it professes, according to their Institute.' The religious will be content to recite privately the Little Office[181]
- enclosure: also adapted to their apostolate, but taking care that the practice of the educative function 'does not prejudice, in any way, regular enclosure.' Special arrangements regarding the structure of school

published as Pilar Foz y Foz, *Genesis and Historical Evolution of the Pedagogical System of the Company of Mary Our Lady, 1607-1820* (Madrid: Instituto "Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo" y Orden de la Compañía de María Nuestra Señora, 1981).

[178] Foz y Foz, *Genesis and Historical Evolution of the Pedagogical System of the Company of Mary Our Lady, 1607-1820*, 15.

[179] Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 38.

[180] Foundational Documents..., 35v; and Ordre De La Compagnie De Marie Notre Dame, Monastère de Poitiers, *Historia de la Orden de la Compañía de María Nuestra Señora*, trans. Maria Cerero Blanco (San Sebastián: Ediciones Lestonnac, 1964), 257, 261, as cited in Foz y Foz, *Genesis and Historical Evolution of the Pedagogical System of the Company of Mary Our Lady, 1607-1820*, 15.

[181] Foundational Documents..., 37, 142, n. 1, and Ordre De La Compagnie De Marie Notre Dame, Monastère de Poitiers, *Historia de la Orden de la Compañía de María Nuestra Señora*, 259–61, as cited in Foz y Foz, *Genesis and Historical Evolution of the Pedagogical System of the Company of Mary Our Lady, 1607-1820*, 16.

buildings will regulate the interdependence between enclosure and the apostolate[182]

- penances: adapted to each person's constitution, 'so as to avoid affecting the health and strength needed for the functions of the Institute[183]

The boarding school situation designed by Jeanne de Lestonnac was very different than the existing convent-schools. In other convents that provided education, each individual nun was responsible for a small number of girls who lived with her in her cell. In La Compañía de María, the boarding students never entered the nuns' cloister; they lived in a separate part of the convent under the supervision of laywomen. The girls were grouped into classes and taught by nuns, in another part of the campus.[184]

María Ignacia Azlor y Echevers (1715–1767) journeyed from Mexico to Spain to profess in La Compañía de María and returned to Mexico to found the first convent

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[182] Foundational Documents..., 142 ns. 2, 3, 4, 5, 150-161, and Ordre De La Compagnie De Marie Notre Dame, Monastère de Poitiers, *Historia de la Orden de la Compañía de María Nuestra Señora*, 265, as cited in Foz y Foz, *Genesis and Historical Evolution of the Pedagogical System of the Company of Mary Our Lady, 1607-1820*, 16.

[183] Foundational Documents..., 36 n. 3, 96 n. 31; and Ordre De La Compagnie De Marie Notre Dame, Monastère de Poitiers, *Historia de la Orden de la Compañía de María Nuestra Señora*, 255, as cited in Foz y Foz, *Genesis and Historical Evolution of the Pedagogical System of the Company of Mary Our Lady, 1607-1820*, 16.

[184] Foz y Foz, *Genesis and Historical Evolution of the Pedagogical System of the Company of Mary Our Lady, 1607-1820*, 38. For Diagrams of La Compañia de María convent/school layouts, see Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:129–36, or Foz y Foz, *Genesis and Historical Evolution of the Pedagogical System of the Company of Mary Our Lady, 1607-1820*, 51–58.

of the order in New Spain.[185] Colegio de la Enseñanza (The School of the Teaching) opened on January 11, 1755, in Mexico City and accepted two types of students: day students who lived with their families and *pensionistas* (paying students) who lived within the convent grounds.[186] There were separate wings for the nuns' living quarters and the girls' living/educational spaces. La Enseñanza accepted girls as young as age seven.[187] The curriculum was to include reading, writing, home economics, arithmetic, and sciences;[188] however the Vatican disallowed the study of sciences.[189] Pilar Foz y Foz notes how innovational the Colegio de La Enseñanza was:

> The novelty of this foundation lay in the fact that, for the first time, feminine education was imparted by an institution solely devoted to this task, and by personnel trained for that purpose. Previously, the instruction of girls had been a haphazard occupation, undertaken by amigas, self-trained older women, or by nuns who had some avocation for the task, and who took one or two pupils at a time under their care in those convents that allowed them to do this.[190]

Moreover, the fact that La Enseñanza was open to girls of all socio-economic statuses free of charge was groundbreaking.

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[185] Asunción Lavrin, "Book Review: La Revolución Pedagógica En Nueva España (1754-1820): María Ignacia de Azlor y Echevers y Los Colegios de La Enseñanza," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 63, no. 2 (1983): 388.
[186] Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 38.
[187] Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City,* 17.
[188] Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:286.
[189] Foz y Foz, 1:416.
[190] Lavrin, "Book Review," 388.

El Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas

The opening of the secular Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas, heralded another institutional shift. Three members of the Basque *Cofradia de Nuestra Señora de Aránzazu* (founded in 1671)[191]— Francisco de Echeveste (1683–1753), Manuel de Aldaco (1696–1770), and Ambrosio de Meave (1710–1781)— founded Vizcaínas as a school and home for Basque widows and orphans. (*Vizcaínas* refers to women of Basque origin.)

The founders fought with the authorities over several decades to establish the school as a secular institution, a struggle that proved vital to its continued existence throughout the nineteenth century. Initially, they had secured the support of Archbishop of Mexico Juan Antonio Vizarrón y Eguiarreta (served 1730–1747), and construction commenced in 1734, two years after its official founding.[192]

[191] Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:203.
[192] Foz y Foz, 1:203; Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 9.

FIGURE 10. Stone recording the year of Vizcaínas's founding.
Located inside the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas.
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the Museo Vizcaínas.

The death of Vizarrón in 1747 and the installation of Manuel Rubio y Salinas (served 1748–1765) as archbishop threw the project into turmoil. Rubio insisted that the colegio be governed, not by the cofradía, but by the church. The building was completed in 1753 but remained closed rather than acquiesce control to the archbishop. Meanwhile, María Ignacia de Azlor attempted unsuccessfully to obtain the unoccupied building for the founding of the Colegio de La Enseñanza.[193]

[193] Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:203–4.

Although Fernando VI approved the *Constituciones del Colegio* on September 1, 1753, he did not intercede in the conflict with the archbishop, leaving the situation unresolved.[194] Only well after Carlos III's 1759 ascension to the throne did Vizcaínas receive all the necessary approvals to open as a secular institution.[195] The colegio finally opened its doors to students on September 9, 1767.[196]

FIGURE 11. The Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas.
Photo by the author.

[194] Obregón, *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de México (Las Vizcaínas)*, 46–61, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:203–4.
[195] Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 9.
[196] Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:203.

FIGURE 12. Inside the entrance to the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas. Photo by the author. Used by permission of the Museo Vizcaínas.

At its opening, Vizcaínas served 147 girls, the youngest of whom were seven years old.[197] The building was designed to support family-style living with a maximum adult woman to student ratio of nine to one. Each group had a communal bedroom, living room, kitchen, and roof area for washing. The colegio housed and educated girls whose financial support was the responsibility of the cofradía and pensionistas whose room, board, and tuition cost their families ten pesos per month. The curriculum focused on the girls' futures in running a household, but included

[197] Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 37; Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857*, 17.

literacy, Catholic doctrine, needlework, music, and limited amounts of Latin, math, science, and history.[198]

FIGURE 13. Model of Vizcaínas, held in the Museo Vizcaínas.
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the Museo Vizcaínas.

The Closing of Convent Schools

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, male ecclesiastical authorities and nuns of Mexico waged many battles over secular influences (such as extravagant furnishings and entertainments) in convents. In her study of convent reform in the eighteenth century, Margaret Chowning discusses the origins of the conflict:

> Even before the Council of Trent (1545–63), critics both inside and outside the church had condemned convents as places where the nuns' solemn vows of poverty, obedience, and even chastity were regularly violated. At Trent, the

[198] Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 9; Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857*, 17.

> harsh light of Protestant critiques of celibacy—and thus of the very idea of the convent—ratcheted up the pressure to reform.[199]

Though the conflict simmered for the two centuries following the Council of Trent, little reform actually took place. Convents in New Spain in the mid-1700s were small-scale, all-female versions of the cities in which they were located. Nun's cells could be more like apartments, each supporting an entire household of students, companions, and servants.[200] Chowning describes the architectural and social scene inside some convents:

> These households were connected to each other, as in a "miniature city," by a system of interior streets that led from the cloisters and the nuns' houses to plazas, gardens, chapels, hermitages, and cemeteries.[201] ...Some nuns' "cells" were extremely opulent, even designed by famous architects: for example, the elegant "palace-cell" created by Manuel Tolsá for the Marquesa de Selva Nevada in the convent of Regina Coeli in Mexico City.[202] Many consisted of two or even three rooms, with a sunroof and a patio. It was not unusual for nuns to be allowed to keep birds and animals in the cloister, use jewels or other adornments to their habits (which might be sewn of fine fabrics), and

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[199] Margaret Chowning, "Convent Reform, Catholic Reform, and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century New Spain: The View from the Nunnery," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 85, no. 1 (February 2005): 4–5, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=15675344&site=ehost-live.

[200] Sister Ann Miriam Gallagher, "The Family Background of the Nuns of Two Monasterios in Colonial Mexico: Santa Clara, Querétaro, and Corpus Christi, Mexico City (1724-1822)" (1986), 83, and Francisco de la Maza, *Arquitectura de los coros de monjas en Puebla* (Puebla: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, 1990), 12, as cited in Chowning, "Convent Reform, Catholic Reform, and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century New Spain," 5–6.

[201] Gallagher, "The Family Background of the Nuns of Two Monasterios in Colonial Mexico," 83 and; Maza, *Arquitectura de los coros de monjas en Puebla*, 12, as cited in Chowning, "Convent Reform, Catholic Reform, and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century New Spain," 5–6.

[202] Maza, *Arquitectura de los coros de monjas en Puebla*, 12, as cited in Chowning, "Convent Reform, Catholic Reform, and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century New Spain," 6.

> play, sing, and dance to profane songs. Friends and family were received in the parlors of the convents and served refreshments from the nuns' excellent private kitchens.[203]

The convent reforms in Mexico began in the late 1760s in the city of Puebla through the imposition of the *vida común* (communal life).[204] (These changes took place during the same period as Carlos III's other reforms, such as the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767.) Chowning summarizes the form of vida común intended by the Bishop of Tlaxcala (with jurisdiction over the city of Puebla) Francisco Fabián y Fuero (served 1765–1773):

> Nuns would cook and eat meals communally and sleep in dormitories. Clothing would be laundered and distributed centrally, and all personal items were to be removed from those cells that remained. All donations or gifts given to individual nuns were to be incorporated into the convent's treasury. Visits were to be restricted, and while visitors might be offered modest refreshments, the music and theatrical performances were definitely banned. Furthermore, only those servants necessary for the functioning of the convent would remain.[205]

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[203] Manuel Ramos Medina, *Místicas y descalzas: Fundaciones femeninas carmelitas en la Nueva España* (México: Centro de Estudios de Historia de México Condumex, 1997), 116, and Luisa Zahino Peñafort, *Iglesia y sociedad en México, 1765-1800: Tradición, reforma y reacciones* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996), 155, as cited in Chowning, "Convent Reform, Catholic Reform, and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century New Spain"; Margaret Chowning, "Convents and Nuns: New Approaches to the Study of Female Religious Institutions in Colonial Mexico," *History Compass* 6, no. 5 (2008): 6.

[204] Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 277–81.

[205] Francisco Fabian y Fuero, *Colección de providencias dadas a fin de establecer la santa vida común, a que se dio principio en el día tres de Diciembre Domingo primero de adviento del año próximo pasado de mil setecientos sesenta y nueve, en los cinco numerosos conventos ... religiosas calzadas de esta ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles* (Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico, 1769), 2–3, http://bvpb.mcu.es/i18n/catalogo_imagenes/imagen_id.cmd?idImagen=101055547, and Asunción Lavrin, "Ecclesiastical Reform of Nunnaries in New Spain in the Eighteenth Century," *The Americas* 22, no. 2 (1965): 186, as cited in Chowning,

At the request of Archbishop of Mexico Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana y Butrón (served 1766–1771), the Fourth Provincial Council convened in Mexico City in 1771 to further curb the "extravagances" in the convents throughout all of New Spain. Given the resistance of the nuns of Puebla in accepting vida común, the king's representative proposed allowing existing nuns to continue in the life to which they had professed and imposing vida común only on new nuns entering the profession, thereby gradually transforming convents. Lavrin summarizes the five rules instated by the Fourth Provincial Council:

1. prohibition of the construction of cells for the private use of the nuns by any of their relatives or patrons;
2. removal of seculars and girls from convents;
3. substitution of servants by lay sisters;
4. prohibition of the reelection of abbesses; and
5. abandonment of singing in the rituals.[206]

The nuns of New Spain resisted the imposition through a variety of means ranging from passive resistance to registering cases in legal courts to outright revolt.[207] They argued that their current lifestyle followed the

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"Convent Reform, Catholic Reform, and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century New Spain," 8; quote from Chowning, 8.

[206] Chowning, "Convent Reform, Catholic Reform, and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century New Spain," 8.

[207] For more information about Mexican nuns' resistance to imposition of vida común, see Chowning, "Convent Reform, Catholic Reform, and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century New Spain," 9–14; Lavrin, "Ecclesiastical Reform of Nunnaries in New Spain in the Eighteenth Century"; Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 275–358.

approved rules and constitutions of their institutions; vida común (practiced by discalced and Capuchin nuns) was not the life to which they had professed and should not be imposed on their orders ex post facto.[208] Chowning describes the nuns' perspective and agency in resisting vida común:

> First, the literature usually presents the reforms as an attempt by male, peninsular-born ecclesiastical reformers (in cahoots with the reform-minded royal government) to impose unwelcome changes from above. There are three roles in this story for the nuns themselves: rebellion, delay (via use of the petition), or acquiescence. These are not insignificant roles, and a combination of the first two did result in successful modification of the decree. But all three roles are reactions to the actions of male authorities.[209]

The nuns' persuasion delayed Carlos III's enforcement of the ecclesiastical canons until the Royal Decree of May 22, 1774,[210] which required vida común to be observed by new novices and commanded that all laywomen (including servants, companions, and—most importantly to our topic—students) to be evicted from convents.[211] Royal and ecclesiastical authorities allowed only convents for which teaching was one of the principle purposes of their foundation—such as the Colegio de La Enseñanza and the Convento de Jesús María—to retain their pupils.[212]

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[208] Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 287.
[209] Chowning, "Convent Reform, Catholic Reform, and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century New Spain," 11.
[210] "Reales Cédulas," n.d., vol. 104, exp. 119, ff. 214-218v, Archivo General de la Nación, México, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:264.
[211] Chowning, "Convent Reform, Catholic Reform, and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century New Spain," 10.
[212] Nuria Salazar Simarro and Sarah E. Owens, "Cloistered Women in Health Care: The Convent of Jesús María, Mexico City," in *Women of the Iberian Atlantic*, ed. Sarah E. Owens and Jane E. Mangan (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press,

The conflict over the imposition of vida común concluded in the mid-1780s with both lifestyles co-existing.[213] A second wave of Catholic reformism in the 1790s instituted *vida particular* in convents in Michoacán—a complete reversal of the vida común.[214] Chowning describes the commonly-held misconception regarding the end of vida común:

> Most scholars seem to accept that this compromise more or less ended the controversy and assume that the vida común reforms remained in effect to the end of the colonial period, even if enforcement eventually relaxed. The decree was officially overturned in the diocese of Michoacán, however, and accompanying documentation refers to at least one convent in Mexico City, La Encarnación, that by 1781 had also gone to a system of weekly allowances for the religiosas.[215] Thus, although the historiography has not recognized the fact, the vida común reforms seem to have come to either a de facto or de jure end in much of the viceroyalty by the early 1790s, and in some places as early as 1780.[216]

In 1796, Carlos IV reversed the disallowance of students in convents, but by that time, much of the damage had already been done.[217] Foz y Foz argues, however, that as controversial as the Royal Decree of 1774 was, it was a catalyst for positive

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2012), 114, ProQuest Ebook Central, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/lib/ucsc/detail.action?docID=1047627.

[213] Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 276.

[214] Chowning, "Convent Reform, Catholic Reform, and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century New Spain," 36.

[215] "Nuevo arreglo para el gobierno de sus rentas y fondos," report of Vicente Antonio de los Ríos and Miguel José de Moche, 1781, AHAM, Diocesano, Gobierno, Religiosos, Catarinas, caja 242, exp. 335, as cited in Chowning, 10–11.

[216] Chowning, 10–11.

[217] Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 40–41; Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico*, 132–35; Lavrin, "Ecclesiastical Reform of Nunnaries in New Spain in the Eighteenth Century," 182–203; Chowning, "Convent Reform, Catholic Reform, and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century New Spain."

change in feminine education in that it forced new institutions to open and old ones to modernize.[218]

Convent reform affected the girls and women of Belem in several ways. Most broadly, the closure of many convent schools created an educational vacuum that other institutions—such as the colegios of Belem and Vizcaínas—would fill. (It also increased the importance of the remaining convent schools, such as La Enseñanza, whose nuns devoted themselves primarily to teaching.) More specifically, laywomen from Belem who served as teachers to girls living in convents would have been removed from those convents along with the students under the imposition of vida común. Moreover, the reforms inside the convents dictated the lifestyle of girls from Belem who went on to profess as nuns.

Female Education from the end of the Colonial Period to the Reform Era

From 1775 to 1800, educational efforts in New Spain—on the part of the church, secular institutions, and municipalities—focused on the establishment of public day schools.[219] Starting in the mid-1780s, city governments began opening free schools to occupy the large number of children from itinerant families migrating to the city to escape famine in the country.[220] Individual schools still only served male or female students.

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[218] Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:262.
[219] Foz y Foz, 1:270.
[220] Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City,* 18.

The first "municipal amiga school" opened in 1786.[221] The numbers of students listed in various sources conflict with each other, but from them we get the sense that the number of girls educated in Mexico City schools around the end of the eighteenth century was on the rise. Vega cites that by 1797, Mexico City had eighty amiga schools evenly distributed throughout the city, serving more than 5,000 students.[222] Arrom writes that roughly 3,000 girls were registered at seventy church, city, and private schools by 1802.[223]

In the 1780s, a number of private female boarding schools in Mexico City opened free day schools. Both Vizcaínas and La Enseñanza opened *escuelas pías* ("pious schools," or free day schools).[224]

Vizcaínas opened its public day school on June 21, 1793 on the ground floor of its building.[225] It accepted girls younger than thirteen years old of any race.[226] In 1794 records show that the day school enrolled 147 girls, resulting in a financial

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[221] "Instrucción Pública En General," n.d., Vol. 2475, Exp. 28, Archivo del Ayuntamiento de México, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 41.
[222] Josefina Zoraida Vázquez et al., *Ensayos sobre historia de la educación en México* (México: El Colegio de México, 1985), 176, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 41.
[223] Dorothy Tanck Estrada, *La educación ilustrada, 1786-1836: educación primaria en la Ciudad de México* (México: Colegio de México, 1977), 197, as cited in Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857*, 18.
[224] Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857*, 18.
[225] Luque Alcaide, *La Educación en Nueva España en el siglo XVIII.*, 182, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:268.
[226] Enrique Olavarría y Ferrari, *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, vulgarmente Colegio de las Vizcainas, en la actualidad Colegio de la Paz, reseña histórica escrita por Enrique de Olavarría y Ferrari ...* (México: F. Diaz de Leon, 1889), 103, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:268.

deficit that the board consented to pay.[227] The escuela pía grew, serving up to 500 students, who Arrom identifies as predominantly daughters of artisans and craftspeople.[228] The same teachers taught both the boarding and day students, and vocational training augmented the usual curriculum of literacy, Christian doctrine, needlework, and domestic skills.[229]

FIGURE 14. Patio of the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas. Photo by the author. Used by permission of the Museo Vizcaínas.

[227] Obregón, *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de México (Las Vizcaínas)*, 97, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:268.
[228] Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City,* 18.
[229] Olavarría y Ferrari, *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, vulgarmente Colegio de las Vizcainas, en la actualidad Colegio de la Paz, reseña histórica escrita por Enrique de Olavarría y Ferrari ...*, 103, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:268; Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857*, 27; Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 10.

Another day school, the Real Colegio de Indias de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (a recogimiento-colegio) served Native American boarding students, but also supported a day school that was open to all races.[230] In 1811, La Compañía de María converted the school to its order. From that time, the original Colegio de La Enseñanza (founded in 1755) was known as La Enseñanza Antigua, and the newly acquired as La Enseñanza Nueva.

Foz y Foz observes that both La Enseñanza Antigua and Nueva were established in a racially exclusive manner, each serving a different group, but that both day schools accepted girls "of every condition and race."[231] Arrom notes that La Enseñanza Nueva had a curriculum limited to elementary literacy and domestic skills and argues that the difference in the two schools' curricula signifies that the institutions were not intended to facilitate social mobility.[232]

Conclusion

The push for women's education began in the early sixteenth century more for the purposes of evangelization than for the empowerment of women. As this chapter

[230] The Royal Decree of 1759 that approved the foundation of the colegio stipulated the opening of the day school as well. "Real Cédula Aprobando La Fundación y Constituciones de Una Casa-Recogimiento Para Indias Doncellas. Villaviciosa," May 13, 1739, Audiencia de México, registro de oficios, vol. 1115, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:263–64.
[231] Cfr. cap. 11, pp. 417-438: Colegio de Indias de Guadalupe, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:264.
[232] Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City,* 17.

has detailed, we see a major shift in thinking about women's education from the beginning of the early modern period to the nineteenth century. Moving away from the perception of women as mentally and morally feeble beings, proponents of women's education argued that enlightened women made better mothers, contributors to society, and—in the nineteenth century—to the workforce. Women were still held at a huge social and economic disadvantage, but for the first time, an institutional education was free to any girl living in a major urban center. The type and extent of girls' educations largely depended on their race and socio-economic class. Asunción Lavrin summarizes the impetus for, trends in, and failings of women's education:

> In the second half of the 18th century and the Bourbon dynasty, inspired in part by the philosophical influence of the Enlightenment, advisors to the Crown began to popularize the concept that women could and should be part of the economic development of Spain and its colonies. By the 1760s, the state had begun to advocate the adoption of primary education for women and their training in any skill that would permit them, especially those of the lower strata, to serve in state-promoted industries such as tobacco factories, or to earn an independent income if widowed or single. Several important schools were founded in the city of Mexico: Las Vizcaínas, for girls of Basque descent, and La Enseñanza, of the Order of Mary. The latter took boarders from the best families but, moved by social concerns, opened a public schools [sic] for girls of all ethnic and economic backgrounds. Other schools founded in provincial cities adopted similar patterns of service to the public as well as to the rich. In the last years of the 18th century there were more urban schools for girls than ever before, and attendance was high. And yet, they were insufficient to meet the needs of most of the female population and remained institutions of little use to the large number of rural women of New Spain. Illiteracy among women remained high for the next century.[233]

The story of Belem illustrates many changes in female education throughout the colonial and early independent eras. Domingo Pérez de Barcia established the

[233] Lavrin, "Women in Colonial Mexico," 266.

Recogimiento de Belem in 1683, and it served the purposes Van Deusen describes: both to shelter women voluntarily withdrawing from the secular world and to imprison women whose families or tribunals had deemed their behavior unacceptable in the home or society.

Although educational institutions for girls grew in number in Mexico City during the second half of the eighteenth century, the popular concern for female education in urban centers was—to an extent—quashed by the Wars of Independence during the first half of the nineteenth century.[234] After Mexican Independence in 1822, the new nation's economy was devastated, reducing the financial support for schools.[235]

During the Liberal Reform Era (1855–1876), Mexico's government sought to limit the power of the church by closing institutions under ecclesiastical authority, including convents and colegios like Belem.[236] Secular schools, including miga schools survived; municipal miga schools underwent profound changes, ultimately forming the basis of what is Mexico's current public education system.[237] The Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas, was safe from closure under the Reform Laws due to its founders' dogged insistence that it be established as a secular institution (although still very Catholic in practice), governed by a board of directors

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[234] Lavrin, "Book Review," 388.
[235] Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 10.
[236] Muriel, "El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, 1734–1863," 61.
[237] Rafael Carrasco Puente, *Datos históricos e iconografía de la educación en México.* (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1960), 225 as cited in ; Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 52.

rather than the church.[238] Vizcaínas was, at its inception, organized based on Belem as an educational model. Vizcaínas accepted Belem's students at the older colegio's closing in 1862 and continues to house Belem's music and archival documents. The numerous links between Vizcaínas and Belem will be revisited in more detail in the next chapter.

[238] Manuel de Aldaco, one of the founders of Vizcaínas, during the decade of dealing with bureaucracy that it took to open the school outside of the governance of the church, threatened to burn the school to the ground if it was forced to be governed by the church. Muriel, "El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, 1734–1863," 39.

CHAPTER 3:

THE RECOGIMIENTO AND COLEGIO DE BELEM

The institution that would later become the girls' school Colegio de San Miguel de Belem was founded by the priest Don Domingo Pérez de Barcia (1649–1713) in 1683 as a recogimiento. Córdova writes that *recogidas* (women living at a recogimiento) "sought shelter and religious guidance and strived to recover from marital strife, divorce, prostitution, crime, or poverty."[239] Recogimientos not only functioned as places of refuge for women choosing to withdraw from the secular world, but also served "as houses of penitence receiving women sent by different tribunals."[240] Recogidas were cloistered, leaving the recogimiento either to marry or enter a convent.[241] (Please see Chapter 2 for generalized discussion of recogimientos.)

As there are relatively few Spanish-language sources and no scholarly English-language souces regarding Belem, the current study relies heavily on the work of Josefina Muriel, supplemented with research by Pilar Foz y Foz.[242] Both

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[239] Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico*, 19.
[240] Quote from Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 7; Van Deusen, *Between the Sacred and the Worldly*, 9.
[241] Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 7.
[242] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*; Josefina Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2004); Josefina Muriel, "San Miguel de Belem. Recogimiento de Mujeres Pobres de Cualquier Calidad (1683)," in *Los Recogimientos de Mujeres: Respuesta a Una Problemática Social Novohispana* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1974), 81–109; Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981.

researchers compiled significant primary source documentation along with earlier secondary sources by Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, José María Marroqui, Luis González Obregón, Manuel Rivera Cambas, and Gonzalo Obregón, among others.[243] As is common in early scholarship dealing with Mexico, some of the authors write from a distinctly Euro-centric and patriarchal vantage point. For example, Asunción Lavrin's critique of Muriel's 1974 study of Mexican recogimientos takes Muriel to task for eschewing enough analysis:

> Recogimientos are regarded as being of positive social value because their aim was to protect the home and because they put women in a category apart from men, in their crimes as well as in their capacity for correction and conversion. This is indeed a curious interpretation of double standards of morality and punishment. In her conclusion Muriel states: "What greater understanding of women than helping them to find a husband and endowing them for a good marriage!" (p. 220). Does empathetic understanding of a period require the surrender of critical analysis?[244]

The output of Muriel's long and distinguished scholarly career—beginning with *Conventos de monjas en la Nueva España* (1946) and ending with *La música en las*

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[243] Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia, presbítero secular, fundador de la casa, y voluntario recogimiento de mugeres, nombrado San Miguèl de Bethlèn, en la ciudad de Mexico* (Nicolás Rodríguez Francos, Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico, 1720), http://bvpb.mcu.es/i18n/catalogo_imagenes/imagen_id.cmd?idImagen=54924; José María Marroqui and Luis González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene: el origen de los nombres de muchas de sus calles y plazas, del de varios establecimientos públicos y privados, y no pocas noticias curiosas y entretenidas.*, 3 vols. (México: Tip. y Lit. "La Europea," de J. Aguilar Vera y Ca., 1900); Manuel Rivera Cambas, *Mexico pintoresco, artístico y monumental ... Las descripciones contienen datos científicos, históricos y estadísticos.*, vol. II, 3 vols. (México: Impr. de la Reforma, 1880); Obregón, *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de México (Las Vizcaínas)*.

[244] Asunción Lavrin, "Review of Los Recogimientos de Mujeres: Respuesta a Una Problemática Social Novohispana by Josefina Muriel," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 2 (1977): 338–39; Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*.

instituciones femeninas novohispanas (2009)—evinces multiple shifts in feminist and colonial scholarship. All of her publications demonstrate meticulous archival research, but her later works (those following Lavrin's critique) display more attention to non-European segments of New Spain's society and some criticism of the misogyny that shaped women's lives and institutions. In relying heavily on secondary sources ranging from 1720, to around the turn of the nineteenth century, to the 1980s (as the scarcity of sources necessitates), it is imperative that we read critically, remaining conscious of earlier authors' positivism, tone, and value judgments.

The Founding of the Recogimiento de Belem

Much of what we know about Belem's founder, Domingo Pérez de Barcia (1649–1713), comes from his hagiographic biography written by Padre Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, published in Madrid in 1720.[245] Hailing from Asturias in north-west Spain, Pérez de Barcia left home in 1660 "buscarse la vida" ("to search for a life," probably meaning to secure an apprenticeship) at age eleven. Settling in Cádiz for a short time, he completed an elementary education with the aid of an extended relative.[246] After serving a short time in the military, he sailed to America at age seventeen. Arriving in Puebla, Pérez de Barcia was under the protection of his uncle, Alonso Nuño, who enrolled him in the Colegio de San Juan.[247] He completed the

[245] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*.
[246] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 81.
[247] Muriel, 81.

courses required for a Bachelor of Arts and recieved minor orders. (Minor orders [acolytes, lectors, porters, and exorcists] are ranked lower than holy orders [ordained ministers such as priests, deacons, and subdeacons]).

Pérez de Barcia then travelled to Mexico City to sit examinations to obtain his Bachelor of Arts at the *Real y Pontificia Universidad* (Royal and Pontifical University).[248] While in the capital, he stayed with his uncle's friend, Don Luis Gómez de Escobar, attorney (*procurador*) of the Real Audiencia.[249] On April 16, 1674, he successfully completed his examinations, being deemed "Skilled and Sufficient for the Bachelor's Degree in the Faculty of Arts, by Sufficiency" ("Hábil y Suficiente para el Grado de Bachiller en la Facultad de Artes, por Suficiencia"),[250] and immediately enrolled to pursue a degree in the law. He earned a Bachelor in the Faculty of Law focusing on regulations regarding inheritance and went on to begin a doctorate in law.[251] In order to continue pursuing his career in elite society, he requested that his parents send him proof of his lineage ("la calificación de su filiación y nobleza" ["the qualification of his sonship and nobility"]).[252]

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[248] De la Plaza y Jaen. Crónica de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de México, as cited in Muriel, 81.
[249] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. 1, 1-13, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 81.
[250] Archivo General de la Nación de México (AGNM), Ramo Universidad, t. 112, núm. 212, fols. 491.493, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 81–82.
[251] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. VI, 14, and Archivo General de la Nación de México (AGNM), Ramo Universidad, t. 139, fol. 258 V13, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 82–83.
[252] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 83.

A near-fatal accident changed the course of Pérez de Barcia's life. One day while he was handling a gun ("cuando al jugar con una escopeta"), the firearm discharged, striking his friend. Although his friend recovered, Pérez de Barcia's newfound awareness of the fleeting nature of life prompted him to seek holy orders as a priest. He abandoned his doctoral work—a decision remonstrated by his uncle who thought it foolish—and moved into the house of his friend, Captain Juan Pérez Gallardo. The Archbishop of Mexico, Payo Enríquez de Rivera (served 1668–1681) authorized him to be ordained as a priest, and he received orders from the Bishop of Puebla in 1679 and from the Bishop of Michoacán in 1680. On June 15, 1680, he was ordained as a priest by Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz, Bishop of Tlaxcala (served 1677–1699) in the church of Santa Clara de la Angelópolis in Puebla. He became an almoner (an official destributor of alms) of the archbishop and other wealthy citizens of Mexico, a job that placed him in a position to witness poverty in various parts of the city.[253] From this experience, he became increasingly aware of the vulnerable position of women and formed a primary school in the neighborhood of Belem, called the Escuela de la Caridad ("School of Charity").[254]

Founding of the Recogimiento

Because of Pérez de Barcia's contact with disenfranchized segments of Mexico City's society, Archbishop Francisco Aguiar y Seijas (served 1682–1698)

[253] Muriel, 84–85.
[254] Muriel, 91.

suggested to Pérez de Barcia that he should found a recogimiento, a proposal he originally refused. He eventually offered shelter to several women in an unfinished construction on the property that the deceased Captain Pérez Gallardo had bequeathed to his wife, Doña Leonor Robles de Gallardo, in 1681[255] and that Pérez de Barcia purchased from her on March 10, 1683.[256] The property was in the neighborhood of La Cruz Vidriada, had earthen floors and unpainted adobe walls, and housed two women beginning on April 25, 1683.[257] Pérez de Barcia completed the building, subdividing the rooms to increase the capacity.[258]

In the earliest days of the recogimiento, the women living there observed a lifestyle similar to what they might have in a secular home.[259] The number of women housed there increased as word spread that Pérez de Barcia provided free rooms and distributed alms.[260] Initially, the only requirement was that the women attend daily

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[255] Marroqui writes that Pérez de Barcia's patrons Don Juan Chavarna y Valero (d. 1682) and Captain Pérez Gallardo (d. 1681) collaborated with him in the founding of the recogimiento, but both were deceased by 1683, when women first sought shelter there. José María Marroqui and Luis González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene: el origen de los nombres de muchas de sus calles y plazas, del de varios establecimientos públicos y privados, y no pocas noticias curiosas y entretenidas.*, vol. I (México: Tip. y Lit. "La Europea," de J. Aguilar Vera y Ca., 1900), 501–10, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 91–92, 104.

[256] Cosío, José Lorenzo. El gran despejo nacional, p. 70, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 92; AHCV, l3-IV-1, Escrituras de Compra, f. 663-ss, as cited in Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 117.

[257] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 92.

[258] Muriel, 104.

[259] Muriel, 92.

[260] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. 11, 34, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 92.

mass at the churches of San Juan de la Penitencia, San Felipe Neri, or Nuestra Señora de Belem, accompanied by Pérez de Barcia.[261]

As the number of women grew, Pérez de Barcia sought to formally establish the recogimiento as an insitution with a system of governance and education. He dedicated a space as an inner chapel and initiated strict enclosure, having closed and covered the windows to the street. He required the women to either accept *clausura* (enclosure) or to leave and never return. Pérez de Barcia named the institution the Recogimiento de San Miguel y San Francisco Xavier, then later added Belem, owing to its proximity of the Convento de Belem of the Mercederian Order (the Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy).[262]

The maintenance and expansion of Belem prompted construction periodically throughout its insitutional life, not all of which will be discussed here. There were two major periods of construction and renovation, the first of which took place from 1683 to 1690 and the second, discussed below, during the eighteenth century.[263] In order to build a larger structure and create space for gardens, Pérez de Barcia bought the adjacent plots.[264] The construction project commenced on September 30, 1683,[265]

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[261] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 92.
[262] Muriel, 92–93.
[263] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 117.
[264] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. V, 40-44, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 105.
[265] Marroqui cites the date as 1685, but Muriel argues that this date is impossible considering when the construction was concluded. Marroqui and González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene*, 1900, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 105.

and was initally finanaced through alms collected daily by Pérez de Barcia and his assistant, Padre Lázaro Fernandez.[266] Later, it was supported through larger donations from Captain Don Antonio Juvera (who paid for most of the project), Captain Francisco de Ita, and Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas, along with other smaller one-time donations.[267] This stage of building allowed the women to transition from the adobe houses to one- and two-story brick buildings with stone floors.[268] By 1684, the recogimiento housed fifty women.[269]

Aguiar y Seijas (Archbishop of Mexico), Tomás Antonio Manuel Lorenzo de la Cerda y Aragón (Viceroy of New Spain and Marquis de La Laguna de Camero Viejo), and José María de la Cerda y Manrique de Lara (Count of Paredes) approved the official establishment of the Recogimiento de Belem on September 23, 1686.[270] The viceroy and archbishop commended it to King Carlos II (reigned 1665–1700) for approval that same year.[271] (A royal order—which was not signed at that time—

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[266] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 105.
[267] Marroqui and González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene*, 1900, I:522–25, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 105.
[268] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 117–18.
[269] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 92.
[270] José María Marroqui and Luis González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene: el origen de los nombres de muchas de sus calles y plazas, del de varios establecimientos públicos y privados, y no pocas noticias curiosas y entretenidas*, vol. II (México: Tip. y Lit. "La Europea," de J. Aguilar Vera y Ca., 1900), 534–46, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 93.
[271] "Sobre El Permiso de Fundación de Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belén. Pareceres Del Virrey, Arzobispo y Fiscal," 1686, Audiencia de México, vol. 699, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:201.

would have ensured that Belem never turned into a beatero, convent, or colegio.)[272] The oratory was dedicated ("inauguraba ") on November 18, 1686,[273] and Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas placed the Blessed Sacrament in it on November 24, 1686.[274]

The second building was oriented from east to west, with a chapel ("coro") that would hold three hundred women.[275] Padre Lázaro Fernández (Pérez de Barcia's principal assistant) added a small section to the building to house the chaplain, allowing Pérez de Barcia to move out of the original adobe house. Muriel believes that the original building was subsequently demolished, because it is never mentioned again. We do not know the architectural layout of the recogimiento, but we do know that it was a two-story building with several courtyards. The rooms were large, designed to house "families": a mother or adult woman ("nana" or "señora mayor") and the girls in her care. Muriel notes that there must have also been small rooms for women who lived alone. There were also work rooms, a large refectory, and communal kitchen.[276]

Starting around 1686 or 1687, Pérez de Barcia's health declined. His epileptic seizures increased in frequency and severity, beginning a period of twelve years in

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[272] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 93.
[273] Muriel, 105–6.
[274] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. V, 43, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 106.
[275] Rivera Cambas, *Mexico pintoresco, artístico y monumental ... Las descripciones contienen datos científicos, históricos y estadísticos*, II:258, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 106.
[276] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 97, 106.

which he withdrew from society. In his absence Padre Lázaro Fernández administered the recogimiento.[277]

In 1690, the *Consejo de Indias* (Council of the Indies) gave their consent and recommendation to Carlos II that he give license and royal protection to the Recogimiento de Belem.[278] In the same year (four years after beginning their construction), two chapels—one dedicated to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Our Lady of Remedies) and the other to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Our Lady of Guadalupe)—were inaugurated and blessed by the Jesuit priest Joseph Vidal.[279] By 1698, Pérez de Barcia's health had improved enough to once again be involved in the recogimiento: giving talks, saying mass, and hearing confessions.[280]

Pérez de Barcia sent a report to the Consejo de Indias in which he stated that he provided the recogidas with a house, that alms from the archbishop paid for their food, and that payment for the work done by the recogidas would pay for their clothing.[281] This plan did not take into account medical care, medication, education, or any other expenses.[282] Pérez de Barcia secured patrons who regularly donated meat, produce, and clothing. Soon, Belem became a place where people could come

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[277] Muriel, 88, 93.
[278] Archivo General de Indias Sevilla (AGIS), Audiencia de México 699. "Informe del Consejo ... al rey ... 1690," as cited in Muriel, 93.
[279] Muriel, 106.
[280] Muriel, 93.
[281] Archivo General de Indias Sevilla (AGIS), Audiencia de México, t. 699. Informe del Consejo de Indias al Rey. 1960, as cited in Muriel, 102.
[282] Muriel, 102.

to claim the excess food.[283] Among the largest donors were Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas (who increased his 100-peso monthly contribution to whatever amount was specified in the weekly account),[284] Captain Antonio Juvera, and Antonio de Ita.[285]

After Pérez de Barcia—who had opposed the recogimiento owning properties that would serve as endowments—was no longer in charge of the recogimiento, the chaplain accepted the legacy of an hacienda donated by Juan Bautista de Anzaldo, worth 60,000 pesos.[286]

Assessing Domingo Pérez de Barcia's Legacy

Domingo Pérez de Barcia died on November 3, 1713, surrounded by the recogidas who attended him. He was buried under the main altar of the church of San Felipe Neri.[287] In his hagiography of Pérez de Barcia, Gutierrez Dávila describes a man who, from our modern perspective, became extreme in his religious convictions to the extent that he imposed them on others who were in socially vulnerable positions. As an español in New Spain, he had access to elite society, where he was well-liked and very well-esteemed for his intellectual abilities. Gutiérrez Dávila writes of a young Pérez de Barcia's confession to a Puebla classmate (placing him in

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[283] Vetancourt, fray Agustín de, Teatro mexicano, Tratado de la Ciudad de México, p. 44, as cited in Muriel, 103.
[284] Muriel, 103.
[285] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. V, 43, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 103.
[286] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 103.
[287] Muriel, 90.

his late teens or early twenties) that he viewed women as existing to serve him, in various capacities (some more ethical than others).[288] After his friend's near fatal wounding, he forsook his rapidly advancing career in law and everything he perceived as vain or worldly in favor of an ascetic life. This deep religiousity and self-denial would become not only one of the markers of his own life, but also the standard that he would institute among the women living at the Recogimiento of Belem. Further strengthening his severe religious views were his increasing "torments of the devil"—what we recognize today as epilepsy. Gutiérrez Dávila describes attacks involving convulsions, foam and blood coming out of his mouth, prolongued periods of inhibited speech from biting his tongue during seizures. He paints a picture of a man who is mentally ill, attacking others, and being restrained through physical violence.[289] One can only imagine how the perception of being under demonic assault might further radicalize a person's already intense religious views.

Gutiérrez Dávila describes a great man who overcame evils to follow God's calling and serve those who were less fortunate. His esteem is evident in the book's title, which is typical of the hagiographies of prominent religious figures: *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia, presbítero secular, fundador de la casa, y voluntario recogimiento de mugeres,*

[288] "Cuando vine a México pensaba ser yo el que fuera de las mujeres mirado y asistido, Juzgando tener una que me peinara, otra que me regalara, otra que me cuidara y otra en quien yo tuviera mi gusto." Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. IV, 29, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 83.
[289] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 85–86.

nombrado San Miguèl de Bethlèn, en la ciudad de Mexico ("Life and virtues of the servant of God, the venerable Father D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia, secular priest, founder of the house, and voluntary recogimiento of women, named San Miguel de Belem, in Mexico City"). Moreover, Muriel speaks glowingly of his charitable work to give women a better life during an era in which women were viewed as inherently susceptible to evil. Van Deusen writes, "Above all, early modern women were more likely than men to be targeted as socially deviant, because the dominant discourses of the time considered females as aberrant or defective by nature."[290] Its seems that, to some extent, Pérez de Barcia projected and imposed his personal "battle with evil" on the women he intended to help.

Pérez de Barcia's attitude toward women is illustrated by his encounter toward Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz in the Convento de San Jeronimo. He had gone to the convent to administer last rights to a dying nun. When Sor Juana, one of the greatest thinkers and writers of the day, indicated that she wished to speak with him, Pérez de Barcia—leery of her as "one who listens to the sirens' song inciting him to an act, not bad, but only less perfect"—ignored her.[291]

Muriel describes Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas (who encouraged Pérez de Barcia to found a recogimiento) as being unaware of his contradictory misogyny. Although he was interested in the well-being of women, he barred them from entering

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[290] Van Deusen, *Between the Sacred and the Worldly*, 6.
[291] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. XI, 170; "como quien escucha el canto de las sirenas incitándolo a un acto no malo, sino sólo menos perfecto." Information from Gutiérrez Dávila, cap. X, 67; quote from Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 89.

his palace, under penalty of excommunication. He felt that women should be either subject to husbands or locked away in an institution (convents, recogimientos, etc.) where they would not present "danger to society."[292] Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas was the prelate responsible for the silencing of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and the confiscation of her library and musical instruments.[293]

Pérez de Barcia had established the Recogimiento de Belem under the provisional approval of the viceroy and the archbishop, but Belem had not yet been granted a royal permit of foundation.[294] This situation threw the future of the recogimiento into question. A Padre Sosa inherited the patronage from Pérez de Barcia, but died shortly after him. Sosa's heir, Padre Santiago de la Sierra, claimed patronage in 1719. The *Real Sala de Crimen* (part of the Real Audiencia) intervened on the grounds that Pérez de Barcia had agreed that recogidas living there punitively would transfer to the Sala de Crimen upon his death.[295] Archbishop José Pérez de Lanciego y Eguilaz (served 1714–1728) appealed to the king, claiming that his predecessor, Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas, had financially supported the recogimiento for many years and that Pérez de Barcia did not want the recogimiento to turn into a

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[292] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 82.
[293] Elias Trabulse. Los años finales de sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. una interpretación, 2a. ed., México. Centro de Estudios de Historia de México CONDUMEX, 1997, p. 23-33, as cited in Muriel, 83.
[294] Marroqui and González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene*, 1900, II:527, 535, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:201.
[295] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 93–94.

prison under the governance of the Sala de Crimen.[296] On September 28, 1726, King Felipe V (reigned 1724–1746) granted patronage to the archbishopric in perpetuity by royal order (*real cedula*).[297] Attached to the bishop's patronage were several sources of fixed income, including the *pasito de maíz* (a tax on loads of maize entering Mexico City) and 2,000 pesos in exchange for the recogidas sewing and washing the clothes of the Colegio de Infantes (the cathedral choir school).[298]

Life inside the Recogimiento de Belem

There were two types of recogidas: ones who withdrew from the secular world voluntarily and ones who were placed in recogimiento punitively. Asunción Lavrin writes of the latter:

> In the seventeenth century, women could be sent to *recogimiento* by a suspicious husband; in cases of adultery, women, more often than not, bore the burden of proof; the correction of "sins" and crimes was undertaken via Christian repentance and hard work in institutions in which the treatment of the inmates was sometimes questionable and always reflected the social class of the punished women.[299]

[296] Archivo General de la Nación de México (AGNM), Ramo Reales Cédulas. originales. t. 45, exp. 157, fol. 3, as cited in Muriel, 94.
[297] Archivo Municipal de México (AMN), Recogidas, t. 1, exp. 19, fols. 176-200, as cited in Muriel, 94.
[298] Marroqui and González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene*, 1900, I:546–49, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 103–4.
[299] Lavrin, "Review of Los Recogimientos de Mujeres," 338–39.

In the eighteenth century, there were women staying at Belem who had been convicted of crimes and were imprisoned there for life.[300] Muriel writes that the recogimiento admitted a few women on a temporary basis, "for example, when their behavior was dangerous to the stability of a home." She continues, "In this case they went to Belem to reflect in peace, about their problems, sometimes female infidelity and if possible return with her husband."[301] We must question how "voluntary" such a woman's acceptance of recigimiento might have been and who, precisely, deemed her "dangerous to the stability of a home" or unfaithful. It is telling that Muriel specifies *female* infidelity as a reason for withdraw to recogimiento. That statement highlights contemporary society's double standard concerning the control of male and female sexuality.

Muriel reproduces Gutiérrez Dávila's categorization of the voluntary recogidas, which is based purely on their marital status and sexual experience: "In the recogimientos were married women or widows, their daughters, 'innocent maidens,' 'single women with experiences,' and 'prostitutes.'" [302] Women might choose to enter a recogimiento for diverse reasons: escape from poverty, prostitution, and

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[300] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 94.
[301] "En este caso iban a Belem para reflexionar en paz, sobre sus problemas, algunas veces de infidelidad femenina y de ser posible regresar con su marido." Information from Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. III, 58, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 98.
[302] "En el recogimiento eran admitidas mujeres casadas o viudas, las hijas de éstas, 'doncellas inocentes', 'solteras con experiencias', y 'prostitutas'." Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. X, 158, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 97.

abuse, among others.[303] A woman joined the regiment after applying through the chaplain, who would explain the customs enforced at the institution[304] and advise her to consider carefully whether she wished to adhere to that lifestyle.[305] Once the woman consented and the chaplain approved her application, she could enter the institution immediately.[306] Pérez de Barcia did not separate voluntary and involuntary recogidas in the hope that the "good behavior" of the "honest women" would positively influence that of the "sinners."[307] In order to insulate "innocent" girls and young women, Pérez de Barcia placed them in larger rooms under the supervision of "virtuous women of middle age," who were meant to function as the mother of the ad hoc family.[308]

In less than a century, the number of women living in the Recogimiento de Belem had multiplied exponentially. The first several women who lived in the original adobe house entered in 1683, and a year later, Belem held fifty recogidas.[309]

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[303] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 100.
[304] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap x, 330, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 98.
[305] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 94.
[306] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap x, 330, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 98.
[307] "Todas vivían juntas, pues el padre Barcia consideró que separar a las mujeres honradas de las pecadoras, era poner sobre éstas una 'infame divisa'. En cambio la convivencia con las de buena conducta, las obligaba a ser como elIas." Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 97.
[308] "Para evitar posibles daños a niñas y jóvenes inocentes, colocaba a éstas en aposentos al cuidado de mujeres virtuosas de edad madura, la 'nana' o 'señora mayor', de modo que cada grupo viniese a ser la familia de las niñas y cada 'señora mayor' la madre." Muriel, 97.
[309] Muriel, 98.

In 1720, there were nearly two hundred women and girls living at Belem.[310] By 1751, Archbishop Rubio y Salinas (served 1748–1765) reported to King Fernando VI (reigned 1746–1759) that the recogimiento housed two hundred and fifty women.[311]

Women at the Recogimiento de Belem were strictly cloistered within the institution; to prevent the recogidas from escaping, contact with the outside world was conducted through "rejas" (bars) and "tornos" (lathes—small revolving doors used in cloistered communities to pass objects to and from the outside world).[312] Recogidas' contact with their families took place in the visitor's room, which was divided by a grate to prevent escape or abduction. (Gutiérrez Dávila describes a situation in which men had gained access to the recogimiento to try to persuade women formerly working as prostitutes to leave with them.)[313]

The severe lifestyle observed in the Recogimiento de Belem led to its nickname, "the lay capuchins," referencing the Franciscan order of monks and nuns marked by their austerity.[314] The chaplains prohibited intimate friendships between recogidas and enforced communal friendship among all the members of the community.[315] Muriel describes the austere lifestyle enforced by the recogimiento's founder:

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[310] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 84.
[311] Obregón, *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de México (Las Vizcaínas)*, 41, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 98.
[312] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 94–95, 105.
[313] Muriel, 106.
[314] Muriel, 95.
[315] Muriel, 97–98.

> [Domingo Pérez de Barcia] will spend the rest of his life beside [women], with the firm intention of making them live according to his ideas, which are those of a severe religious asceticism, which seems to have been torn from the writings of Tertullian, Cyprian, or Jerome, the church fathers who were most concerned with establishing austerity in the life of Christian women, from the second, third, and fourth centuries of our era, rather than from rules made for a century in which nuns had their private departments (cells) in the convents, where they were served by their numerous maids.[316]

Some women thrived at the recogimiento; presumably it was a safe space that allowed them to escape the violence or poverty of their secular lives. Some lived at Belem until their deaths. Some left to get married or, like María del Sacramento (who stayed at Belem for ten months), to enter a convent.[317]

On the other hand, some women struggled with or against the ascetic life forced upon them. In gendered verbage typical of the eighteenth century, Gutiérrez Dávila writes that the austere lifestyle provoked in some women "serious attacks of hysteria" ("graves ataques de histeria").[318] Muriel cites one woman who committed suicide by throwing herself from a corridor to the patio and another who, in an attempt to be allowed to leave, undressed in the oratory.[319]

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[316] "va a pasar el resto de su vida, a lado de ellas, con el firme propósito de hacerlas vivir conforme a sus ideas, que son las de una tan severa ascética religiosa, que más parece arrancada de los escritos de Tertuliano, Cipriano o Jerónimo, los padres de la iglesia que más se ocuparon de establecer la austeridad en la vida de las mujeres cristianas, desde los siglos II, III y IV de nuestra era, que de reglas hechas para un siglo en que las monjas tenían sus departamentos privados (celdas) en los conventos, en donde las servían sus numerosas criadas." Muriel, 88.

[317] María del Sacramento went to the Convent of San Jerónimo. Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. X, 58, 341-342, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 100.

[318] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. XV, 78, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 88.

[319] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 99.

Of the women who were there voluntarily, some ulitmately chose to stay at Belem, and some chose to leave. Yet others "were dismissed for incorrigible moral faults" ("fueron despedidas por incorregibles faltas a la moral").[320] Women without male guardianship or financial support (widows, former prostitutes, unmarried women, etc.) often remained in recogimiento for life.[321] One recogida's poem contrasts a woman's agency in joining the recogimiento and her powerlessness to leave, possibly implying she would only leave upon her death:

La que en esta casa entrare
ponga remedio en su vida
que en su mano está la entrada
y en la de Dios la salida.[322]

She who will enter this house
Puts a remedy in her life
That in her hand is the entrance
And in God's departure.

Options for women leaving recogimiento "with dignity" were either to enter a convent or to get married. Alms collected on Belem's behalf were sometimes used to pay dowries to allow recogidas to profess as nuns. If a voluntary recogida desired to leave and did not intend to marry or go to a convent, the chaplain tried to dissuade her by arguing that she would be helpless in the secular world without male guardianship. If she succeeded in leaving, she was obliged to do so out of the view of the other

[320] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. X, 341-342, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 99.
[321] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 101.
[322] Muriel, 99.

recogidas.[323] One woman who seemingly had a positive experience with her fellow recogidas blames her departure on her own shortcomings:

La casa es buena
la gente mejor
sólo yo soy mala
por eso me voy.[324]

The house is good
The people better
I alone am bad
That is why I am leaving.

The Recogimiento de Belem observed a strict daily schedule that revolved around prayer, religious reading, communal meals, and work. The recogidas attended the oratory four times each day; punishment for failing to attend was the withholding of bread at dinner.[325] Belem's daily schedule was as follows:[326]

- 5:00 a.m.—Ringing of the morning bell, signaling the recogidas to awake and dress
- Attendance at oratory: prayers, readings, thanksgiving for "being removed from the dangers of the world" ("*lejos de los peligros del mundo*"), Holy Mass (during which women took communion), and confessions (as requested)
- Breakfast in the common refectory

[323] Muriel, 94.
[324] Marroqui and González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene*, 1900, II:523–26, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 100.
[325] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 94–95.
[326] Information in the list is taken from Muriel, 95, except where noted otherwise.

- Cleaning of room and preparation for work
- 9:00 a.m.—Working at the chores that were assigned weekly. These jobs included cleaning, food preparation,[327] and other tasks that produced income, such as washing of clothes of the Colegio de Infantes and tablecloths of the cathedral, sewing, and embroidery.[328]
- 12:00 p.m.—Lunch in the common refectory
- Attendance at oratory: praying the Rosary of the Holy Wounds and listening to a reading
- Optional nap
- 2.30 p.m.—Attendance at oratory: recitation of the Rosary of Alleluias in honor of Our Lady (composed in verse by Pérez de Barcia)[329]
- (Presumably) Dinner and more work[330]
- Evening—Attendance at oratory: thirty minutes of readings and praying the Crown of the Blessed Virgin ("la Corona de la Santísima Virgen")

[327] Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 7.
[328] Obregón, *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de México (Las Vizcaínas)*, 42, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 95–96.
[329] "rezaban el Rosario de las aleluyas en honor de Nuestra Señora que había compuesto en verso el fundador." Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 95.
[330] No source specifies the placement of dinner, but Muriel references bread being withheld from dinner as a punishment. Muriel, 95.

Sunday afternoons included additional study of church doctrine.[331] Pérez de Barcia and all the chaplains who followed him made a consistent practice of visiting and inspecting the recogimiento daily.[332]

Each year, the archbishop donated clothes to the recogimiento. These garments were not uniform, but were meant to cover the body without promoting vanity.[333] An eighteenth-century painter depicted two women from Belem in "Traje de las religiosas de los conventos de Mexico, de los colegios y recogimientos" ("Clothing of the devout women of the convents of Mexico, of the colegios and recogimientos") (Figure 15).

FIGURE 15. "Bellen de las Mochs"
(Courtesy of the INAH, Museo Nacional del Virreinato)[334]

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[331] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. VII, 48-52, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 95.
[332] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 98.
[333] Marroqui and González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene*, 1900, II:523–26, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 96.
[334] *Traje de las religiosas de los conventos de Mexico, de los colegios y recogimientos*, eighteenth century, Oil on canvas, 134.5 cm by 104 cm, eighteenth century, permanent exhibition, Museo Nacional del Virreinato, http://lugares.inah.gob.mx/museos-inah/museo/museo-piezas/8279-827...10-95192-indumentaria-de-las-monjas-novohispanas.html?lugar_id=475.

The Colegio de San Miguel de Belem

Because the women living at the Recogimiento de Belem brought their children with them, a school was created within the institution. Like the organization of convent schools in which a single nun was responsible for the instruction of a small number of girls in her care, Belem's girls were grouped into households with an adult woman as the mother figure.[335] These *nanas* or *señoras mayores* taught Christian doctrine, reading, writing, elementary math, household skills, and other "feminine work" such as needlework to prepare them for marriage or profession as a nun.[336] These family groups prepared and consumed their meals separately and were responsible for cleaning and maintaining their home. The girls intermingled with the older recogidas in communal areas: the chapel, work room, patios, orchard, and corridors.[337] Men came to Belem to find a wife, knowing that the girls were prepared to manage a household. Patrons of the recogimiento could give money (*mandas testamentarias*) to endow a girl with a dowry for either marriage or profession.[338]

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[335] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 80.
[336] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios, el venerable Padre D. Domingo Pérez de Barcia*, cap. x, 57, as cited in Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 80; Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 8; Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 101.
[337] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 80; Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 94–102.
[338] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 101.

When Archbishop Lanciego y Eguilaz founded a Capuchin convent in Querétaro in 1721, its first novice was Doña Manuela de Lara, a girl from Belem.[339]

The first record of the appointment of a "Maestra de Niñas" at Belem is from 1693. This position was held by one of the recogidas, who was assigned an assistant. It appears that the maestra was not a position held in high esteem by the record keepers, as it is generally listed near the end, close to the cleaners.[340] The long process of transitioning the institution from a recogimiento (that also taught girls) to a colegio (whose primary purpose was education) began under the leadership of the Archbishop José Pérez de Lanciego y Eguilaz (served 1714–1728), the first archbishop granted patronage of Belem by royal decree (in 1726). The archbishop wrote to the Consejo de Indias on December 10, 1725, to obtain economic governance of Belem. In his letter, he placed emphasis on the education of girls rather than on the recogimiento of women. The prosecutor of the council replied from Madrid on September 15, 1726, concluding that Belem seemed like an entirely different institution from the recogimiento established by Domingo Pérez de Barcia.[341]

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[339] AHCV, 13-IV-3, Declaración de testigos, as cited in Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 85.

[340] "Libro Primero de Visitas y Elecciones de Prepósita, Ministra, Consiliarias y Demás Oficios Del Colegio de San Miguel de Belén de La Capital de México," n.d., vol. 41, ff. 1-25, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona, Fondo Ducado de Aragón, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:202.

[341] "Letters between the Archbishop and Prosecutor," 1726 1725, Cartas y exps. del arz. vol. 806, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:201.

During the tenure of Archbishop Lanciego y Eguilaz, Belem housed and taught 180 girls whose families had sent them to the recogimiento for their education.[342] The improved facilities, increased funding, and respectability conferred by royal approval and patronage of the archbishopric prompted parents to pay tuition for their daughters to be housed and educated at Belem.[343] Although the position of maestra was listed in records as early as 1693 and later in the mid to late eighteenth century, no maestra is listed in the records for 1716 and 1730.[344] In addition, the archbishop fails to mention any classes or classrooms when describing the recogimiento. (He does list the oratory, choir, infirmary and "other dwellings and offices.")[345] Pilar Foz y Foz characterizes the early- to mid-eighteenth century as a period of "educational passivity" ("pasividad educativa"), citing the lack of a maestra.[346] This assessment perhaps does not take into account the organization of Belem. The absence of maestras and classrooms does not necessarily indicate that

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[342] Marroqui and González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene*, 1900, I:550–54, and Archivo General de Indias Sevilla (AGIS), Ramo Audiencia de México, t. 711. "Carta del arzobispo de México, fray José Lanciego y Eguílaz," as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 102.

[343] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 85–86.

[344] "Libro Primero de Visitas y Elecciones de Prepósita, Ministra, Consiliarias y Demás Oficios Del Colegio de San Miguel de Belén de La Capital de México", as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:202.

[345] "Libro Primero de Visitas y Elecciones de Prepósita, Ministra, Consiliarias y Demás Oficios Del Colegio de San Miguel de Belén de La Capital de México," note 36, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:202.

[346] "Libro Primero de Visitas y Elecciones Del Colegio de Belén," n.d., ff. 1-25, Archivo de la Curia Azrobispal de México, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:265–66.

teaching was not occurring. Señoras mayores were responsible for teaching the girls in their care, which took place not in classrooms, but in their living areas.

In 1740, José Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta (Archbishop of Mexico 1730–1747; Viceroy of New Spain 1734–1740) founded Belem's escoleta de música.[347] Six years later, Vizarrón endowed the escoleta de música with two properties that he had purchased from the Convent of San José de Gracia; the rent from the houses on these properties intended to fund the school of music in perpetuity.[348] Belem's escoleta de música was officially established on October 12, 1746, and was the first female music school in what is present-day Mexico.[349] This topic is covered in more detail in the next chapter.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries convents and regiments "reflected the philosophy that women without families of their own were vulnerable and of little value to society," writes Silvia Marina Arrom. "As these ideas waned in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, so too did these institutions."[350] This trend is illustrated in Belem's transition from a recogimiento to a colegio. Archbishop Manuel Rubio y Salinas (served 1749–1765) encouraged the admittance of girls to the

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[347] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 91; Luis Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," in *Mujeres, Negros y Niños En La Música y Sociedad Colonial Iberoamericana: IV Reunión Científica*, ed. Víctor Rondón (Santa Cruz, Bolivia: Asociación Pro Arte y Cultura, 2002), 40.
[348] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 77; Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 40.
[349] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 76–77.
[350] Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City,* 47.

extent that the number of adult recogidas at Belem dwindled.[351] In his letter to the king on October 7, 1751, he does not refer to Belem as a recogimiento, but rather calls it "el Colegio de San Miguel de Belem."[352] In the report to the king, Archbishop Rubio y Salinas said that Belem housed two hundred and fifty women and girls.[353]

Around this time, Belem struggled financially, even with the support of the archbishops and viceroys. The council provided funds for the maintenance of thirty-three girls,[354] a contribution that in 1752 was extended for five years on the stipulation that the allocation would not be renewed.[355] The royal decree of May 26, 1762, ordered that Belem be given monthly alms of one hundred pesos and recorded the number of students at Belem as 204.[356]

As fewer adult women applied for admittance, the occupancy of the school increased with the support of donations for scholarships.[357] Patrons such as Padre

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[351] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 95.
[352] Archivo General de Indias (AGI), México 711. Carta del arzobispo de México a su Majestad, 7-oct.-1751, as cited in Muriel, 95.
[353] Obregón, *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de México (Las Vizcaínas)*, 41, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 98.
[354] Marroqui and González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene*, 1900, II:545–46, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:265.
[355] "Actas Originales de Cablildo," n.d., vol. 77, ff. 24-25, Archivo del Antiguo Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:265.
[356] "Actas Originales de Cabildo," n.d., vol. 440, ff. 308v-316v, Archivo del Antiguo Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México; "Reales Cédula to the Viceroy from the Marqués de Cruillas," May 26, 1762, Reales Cédulas, vol 82, exp. 11, Archivo General de la Nación, México., as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:265.
[357] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 101–2.

Bolea, Don Manuel Sánchez de Tagle, Don Joaquín Aldama, and Don Esteban Molinillo stipulated that their donations go toward Belem's school, for the support of orphaned girls, or for dowries.[358] As the mission of Belem shifted, its identification as a "colegio" gradually eclipsed that of "recogimiento."[359]

Archbishop Vizarrón y Eguiarreta (served 1730–1747) was a prominent proponent of women's education. Not only did he found Belem's escoleta de música, but he was also one of the largest donors for the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas. During the construction of Vizcaínas in the 1730s, the Basque Cofradía de Aránzazu sponsored twenty-four girls destined for the new colegio to live at Belem while they waited for it to open.[360] To alleviate the overcrowding at Belem, the founders of Vizcaínas built four rooms and common spaces at Belem in 1739. They stipulated that these lodgings were to be used exclusively by the Vizcaínas girls, but that when the Colegio de Vizcaínas opened, the buildings would belong to Belem.[361]

Although they intended the girls to stay at Belem for a brief period of time, the opening of Vizcaínas was delayed due to Vizarrón's death in 1747 and the loss of

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[358] Muriel, 104.
[359] Marroqui and González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene*, 1900, II:450–451, note 28; Regarding Belem's rents, see "Colegios," n.d., vol. 517, leg. 9, ff. 50-60, Archivo del Antiguo Ayuntamiento de la Cudad de México; "Cedulario," n.d., vol. 440, ff. 308v-316v, Archivo del Antiguo Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México, and Obregón, *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de México (Las Vizcaínas)*, 34–42, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:202.
[360] Muriel, "El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, 1734–1863," 29.
[361] AHCV 15-V-8, Carta de Ambrosio Meave al gobernador y vicario general del arzobispado doctor Alonso Francisco Moreno, 21 octubre 1739, as cited in Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 96.

his support. The objections of Vizarrón's successor, Archbishop Rubio y Salinas, to Vizcaínas's secular governance stalled Vizcaínas's opening until 1767. When Vizcaínas finally accepted its first students, girls sponsored by scholarships from the Cofradía de Aránzazu (not necessarily the same ones who went to Belem in the 1730s) transferred to Vizcaínas. The maestras and other staff at Belem were also women who had trained at Belem and transferred the housing and educational system to Vizcaínas.[362]

Reform and Second Building Phrase

Belem's transition from recogimiento to colegio, which began under Archbishop José Pérez de Lanciego y Eguilaz (served 1714–1728), would culminate under Archbishop Alonso Núñez de Haro y Peralta (served 1772–1800), who officially changed its name from the "Recogimiento de Belem" to the "Colegio de Belem."[363] The institution still served as a recogimiento, but did so as its secondary purpose.[364]

Belem's second major stage of construction occurred in the eighteenth-century and included not only the rooms built by the Cofradía de Aránzazu, but also an expansion prompted by Archbishop Haro y Peralta. The Royal Decree of May 22,

[362] Muriel, 96–97.
[363] Marroqui and González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene*, 1900, I:550–54, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 102; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 76; Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 8.
[364] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 102.

1774, not only enforced the vida común in Mexican convents, but it also expelled the girls living in them (except for the orders whose primary purpose was teaching).[365] To alleviate Belem's overcrowding caused by the influx of schoolgirls leaving convents, Haro y Peralta built two large halls to the existing building in 1775.[366]

Haro y Peralta reorganized the colegio and drafted a new constitution.[367] By his direction, students' admittance was contingent on documentation of their limpieza de sangre and that of their parents, social etiquette ("buenas costumbres"), and proof of baptism. Students were allowed a leave of absence for two months each year. They withdrew from Belem by permission of their parents or guardians, or of their own accord if they were of age and leaving in order to marry or enter a convent. Haro y Peralta ordered that the most advanced colegialas be given the responsibility of teaching younger girls, thereby increasing the number of teachers at the institution.[368]

Haro y Peralta deemed the state of Belem's old building "ruinous and not very suitable for the educational purpose he wanted to give it" ("ruinoso y no muy adecuado a los fines escolares que él quería darle"). In 1797 and 1798 he spent more than 100,000 pesos rebuilding much of the existing edifice—interior and exterior—in

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[365] "Reales Cédulas", as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:264.
[366] AHCV 13-IV-I, f. 202 Y ss., approbation que da el arzobispo Núñez de Haro a la o que hace el capellán José Briseño, as cited in Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 100.
[367] AHCV 13-IV-1. f. 366 y ss. Decretos y Constituciones, as cited in Muriel, 101.
[368] Muriel, 101–2.

the popular neoclassical style.[369] The restored building provided thirty-two large homes that preserved Belem's family-style housing.[370] During Haro y Peralta's tenure, Belem was home to more than two hundred women, more than eighty of them colegialas. With the renovation, Haro y Peralta designated one room to hold archival materials—many of which are now held at the archive at Vizcaínas.[371]

Haro y Peralta reformed the colegio, intending "that [the students] be given the appropriate political and civil Christian instruction so that they may acquire the necessary knowledge for their salvation and for industry, trades, manufactures and labors compatible with their talents, sexes and strengths."[372] In May of 1799, he established the Fundación Núñez de Haro y Peralta, which allocated 100,000 to be loaned to the Tribunal of the Mexican Consulate (Tribunal del Consulado de México). This loan provided Belem 5,000 pesos (five percent) annually. He allocated 3,000 pesos for scholarships and 2,000 for building maintenance.[373] In order to receive a scholarship, girls must be "legitimate or legitimized daughters, honest, of good behavior, poor, Spanish without a mixture of other races or quality. Between age seven and fifteen, in no case younger or older, and baptized in this city or

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[369] AHCV l3-IV-3, Escritura de Fundación del Ilustrísimo Alonso Núñez de Haro y Peralta, 24-V-1799, f. 324-334, as cited in Muriel, 103; Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 107.
[370] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 103.
[371] Muriel, 103–4.
[372] "que se les dé la instrucción cristiana política y civil convenientes de modo que adquieran los conocimientos oportunos a su salvación y a la industria, oficios, manufacturas y labores compatibles con sus talentos, sexos y fuerzas." AHCV 13-IV-3, Escritura de Fundación, f. 224v, as cited in Muriel, 104.
[373] Muriel, 104.

archbishopric" ("hijas legitimas o legitimadas, honradas, de buena conducta, pobres, españolas sin mezcla de otras razas o calidad. De siete a quince años y por ningún caso menores ni mayores, y bautizadas en esta ciudad o arzobispado"). He specifies that he does not forbid españolas, but that he prefers criollas ("no prohibo que sean hijas de europeos pero prefiero a las nacidas aquí").[374]

Pilar Foz y Foz has compiled a table showing the numbers of girls/women admitted to Belem in five non-consecutive years (Table 4). (n.b. These numbers reflect the girls *entering* Belem, not the ones already there.) Using various clues in the application records, she lists the total number of girls admitted ("Niñas") and categorizes them by age: students ("Escolar"), women older than twenty ("Mayor de 20"), and those of unknown age ("No se deduce"). She also records the reasons why each person was admitted to Belem: for her education ("Educativa," when specifically indicated), for enclosure or recogimiento ("Clausura," when specifically indicated), or for reasons unrecorded ("No se expresa") or unclear ("Dudosa"). Reasons expressed ambiguously that fall into the "unclear" category include asylum ("asilo"), maintenance ("manutención"), entrance ("entrar," "asociarse"), and escape of dangers ("quitarle peligros"), among others.[375] From this evidence, Foz y Foz concludes that in this period, the Colegio de Belem—regardless of its name—

[374] AHCV 13-IV-3, f. 227v-228, as cited in Muriel, 105.
[375] "Bienes Nacionales," n.d., vol. 345, 575, 584, 533, and 474, Archivo General de la Nación, México, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:267–68.

continued to have a character of recogimiento rather than school, "in the modern sense of the word" ("en el sentido moderno de la palabra").[376]

YEAR	NIÑAS	AGE			REASON			
	Total	Student	Older than 20	Unknown	Educational	Cloistered	Not recorded	Unclear
1784	43	8	24	11	5	19	5	10
1789	25	6	11	6	2	14		9
1794	16	3	9	4	3	6	1	6
1802	29	11	15	4	6	15	4	4
1810	3	1	2	–	–	1	–	1

TABLE 4. Numbers of girls/women entering Belem[377]

Muriel writes that the Revillagigedo Census of 1793[378] records no women specified as recogidas, eight secular teachers (i.e. not nuns), and 235 colegialas.[379]

[376] "Bienes Nacionales", as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:267–68.
[377] "Bienes Nacionales", as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:267–68.
[378] The Revillagigedo Census is presumably named for the Second Count of Revillagigedo, who served as viceroy (1789–1794).
[379] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 102; Foz y Foz confirms these numbers citing Alexander von Humboldt, *Ensayo político sobre el reino de la Nueva España* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1966), and Diego Garcia Conde, *Plano General de la Ciudad de Mexico, levantado por ... Don Diego Garcia-Conde en el año de 1793, y grabado en el de 1807* (Mexico, 1807); Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:273.

Insurrection, Uncertainty, and Closure

The nineteenth century marked a period of uncertainty and instability for the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem. The Wars of Independence compounded the economic problems already frequently experienced at the colegio.[380]

For several months in 1813, Belem housed María Leona Vicario Fernández (1789–1842). Prior to coming to Belem, she had been a member of the insurgent group Los Guadalupes, for whom she had served as a conduit for messages, recruited members, and sent aid to the rebel forces.[381] When she was discovered by the Junta de Seguridad y Buen Orden, she fled. Her uncle Don Agustín Pomposo Fernández de San Salvador found her and arranged for her to be placed in Belem rather than in a public jail.[382] She resided in the first room of the main patio next to the porter's lodge, in the custody of Doña Manuela and Doña Ignacia Salvatierra, two adult Belem residents who had orders not to leave her alone or allow her to talk to the colegialas.[383] Given the option to name her accomplices in order to have the death

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[380] Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:271.
[381] Virginia Guedea, "Vicario Fernández, [María] Leona (1789–1842)," ed. Jay Kinsbruner and Erick D. Langer, *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture* (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2008), 360, http://go.galegroup.com/ps/retrieve.do?resultListType=RELATED_DOCUMENT&userGroupName=ucsantacruz&inPS=true&contentSegment=9780684315904&prodId=GVRL&isETOC=true&docId=GALE|CX3078905721.
[382] Archivo General de la Nación, México (AGN), Belem, 1933, Noviembre-Diciembre, t IV, n, 6, p. 890-891, as cited in Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 109–10.
[383] Genaro García, *Leona Vicario, Heroína Insurgente* (México: Innovación, 1979), 93, 94, 95, 110, as cited in Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 110.

sentence commuted for life imprisonment, she refused and later escaped.[384] Even though she was only at Belem for about four months, Muriel describes the heroism that Vicario Fernandez displayed in confronting the established authorities as "a seed that would germinate in the soul of the students" ("semilla que germinaría en el alma de las colegialas").[385]

Belem survived the Wars of Independence and the 1847 invasion of Mexico City by the army of the United States of America, but the number of students decreased because fewer parents wished to send their daughters to the colegio given the political unrest.[386] It then faced its demise in the Reform Era of the 1850s and 60s.

During the Reform Era, the independent Republic of Mexico's liberal government, seeking to limit the power of the church, closed many institutions under ecclesiastical governance, including convents, monasteries, and schools.[387] Belem was still supported by donations of foods and goods, endowments, and properties.[388] In 1846, the school owned thirteen properties throughout the city, the rents from which were allocated according to the specifications of the donors, namely to the colegio, escoleta de música, sacristy, dowries, scholarships, masses, chaplaincy, nurses, doctors, and medicines.[389] The Lerdo Law of June 25, 1856 prohibited any

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[384] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 111; Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 108.
[385] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 112.
[386] Muriel, 113.
[387] Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 8.
[388] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 114–17.
[389] AHCV l3-IV-1; 2-V-16, and AHCV l3-IV-5 y l3-IV-3, as cited in Muriel, 117.

civil or ecclesiastical corporation from owning real property, leaving Belem without dependable income.[390]

Three years later, the archbishop's patronage of Belem made it subject to the Law for the Nationalization of Ecclesiastical Properties (July 12, 1859),[391] in which the government claimed all properties administered by the church.[392] The 1859 law came into force in Mexico City on December 28, 1860 (when President Benito Juárez entered the capital).[393] It also effected the nuns of the Divine Savior, who—having been expelled from the Convento de Santa Brígida—sought shelter at Belem.[394]

The general director of Funds for Public Instruction (Fondos de Instrucción Publica) declared the Colegio de Belem defunct and ordered that the girls and women of Belem transfer to the Colegio of San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas,[395] which had been spared from the Reform closures because of its secular governance.[396] (It was around this time that Vizcaínas changed its name from "El Colegio Nacional de San Ignacio de Loyola" ["The National School of Saint Ignatius of Loyola"] to "El Colegio de la Paz" ["The School of Peace"].) When Belem closed its doors on July 5, 1862, the women and girls carried their personal belongings and saved what archival documents and communal property had not already been confiscated and was

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[390] Muriel, 123.
[391] Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico*, 163.
[392] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 108.
[393] Muriel, 108; Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 123.
[394] Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 8.
[395] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 109.
[396] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 91.

portable. Muriel describes paintings being torn from altarpieces, cut from frames, and rolled up in order to transport them.[397]

At its closing, Belem had 106 students.[398] Some of the girls returned to their families.[399] Various reports cite conflicting numbers,[400] but documentary evidence suggests that about seventy-nine women and girls transferred to Vizcaínas.[401] The board of Vizcaínas agreed to support nine orphan girls from Belem who had no dowry.[402] The students of Belem were not integrated into Vizcaínas; the two schools functioned independently within the same building. Both colegios operated separately in the hope that—if the Conservatives defeated the Liberals—the Colegio de Belem would be restored.[403]

The Fondos de Instrucción Publica sent Belem's other school supplies to the Lancasterian Company (Compañía Lancasteriana) to be used in their public schools.[404] Belem's harps, violins, harpsichords, and organs were lost amidst

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[397] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 124.
[398] Jan Berdes, *Los bienes de la Iglesia en México (1856-1875): aspectos económicos y sociales de la revolución liberal* (México: El Colegio de México, 1971), 232, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 109.
[399] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 124.
[400] Marroqui and González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene*, 1900, I:561–64, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 109.
[401] AHCV 2-IV-6, Niñas que pasan de Belem a Vizcaínas, as cited in Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 125.
[402] AHCV 5-IV-6, Documento Ingreso de pensionistas, 5-V-8, as cited in Muriel, 125.
[403] Muriel, 125.
[404] Marroqui and González Obregón, *La ciudad de México; contiene*, 1900, I:562, as cited in Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 125; Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 109.

looting.[405] Vizcaínas accepted a harpsichord, a clavichord, and several flutes from the escoleta de música, along with Belem's archival documents.[406] Vizcaínas is still open and operating today as a co-educational private school. It houses the Archivo Histórico del Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas, which continues to preserve the documents and music collection of the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem.

The Cárcel de Belem

As repayment of debt the federal government owed to the city government of Mexico City, President Júarez gave the building of Colegio de Belem—valued at approximately 60,000 pesos—to the city.[407] It became the prison known as *Cárcel de Belem* or the municipal *cárcel*, which incarcerated huge numbers of people, many of them politcal prisoners. The building was rapidly deteriorating and was entirely inadequate for the number of inmates. It became a place of overcrowding, filth, inhumane treatment, and misery.[408]

[405] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 124–25.
[406] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 91.
[407] Jacobo Dalevuelta, "San Miguel de Belem," in *Gobernar a La Ciudad Es Servirla*, vol. 12 (México: Departamento del Distrito Federal, Narraciones Históricas, 1948), 188–93, as cited in Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 109.
[408] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 110.

FIGURE 16. The building of the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem after it was converted into a municipal prison, known as Cárcel de Belem.[409]
Courtesy of the INAH.

[409] "Hombres descargan camión en la entrada de la Carcel General."

FIGURE 17. Interior of the Cárcel de Belem.[410]
Courtesy of the INAH.

[410] "Gente en el patio de las oficinas administrativas de la Cárcel de Belén," Núm. Inv. 1983, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.

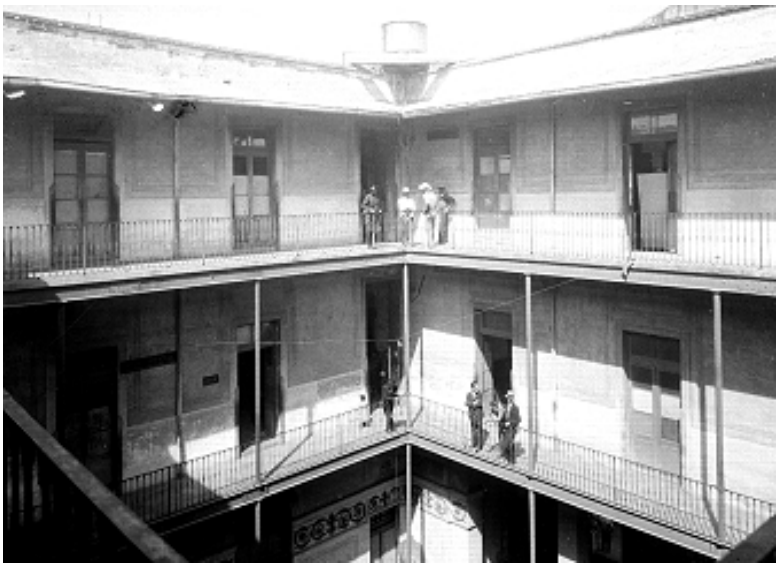

FIGURE 18. Interior of the Cárcel de Belem.[411]
Courtesy of the INAH.

FIGURE 19. Facade of the Cárcel de Belem.[412]
Courtesy of the INAH.

[411] "Pasillos del primer patio de la cárcel de Belén," Núm. Inv. 93318, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.
[412] "Cárcel General, fachada de edificio," Núm. Inv. 4738, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.

FIGURE 20. "People standing near the railings of the offices of the Cárcel de Belem."[413]
Courtesy of the INAH.

FIGURE 21. "Cárcel de Belem–Cell 37, open, where Jesús Arriaga Chucho El Roto was."[414]
Courtesy of the INAH.

[413] "Gente recargada en los barandales de las oficinas de la carcel de Belén," Núm. Inv. 1681, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.
[414] "Carcel de Belem - La Celda 37, abierta, fue donde estuvo Jesús Arriaga Chucho el roto," Núm. Inv. 2002, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.

FIGURE 22. "Female prisoners in the dormitory of the Cárcel de Belem, Group Portrait."[415]
Courtesy of the INAH.

FIGURE 23. "Prisoners who achieved good behavior, in the Cárcel de Belem."[416]
Courtesy of the INAH.

[415] "Mujer presas en el dormitorio de la Cárcel de Belén, retrato groupo," Núm. Inv. 2257, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.
[416] "Presas que obtuvieron un buen comportamiento, en la cárcel de belén," Núm. Inv. 86653, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.

FIGURE 24. "Belem Prison—Mexico."[417]
February 1913 (showing cannon fire damage during the Mexican Revolution).
Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

In 1935, the government under President Lázaro Cárdenas demolished the building. A new institution was erected in the same place: the Centro Escolar Revolución, which now houses numerous schools.[418]

[417] "Belem Prison -- Mexico" (Bain News Service, February 1913), LC-B2- 3034-11, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Catalog, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ggb2005015862/.
[418] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 110.

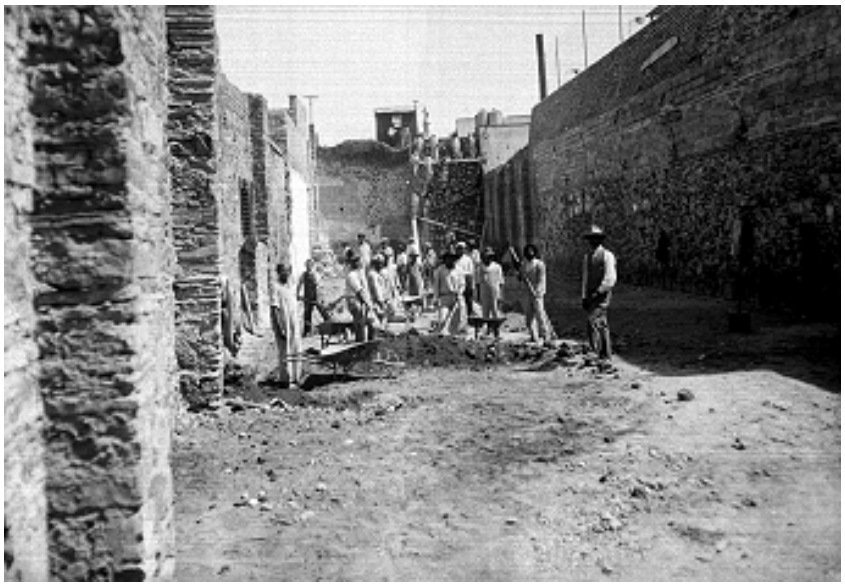

FIGURE 25. "Workers during the demolition of the Cárcel de Belem."[419]
Courtesy of the INAH.

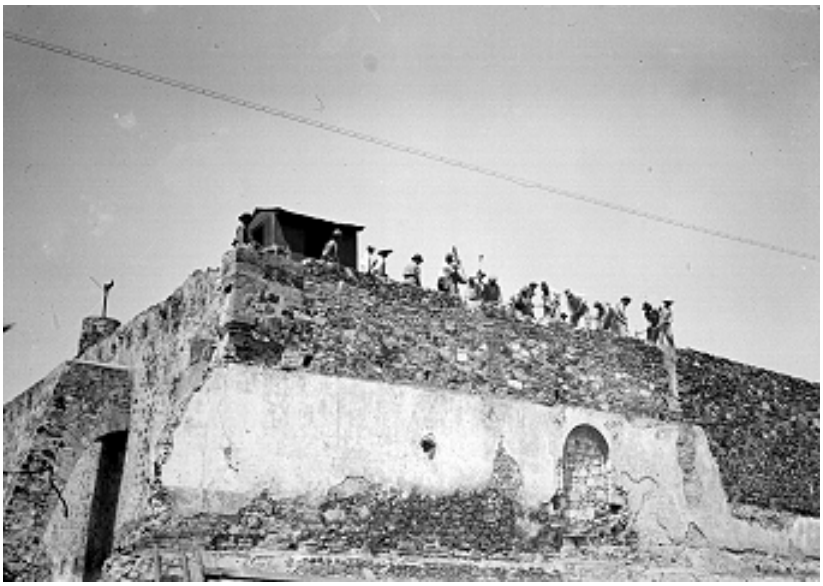

FIGURE 26. "Workers demolishing the Cárcel de Belem."[420]
Courtesy of the INAH.

[419] "Trabajadores durante la demolición de la cárcel de Belén," Núm. Inv. 93285, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.
[420] "Trabajadores demoliendo la cárcel de Belén," Núm. Inv. 93287, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.

Conclusion

Many of Belem's archival materials were saved by the women who transported them to Vizcaínas in 1863, but we will never know how many were lost. Extant primary sources give us a patchy idea of life at Belem, and secondary sources often present conflicting or confusing information.

The Recogimiento de Belem's founder, Domingo Pérez de Barcia, and the archbishop who supported its creation, Francisco Aguiar and Seijas, were concerned with the physical and spiritual well-being of women but were products of their time. Their solution to address the problem of women at risk from poverty or prostitution was to cloister them. The recogimiento housed women who were there voluntarily and who were imprisoned both by tribunals and by their own family members.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the focus of Belem shifted from that of a recogimiento to that of a colegio, but it always maintained elements of both. In the beginning, it provided a modest education for the girls whose mothers lived in the recogimiento. In the end, it taught not only orphans and daughters of recogidas, but also *pensionistas* (paying students) whose families sent them to Belem and paid for their education. Girls lived in family-groups under the care and instruction of a mother-figure. Belem's continued purpose—although not in name—as a recogimiento is evidenced by the large number of adult women living there and its use as a means of confinement for Leona Vicario in 1813. At its founding in the seventeenth century, its direction was influenced primarily by religious and social

pressures of the time. Toward its end in the nineteenth-century, political upheaval and reform were the catalysts for change within the institution.

The Colegio de San Miguel de Belem focused on helping girls support themselves—either through marriage or profession as a nun. Its purpose was to help girls create a life within the class into which they were born, not to allow social mobility. At most, Belem offered an elementary education with one exception: its escoleta de música. As we will see in the next chapter, Belem's escoleta de música offered advanced training in music, which allowed its students to pursue careers as professional musians, both as teachers and performers.

CHAPTER 4:

THE ESCOLETA DE MÚSICA OF BELEM

The Colegio de San Miguel de Belem's escoleta de música undertook the training of female musicians with two objectives: to meet the needs of religious services within the school and to give the girls "a decent and honest way of life," in other words, to enable them to profess as nuns of the choir without a dowry.[421] Young musicians who were accepted at convents free of charge included organists, harpists, bowed string players, singers, and teachers. Although enabling religious profession was the escoleta de música's primary purpose (as stated repeatedly in multiple primary and secondary sources), some women secured their livelihood as music teachers both in convents (like San José de Garcia and Nuestra Señora del Balvanera) and in colegios. For example, María Micaela Jerusalem and María Joaquina Jerusalem—both flutists and bassoonists—trained at Belem and taught at the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas.[422]

Foundation and Teachers

Still a recogimiento by name, Belem had already begun the transition to functioning as a colegio by 1740, when Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta

[421] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 325; Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 40.
[422] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 85.

(Archbishop of Mexico 1730–1747; Viceroy of New Spain 1734–1740) founded the escoleta de música (also called the *escuela de música* in some sources). He placed the escoleta under the patronage of the archbishopric and specified that the music teachers would be selected from the (male) musicians of the cathedral choir (which included singers and instrumentalists).[423]

In 1746, Vizarrón granted the escoleta de música an endowment in the form of two properties (valued at 1,500 pesos) that he purchased from the Convento de San José de Gracia.[424] The rents collected from the two houses—one on San Felipe Street and the other on San Cayetano Street—were intended to fund the escoleta in perpetuity.[425] One thousand pesos were allotted annually for all the costs of the escoleta, ensuring that the escoleta's teachers were well-compensated and paid in a timely manner.[426] The edicts posted on church doors proclaimed that the Archbishop of Mexico had founded the escoleta de música and funded it with his own finances.[427] A transcription of the escoleta's founding document is published by Muriel and Lledías.[428]

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[423] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 40.
[424] AHCV 13-IV-I, Compra de dos casas hecha por el arzobispo Vizarrón y Eguiarreta y sucesivas compra-venta hasta el siglo XIX, f. 2-12, documents donated to the AHCV by Josefina Muriel, as cited in Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 89–90; Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 40.
[425] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 77.
[426] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 42; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 77.
[427] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 77.
[428] Muriel and Lledías, 79–82.

Muriel and Lledías compiled archival documents from 1773 to 1779 that provide a glimpse of the organization of Belem's escoleta de música, as set out by Vizarrón. Teachers' payment records show that the escoleta was staffed by a *maestro mayor* (head teacher, who probably gave classes in plainchant and polyphony) and instrumental teachers of violin, cello, and contrabass. Drawing conclusions from the instrumentation of music studied and performed at Belem, Muriel and Lledías conclude that teachers also taught viola,[429] organ, and harpsichord.[430] In addition to male music teachers recruited from the cathedral, there were also female teachers titled *asistentes de escoleta* ("assistants of the escoleta"), later called *vicarias de coro* ("vicars of the choir"), who served as a sort of second in command, presumably after the head teacher. The first women in these positions were Doña Teresa Cuenca and Doña Fulgencia Ana Cruz.[431]

The payment records of 1773–1779 show the following teachers:[432] Br. Josef Chirlin (voice and maestro mayor), Juan Antonio Argueyo, (unknown), Josef Fernández de Sta. Cruz (bass), Joseph Argüello (contrabass), Ignacio Pedroza

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[429] Based on the presence of viola parts in Belem's extant music, such as AHCV 26-I-3.

[430] In 1777, Belem paid two pesos to the organist Manuel de Castro for maintenance ("composición") of Belem's organ and another three pesos for four clavichords (AHCV 13-IV-2). Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas,* 94-95.

[431] "Ministers and Officials of the Present Election," 1749, AHCV 13-IV-1, f. 558-559, as cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 82, 95.

[432] AHCV 13-IV-2, as cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 93; Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 42–43.

(violin), Joseph María Ximénez (cello), José Agapito del Portillo (cello), and Ygnacio Cardilo (unknown).[433]

Br. Josef Chirlin served as the maestro mayor of Belem's escoleta de música beginning in 1773[434] and appears in records until May 2, 1775 (the year in which Archbishop Nuñez de Haro y Peralta eliminated the position of maestro mayor).[435] He taught voice and was classified as a singer of polyphony at the Metropolitan Cathedral.[436] He received forty-two pesos on May 28, 1773, for two months ("mitad del tercio" [del año]).[437] (Muriel and Lledías write that he received ninety-two pesos, but do not specify the pay period.)[438] The fact that he had earned a university degree is evidenced by the title "Br." (*bachiller*) preceding his name.[439]

Lledías writes that Juan Antonio Argueyo received twenty-seven pesos and five tomines for his services for the two months ending on May 25, 1773.[440] It is

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[433] Joseph María Ximénez and José Agapito del Portillo are listed as teachers. Given the fact that both performed as cellists at the Metropolitan Cathedral, we can assume that they taught cello at Belem.
[434] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 93.
[435] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 42.
[436] Archivo del Cabildo de la Catedral Metropolitana de México (ACCMM), AC 51, f. 36v, 26 March 1771, as cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 93.
[437] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 42.
[438] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 85.
[439] Jesús A. Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race, and Status in New Spain*, Currents in Latin American and Iberian Music (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 183.
[440] "Como uno de los maestros de música de la Escoleta del Colegio de Señor San Miguel de Bethlen, recibe 27 pesos y 5 tomines por las asignaciones hechas para este efecto de los productos de las casas destinadas para ello, y son por un tercio que se

unknown what instrument or musical subject he taught. He is active in Belem's records until September 9, 1778. His son, Joseph Argüello, taught at Belem beginning in 1776.[441] (See below.)

Josef Fernández de Sta. Cruz taught bass at Belem from no later than 1773 until his death in 1776, when he was probably in his early- to mid-thirties. He trained as a member the Colegio de Infantes of the cathedral for twelve years and eight months, beginning on February 1, 1751. As a boy chorister, he took the place of Hermenegildo Vala who left because his voice changed ("salió por habérsele acabado la voz").[442] He taught bass (bajo) at Belem, and received twenty-one pesos on May 28, 1773, for two months ("mitad del tercio").[443] He recommended Joseph Argüello (see below) to replace him at the escoleta, reporting on October 28, 1776, that he suffered from "some bad fever" ("Algo malo de calentura") and in November 1776 that he was "sick and dying" ("enferma y muere"). He died on November 7, 1776, while employed as a bass player in the cathedral choir.[444]

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complió en mayo 25 de 1773." Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 43.

[441] Lledías, 43.

[442] Archivo del Cabildo de la Catedral Metropolitana de México (ACCMM), Serie Obras Pías, no. 3, Libro de la erección y fundación de el collegio de la asumpcion de Nuestra Señora y Patriaca S.S Joseph, para los ynfantes de el choro de esta sancta iglesia metropolitana de México, as cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 93–94.

[443] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 42.

[444] Lledías, 42; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 94.

Joseph Argüello—whose father, Juan Antonio Argueyo, taught at Belem—received seven pesos and six reales on June 14, 1776, for repairs he made to a contrabass (*contrabajo*) belonging to Belem. He succeeded Josef Fernández de Sta. Cruz as Belem's bass instructor in 1776. He earned twenty-three pesos for September–December of 1776, during which time he gave six lessons per month. He is active in Belem's records until September 9, 1778.[445]

Ygnacio Pedrosa (Ignacio Pedroza), a multi-instrumentalist, served as Belem's violin teacher.[446] Jesús A. Ramos-Kittrell identifies him as a trumpet player who joined the cathedral choir in 1736.[447] Giving us a glimpse into the attitudes and prejudices regarding race and class in the cathedral, Pedrosa's (undated) letter to the cathedral chapter refers to the competition for paying performing jobs in the cathedral around 1768–1769:

> With the permission of your lordship and of the entire music chapel, as its most senior member, I would like to address two points:
>
> The first one is that the administrator of the chapel should not contract more than two events [for the chapel to perform in them], which can be covered without a problem. However, wishing to contract three or four, the administrator calls musicians from outside [to fill in] who are not our equals. They might be very good men, but not *decent* to so many white men and cleric gentlemen in the chapel.[448]

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[445] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 43.
[446] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 94.
[447] Jesús A. Ramos-Kittrell, "Ignacio Jerusalem and Changes in Music Thought," in *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race, and Status in New Spain*, Currents in Latin American and Iberian Music (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1.
[448] Ignacio Pedroza, "Letter from Ignacio Pedroza to the Cathedral Chapter," c. 1768, Acuerdos de Cabildo, folder 4, Archivo del Cabildo, Catedral Metropolitana de México, Mexico City, as cited and translated in Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral*, 1–2, 173.

Ramos-Kittrell explains, "In eighteenth-century Mexico City 'decency' was an attribute of gente decente (decent people), a group characterized by the Spanish lineage and social privileges of its members." Muriel and Lledías write that around 1771, he was still serving in the cathedral choir, playing *trompa* (horn), *clarín* (trumpet), oboe, violin, and *bajoncillo* (a small bassoon).[449]

Pedroza appears to be active at Belem both teaching and also purchasing music for the escoleta. On May 28, 1773, Belem paid Pedroza twenty-seven pesos and five *tomines* (silver coins used in certain parts of the Americas) for two months ("mitad del tercio") of teaching. On December 20, 1777, he received twenty-eight pesos reimbursement for music purchases for the escoleta. On January 10, 1778, Belem reimbursed him twenty-eight pesos for several "psalmos de vísperas doblados" that were necessary in of Belem's festivities.[450] On June 4, 1778, he received twelve pesos and two *reales* (Peninsular Spanish gold coins) for the book of plainchant by

[449] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 94.
[450] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 42. "Psalmos de vísperas doblados" may refer to psalms that were intended for feast days for which vespers were sung both the night before the feast day and the evening of the feast day (i.e. "vísperas dobladas" or "double vespers").

Montanos edited by Torres,[451] two *Calendas*[452] (one for Christmas and another for Our Lady), one Salve, and the repair (compostura) of the violin bows. Pedroza appears in Belem's records until August 27, 1778.[453]

Joseph María Ximénez trained as a boy chorister in the Colegio de Infantes and performed as a cellist in the cathedral around 1771.[454] Belem paid him one peso for the repair of a cello (violón) on February 17, 1777, and he received twenty-three pesos on May 5, 1777, for teaching the third of the year that concluded in April. He taught six lessons per month from January to July of 1777 and was active until August 9, 1777.[455]

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[451] "Purchase Record of 'Libro de Canto Llano de Montanos Añacido Por Torres,'" 1778, AHCV 13-IV-2; Francisco de Montanos and Joseph de Torres y Martínez Bravo, *Arte de Canto Llano, Con Entonaciones de Coro y Altar, y Otras Cosas. Compuesto Por Francisco Montanos, y Aora Nuevamente Corregido, y Aumentado El Arte Practico de Canto de Organo, Con Motetes, o Lecciones Diversas, Por Todos Los Tiempos, y Claves Por Don Joseph de Torres, Organista Principal de La Capilla de Su Magestad* (Madrid, 1705), http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/biblioteca/Arte%20de%20canto%20llano%20%20:%20%20con%20entonaciones%20de%20coro%20y%20altar,%20y%20otras%20cosas%20/qls/Montanos,%20Francisco%20de%20(ca.%201528%20ca.%201592)/qls/bdh0000084540;jsessionid=F7394EAEC81896D33DD26ABBF3263E0F.

[452] A calenda is defined as a "Lesson of the Roman martyrology, with the names and deeds of the saints, and the celebrations pertaining to each day" ("Lección del martirologio romano, con los nombres y hechos de los santos, y las fiestaspertenecientes a cada día"). Real Academia Española, "Diccionario de La Lengua Española," accessed October 27, 2017, http://dle.rae.es/?w=diccionario.

[453] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 42–43.

[454] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas,* 94.

[455] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 43.

José Agapito del Portillo served as the substitute cellist for Joseph María Ximénez at the Metropolitan Cathedral.[456] Belem paid him eight pesos on September 2, 1777, for teaching the previous month. He appears in Belem's records until August 29, 1778.[457]

Little is known about Ygnacio Cardilo, who gave six lessons per month at Belem from May to July of 1777, and eight lessons per month from August 1777 to August 1778.[458] Two Belem teachers from the early nineteenth century are José Mariano Cataño (organ and harpsichord) and Augustín Mendoza y Moctezuma (unknown).[459]

Although unsupported by definitive documentation, Muriel and Lledías write that Ignacio Jerusalem (1707–1769) was the first great teacher at the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem.[460] Two of his daughters, María Micaela and María Joaquina Jerusalem, trained in the escoleta de música, which owned a significant number of his compositions. He clearly had connections to Belem, but records indicating his employment there have yet to be found (or at least cited). Ignacio Jerusalem will be discussed in detail at the end of this chapter and in chapters 5 and 6.

[456] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 94.
[457] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 43.
[458] Lledías, 43.
[459] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 85.
[460] Muriel and Lledías, 82, 324.

Curriculum

The escoleta admitted approximately twenty students, each judged on her musical aptitude.[461] Teachers evaluated students in the singing of plainchant and performance on organ and other instruments. Students, such as the sisters Juana and Manuela de las Casas, received payment for performing in chapel services and participation in the colegio's fiestas.[462] As adults, they could (as teachers qualified in music) teach in their own homes, colegios, or convents; perform in an orchestra; or profess as a nun of the choir in a convent.[463]

FIGURE 27. Cárcel de Belem, a room that appears to be the colegio's chapel.[464] Courtesy of the INAH.

[461] Muriel and Lledías, 77.
[462] AHCV 13-IV-9, f. 180, empleo que da la prepósita al dinero que recibe, 1851, as cited in Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 95, 125–28; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 85–86.
[463] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 86.
[464] "Hombre en los juzgados populares de la cárcel de Belén," Núm. Inv. 86615, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the migration of Italian musicians had a large influence on the musical life of New Spain.[465] Belem's escoleta de música was organized as an Italian conservatory, employing the pedagogy popular in the schools of Naples and Venice.[466] According to Jane L. Baldauf-Berdes, the daily schedule of conservatories included an hour each of vocal training, technical development, sight reading, and vocal exercises.[467]

We can tell what instruments were owned by Belem not only by what teachers were contracted, but also by the jobs the women of Belem took after their education and by maintenance records. Muriel and Lledías list Belem students who professed as nuns and/or became teachers at other colegios with descriptions as musician, singer, organist, bassoonist, flutist, violinist, violist, and contrabassist.[468] Belem paid Juan de la Campa two pesos for organ maintenance (*composision*) on May 6, 1777.[469] Five months later, on September 27, 1777, Belem paid the organ builder Manuel de Castro for maintenance to the organ and four clavichords.[470] Clavichords were

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[465] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 96.
[466] Muriel and Lledías, 91.
[467] Jane L. Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice, Musical Foundations, 1525-1855*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), (no page cited), as cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 91.
[468] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 538. "Organista" can refer to an organist or harpist. "Flautista" may signify a flutist or oboist. "Violinista" can mean a player of any bowed string instrument of the violin family.
[469] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 44.
[470] AHCV 13-IV-2, as cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 95; Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 44.

particularly effective for small and communal spaces (like convents and colegios) due to their small size and very soft dynamic.

From 1773 to 1802, all students took classes in solmization, counterpoint, harmony, and composition. First, the girls started with the study of plainchant; then they progressed to polyphony. Each girl chose between a string instrument and a keyboard instrument.[471]

Upon its inception, the escoleta de música occupied a designated space within Belem.[472] After the building was expanded in 1791 by Manuel Tolsá, the escoleta moved to a larger room, and the girls of the escoleta also moved to new dormitories separate from the other colegialas and recogidas.[473]

Archbishop Haro y Peralta died in 1800, and the next archbishop—Francisco Lizana y Beaumont (served 1802–1815)—arrived in Mexico in December of 1802.[474] He directed José Mariano Cataño, Belem's organ teacher, to reform the escoleta.[475] From the changes he proposed, it appears that problems he most wanted to solve were the dual purpose of the music room as a dormitory, tardiness and truancy of the colegialas, and too few clavichords for practice. He reorganized the escoleta into three classes of increasing skill levels: training in *canto llano* (plainchant), *canto de*

[471] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 95.
[472] Muriel and Lledías, 77.
[473] Muriel and Lledías, 82.
[474] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 103–6; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 86.
[475] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 86.

órgano (metered music or polyphony), and *clavecin* (harpsichord).[476] Examinations determined advancement from one class to another.[477] Cataño implemented the following changes, laid out on February 17, 1802, to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the escoleta:[478]

- Sixteen girls were divided into the three classes: six girls studying plainchant, six studying polyphony, and four studying harpsichord. Each class had one (male) teacher who received an annual salary of two hundred pesos for teaching theory and practice for two hours daily.
- The teachers had three assistants; two came in the morning and one in the afternoon.
- Belem only had one music room, which was divided in half so that two classes could take place simultaneously. (How they handled noise from two simultaneous classes in one room is unclear.) In order to use the single classroom effectively, Cataño specified that it must not also serve as a dormitory.
- The girls of the escoleta de música lived together with one woman who was responsible for seeing that they arrived at their classes on time.
- The escoleta needed at least three clavichords.

[476] Muriel and Lledías, 91–92.
[477] Muriel and Lledías, 77.
[478] Muriel and Lledías, 86–87.

Young women who were concluding musical studies had the opportunity to take a professional exam given by their teachers. In these exams, they had to demonstrate specialty in at least two instruments, one of which might be voice. Owing to the difficulty of the instrument and the limited number of teachers, however, organists needed to attain proficiency on the organ alone.[479]

From Escoleta to Convent

Young women who entered convents as nuns joined an elite stratum of society. Only women with proof of limpieza de sangre were able to enter the profession. Moreover, conventual dowries were prohibitively expensive: as much as four thousand pesos by the end of the 1700s.[480] Sometimes convents accepted women who possessed skills required for the administration and daily operation of the convent (e.g. accountants and musicians) with only a "velo de gracia" ("veil of grace"), in other words, without a dowry.[481] Only select convents—ones in which music played an integral part of services—allowed the profession of nuns of the choir without a dowry.[482] Asunción Lavrin writes about the eighteenth-century convent reforms (some of which were discussed in Chapter 2) and their influence on the free profession of nuns of the choir:

[479] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 39.
[480] Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 24.
[481] Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres*, 101.
[482] Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 25.

> Under the reform drive that seems to have enveloped their Order in the late seventeenth century, some Franciscan prelates adopted a negative attitude about conventual music. In 1702, two members of the Order refused to grant that venue to a dowerless applicant in Santa Isabel who was hoping to enter as a musician. That year, the nuns of the convent wrote a letter to their prelate informing him that the convent had few singers and those available were sick and unable to help in the conventual divine offices. They had a promising aspirant: Gregoria de Alarcón, daughter of a Pueblan couple, who had been examined by the chapel master of the cathedral and their own vicar. They found her able to play the harp and the treble and the community asked permission to receive her as a novice.[483] It was denied, with citations of a papal bull of Innocent XI (1679), and the Franciscan Constitutions of 1639. The bull forbade the Provincial of the Order to meddle with dowries or to advise on receiving nuns without them for any reason whatsoever. The Constitution established that Franciscan nuns should use plain singing in their divine offices, without organ or counterpoint.[484] Observing this Rule, the prelates recommended that all the nuns should sing, obviating the need for special performers. The aesthetic impoverishment of ceremonial rituals in Franciscan convents was not necessarily followed in other convents of more means.[485]

James Córdova writes that convents "housed women from similar backgrounds who for varied reasons had chosen to enter the religious life."[486] This statement is true for most nuns; however, entering a convent with a velo de gracia represented significant upward social mobility. Women whose status depended, not on money, but rather on their skills were suddenly social equals to, and living beside women who had paid thousands of pesos to become nuns.

Convents were feminine institutions with strict social hierarchies. At the top were nuns of the black veil (who had taken permanent vows and were eligible to vote

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[483] Lavrin's translation is not clear whether "treble" refers to "treble violin" (as opposed to *violín tenor,* meaning "viola") or perhaps soprano (*tiple*).
[484] Archivo General de la Nación, México (AGN), BN, Leg. 140, fol. 106, as cited and translated in Lavrin, 160.
[485] Lavrin, 160.
[486] Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico*, 21.

in convent elections and to hold office), followed by nuns of the white veil (novices who had taken temporary vows), candidates (postulants who had yet to take vows), servants, and slaves.[487]

A woman's decision to profess as a nun was influenced by many things, not just a religious calling; it was an occupation like any other. A convent was one of the only places where women could lead professional, nearly independent lives.[488] Even though they had more agency and liberty in some respects, nuns had less in others. They were still under the governance of their male confessors and ecclesiastical authorities.[489] The male and female religious life presented an immense double-standard: both sexes took vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, but the church required women to take a vow of enclosure, remaining cloistered within their convents for the rest of their lives, never to see—or be seen by—the outside world again.[490] In *Brides of Christ*, Lavrin describes the effect of nuns being cloistered in convents attached to public churches: "The physical but hidden proximity of the women living in the adjacent cloisters infused nunneries with an aura of respect and mystery that was lacking in male convents, inasmuch as monks were part of the world, and their own visibility in the streets made them familiar and accessible."[491] In "Disembodied Voices: Music in the Nunneries of Bologna in the Midst of the

[487] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 41.
[488] Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 1.
[489] Vollendorf, *The Lives of Women*, 148.
[490] Lavrin, "Women in Colonial Mexico," 268.
[491] Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 2.

Counter-Reformation," Craig A. Monson describes how cloistering gave nun's music (specifically their singing) an otherworldly and uncanny quality due to the source of the sound being invisible and unapproachable by the listener.[492]

In the first six years of the escoleta de música, twenty former students had already professed as nuns of the choir and black veil and another five were novices. In 1751, Belem was training twenty-six music students destined for religious profession.[493] By way of example, Luis Lledías describes four Belem music students who went on to profess in Mexico City convents:[494]

- Doña Úrsula Alcívar took the religious habit in 1778 and a year later made her solemn profession as a nun of the choir and black veil. She served as the organist at the Jeronymite (Augustinian) Convento de San Lorenzo.[495]
- Doña María Lugarda Fernandes Cordova professed as a nun of the choir and black veil in the Franciscan Conceptionist Convento de La Encarnación in 1778. Although she originally entered as a musician, she professed by way of a dowry that was given to her by a benefactor.
- Doña María Gertrudis García, a former pensionista at Belem, took the religious habit as a nun of the choir and the black veil in the Franciscan

[492] Craig Monson, "Disembodied Voices: Music in the Nunneries of Bologna in the Midst of the Counter-Reformation," in *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Craig Monson (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 191–210.
[493] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 42.
[494] Information in the list is taken from Lledías, 45–46 except where indicated otherwise.
[495] AHCV 13-4-2.

Conceptionist Convento de Regina Coeli in 1778. She was a singer and contrabass player.

- Doña Anna María Guertas, another pensionista, singer, and contrabass player, went on to profess as a nun of the choir and black veil in the Franciscan Conceptionist Convento de San José de Gracia in 1779.

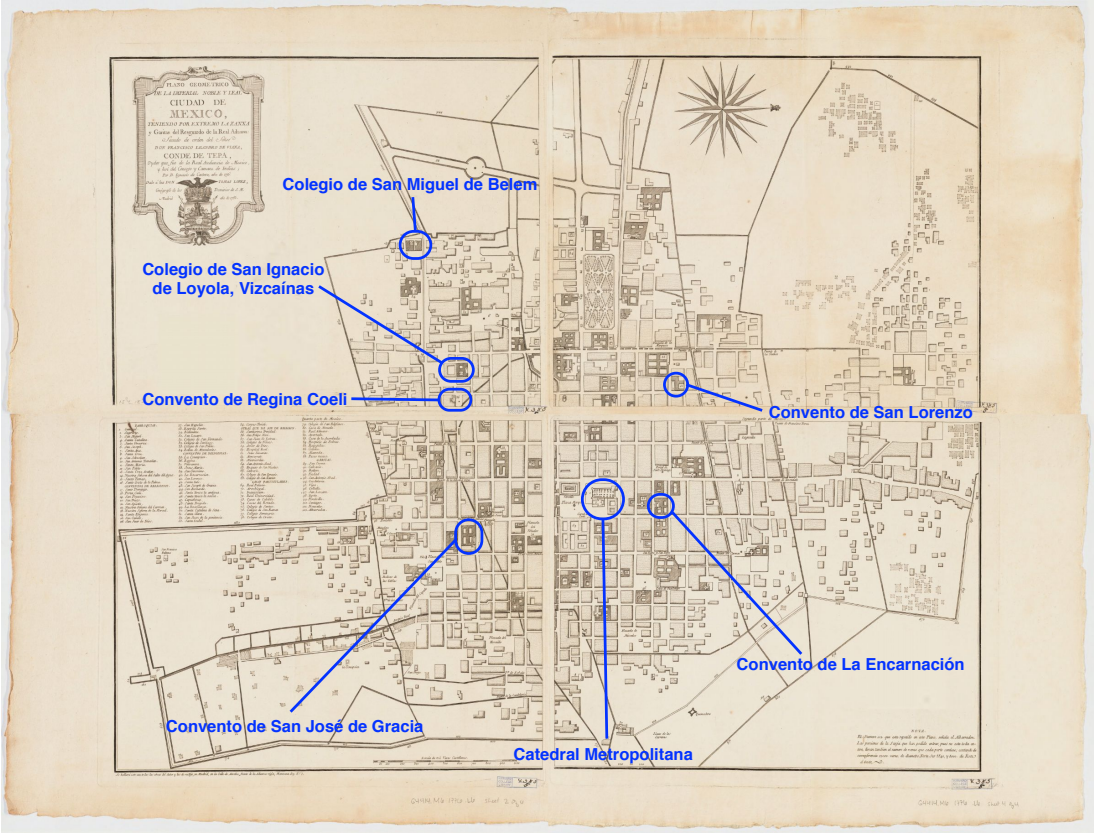

FIGURE 28. Map of Mexico City, 1785.[496] (Annotations are the author's.) Courtesy of the Harvard Map Collection, Harvard Library.

[496] Tomás López de Vargas Machuca, *Plano Geométrico de La Imperial Noble y Leal Ciudad de Mexico: Teniendo Por Extremo La Zanxa y Garitas Del Resguardo de La Real Aduana* (Madrid, 1785), http://www.oldmapsonline.org/map/harvard/11486450.

The Franciscan Conceptionist convents of La Encarnación, Regina Coeli, and San José de Gracia cited by Lledías and shown on the map in Figure 28, admitted peninsular and criolla women aged eighteen to twenty-five who had attained an elementary education in reading, writing, and mathematics and would pay a dowry of four thousand pesos. The Jeronymite (Augustinian) Convent of San Lorenzo was very similar and required a dowry of three thousand pesos. This sum was prohibitively large for most women, but the musical skills of the four graduates of Belem substituted for their dowry. The prerequisite of an elementary education was important because, in addition to prayer and contemplation, one of the most important occupations of Conceptionist and Jeronymite nuns was the education of girls.[497] As discussed earlier, Regina Coeli, La Encarnación, and San Lorenzo each housed and educated girls who were cloistered along with their nun-teachers until the time of their marriage or profession.

The Jerusalem Sisters

Although many alumnae of Belem's escoleta de música either married or professed as nuns, two graduates, María Micaela Jerusalem[498] (1750–1824) and María Joaquina Jerusalem (b. after 1742), became music teachers at the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas. We know relatively little about María Joaquina

[497] Lledías, "El colegio de San Miguel de Bethlen, un conservatorio femenino novohispano," 46.
[498] Also spelled as María Michaela Yersualem and Maria Micahela Jerarda Jerusalen Sisto.

Jerusalem, but more documentation is extant regarding María Micaela Jerusalem, who served a long career as an educator and administrator at Vizcaínas, being elected three times as the *rectora* (headmistress) of the school.

María Micaela and María Joaquina Jerusalem came from a prominent musical family. The Jerusalem sisters were the daughters of Antonia Sixto (dates unknown) and Ignacio Jerusalem[499] (1707–1769), an Italian composer, violinist, and teacher originally from Lecce. Relatively little is known about Ignacio Jerusalem's early life in Italy. He was the seventh of nine children born to Matteo Martino Gerusalemme (b. 1666) and Anna Curzio Stella (dates unknown), both of whom were from Naples. Ignacio's father, also a violinist, worked as a teacher and court/church musician.[500] In 1732, Ignacio moved to the Spanish port of Cádiz to work as a theatre musician. He obtained his license to immigrate in 1742, after Josef Cárdenas recruited him to work for the *Coliseo* (the theatre in Mexico City).[501] Jerusalem departed for Mexico with seventeen other people, including Antonia Sixto, their son Salvador and daughter Isabel, and other musicians, actors, and theatre workers from France, Italy, and

[499] Ignacio is often spelled as Ygnacio, and Jerusalem as Gerusalemme in Italy and Hierusalem, Hyerusalem, Jerusalen, and Jeruzalem in Mexico.
[500] Robert Murrell Stevenson, "Ignacio Jerusalem, 1707-1769: Italian Parvenu in Eighteenth-Century Mexico (Part One)," *Inter-American Music Review* 16, no. 1 (1997): 57–58.
[501] Craig H. Russell, "Jerusalem, Ignacio," *Grove Music Online*, accessed April 6, 2012, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14280; María Gembero Ustárroz, "Documentación de interés musical en el Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla," *Revista de musicología* 24, no. 1–2 (2001): 22; Stevenson, "Ignacio Jerusalem, 1707-1769," 57.

Spain.[502] He became the director of the Coliseo and in June of 1746, began working at the Mexico City Cathedral, composing *villancicos* and teaching at the cathedral's Colegio de Infantes (school for boys) under its interim *maestro de capilla* (director of music), Domingo Dutra y Andrade.[503] Jerusalem became the maestro de capilla in 1750, the same year in which his daughter María Micaela was born and baptized at the Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano (the Tabernacle) of the Mexico City Cathedral on February 26.[504]

[502] AGI, Contratación, 5486, n.3, R.15 1/2, December 4, 1742, as cited in Gembero Ustárroz, "Documentación de interés musical en el Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla," 22; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 96.
[503] Russell, "Jerusalem, Ignacio."
[504] "Baptism Record for Maria Micahela Jerarda Jerusalen Sisto (February 26, 1750)" (FamilySearch, January 2, 2015), México bautismos, 1560-1950, Asuncion, Distrito Federal, Mexico, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NKJH-N61. The current Sagrario Metropolitano was built adjoining the cathedral between 1749 and 1760. Before that, the tabernacle was kept in the present-day Chapels of San Isidro and Our Lady of Agony of Granada inside the cathedral.

FIGURE 29. Metropolitan Cathedral in Mexico City.
Photo by the author.

FIGURE 30. Nave of the Metropolitan Cathedral in Mexico City.
Photo by the author.

Maria Micaela Jerusalem had two sisters and three brothers. Her oldest brother, Salvador, was born in Catalonia (Cataluña) and immigrated to New Spain with his parents in 1742.[505] Muriel writes that once settled in Mexico City, Salvador "was part" of the Colegio de Infantes at the Cathedral, presumably meaning he trained there as a boy chorister.[506] Isabel Jerusalem y Sixto, born in Ceuta (in Spanish-held Northern Africa), also traveled with her parents and brother to Mexico.[507] Juan Manuel Joseph Ygnacio Jeruzalem Xisto is registered as being baptized on May 7, 1745, in the Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano.[508] Pedro Joseph (José) Jerusalem is listed as playing violin, cello,[509] bassoon, and a small bassoon (*bajoncillo*)[510] at the Mexico City Cathedral (1760–after 1763), where Ignacio Jerusalem was the maestro de capilla. Regarding María Joaquina, we know what information also applies to her sister, María Micaela: that they both trained as flutists

[505] Gembero Ustárroz, "Documentación de interés musical en el Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla," 22.
[506] "El hijo, Salvador, formó parte del Colegio de Infantes de la catedral metropolitana...." Muriel, "El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, 1734–1863," 60.
[507] Gembero Ustárroz, "Documentación de interés musical en el Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla," 22.
[508] "Baptism Record for Juan Manuel Joseph Ygnacio Jeruzalem Xisto (May 7, 1745)" (FamilySearch, May 20, 2014), México, Distrito Federal, registros parroquiales y diocesanos, 1514-1970. Bautismos de españoles 1741-1745 > image 872 of 938; parroquias Católicas, Distrito Federal (Catholic Church parishes, Distrito Federal), Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano (Centro), https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1-9747-3470-27?cc=1615259.
[509] Javier Marín López, "Música y músicos entre dos mundos la catedral de México y sus libros de polifonía (siglos XVI-XVIII)" (Universidad de Granada, 2007), I:201.
[510] Marín López, I:214.

and bassoonists at Belem,[511] and that they served as *celadoras de escoleta de música* (monitors of the school of music) at Vizcaínas.[512] María Joaquína's absence on the 1742 immigration records indicate that she was born after her parents settled in Mexico City.

Ignacio Jerusalem's early years as the maestro de capilla were marked by financial instability and scandal. He was the second man of non-Spanish descent to hold the position. (Domingo Dutra Andrade [served 1740–1750] who directly preceded him was Portuguese.) Jerusalem was the first Italian in a long line of españoles (1536–1654) and criollos (1654–1739).[513] At the cathedral, where musicians' professional statuses were based on formal training, or "knowledge of music" (specifically of the older Spanish style established in ecclesiastical practice), Jerusalem's Italian *estilo moderno* and background not in the church, but rather in the theater, prompted political conflict and threw into question his ability to lead as the maestro de capilla.[514] Moreover, finances appear to be a continual point of contention. The maestro de capilla had traditionally earned wages for certain special services, and Jerusalem protested the cathedral contracting other musicians for these services.[515] In addition, cathedral officials were angry that, even after they appointed him as the

[511] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 324; Muriel, "El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, 1734–1863," 60.
[512] Muriel, "El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, 1734–1863," 59.
[513] Marín López, "Música y músicos entre dos mundos la catedral de México y sus libros de polifonía (siglos XVI-XVIII)," 123.
[514] Ramos-Kittrell, "Ignacio Jerusalem and Changes in Music Thought."
[515] Russell, "Jerusalem, Ignacio."

maestro de capilla, he continued to conduct and compose for the Coliseo.[516] Over the next few years, his commitment to the Coliseo dwindled until he stepped down from his position, leaving his accounts unsettled and, as a result, being charged with embezzlement. Ignacio Jerusalem and Antonia Sixto separated, and Antonia went to live with her brother. She petitioned the cathedral chapter directly, asking the cathedral to give her a portion of Ignacio's salary.[517]

It is under these circumstances—public scandal and an unstable domestic life—that María Micaela and María Joaquina Jersualem went to live and study at the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem. Belem not only gave them a secure place to live while their parents were separated, but its escoleta de música also gave them a means to support themselves.

The exact date of the Jerusalem sisters' arrival at Belem is presently unknown. Judging by Archbishop Hero y Peralta's 1799 specification that Belem's scholarship recipients could be as young as seven and as old as fifteen,[518] we can estimate that they entered Belem between 1758 and 1766 (when María Micaela was seven to fifteen years old). María Micaela and María Joaquina Jerusalem both studied music at Belem, and we can assume that the original intent was for them to eventually profess as nuns.[519] A record for María Micaela lists her among eleven "religiosas profesas

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[516] Stevenson, "Ignacio Jerusalem, 1707-1769," 57.
[517] Russell, "Jerusalem, Ignacio."
[518] AHCV 13-IV-3, 24-V-1799, f. 227v-228, as cited in Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 105.
[519] María Micaela Jerusalem is listed as one of eleven "religiosas profesas que hicieron estudios" at Belem. "List of Students Studying to Become Nuns," n.d.,

que hicieron estudios" (girls destined for religious profession who study) at Belem.[520] Among the Jerusalem sisters' fellow colegialas were the students who were supported by the Cofradía de Aránzazu and who were awaiting the opening of the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas.

Muriel and Lledías write that Ignacio Jerusalem was the first great teacher at the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem and organized the escoleta de música in the manner of the conservatories of Naples, Rome, and Venice.[521] They assert that he brought and reinforced the Italian style not only at the cathedral, but also at Belem.[522] The assumption that Jerusalem taught at Belem at all, however, is not backed by any documentation and seems to be based solely on the presence of Ignacio's compositions at Belem.[523] Given that some of Belem's archival documents never arrived at Vizcaínas when Belem closed, it is possible that records tying Igancio

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AHCV 13-IV-2, as cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 85.

[520] "List of Students Studying to Become Nuns", as cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 85.

[521] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 82, 324.

[522] Muriel and Lledías, 97; For more information on Ignacio Jerusalem, please see the following sources Russell, "Jerusalem, Ignacio"; Ramos-Kittrell, "Ignacio Jerusalem and Changes in Music Thought"; Gembero Ustárroz, "Documentación de interés musical en el Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla"; Stevenson, "Ignacio Jerusalem, 1707-1769."

[523] "The presence of the great musician Ignacio Jerusalem is evident in the works that he had at the School of Music." ("La presencia del gran músico Ignacio Jerusalem se pone de manifiesto en las obras que de él tuvo la Escuela de Música.") Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 93; Muriel also claims without citation that Ignacio Jersalem taught at the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcainás. Muriel, "El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, 1734–1863," 60.

Jerusalem to Belem once existed but are now lost. Establishing his employment on the presence of his music at the institution seems speculative at best. It is entirely plausible that Ignacio Jerusalem's compositions arrived at Belem through his daughters. It seems that María Micaela and María Joaquina Jerusalem either had contact with their father as a teacher at Belem or he had enough of a relationship with them to give them his music. We do not have records of the men who taught in Belem's escoleta de música during the Jerusalem sisters' education, but it is certain that they were musicians who worked under the leadership of Ignacio Jerusalem at the cathedral.

The instruments the sisters played (flute and bassoon)[524] were generally not played by European women during the Baroque period because they "distorted the mouth." String and keyboard instruments were much more common. For women living in all-female institutions, such as colegios and convents, being removed from the male gaze freed them to play "unfeminine" instruments. For instance, Asunción Lavrin mentions Sor María Rosa de San José from the Convento de La Concepción requesting leave in 1747 to switch to viola because "playing the oboe was causing her an excruciating wound in her tongue."[525] The Venetian *ospedali* (orphanages famous for female music education) held numerous similarities to Belem's escoleta de

[524] "Assessment of the Belongings of María Micaela Jerusalem," n.d., AHCV 4-V-1, as cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 324; Muriel, "El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, 1734–1863," 60.
[525] Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico (AGN), Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico (BN), Leg. 85, exp. 5, as cited in Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 160.

música. Baldauf-Berdes writes that girls at the four *ospedali* learned a full complement of wind instruments:

> In addition to the organ, instruments for which instruction was offered included: strings—violin, viola, violoncello, *viola d'amore*, *viola da braccia*, *viola da gamba*, violone, contrabass, lute, theorbo, *tromba marina*, mandolin, dulcimer (*salterio*), and *chittara*; winds—clarinet, *corno da caccia*, oboe, flute, and bassoon; brass—trumpet, cornett, and trombone; and percussion—timpani, spinet, harp, and harpsichord.[526]

On June 6, 1768, María Micaela and María Joaquina Jerusalem's brother, Pedro Joseph Jerusalem, married Anna Ximenez Olondres at Santa Veracruz in Mexico City.[527] Their daughter Maria Josepha Antonia Cleofas was born on September 25, 1768. On October 1, 1768, she was baptized at the Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, which had moved to the newly-completed annex to the cathedral. The baptismal record lists María Micaela Jerusalem as her niece's godmother.[528]

In 1767 the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas, opened and the girls living at Belem supported by scholarships from the Basque Cofradía de Aránzazu in anticipation of Vizcaínas's opening finally transferred to their new home. These girls and the staff who had trained at Belem replicated the older colegio's housing and

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[526] Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 141.
[527] "Marriage Record for Pedro Joseph Jerusalen and Anna Ximenez Olondres (June 6, 1768)" (FamilySearch, July 14, 2015), México matrimonios, 1570-1950, Santa Veracruz, Distrito Federal, Mexico, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:JHG7-LZZ.
[528] "Baptism Record for Antonia Cleofas Jerusalen Jimenez (October 1, 1768)" (FamilySearch, January 2, 2015), México bautismos, 1560-1950, Asuncion, Distrito Federal, Mexico, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:N11G-M2W.

educational system.[529] An adult woman and up to nine girls occupied a communal bedroom, living room, kitchen, and roof area for washing. Students were supported by their families (who paid ten pesos per month) or by the Cofradía de Aránzazu. Vizcaínas's curriculum included household skills, reading and writing, Christian doctrine, sewing and embroidery, music, and some Latin, math, science, and history. In its first year, Vizcaínas served 147 girls as young as seven years of age.[530] Vizcaínas's first music teacher was Manuel Andreu who taught organ, clavichord, flute, bassoon, and possibly other instruments from 1768 to 1769.[531]

Two years after Vizcaínas's opening, at age nineteen, Mariá Micaela moved to the new colegio. It is unclear if she did so as a student or as an adult woman in need of a place to live and work. Girls who studied in a colegio often continued to live there as adults (unless they married or professed as nuns). Considering that older students often helped teach younger ones, older girls gradually transitioned to adult roles. María Micaela Jerusalem entered Vizcaínas in February of 1769 with a scholarship from a Señor Echeveste.[532] Juan José de Echeveste, from Guipúzcoa,

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[529] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 96–97.
[530] Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 37; Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857*, 17.
[531] AHCV 15-I-5, Recibo que el maestro Manuel Andreu da a don Ambrosio Meave, 10 de enero de 1769, as cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 324.
[532] Manuel Carrera Stampa, "El Colegio de Las Vizcaínas: Primera Escuela Laica En El Continente Americano," *Memorias de La Academia Mexicana de La Historia* 26, no. 4 (December 1967): 439, https://www.acadmexhistoria.org.mx/pdfs/publicaciones/MemoriasParaLectura/TomoXXVI_4_1967Prote.pdf; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 324.

served as *rector* of the Mesa de Nuestra Señora de Aránzazu that governed Vizcaínas from 1774 to 1775.[533]

FIGURE 31. The Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas.
Photo by the author.

[533] Carrera Stampa, "El Colegio de Las Vizcaínas: Primera Escuela Laica En El Continente Americano," 427.

FIGURE 32. View of the Vizcaínas chapel altar from the choir and organ loft. Photo by the author. Used by permission of the Museo Vizcaínas.

FIGURE 33. Wall behind the organ in the Vizcaínas choir loft.
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the Museo Vizcaínas.

FIGURE 34. Original wall decoration preserved in the Museo Vizcaínas.
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the Museo Vizcaínas.

Ten months after María Micaela Jerusalem went to Vizcaínas, Ignacio Jerusalem died while still serving as the maestro de capilla of the cathedral. Pedro Joseph Jersalem, who worked at the cathedral, petitioned the cathedral for fifty pesos following his father's death.[534] It is unclear if and how María Micaela's move to Vizcaínas and receipt of a scholarship—which was often granted girls who were orphaned or who had little or no financial support—were prompted by her father's ill health and death.

Both María Joaquina and María Micaela Jerusalem held the position of celadora de escoleta de música at Vizcaínas.[535] Apart from this information, we know little more of María Joaquina Jerusalem. Muriel and Lledías do not list her as professing in a convent,[536] and we have no evidence of her getting married. One possible clue is found in a July 16, 1786, document granting María Micaela Jerusalem a leave of absence from Vizcaínas. In it, the board grants her permission to leave for three or four days to communicate with "su hermana Religiosa" in the Convento de la Concepción.[537] "Una hermana religiosa" literally translates as "a religious sister" and would generally be understood to mean "a nun." On the other hand, the use of the possessive pronoun "su" ("her") rather than the indefinite article "una" ("a") makes the phrase "su hermana Religiosa" ("her religious sister"). The phrase could be used

[534] Marín López, "Música y músicos entre dos mundos la catedral de México y sus libros de polifonía (siglos XVI-XVIII)," III:111.
[535] Muriel, "El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, 1734–1863," 59.
[536] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 538–41.
[537] AHCV 14-I-8, f. 15.

to relate two nuns of the same order; however, María Micaela Jerusalem was not a nun, and Vizcaínas was a secular institution without affiliation to an order. One could interpret "su hermana Religiosa" as indicating that the nun María Micaela Jerusalem visited was, indeed, her biological sister (either Isabel or María Joaquina). Although María Joaquina disappears from record, we know that Maestra María Micaela Jerusalem went on to lead a long and well-documented career in education.

In 1772, after three years at Vizcaínas, María Micaela Jerusalem went to the Convento de La Encarnación. Already an accomplished instrumental musician, she went to the convent to learn more about liturgical music.[538]

FIGURE 35. Corridor of the Convento de La Encarnación.[539]
Courtesy of the INAH.

[538] "Pasó a la Encarnación. En noviembre de 1772 fue solicitada en ese convento 'a título de instrumento músico, para instruirse en el 'estilo religioso,' regresando después al Colegio. Siguió en 20 de noviembre." Carrera Stampa, "El Colegio de Las Vizcaínas: Primera Escuela Laica En El Continente Americano," 442.
[539] "Convento de la Encarnación, corridor," Núm. Inv. 427243, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.

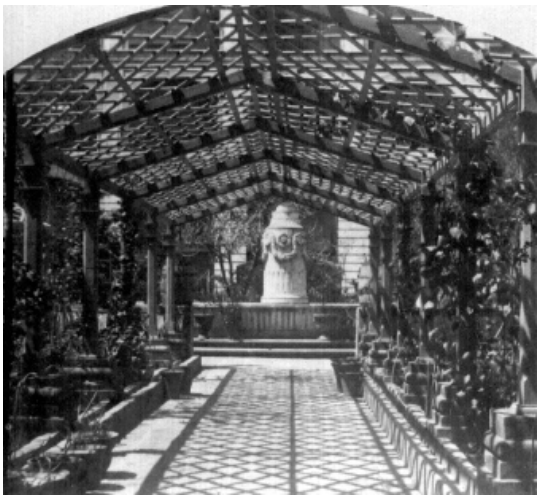

FIGURE 36. Garden inside the Convento de La Encarnación.[540]
Courtesy of the INAH.

The Royal Decree of May 22, 1774,[541] which required vida común to be observed by new novices, evicted all laywomen (including students) from convents.[542] It is unclear if María Micaela Jerusalem left the convent in connection to the reforms, but she is found in Vizcaínas's record next in 1776.[543]

[540] "Convento de la Encarnación, jardín," Núm. Inv. 428145, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.
[541] "Reales Cédulas," as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:264.
[542] Chowning, "Convent Reform, Catholic Reform, and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century New Spain," 10.
[543] Carrera Stampa, "El Colegio de Las Vizcaínas: Primera Escuela Laica En El Continente Americano," 441.

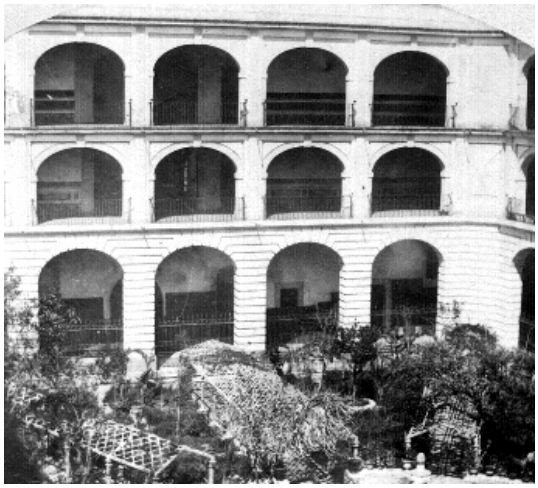

FIGURE 37. "Patio in the Convento de La Encarnación."[544]
Courtesy of the INAH.

Maestra Jerusalem returned to Vizcaínas and served as the *vice-rectora* (vice headmistress) from 1776 to 1797, from age twenty-six to forty-seven.[545] At age thirty, she was recommended to be endowed as an orphan.[546] As vice-rectora, María Micaela Jerusalem served under five rectoras: Ana Catarina de la Peña y Carragal (1773–1780), Rosalía de Echinique (1781–1784), Ana María Díaz de Aguilar (1764–1786), María Josefa Velázquez (1786–1792), María Concepción Aguilar (1793–1794), Ana María Díaz de Aguilar (1795–1808). María Micaela Jerusalem served as vice-rectora until 1797, after which time there is no vice-rectora listed until 1815.[547]

[544] "Patio del Convento la Encarnación," Núm. Inv. 427123, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.
[545] Carrera Stampa, "El Colegio de Las Vizcaínas: Primera Escuela Laica En El Continente Americano," 441.
[546] El 20 de noviembre de 1780 fue propuesta con Josefa Navamuel y Arellano para "dotes de huérfana."" Carrera Stampa, 439.
[547] Carrera Stampa, 441.

While Maestra Jerusalem served as vice-rectora, Mexico suffered the subsistence crises of 1785–1786, and Vizcaínas opened a public day school (escuela pía) on its ground floor on June 21, 1793.[548] In 1794, the escuela pía served 147 girls of all races up to age thirteen.[549] The same teachers who taught the boarding students taught the day students, including much of the same curriculum and adding vocational skills.[550] The board of Vizcaínas granted María Micaela Jerusalem permission to leave the colegio twice during her tenure as vice-rectora. On July 16, 1786, the board granted her leave for three or four days to communicate with a nun ("su hermana Religiosa") in the Convento de la Concepción.[551] On October 9, 1790, she wrote to the board:

> D[oñ]a María Micahela Yerusalem, vice Rectora actual de este R[ea]l Colegio, en la mejor forma q[u]e [h]alla lugar digo, q[u]e allandome con barios asuntos q[u]e me son de mucha importancia, y no pudiendo confiarlos a otra persona p[a]r[a] sesme presiso practicarlos personalmente....
>
> Doña María Micaela Jerusalem, acting vice-rectora of this royal colegio, in the best possible way I request, finding myself with several very important

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[548] Luque Alcaide, *La Educación en Nueva España en el siglo XVIII.*, 182, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:268.
[549] Obregón, *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de México (Las Vizcaínas)*, 97, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:268; Olavarría y Ferrari, *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, vulgarmente colegio de las Vizcainas, en la actualidad colegio de la Paz, reseña histórica escrita por Enrique de Olavarría y Ferrari ...*, 103, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:268.
[550] Olavarría y Ferrari, *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, vulgarmente colegio de las Vizcainas, en la actualidad colegio de la Paz, reseña histórica escrita por Enrique de Olavarría y Ferrari ...*, 103, as cited in Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España, 1754-1820*, 1981, 1:268; Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857*, 27; Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 10.
[551] License for María Micael Jerusalem to leave Vizcaínas. July 16, 1786. AHCV 14-I-8, f. 15.

matters, and not being able to trust them to another person precisely because they must be attended to personally....

Given the various signatures on the letter, it appears that the board approved her petitioned for one or two months of leave (Figure 38).

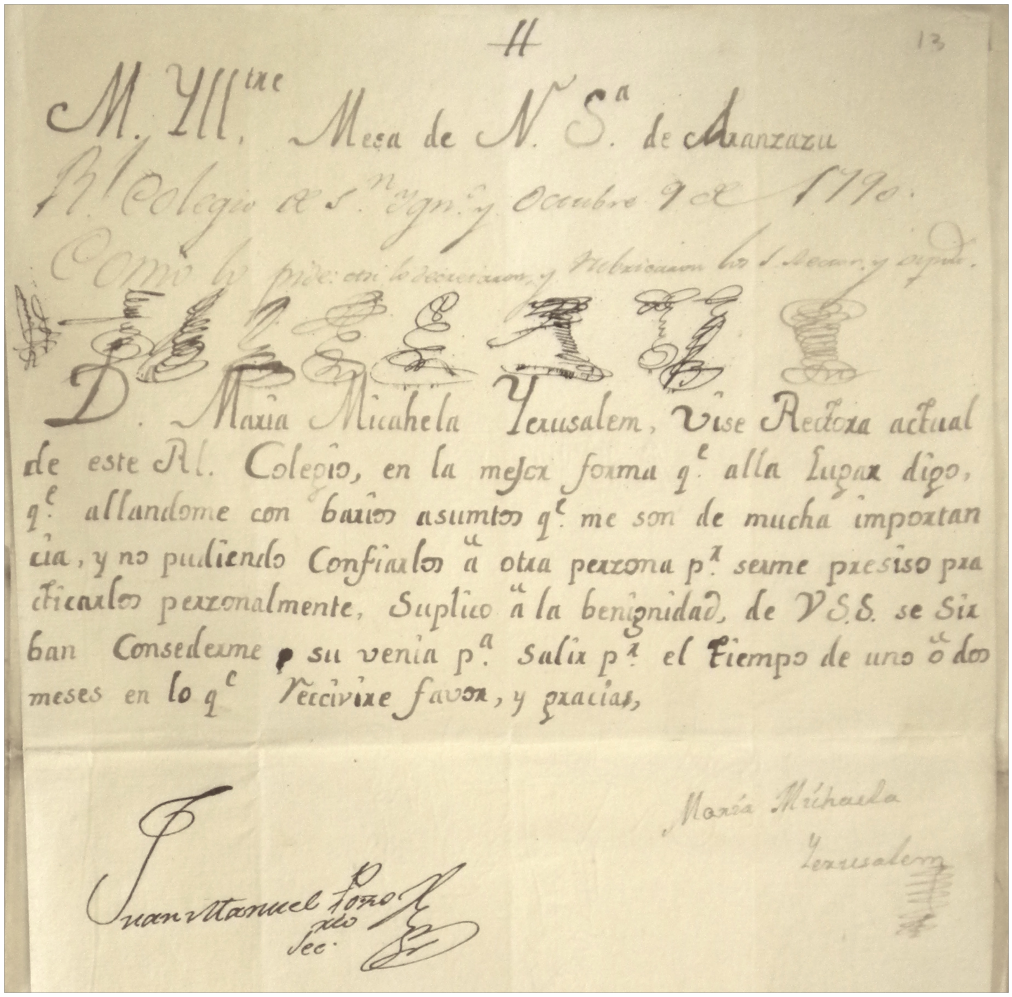

FIGURE 38. Letter from María Micaela Jerusalem to the Board of the Colegio de Vizcaínas.[552]
October 9, 1790.
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[552] License for María Micael Jerusalem to leave Vizcaínas. October 9, 1790. AHCV 14-1-8, f. 13.

Vizcaínas's board of directors elected María Micaela Jerusalem as the rectora of the colegio three times: 1808–1811, 1814–1820, and 1822–1824.[553] Rectora Ana María Díaz de Aguilar died in office on June 11, 1808.[554] Rectora Jerusalem assumed the position; her first tenure (1808–1811) spanned Mexico's second subsistence crisis (1808–1809) and subsequent insurrection of 1810.[555] The next rectora, María Josefa Olivares y Navamuel, served from August 1811 to 1814. (She had been nominated for the same endowment as María Micaela in 1780.)[556] She died on February 25, 1815, six months after María Micaela Jerusalem had assumed the position of rectora for a second time (August 1814–August 19, 1820).[557] María Micaela Maldonado served as her vice-rectora from October 20, 1815 to July 18, 1824; she was the first to occupy the position since Maestra Jerusalem had left it in 1797.[558]

Josefa Arguinao y Hernández Carragal took over the position of rectora in 1820, amidst political turbulence.[559] The "Army of Three Guarantees" led by Agustín de Iturbide marched into Mexico City in 1821 to restore power to the Mexico City elites and to establish limited constitutionalism. The Treaty of Córdoba established

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[553] María Micaela Jerusalem y Estella is listed as the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth rectora of Vizcaínas. "List of Rectoras of the Colegio de San Igancio de Loyola, Vizcaínas," n.d., AHCV 22-V-3.
[554] Carrera Stampa, "El Colegio de Las Vizcaínas: Primera Escuela Laica En El Continente Americano," 439.
[555] Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico*, 119.
[556] "El 20 de noviembre de 1780 fue propuesta con Josefa Navamuel y Arellano para 'dotes de huérfana.'" Carrera Stampa, "El Colegio de Las Vizcaínas: Primera Escuela Laica En El Continente Americano," 439.
[557] Carrera Stampa, 439.
[558] Carrera Stampa, 441.
[559] Carrera Stampa, 439.

Mexican autonomy within the Spanish Empire.[560] At Mexico's independence, Vizcaínas changed its name from "El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola" ("The Royal School of Saint Ignatius of Loyola") to "El Colegio Nacional de San Ignacio de Loyola," exchanging "The Royal School" for "The National School."

Josefa Arguinao y Hernández Carragal resigned as rectora on August 9, 1822. That same month, Maestra Jerusalem began her third term as rectora at age seventy-two.[561] The Wars of Independence had ravaged Mexico's economy, and the financial support for schools—including Vizcaínas—decreased.[562] Music education was suspended at Vizcaínas from 1822 to 1845.[563] Meanwhile, Iturbide claimed the title Emperor Agustín I. Antonio López de Santa Anna overthrew him, heralding the end of the First Mexican Empire in 1823.[564]

Rectora Jerusalem signed an inventory on April 10, 1824.[565] On April 20, 1824, María Micaela Jerusalem died at age seventy-four while serving as rectora.[566] Among her belongings were a flute and bassoon.[567] The next rectora, María Micaela Maldonado, assumed the title of rectora on February 24, 1825 (nearly ten months

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[560] Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico*, 143.
[561] Carrera Stampa, "El Colegio de Las Vizcaínas: Primera Escuela Laica En El Continente Americano," 439.
[562] Valero de García Lascuráin, "Memory of the World International Register," 10.
[563] Muriel, "El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, 1734–1863," 59.
[564] Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico*, 144.
[565] Carrera Stampa, "El Colegio de Las Vizcaínas: Primera Escuela Laica En El Continente Americano," 439.
[566] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 324.
[567] "Assessment of the Belongings of María Micaela Jerusalem." AHCV 4-V-1.

after Maestra Jerusalem's death).[568] Maldonado's vice-rectora term ended on July 18, 1824, but a new vice-rectora, María de la Luz Cabanillas, had already taken over on April 16, 1824, four days before Jerusalem's death.[569] It seems that Maldonado may have unofficially assumed the duties of rectora before María Micaela Jerusalem's death, prompting the immediate appointment of a new vice-rectora.

FIGURE 39. Teachers of the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas.[570] Courtesy of the INAH.

[568] Carrera Stampa, "El Colegio de Las Vizcaínas: Primera Escuela Laica En El Continente Americano," 439.
[569] Carrera Stampa, 441.
[570] "Maestras del Colegio de las Vizcaínas, retrato de grupo," Núm. Inv. 91184, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.

FIGURE 40. A patio inside the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola Vizcaínas. Photo by the author. Used by permission of the Museo Vizcaínas.

Four decades later, María Micaela Jerusalem's alma mater, the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem closed its doors and sent its students, music, and archival documents to the school where she had spent most of her career.

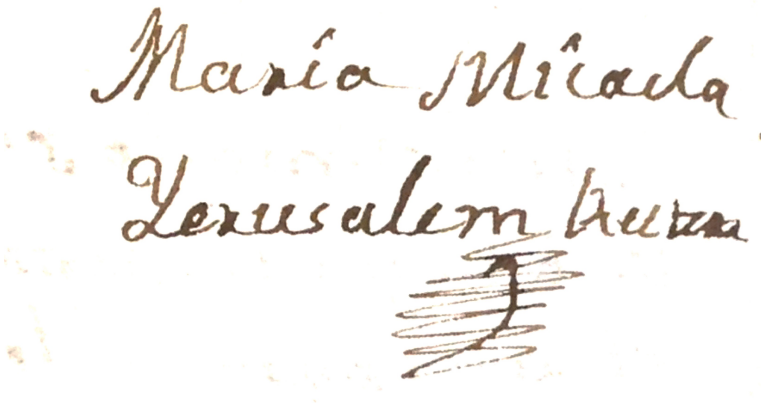

FIGURE 41. Signature of "Maria Micaela Yerusalem, Rectora."[571]
1820.
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[571] "Letter from María Micaela Jerusalem," 1820, AHCV 5-I-12. The letter is tucked into "Libro de Elecciones de Rectora y demas empleos del Colegio," (a book recording rectoras and other employees of Vizcaínas, 1817–1823).

CHAPTER 5:

BELEM'S PEDAGOGICAL MUSIC

The Archivo Histórico del Colegio de las Vizcaínas (AHCV) contains documents and music from three colonial-era Mexico City girls' schools that provided instruction in music: the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas; the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem; and the Colegio de Niñas de Nuestra Señora de la Caridad (commonly referred to as the Colegio de Niñas). A study of the documents in the archive identified as belonging to Belem enlightens us about the institution's pedagogical program and the music performed by the students.

By studying receipts and music annotated as belonging to Belem that is still extant in the AHCV, we can form a general understanding of the music studied and performed by students of the escoleta.[572] For example, a purchase record from 1778 specifies that Ignacio Pedroza, the violin teacher at Belem and trumpet player at the cathedral, purchased a "libro de Canto llano de Montanos añacido por Torres" ("book

[572] There is undoubtedly a large amount of music preserved in the AHCV that belonged to Belem, but not being labeled as such, has become mixed with the music of the other schools during its use in music classes at Vizcaínas in the latter half of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Pieces herein identified as belonging to Belem are marked in a variety of manners, including "De la Escoleta de Belem," "Del Colegio de Belen," "De la comunidad de Belem," or "Comunidad." In the cases where Muriel and Lledías have identified a piece as belonging to Belem but primary source evidence was not cited or has not been found to confirm the identification, the page number in *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispana* is listed in the footnote.

of Plainchant of Montanos, edited by Torres").[573] The Spanish theorist Francisco de Montanos's (c.1528–c.1595) *Arte de Canto Llano con Entonaciones de Coro y Altar, y otras cosas* (*Art of Plainchant with Intonations of the Choir and Altar, and other things*) was extremely influential in its day, appearing in more than ten editions between 1592 and 1734.[574] The 1705 edition, presumably the one Pedroza bought, combined Montanos's *Arte de Canto Llano* with *El Arte Practico de Canto de Organo* by Don Joseph de Torres [y Martínez Bravo] (c.1670–1738), principal organist of His Majesty's Royal Chapel.[575] Another book used at Belem is *Arte o*

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[573] "Purchase Record of 'Libro de Canto Llano de Montanos Añacido Por Torres,'" AHCV 13-IV-2; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 92; Ramos-Kittrell, "Ignacio Jerusalem and Changes in Music Thought," 1.

[574] Francisco de Montanos, *Arte de Canto Llano con Entonaciones de Coro y Altar, y otras cosas* (*Art of Plainchant with Intonations of the Choir and Altar, and other things*). Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 92. *Arte de Canto Llano con Entonaciones de Coro y Altar, y otras cosas* was also published as part of a larger collection entitled *Arte de musica theorica y practica* (Valladolid, 1592), which also included polyphony, counterpoint, composition, and typical progressions. Robert Stevenson, "Montanos, Francisco De," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, accessed July 16, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18998.

[575] Joseph de Torres y Martínez Bravo, *El Arte Practico de Canto de Organo Con Motetes, o Lecciones Diversas, Por Todos Los Tiempos, y Claves, Por Don Joseph de Torres, Organista Principal de La Capilla Real de La Magestad (The Practical Art of Measured Music [Polyphony] with Motets or Various Lessons, for All Times and Keys, by Don Joseph de Torres [y Martínez Bravo (c.1670–1738)], Principal Organist of His Majesty's Royal Chapel.)*, n.d.; Montanos and Torres y Martínez Bravo, *Arte de Canto Llano, Con Entonaciones de Coro y Altar, y Otras Cosas. Compuesto Por Francisco Montanos, y Aora Nuevamente Corregido, y Aumentado El Arte Practico de Canto de Organo, Con Motetes, o Lecciones Diversas, Por Todos Los Tiempos, y Claves Por Don Joseph de Torres, Organista Principal de La Capilla de Su Magestad*; Begoña Lolo, "Torres y Martínez Bravo, Joseph De," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, accessed July 16, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40012.

compendio general del Canto Llano, Figurado y órgano by Francisco Marcos Navas (fl. 1775–1785), published in Madrid in 1777, and still extant in the AHCV.[576]

Along with printed books for music education, the AHCV holds three unique didactic manuscripts from Belem: "Livro de Lecciones A Solo Violin" by Nicolas Olivari, the student-copied "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' del Colegio de Belem," and "Vezerro de Lecciones..." with exercises by the Italian composer-teachers Francesco Feo, Leonardo Leo, and Ignacio Jersalem.

"Livro de Lecciones A Solo Violin del Señ. Don Nicolas Olivari"[577]

"Livro de Lecciones A Solo Violin del Señ[or] Don Nicolas Olivari" illustrates violin technique taught in eighteenth-century Italy and—as its presence at Belem witnesses—in New Spain. It facilitates the study of the style of playing famously employed by Corelli in his violin sonatas, a print of which was among Belem's collection.[578] A comparable violin method is Francesco Geminiani's *The Art*

[576]Francisco Marcos Navas, "Arte o Compendio General Del Canto Llano, Figurado y Órgano" (Madrid, 1777), AHCV 26-IV-14, leather-bound print; attributed to Belem in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 92.
[577]Nicolas Olivari, "Livro de Lecciones A Solo Violin Del Señ[or] Don Nicolas Olivari," mid 1700s, AHCV 26-1-2, leather-bound manuscript, "De la escoleta de Sn Miguel de Belen." The title appears in the manuscript as "Livro de Lelciones..." and is transcribed as such in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 101–107. The copyist likely intended the second "l" in "Lelciones" to be read as a "c" and ornamented it as the beginning of a double consonant.
[578]Arcangelo Corelli, "Sonate à Violino e Violone o Cimbalo (Op.5)" n.d., AHCV 26-I-17, printed score; Muriel and Lledías mention that Belem owned original prints of sonatas by Corelli; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 99. Op. 5 is the only Corelli in the AHCV catalogue.

of Playing on the Violin, published in London in 1751.[579] Although the tuning of the eighteenth-century violin was the same as that of the present-day instrument, the necks of the violin family were shorter and the bow was straight rather than concave and considerably shorter. The shorter fingerboard, resulted in less tension on the strings and therefore a softer sound; the shape of the bow precluded exerting strong pressure with the right hand and its shorter length led to a predominantly detached articulation.[580]

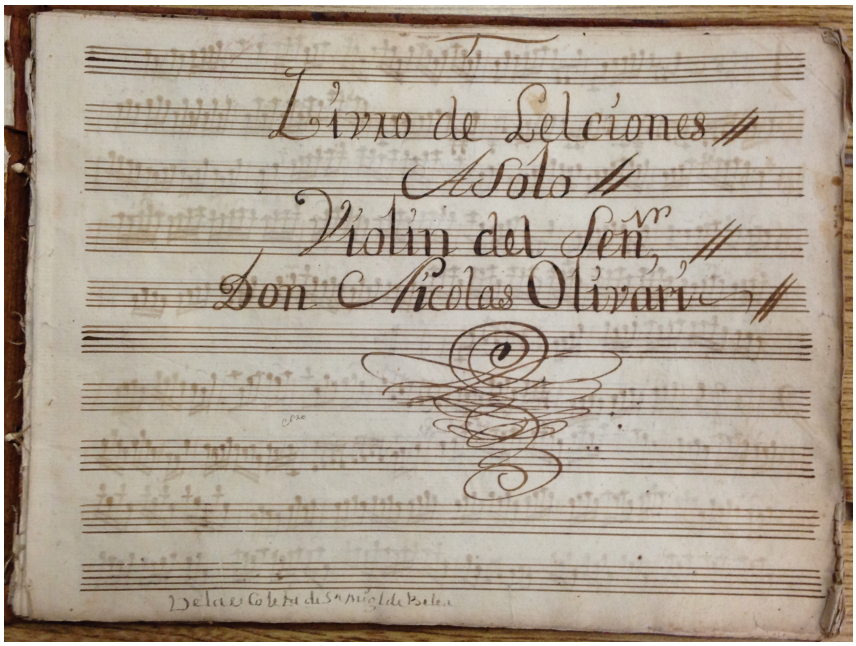

FIGURE 42. Title Page of "Livro de Lecciones A Solo Violin del Señ. Don Nicolas Olivari," labeled "De la escoleta de Sn. Miguel de Belen."[581]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[579] Francesco Geminani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (London, 1751), http://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/4/42/IMSLP05501-Geminiani_art-of-playing.pdf.
[580] David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from Its Origins to 1761 and Its Relationship to the Violin and Violin Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).
[581] Olivari, "Livro de Lecciones A Solo Violin Del Señ[or] Don Nicolas Olivari," 1r.

Although we know very little about Olivari—including whether he ever went to New Spain—Muriel and Lledías argue that the mere existence of his manuscript signifies that he was a distinguished performer, teacher, or both.[582] Eugenia Roubina writes that an 1801 inventory of the bookstore owned by J. Fernández de Jáuregui lists an anonymous manuscript containing a collection of pieces, including *Olivari Duos.*[583]

"Livro de Lecciones" illustrates Italian violin technique practiced in mid-eighteenth century New Spain. Its twenty-three leather-bound folios contain fifty-eight lessons for solo violin. (The lessons are numbered 1–68, but the copyist mistakenly skipped from 45 to 56.) Following the lessons are an exercise showing a two-and-a-half octave chromatic scale, a set of exercises titled the "Medio manico" ("Half-manic,"), and a "Seguidilla de la Abana." Unknown copyists produced the manuscript, the numbered lessons being completed by the same hand. The collection is sewn together with no apparent missing pages.

The lessons give the student practice reading in a variety of meters and keys, but in a single clef: treble clef (that is, G clef on line 2). Time signatures include $\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$,

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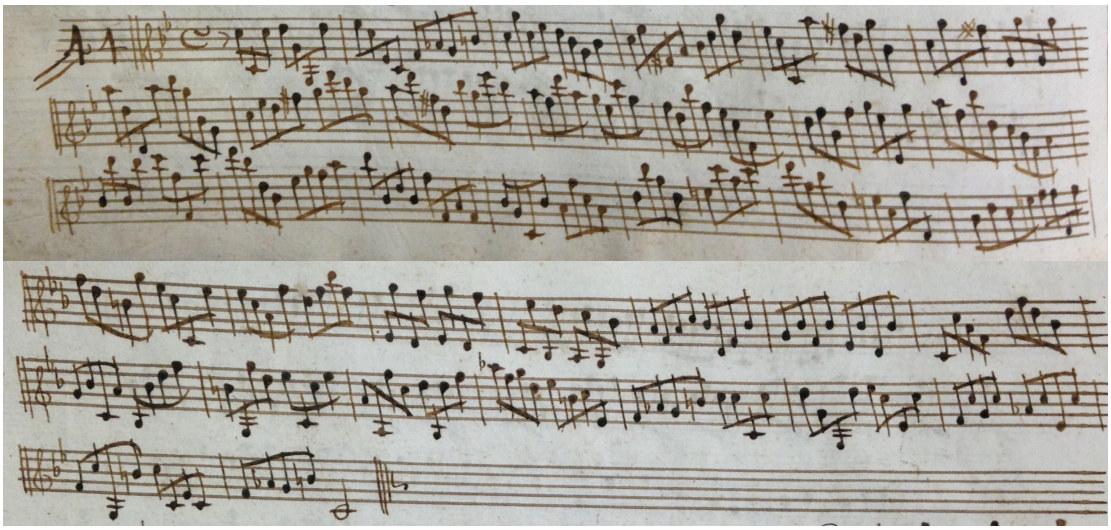
[582] In 2004, Muriel identified Nicolas de Olivari as the maestro who reorganized Belem's escoleta de música in 1802. In 2009, she and Lledías identified José Mariano Cataño as the reorganizer and said that it is unclear if Olivari was ever present in New Spain. Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 94; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 86, 104.

[583] Eugenia Roubina, *El Responsorio "Omnes Moriemini..." de Ignacio Jerusalem. La Primera Obra Novohispana Con Obligado de Violonchelo y Su Entorno Histórico* (México: UNAM, Escuela Nacional de Música, 2004), 155, as cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 103.

$\mathbf{C}$, $\frac{6}{4}$, $\mathbf{¢}$, $\frac{3}{2}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{6}{8}$, and $\frac{12}{8}$. Minor keys represented are A minor, E minor, B minor, D minor, and C minor. Minor keys with flats—D minor and C minor—are written with one fewer flats than is standard in present-day key signatures, reflecting the transition from modality to tonality in which the minor scale (arising from the conflation of Aeolian and Dorian) never settled into a single form. For example, pieces functioning tonally in C minor are written with two flats, as in transposed C Dorian. This remnant of transposed modes is common to eighteenth-century composers, such as J.S. Bach and Antonio Scarlatti.

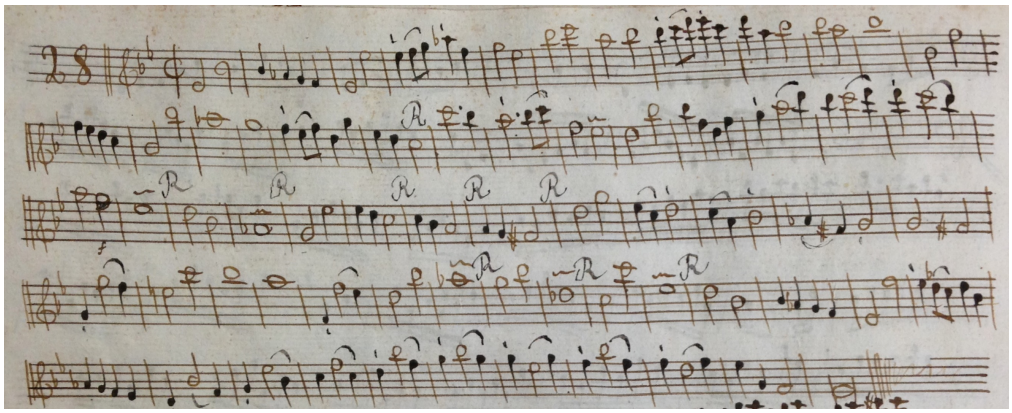
In pieces functioning tonally in a minor key, the last flat of a minor key signature affects scale degree 6. Scale degree 6s belonging to the ascending melodic scale or secondary key areas are as represented in the written key signature; flatted scale degree 6s as belonging to the natural and harmonic minor scales are marked with accidentals. (See Example 1.)



EXAMPLE 1. Olivari Leccion No. 44 (written in C minor with two flats in the key signature and A♭s supplied as accidentals).[584]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[584] Olivari, "Livro de Lecciones A Solo Violin Del Señ[or] Don Nicolas Olivari," 15v–16r.

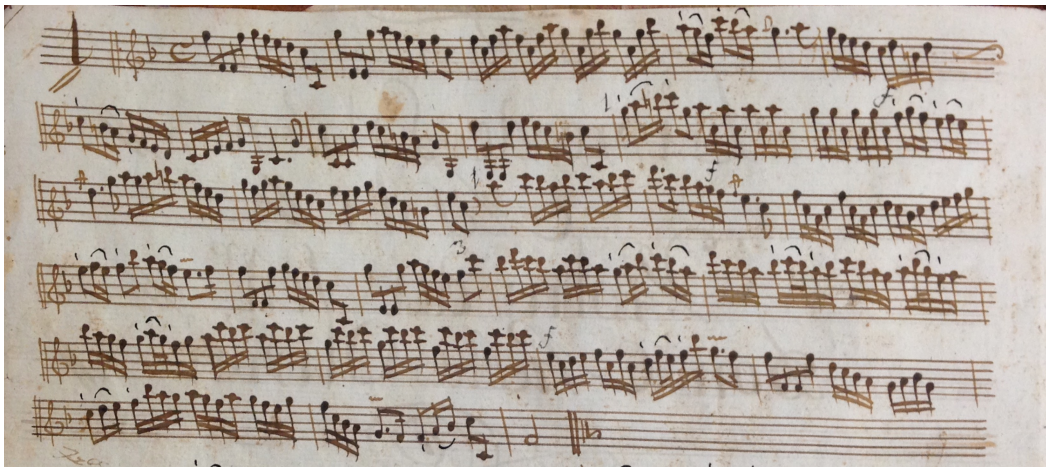
The major keys represented are C Major, D Major, A Major, E Major, F Major, B♭ Major, and E♭ Major. Like that of its relative minor, the key signature of E♭ Major consistently contains two flats, as is common in the Baroque period. The resultant A♮s function as the leading tone to the dominant (B♭); A♭s normally belonging to the major key are marked as accidentals. (See Example 2.)



EXAMPLE 2. Olivari Leccion No. 28 (written in E♭Major with two flats in the key signature and A♭s supplied as accidentals).[585]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[585] Olivari, 10v.

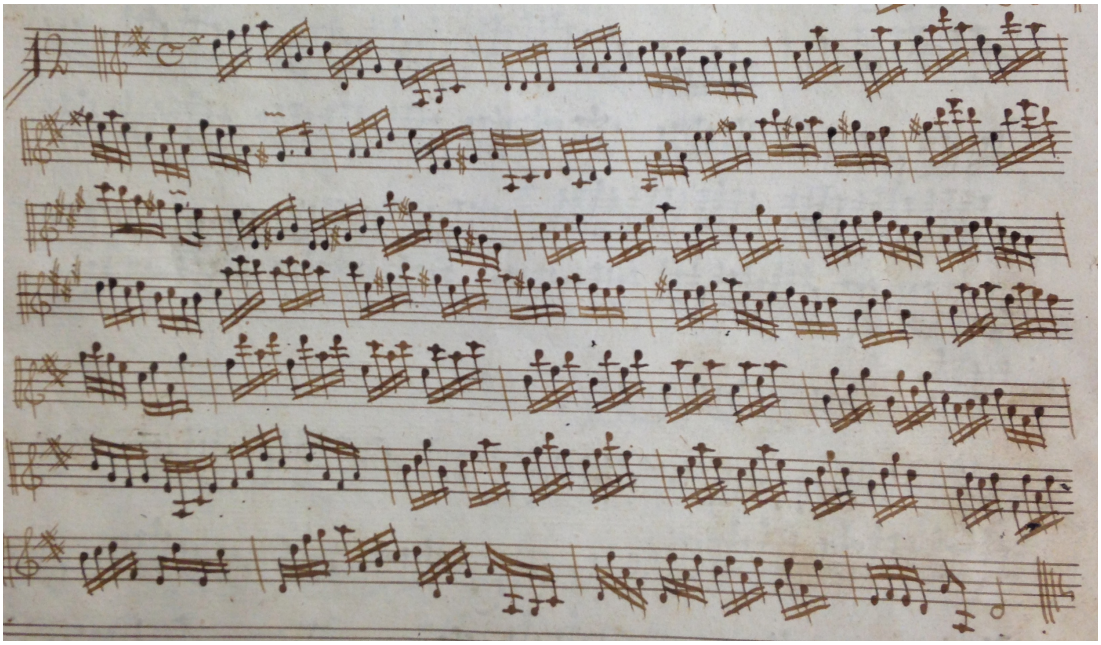
Leccion No. 1 (Example 3) is representative of the style of the manuscript. We see the student practicing ornaments (appoggiaturas and trills), various articulations, and leaps greater than an octave (mm. 8–9). Dynamics appear to have been added later in a different ink.



EXAMPLE 3. Olivari Leccion No. 1.[586]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[586] Olivari, 1v.

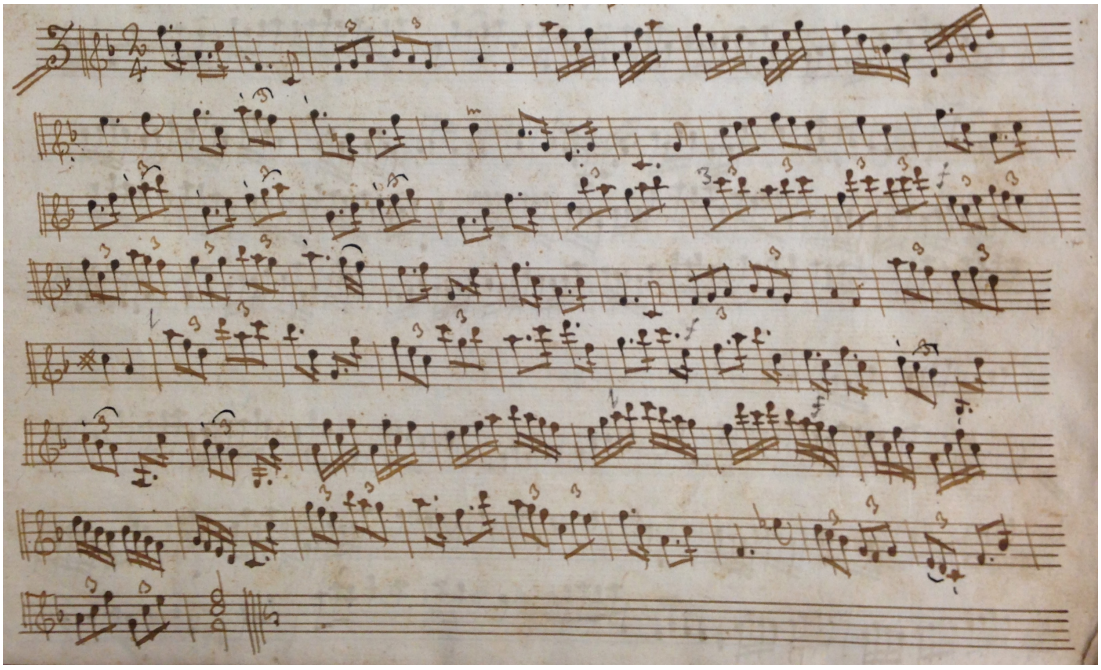
As is typical of the period, Olivari exploits sequences, arpeggiation, and scalar passages. (See Example 4, mm. 1–3.)



EXAMPLE 4. Olivari Leccion No. 12.[587]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[587] Olivari, 5r.

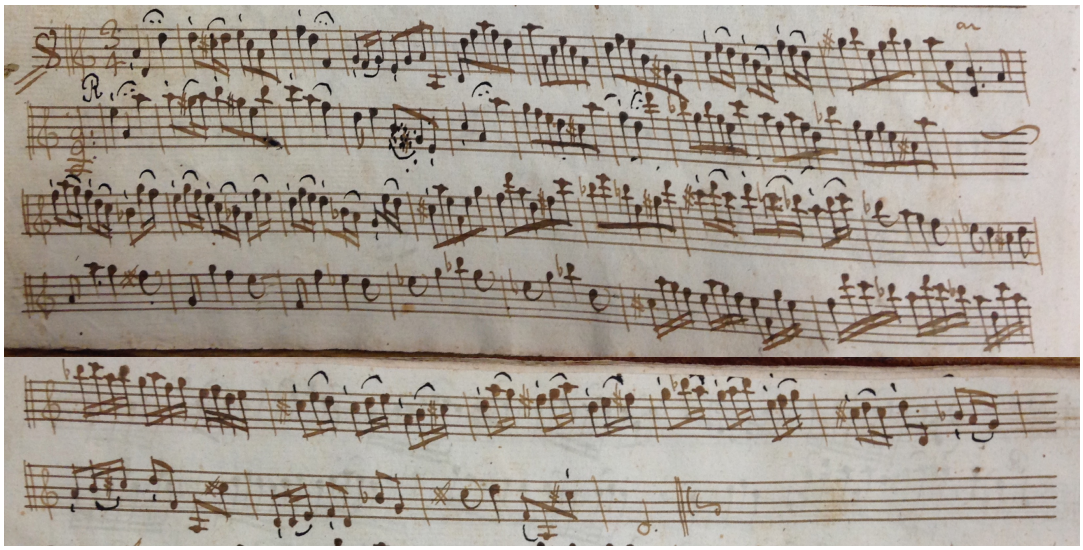
The primary focus of Leccion No. 3 (Example 5) is the contrast of various rhythmic patterns. Composed in $\frac{2}{4}$, this exercise requires the student to switch among dotted-eighth/sixteenth, dotted-quarter/eighth patterns, and triplet patterns. The exercise concludes with a triple-stop. Stylistic of Italian violin repertoire, such chords were often performed as brisk arpeggiations.



EXAMPLE 5. Olivari Leccion No. 3.[588]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[588] Olivari, 2r.

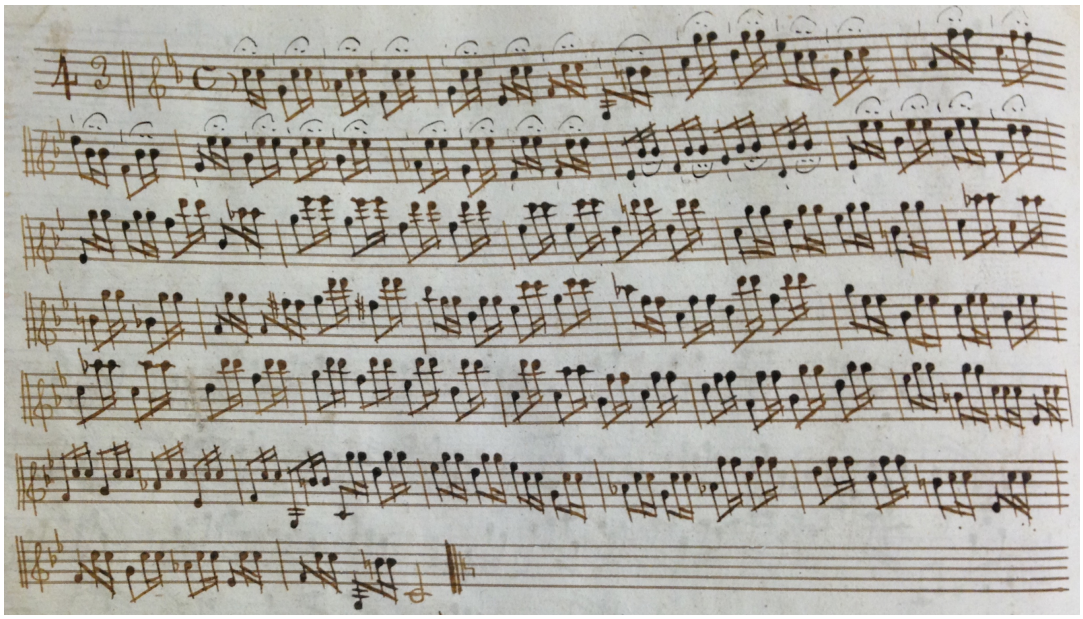
Olivari's Leccion No. 8 (Example 6) displays two colors of ink, as occurs repeatedly throughout the manuscript. Some articulations and ornaments appear to be original, but some appear to have been added later in a darker ink. In the last measure of the first line, a trill on a double stop seems to have been included by the copyist. Trilling on the top pitch of a perfect fifth is particular to violin repertoire because of the tuning of the strings in fifths. The player would bar across the second and third strings with the first finger to create the E and B and trill on the higher string with another finger. Trills on fifths were very common in violin literature, but trills on other intervals—as was familiar in keyboard music—was significantly more difficult and unusual on violin. The articulations in Leccion No. 8 are in a darker ink. The portato markings in mm. 1, 3, 12, 15, 16, and 18 indicate articulated legato or slurred staccato. The player executes two notes joined by portato in the same bow stroke but rearticulates them. Portato, in particular, was more common to the nineteenth century than the eighteenth. From the hand of the writers, the color of the ink, and time period appropriate to the annotations, it appears that a teacher in a later period added articulations (and finger numbers) to the eighteenth-century manuscript.



EXAMPLE 6. Olivari Leccion No. 8.[589]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[589] Olivari, 3v–4r.

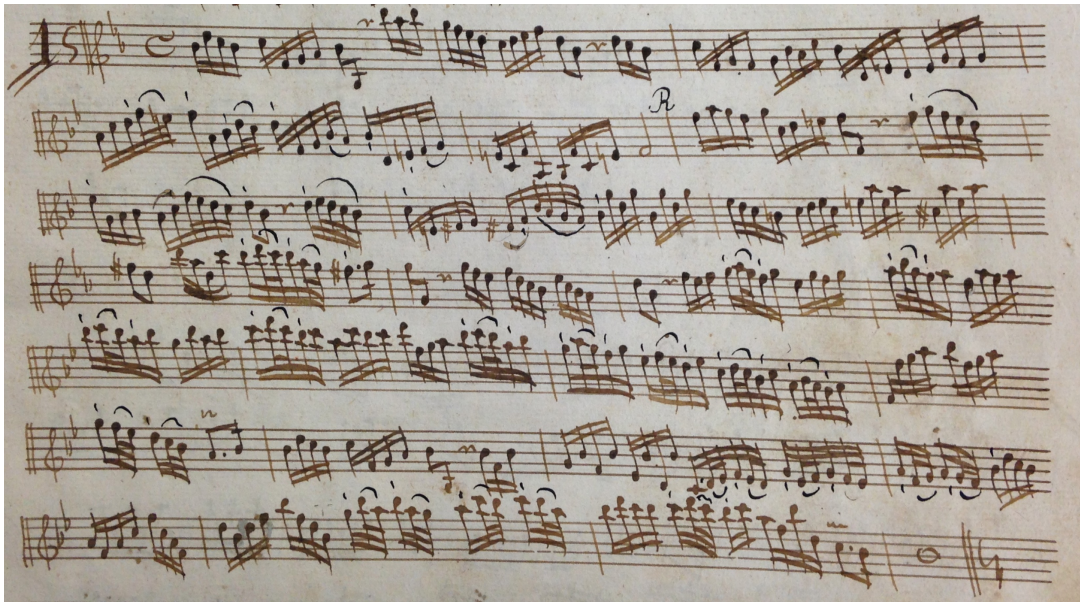
Leccion No. 43 again shows added portato markings (Example 7). The intension of the portato here is not the slurred staccato articulation, but rather the bow direction. The Baroque bow was weighted toward the frog, making it practically impossible to accent an up-bow stroke. In order to emphasize the melodic line of the eighth notes on the beats, the student would have to play all of them down-bow. She would bow the beginning of the exercise "up up down," repeating that pattern to separate the sixteenth notes as a secondary melodic line and stress the eighth notes on each down beat as the primary melodic line (as is the present-day practice).



EXAMPLE 7. Olivari Leccion No. 43.[590]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[590] Olivari, 15v.

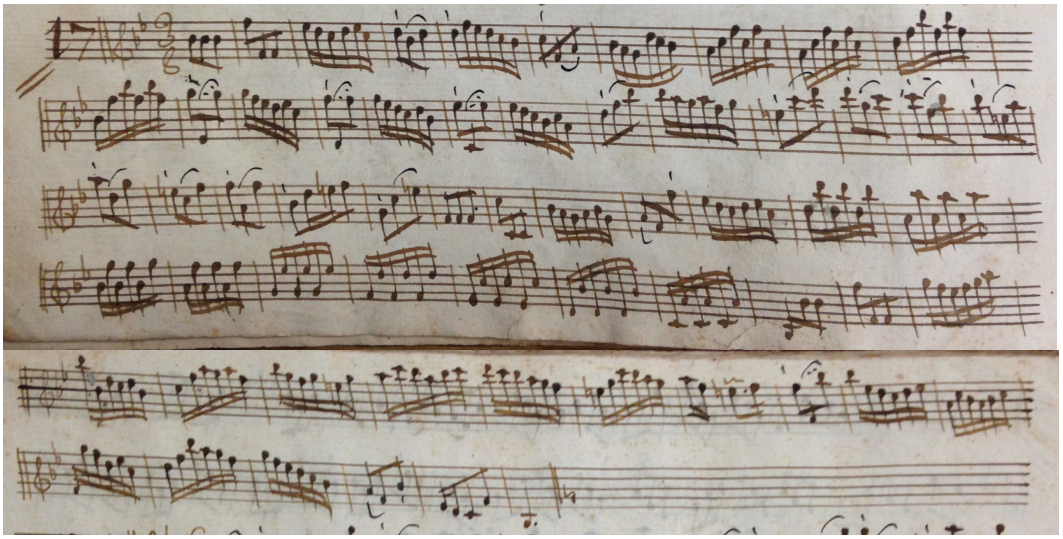
This book is obviously not intended for beginners (Example 8), and its difficulty probably explains a student's note that she started the book "again" ("bolbi a enpesar este libro") (Figure 43).[591]



EXAMPLE 8. Olivari Leccion No. 15.[592]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[591] For Muriel and Lledías's discussion of "Livro de Lecciones," see Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 101–7; For a complete transcription of the manscript, see Muriel and Lledías, 130–92.
[592] Olivari, "Livro de Lecciones A Solo Violin Del Señ[or] Don Nicolas Olivari," 6r.

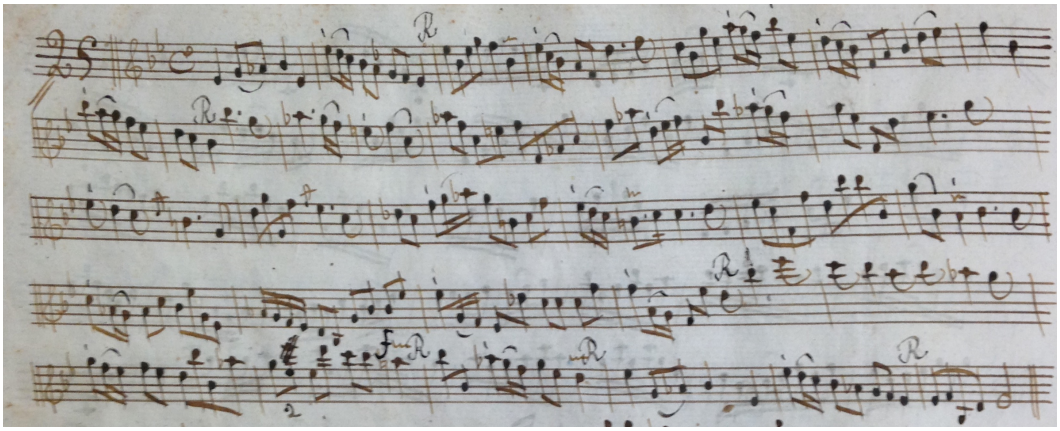
The primary learning outcome of Leccion No. 17 is the execution of string crossing (Example 9). It begins by going back and forth between the D and E strings, skipping over the A (line 1, m. 2). In line 2, mm. 1 and 4, the player skips back and forth between the D and E strings. Two measures later (line 2, m. 6), she crosses between the highest and lowest strings (G and E), skipping over both the middle strings (D and A). The sequence of melodic sixths in lines 3 and 4 require her to alternate between neighboring and non-neighboring strings. She plays between neighboring A and E strings (the penultimate measure of line 3 through the second measure of line 4), non-neighboring D and E (line 4, m. 3), neighboring D and A (line 4, mm. 4–6), and non-neighboring G and A (line 4, m. 7). Mm. 8–9 of line 4 require the student to bow all four strings in short succession, going from G to A to E to D.



EXAMPLE 9. Olivari Leccion No. 17.[593]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[593] Olivari, 6v–7r.

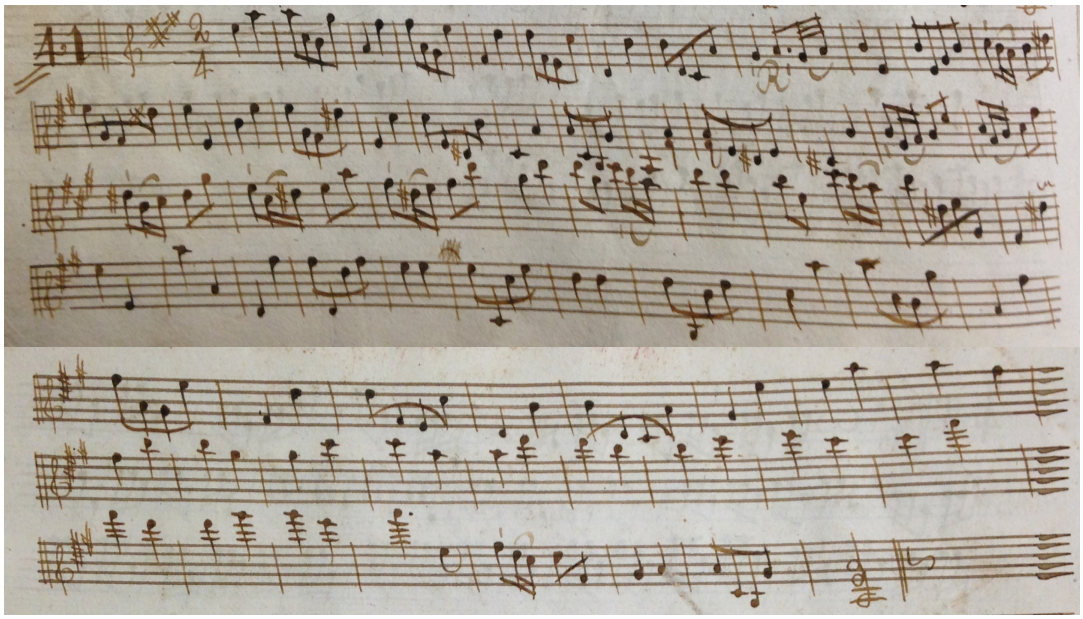
In the third line of Leccion No. 25, we see identical rhythmic sequences written in two ways: as a syncopated eighth–quarter pattern and as an appoggiatura on a dotted-quarter note (Example 10).



EXAMPLE 10. Olivari Leccion No. 25.[594]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[594] Olivari, 9v.

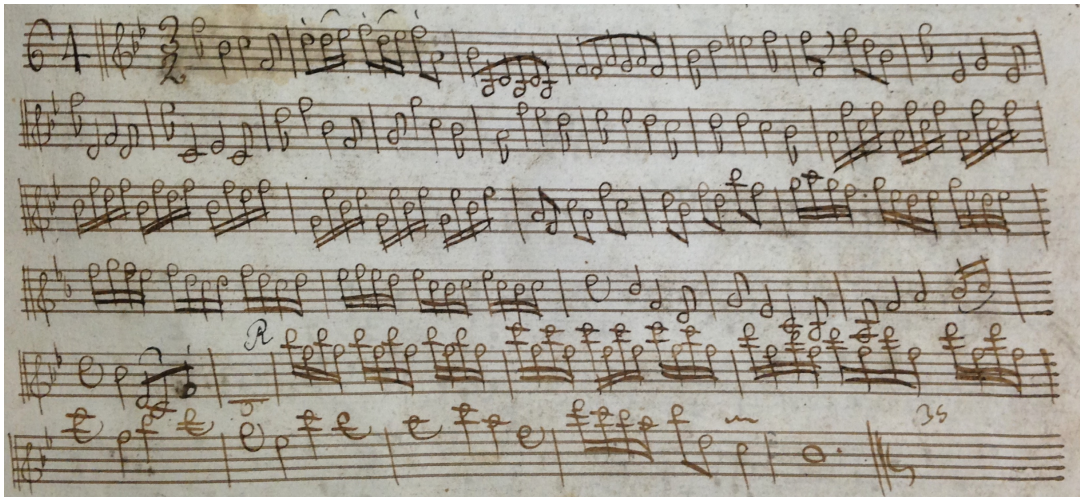
The penultimate and last lines of Leccion No. 41 (Example 11) show the student pushing the limits in terms of the higher range of the instrument. The Baroque violin has a shorter fingerboard than the modern violin, which was extended to allow more positions, the expansion in range, and (through increased tension) a louder sound. The tessitura of most Baroque violin repertoire remains at or below D6, played by the fourth finger in third position. In the high Baroque, composers such as J.S. Bach and Bieber pressed the range higher. In Leccion No. 41, the highest note is A6, requiring the violinist to employ the fourth finger in seventh position.



EXAMPLE 11. Olivari Leccion No. 41.[595]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[595] Olivari, 14v–15r.

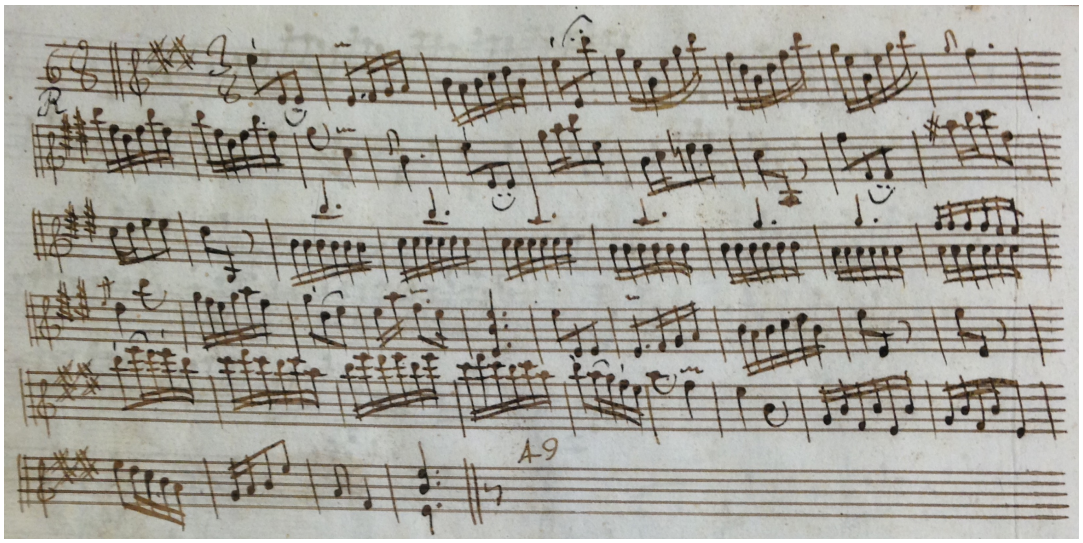
All the lessons in $\frac{3}{2}$ use half notes, whole notes, and dotted half notes as they would be used in present-day rhythmic notations. Any notes receiving a fraction of a beat are written with a flag or beam and an unfilled note head. In place of quarter notes, the copyist uses unfilled note heads with one flag or beam. In the same manner, unfilled notes with two flags or beams replace eighth notes (Example 12).



EXAMPLE 12. Olivari Leccion No. 64.[596]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[596] Olivari, 19r.

Line 3 of Leccion No. 68 (Example 13) displays harmonic intervals in which the longer, higher pitches are accompanied by lower, repeated pitches. Olivari's musical intent is that the dotted quarter notes would form a smooth, melodic line. As a violinist, he would have known that this phrasing is physically impossible on the instrument. The student would play the downbeat of each of these measures as a double stop, allowing the top pitch to ring as long as possible and rearticulating the bottom pitch.



EXAMPLE 13. Olivari Leccion No. 68.[597]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[597] Olivari, 20v.

Leccion No. 68 is the final numbered exercise in the manuscript and is followed by the word "Fine," marking the end of the manuscript. At the bottom of the same page, someone (presumably either a teacher or student) added a chromatic scale beginning on G3 and extending to D6. The last four measures of line 2 present alternative fingerings for the four following pitches:

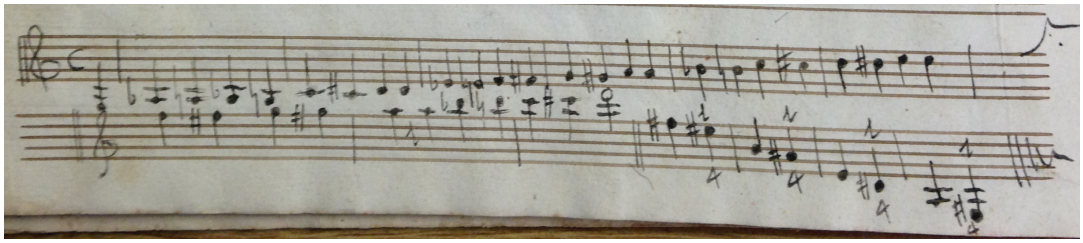
E♯5—first finger on the E string or fourth finger on the A string

A♯4—first finger on the A string or fourth finger on the D string

D♯4—first finger on the D string or fourth finger on the G string

G♯3—first finger on the G string or fourth finger on a non-existent string

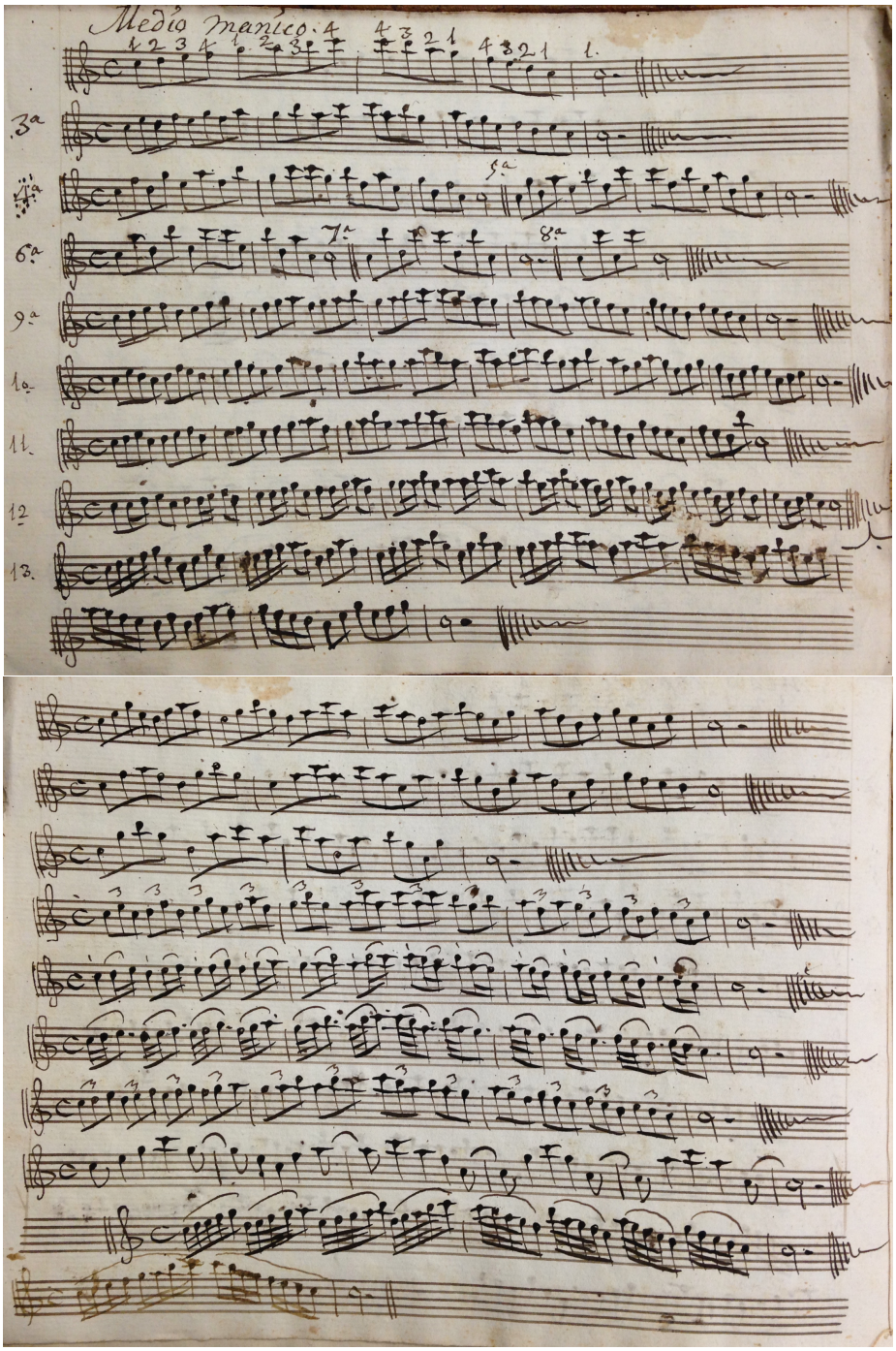
The last of these alternative fingerings is a mystery (or—more likely—a mistake). G♯3 can, indeed, be played with the first finger on the G string (the lowest string). The "4" underneath the G♯ follows the pattern of the other three alternative fingerings, but implies a string tuned a fifth lower than G3, which does not exist on violin.



EXAMPLE 14. Chromatic scale and alternative fingerings.[598]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[598] Olivari, 20v.

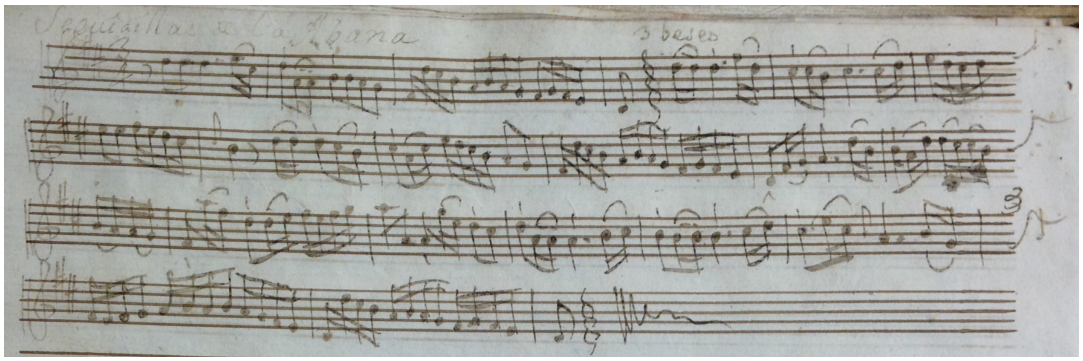
Next is an additional set of exercises labeled “Medio manico” (“Half-manic”) (Example 15), probably named for the difficulty of playing the entire set in second position, as indicated by the fingering provided. Unlike other higher positions in which the violinist’s palm comes into contact with the body of the instrument in certain places, second position is particularly difficult because the player has no physical point of reference. In 3a, melodic thirds ascend and then descend diatonically, covering an octave in range. 4a repeats the same pattern using fourths, and so on through octaves in 8a. Exercises 9a–13a and all but the penultimate unnumbered exercise on the second page of “Medio manico” introduce one- or two-beat melodic sequences and repeat them ascending then descending diatonically. The copyist then transposes the two-page “Medio manico” (nearly identically) up a whole tone to the key of D Major (not shown here), requiring the student to execute the set in third position.



EXAMPLE 15. “Medio manico” in second position (two pages).[599]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[599] Olivari, 21r–21v.

Following the transposed "Medio manico" is a four-line piece labeled as "Seguidilla de la Abana" (Example 16). A *seguidilla* is a Spanish folksong and dance in a brisk triple meter with sung *coplas* (verses) in short lines of alternating 5 and 7 syllables, which contrast with instrumental sections typically performed by guitar and castanets.[600] "Abana" probably refers to Havanna, Cuba.



EXAMPLE 16. Seguidilla de la Abana.[601]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

Whereas many late eighteenth-century pedagogical books loaded with explanations illustrate the trend away from the close teacher-student apprenticeship and toward self-taught musicians, "Livro de Lecciones" does not contain explanations

[600] Michael Kennedy, ed., "Seguidilla," *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, accessed September 21, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e9243?q=seguidilla&search=quick&pos=2&_start=1#firsthit; Janet Halfyard, "Seguidilla," ed. Alison Latham, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, accessed September 21, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e6064?q=seguidilla&search=quick&pos=3&_start=1#firsthit; Jack Sage and Susana Friedmann, "Seguidilla," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, accessed September 21, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25331.

[601] Olivari, "Livro de Lecciones A Solo Violin Del Señ[or] Don Nicolas Olivari," 23v.

of solfege or other theoretical concepts. This absence of explanations indicates that its users were consistently studying with a knowledgeable teacher.[602]

Annotations tell us when "Livro de Lecciones" was used at Belem, not when it arrived. One annotation refers to Wednesday, June 5 (Figure 43). By identifying the years in which June 5 fell on a Wednesday, starting in 1750 (the first appearance of pedagogical prints in Europe), Muriel and Lledías tentatively dated that use of "Livro de Lecciones" as either 1754 or 1765. Above that annotation is another that says, "A 06 enero del año de [se]senta y siete bolbi a enpesar este libro" ("On January 6, '67, I started this book again.") Considering that Belem was closed by 1867, Muriel and Lledías posit that this (at least) second use was in 1767.[603] This set of annotations concludes with the phrase "no no se olvide" ("do not forget").

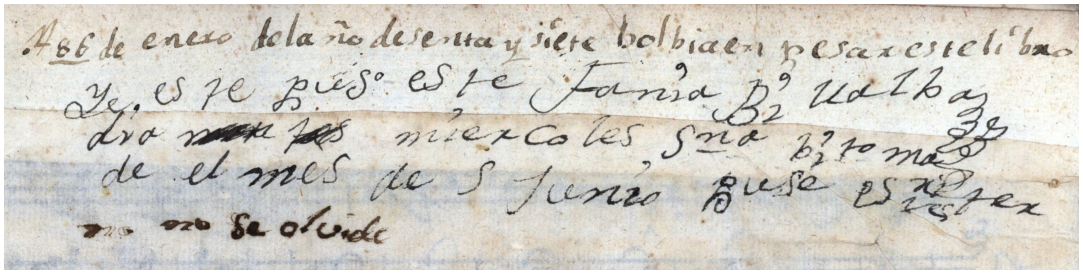


FIGURE 43. Annotations used to date "Livro de Lecciones."[604]
Courtesy of the AHCV.

[602] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 103.
[603] Muriel and Lledías, 104.
[604] Olivari, "Livro de Lecciones A Solo Violin Del Señ[or] Don Nicolas Olivari," 24v.

For a complete transcription of Olivari's "Livro de Lecciones," I refer the reader to *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas.*[605]

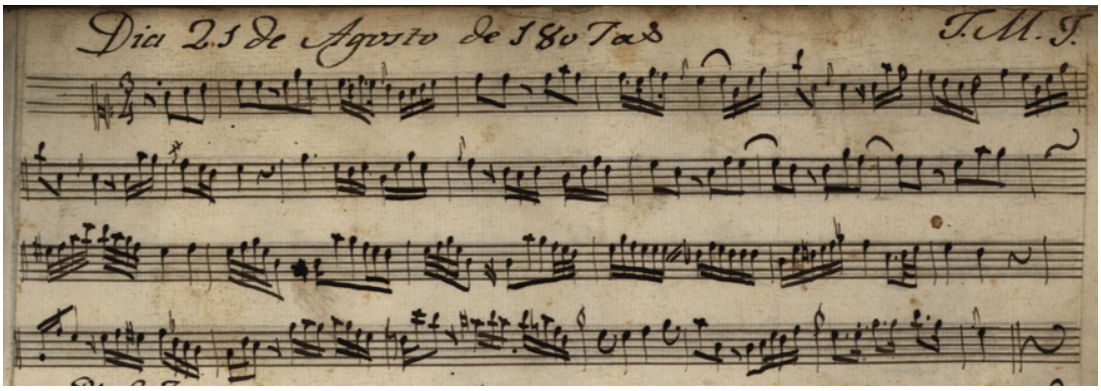
"Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' del Colegio de Belem"[606]

Another leather-bound collection of exercises—"Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' del Colegio de Belem"— lacks identifying information except the initials "J.M.J.," a reference to Jesus, Mary, and Joseph that was typical of many documents in colonial Mexico. Muriel and Lledías place the manuscript's provenance as Belem because it resided in a case of other music owned by Belem. "Manuscrito 'J.M.J.' del Colegio de Belem" was copied by a single copyist, except for the last two exercises.[607] Mistakes (e.g. the number of beats in a measure not matching the time signature), annotations, and theoretical explanations suggest that the copyists were students in Belem's escoleta de música.

Forty-three dated lessons—it is unclear whether these are the dates on which the exercises were assigned or due—span approximately 26 weeks from August 21, 1807 to February 20, 1808.[608] These dates evince the student's regular attendance at lessons, with exercises assigned or due on average every 4.3 days. Some assignments are dated on two consecutive days. By far the largest gap between assignments was

[605] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 101–7, 129–92.
[606] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem" 1807, AHCV 26-I-2-27.
[607] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 107.
[608] The manuscript contains an additional twenty-four undated lessons.

from December 2, 1807, to February 15, 1808. Perhaps the student took the two months leave of absence allowed each year, as provisioned by Archbishop Nuñez Haro y Peralta.[609] The first entry of the manuscript shows the initial date ("Día 21 de Agosto de 1807 a[ño]s") and the "J.M.J." inscription (Example 17).

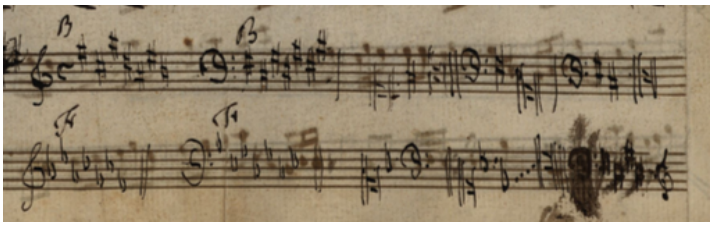


EXAMPLE 17. Solo Leccion No. 1 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[610]
August 25, 1807.
Courtesy of the AHCV.

The manuscript contains forty-six solos, six duets, and thirteen explanations of theory. None of the exercises specifies instrumentation; they could be sung or played on a variety of instruments, transposed when necessary, and used in many ways as the teacher saw fit.[611] Theoretical lessons show the student learning about hexachordal solmization; key signatures; C, F, and G clefs; musical symbols; intervals; and meter and rhythmic values.

[609] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas, Tomo II: Fundaciones del siglos XVII y XVIII*, 101.
[610] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 1r.
[611] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 109.

The first theoretical notes (Example 18) contain the orders of sharps and flats written in treble and bass clefs (on the left). On the right, pairs of clefs give examples of how the student can transpose to the key of C by simply reading in a different clef. (This concept will be explored in more detail in the discussion of Section VII of "Vezerro de Lecciones.")



EXAMPLE 18. Theory Leccion No. 1 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[612]
c. September 2–3, 1807.
Courtesy of the AHCV.

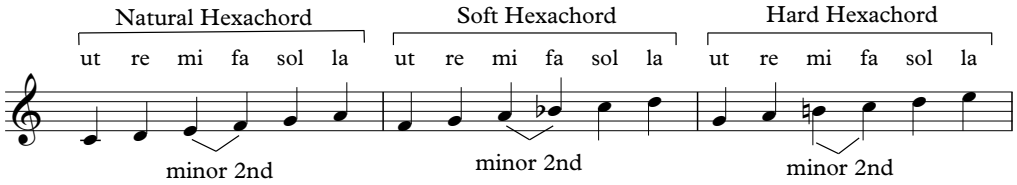
The student describes note values in compound duple (Figure 44):

En 6 p[o]r 8	In $\frac{6}{8}$
una minima con puntillo al compás	1 dotted half note per measure
3 seminimas al compás	3 quarter notes per measure
6 corcheas al compás	6 eighth notes per measure
12 semicorcheas al compás	12 sixteenth notes per measure
24 fusas al compás	24 thirty-second notes per measure
y 48 semifusas al compás	and 48 sixty-fourth notes per measure

FIGURE 44. Theory Leccion No. 11 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[613]
Undated, after February 20, 1808.
Courtesy of the AHCV.

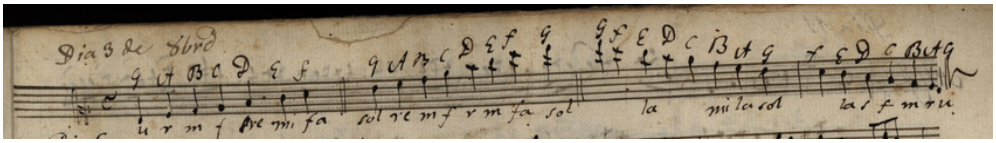
[612] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 3r.
[613] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 14r.

The two pedagogical manuscripts from Belem that discuss theory both illustrate the application of sol-fa syllables using the hexachord system. The lack of the modern syllable *ti* for the leading tone requires the musician to mutate (change) among the natural hexachord (syllables *ut–la* starting on C), soft hexachord (*ut–la* starting on F and encompassing B♭), and hard hexachord (*ut–la* starting on G and encompassing B♮). This system, which dates back to the eleventh century, places the minor second represented by *mi–fa* on E–F (natural), A–B♭ (soft), and B–C (hard). Any other stepwise interval (within a hexachord or when mutating between hexachords) is a Major second. (See Example 19.)

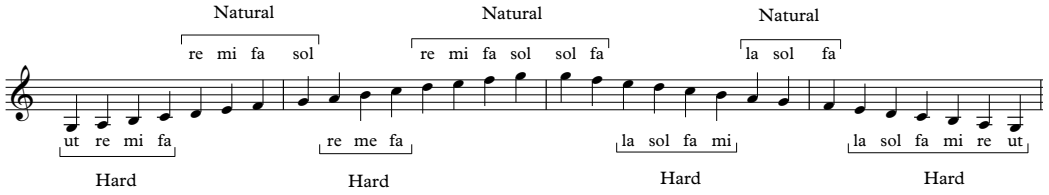


EXAMPLE 19. Solmization using the hexachord system.

Theory Leccion No. 2 (Example 20) contains two octaves of the C major (or G Mixolydian) scale ascending and descending in what we recognize today as mezzo-soprano clef. The student labeled pitch names above and sol-fa syllables below the staff. The hard hexachord covers pitches G–C (*ut–fa*), mutates to the natural hexachord for D–G (re–sol), alternating in this manner to complete the second octave, and then descends (Example 20).



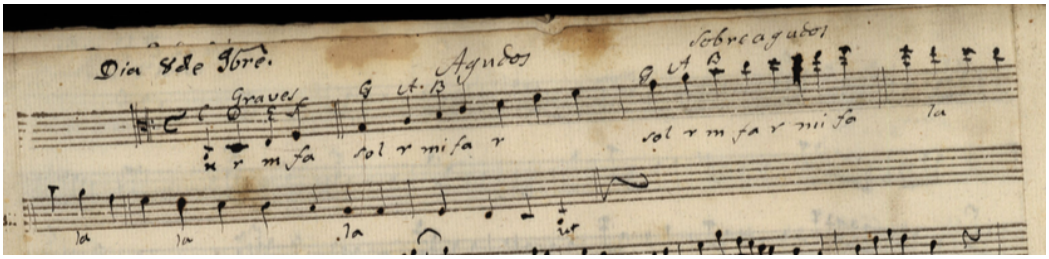
EXAMPLE 20. Theory Leccion No. 2 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[614] October 3, 1807.
Courtesy of the AHCV.



EXAMPLE 21. Hexachords shown in Theory Leccion No. 2 (transcribed to treble clef)

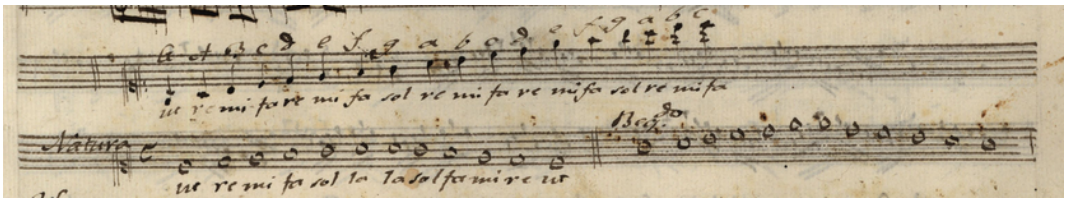
[614] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 6r.

Theory Leccion No. 3 shows the same concept applied to two-and-a-half octaves of C Major (C–F) in alto clef (Example 22).



EXAMPLE 22. Theory Leccion No. 3 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[615]
November 8, 1807.
Courtesy of the AHCV.

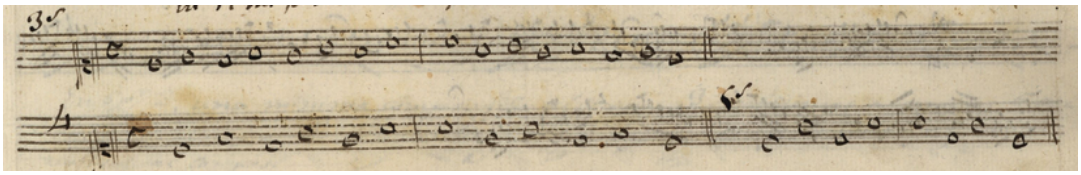
Theory Lecciones Nos. 4–6 (Example 23) illustrate sol-fa application of one-and-a-half octaves of C Major (G–C) in soprano clef (line 1) and the natural ("Natura") and hard ("B quadrado") hexachords (line 2).



EXAMPLE 23. Theory Lecciones Nos. 4–6 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[616]
Undated, after February 20, 1808.
Courtesy of the AHCV.

[615] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 10v.
[616] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 13r.

We see the student learning about intervals in Theory Lecciones Nos. 7–9 (Example 24). Leccion No. 7 explores a pattern of melodic thirds starting on ascending scale degrees, then descending; Nos. 8 and 9 repeat the pattern with fourths and fifths, respectively.

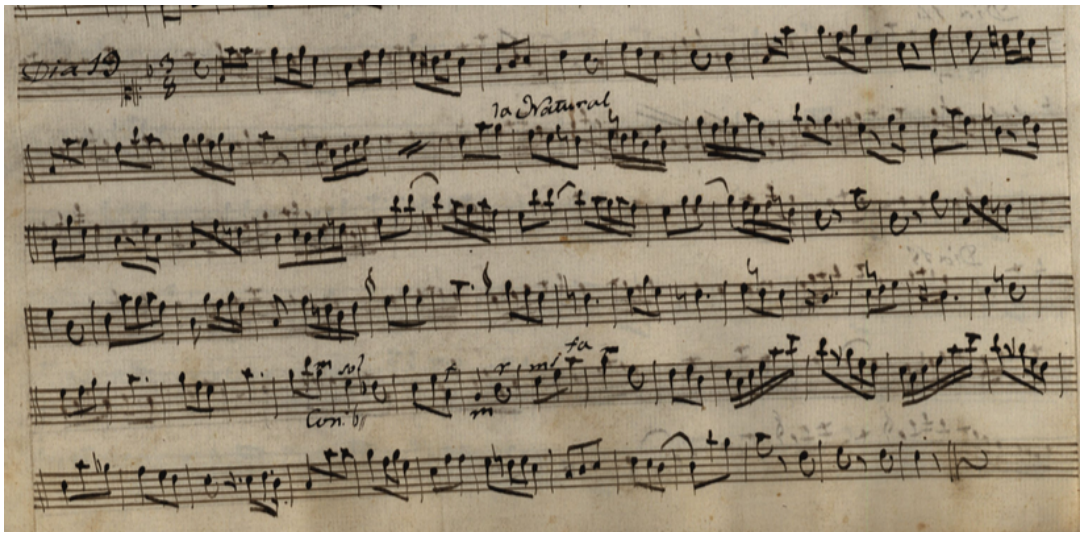


EXAMPLE 24. Theory Lecciones Nos. 7–9 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[617]
Undated, after February 20, 1808.
Courtesy of the AHCV.

Throughout the manuscript, we see evidence of the student applying her theoretical knowledge in practical exercises. These exercises represent a limited number of key signatures. There are two with three sharps and one each with two sharps and two flats. The rest have zero to one flat or sharp. The time signatures, listed from most to least common, are 𝐜 (eighteen lessons), $\frac{6}{8}$ (eleven), $\frac{3}{4}$ (nine), 𝐜̵ (five), $\frac{3}{8}$ (five), and $\frac{2}{4}$ (four). These lessons also facilitate the study of ornaments (appoggiaturas, trills, and mordents), scalar passages, and various tempos, among other things. Again, these exercises could be sung or played on any instrument.

[617] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 13r.

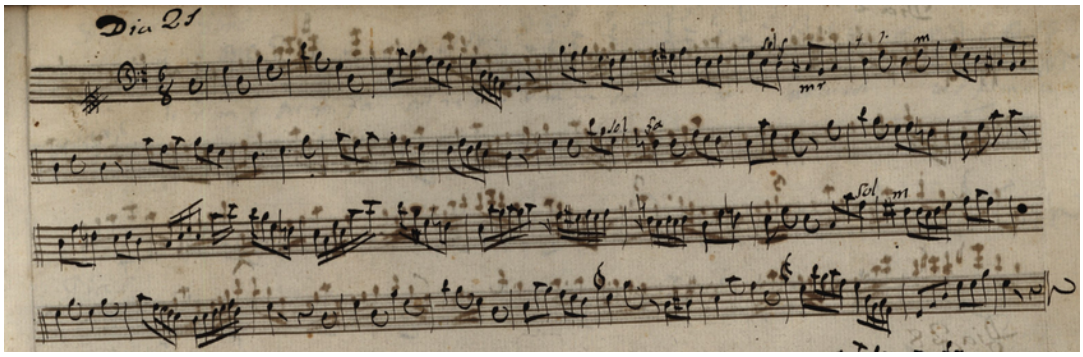
The student put reminders in Solo Leccion No. 8: indications of B♮ in lines 2 and 4, B♭ in line 4, and solfege in line 4 (Example 25).



EXAMPLE 25. Solo Leccion No. 8 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[618]
September 19, 1807.
Courtesy of the AHCV.

[618] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 4v.

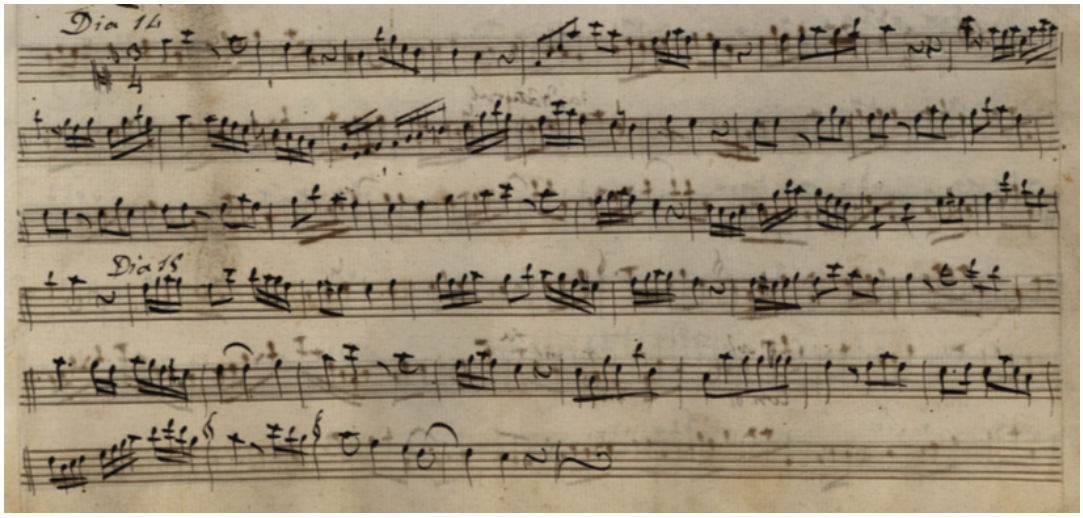
In Solo Leccion No. 9, we see the student both annotating select sol-fa syllables sprinkled throughout the exercise and a sharp not only on line 4 of the bass clef in the key signature, but also a reminder sharp an octave lower at the very beginning of the lesson (Example 26).



EXAMPLE 26. Solo Leccion No. 9 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[619]
September 21, 1807.
Courtesy of the AHCV.

[619] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 5r.

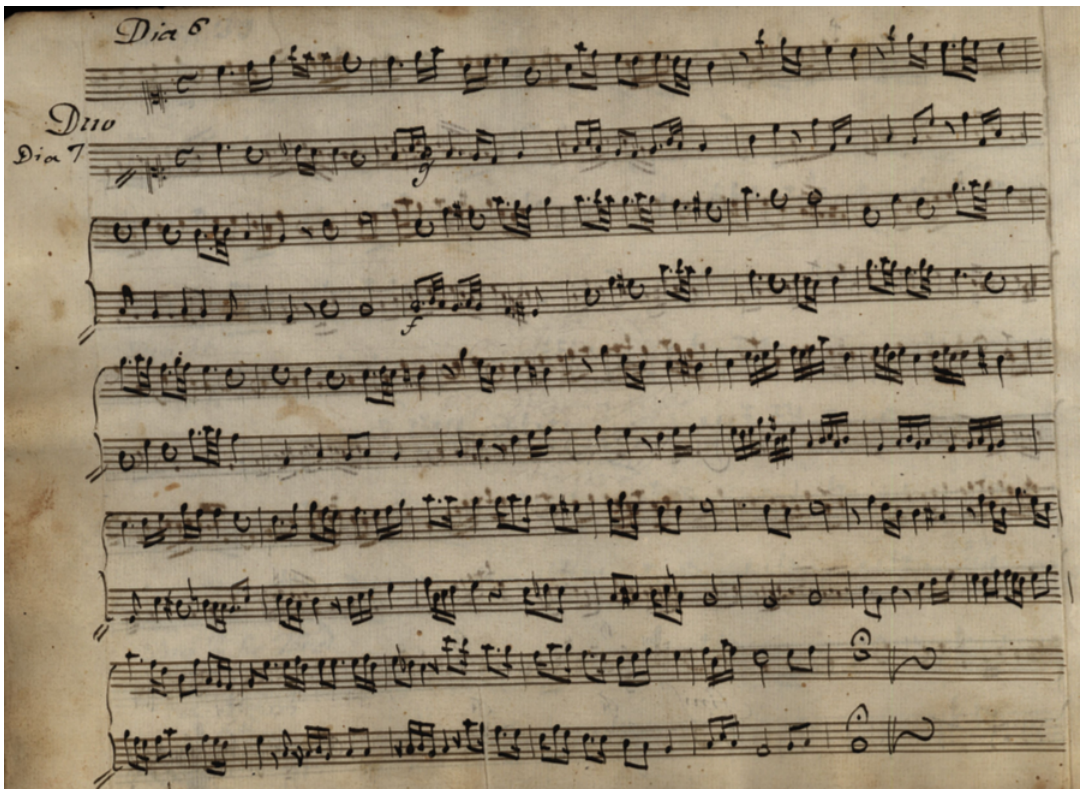
Some longer exercises have one date written at the beginning and another mid-way through, showing that the teacher broke up the exercise into two assignments or reassigned the second half (Example 27).



EXAMPLE 27. Solo Leccion No. 6 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[620]
September 14 and 15, 1807.
Courtesy of the AHCV.

[620] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 4r.

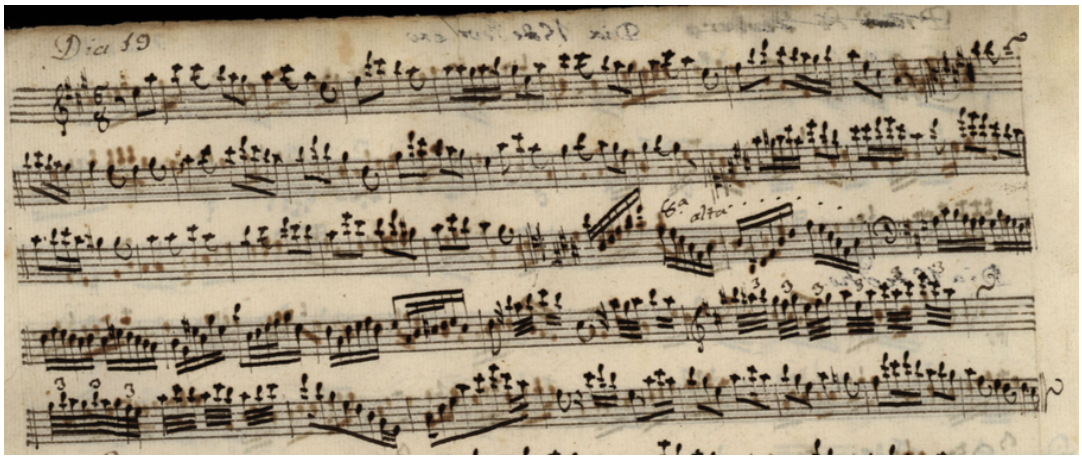
Presumably, the student would have played the six duets with her teacher. The duets have a different date for each part. It seems that she learned one part at a time, allowing her and her teacher to switch parts. Duet Leccion No. 2 shows both parts in soprano clef and several copying mistakes. The student corrects notes written on the wrong line or space by writing the pitch name above or below the note head (part 2, mm. 2 and 8) and squeezes several accidentals either between pitches or places them above the note head to which they are meant to apply (part 2, m. 16) (Example 28).



EXAMPLE 28. Duet Leccion No. 2 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[621]
September 6 and 7, 1807.
Courtesy of the AHCV.

[621] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 3v.

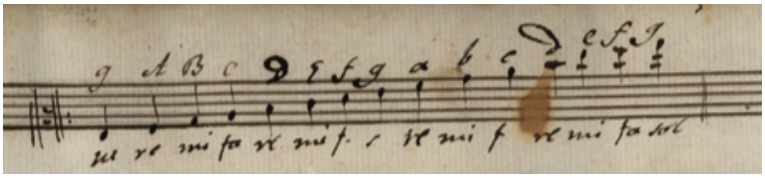
The practical exercises require the student to read in F clef on line 4, G clef on line 2, and C clefs on line 1, 2, 3, and 4. The clefs listed from the most to least frequently used are soprano (twenty-six lessons), mezzo-soprano (ten), alto (eight), treble (three), and bass (two). In addition, Solo Leccions Nos. 30–32 (February 18–20, 1808) all contain multiple clef changes, requiring the student to not only fluently read in treble, mezzo-soprano, soprano, alto, tenor, and bass clefs, but also to switch back and forth rapidly within a melodic line (Example 29).



EXAMPLE 29. Solo Leccion No. 31 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[622]
February 19, 1808.
Courtesy of the AHCV.

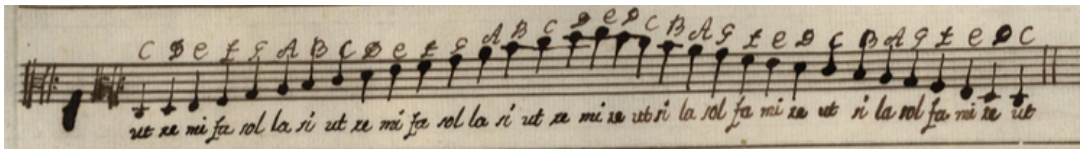
[622] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 12v.

On page 15r, there is a change in copyist. The top staff of the page is the last annotation from the first student; it shows a G Mixolydian scale in mezzo-soprano clef solemized in the hexachordal system (Example 30).



EXAMPLE 30. Theory Leccion No. 12 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[623]
Undated, after February 20, 1808.
Courtesy of the AHCV.

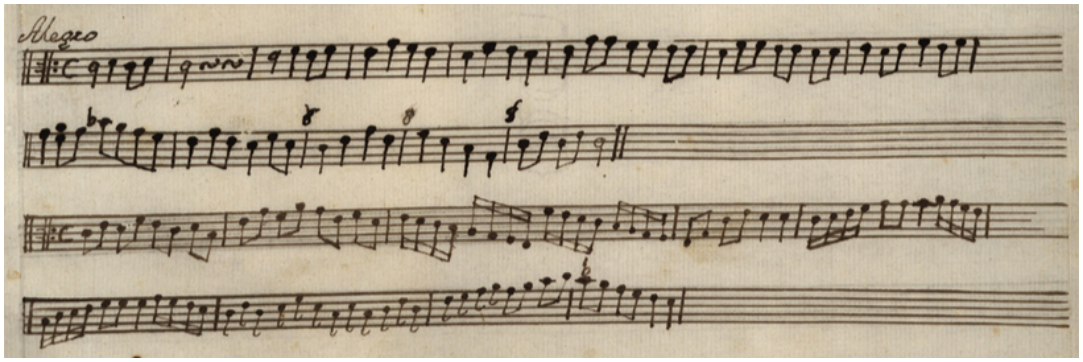
The second copyist leaves a blank staff, then shows the solmization of over two octaves of a C Major scale in alto clef (Example 31). Not only do we see a different hand in this exercise, but we also see a different system of sol-fa. Whereas the first student learned to mutate among hexachords to complete an octave, this second student is learning to use the syllable *si* for the leading tone. Through "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.,'" we witness a change in the way tonal music is theorized and taught.



EXAMPLE 31. Theory Leccion No. 13 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[624]
Undated, after February 20, 1808.
Courtesy of the AHCV.

[623] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 15r.
[624] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 15r.

The manuscript concludes in the second copyist's hand with two short exercises, in the same clef and key as the previous scale. The second exercise appears unfinished, ending on *re* (Example 32).



EXAMPLE 32. Solo Lecciones Nos. 47 and 48 from "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.'"[625]
Undated, after February 20, 1808.
Courtesy of the AHCV.

[625] "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' Del Colegio de Belem," 15r.

"Vezerro de Lecciones"[626]

The largest unique didactic manuscript from Belem is "Vezerro de Lecciones Solas y con Basso, varios Duos, Canones à tres à quatro y à cinco vozes, con Ligados y semicopados. Barias partidas en todas Claves, de los S.[s] Maestros q.[e] son el Sr Feo, el Sr Leo y el Sr Jerusalem, con todas sus explicaciones para Solfear en todas Claves" ("Calfskin-bound collection of solo lessons with bass; several duets; canons for three, four, and five voices; with ligatures and syncopations. Several partitas in all clefs; from the teachers Señor Feo, Señor Leo, and Señor Jerusalem, with all their explanations to apply sol-fa syllables in all clefs."[627]

FIGURE 45. Calf-skin cover ("Becerro") that gives "Vezerro de Lecciones" its name.[628]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[626] Ignacio Jerusalem, Francesco Feo, and Leonardo Leo, "Vezerro de Lecciones Solas y Con Basso; Varios Dúos, Cánones a Tres, a Quatro y a Cinco Vozes, Con Ligados y Semicopiados, Barias Partidas En Todas Claves, de Los Señores Maestros Que Son El Señor Francisco, El Señor Leo y El Señor Jerusalén, Con Todas Sus Explicaciones Para Solfear En Todas Claves" mid to late 1700s, AHCV 26-I-18.
[627] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, "Vezerro de Lecciones," AHCV 26-I-18, leather-bound manuscript, "Soi de la escoleta"; discussed in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 98–101; select transcription in Muriel and Lledías, 119–28.
[628] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, "Vezerro de Lecciones."

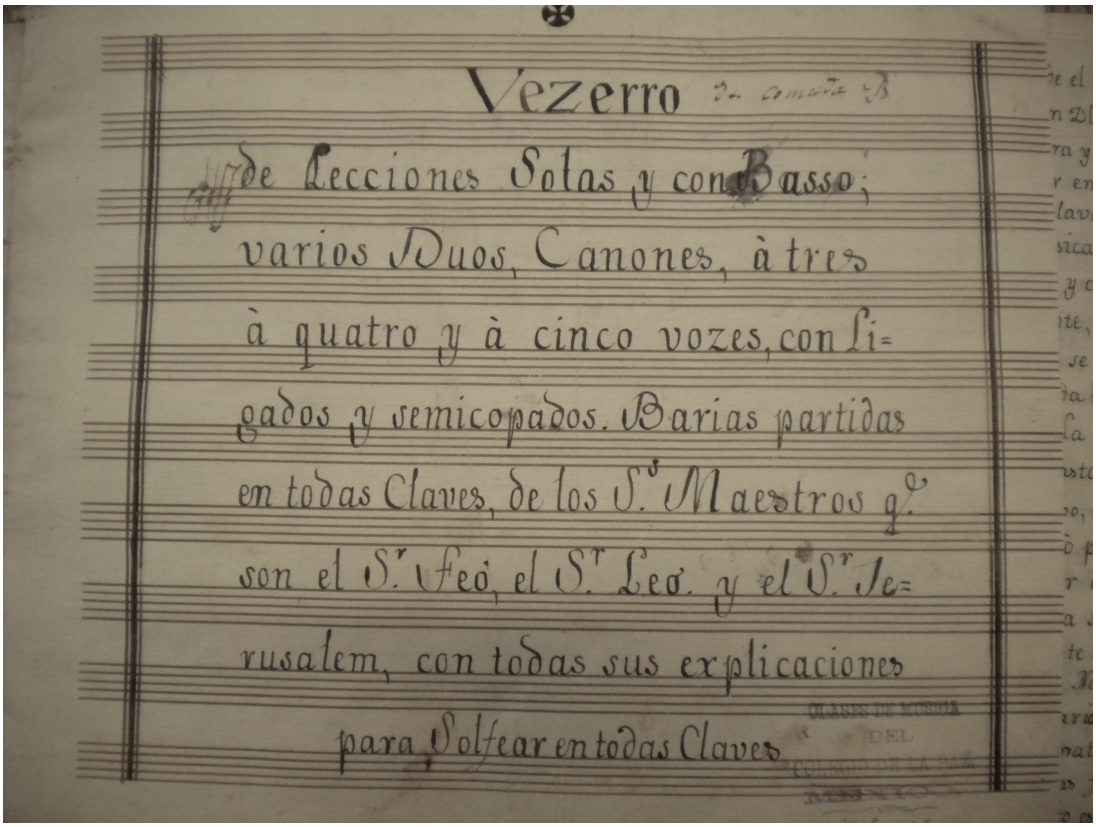


FIGURE 46. Title page of "Vezerro de Lecciones"[629]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

The three contributors specified on the title page are the Italian composers and teachers Francisco Feo (1691–1761), Leonardo Leo (1694–1744), and Ignacio Jerusalem y Stella (1707–1769). The stamp in the lower right corner of the title page reads, "Classes de Música del Colegio de la Paz. Mexico" (Figure 46, above), referring to the music classes at Vizcaínas between the 1860s and 1997.

[629] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, 1r.

Handwritten on the inside cover is the note "Soi de la Escol[eta]" (Figure 47, below), and in the upper right corner of the title page is written "de comuda B" (Figure 46, above), evidence that the book first belonged to the escoleta de música of the "community of Belem."

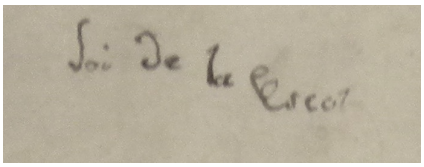


FIGURE 47. "Soi de la Escol[eta]" ("I belong to the school" [of music]).[630]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

"Vezerro de Lecciones" contains the following sections:

I. Introductory Material

   a. Three pages of detailed descriptions of mutating between solmization hexachords; G, C, and F clefs; musical symbols including flats, sharps, naturals, repeat signs, canon entrance signs, fermatas, bar lines, time signatures, dotted note values; syncopation; note and rest values; meter; and key signatures.

   b. Two pages of exercises for the student to practice rewriting key signatures in various G, C, and F clefs.

   c. One page describing "La Mano Musical" (that is, the Guidonian hand): natural, hard, and soft hexachords.

[630] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, inside the cover.

d. Eleven pages showing major scales with 0–5 sharps and 1–5 flats (one page per key). Each scale is shown ascending in various clefs (treble, French violin, soprano, mezzo-soprano, alto, tenor, bass-baritone, and bass) and with about two octaves of solfege syllables labelled in treble clef.

II. Lecciones by Francesco Feo (61 exercises)

III. Partitas by Francesco Feo (11)

IV. Lecciones by Ignacio Jerusalem (25)

V. Canons for three, four, and five voices (12)

VI. Partitas by Ignacio Jerusalem (54)

VII. Lecciones by Leonardo Leo. Duets and partitas (259)

The contents of "Vezerro de Lecciones" raise questions about how the exercises of Francesco Feo and Leonardo Leo (who never went to Mexico) came to be copied and bound together with those of Ignacio Jerusalem in Mexico City. Although there is no definitive answer to date, we can hypothesize and tentatively draw conclusions. Francesco Feo and Leonardo Leo were both active composers and teachers at several conservatories in Naples, where it seems Jerusalem studied. The English musician and writer Charles Burney (1726–1814) lists both Feo and Leo among "the best composers of that age," along with Vinci, Pergolesi, and Handel (but

notably, not J.S. Bach).[631] Robert O. Gjerdingen has researched the Neapolitan conservatories, focusing on the didactic genres of solfeggi and partimenti, which were central to the apprenticeship-style training of court and church musicians and feature prominently in "Vezerro de Lecciones."[632] European conservatories were originally founded not as a place to study music (as we know them today), but rather as orphanages: places that protected (or "conserved") at-risk children.[633] These conservatory-orphanages taught children various crafts that would provide their livelihoods. Three Neapolitan conservatories that trained boys specifically in the craft of music were Sant'Onofrio a Porta Capuana, I Poveri di Gesù Cristo, and La Pietà dei Turchini (named for the turquoise [*turchina*] uniforms worn by the boys).

Francesco Feo studied at the Neapolitan Conservatorio della Pietà dei Turchini from 1704 to c.1712. He composed a large amount of sacred music (oratorios, cantatas, etc.), but is primarily known for his operas, which he began

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[631] Charles Burney, *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands; Being Dr. Charles Burney's Account of His Musical Experiences* (Oxford University Press, 1959), 207.

[632] Robert O. Gjerdingen, "Monuments of Solfeggi: Second in a Series Presenting the Great Collections of Instructional Music Intended for the Training of European Court Musicians," accessed April 8, 2016, http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/solfeggi/index.htm; Robert O. Gjerdingen, "Monuments of Partimenti: First in a Series Presenting the Great Collections of Instructional Music Intended for the Training of European Court Musicians," accessed April 8, 2016, http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/partimenti/index.htm; Robert O. Gjerdingen, "The Perfection of Craft Training in the Neapolitan Conservatories," *Rivista Di Analisi e Teoria Musicale* 15 (2009): 26–49, http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/Papers/PubPapers/Perfection.pdf.

[633] Gjerdingen, "Monuments of Solfeggi."

writing in Naples in 1713.[634] He served as the first master of both Sant'Onofrio a Porta Capuana (1723–1739) and I Poveri di Gesù Cristo (1738–1743).[635]

Leonardo Leo (1694–1744) also trained at the Conservatorio della Pietà dei Turchini around 1709–1712.[636] Like Feo, he composed operas and sacred works and taught in the conservatories of Naples. Leo served as the second master at La Pietà dei Turchini (1734–1737) then as the first master simultaneously at La Pietà dei Turchini (1740–1744) and Sant'Onofrio a Porta Capuana (1739–1744).[637]

The connections between Feo and Leo are well-documented: both trained at the Conservatorio della Pietà dei Turchini around the same time, were well-known opera composers, and served consecutively as first masters of Sant'Onofrio a Porta Capuana (Feo 1723–1739; Leo 1739–1744).

The career of Ignacio Jerusalem y Stella (1707–1769)—father of María Micaela and María Joaquina Jerusalem—has many parallels to those of Feo and Leo. All three served as church maestros de capilla and were active as directors and/or composers for the stage. They all were active teachers, Jerusalem serving as an instructor at the Mexico City Cathedral Colegio de Infantes and possibly at the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem. As illustrated in "Vezerro de Lecciones," all three

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[634] Hanns-Bertold Dietz, "Feo, Francesco," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, accessed April 14, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09467.
[635] Gjerdingen, "Monuments of Solfeggi."
[636] Dietz, "Feo, Francesco"; Helmut Hucke and Rosa Cafiero, "Leo, Leonardo," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, accessed April 14, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16416.
[637] Gjerdingen, "Monuments of Solfeggi."

composed pedagogical exercises such as solfeggi that solidified in eighteenth-century music students the Italian *galant* style, which Jerusalem established and cultivated at the Mexico City Cathedral.

Relatively little is known about Jerusalem's early life in Italy. His father, originally from Naples, was also a musician.[638] A document from the Mexico City Cathedral alludes to his work in the Colegio de Infantes as influenced by his experience in the Neapolitan conservatories.[639] Although we do not know for certain if Jerusalem trained directly with Feo or Leo, it appears that he trained in the city where they taught and would likely have had access to their pedagogical exercises. It seems probable that Jerusalem created "Vezerro de Lecciones" by copying the exercises of Feo and Leo and adding his own (or having someone else copy it). Two exercises in "Vezerro" attributed to Leo match exercises present in the published *Solfeos de Leo para los principiantes de mvsica.* Solfeggi numbers 3 and 5 are identical to "Vezerro" exercises VII.51 and VII.38, respectively.[640] (Interestingly, a copy of Leo's manuscript "Solfeggi a Voce Sola di Soprano con Basso del Signore

[638] Russell, "Jerusalem, Ignacio."
[639] Roubina, *El Responsorio "Omnes Moriemini..." de Ignacio Jerusalem. La Primera Obra Novohispana Con Obligado de Violonchelo y Su Entorno Histórico*, 149, as cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 100.
[640] Leonardo Leo, *Solfeos de Leo Para Los Principiantes de Mvsica. Por Direccion de Dn. Fernando Blumenstein* (J. F. Palomino, 1760), http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/9/9a/IMSLP239476-PMLP209579-leo_solfeggi.pdf.

Leonardo Leo" was present in New Spain;[641] however, none of the exercises matches those found in "Vezerro.") "Vezerro" probably arrived at the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem through Ignacio Jerusalem (if he did indeed teach there) or via his daughters, María Micaela and María Joaquina Jerusalem, who received their musical training in Belem's escoleta de música. How and when the manuscript left Belem and arrived at the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas, is unclear. At the latest, it was transferred to Vizcaínas with the rest of Belem's music and archive when Belem closed in 1862; however, it is possible that María Micaela and María Joaquina Jerusalem could have taken it with them when they moved from Belem to Vizcaínas in 1769.

"Vezerro de Lecciones" begins with an entire section of theoretical explanations. Page 2r describes in prose the application of hexachordal sol-fa, the three clefs ("Gsolreu[t]," "Cesolfaut," and "Fefaut"), and accidentals. It then presents symbols signifying repetition, canon entrance, fermata, and bar lines. The page concludes by naming the following time signatures ("los tiempos"):

"Compasillo"

"Compas mayor"

"Proporsionsilla"

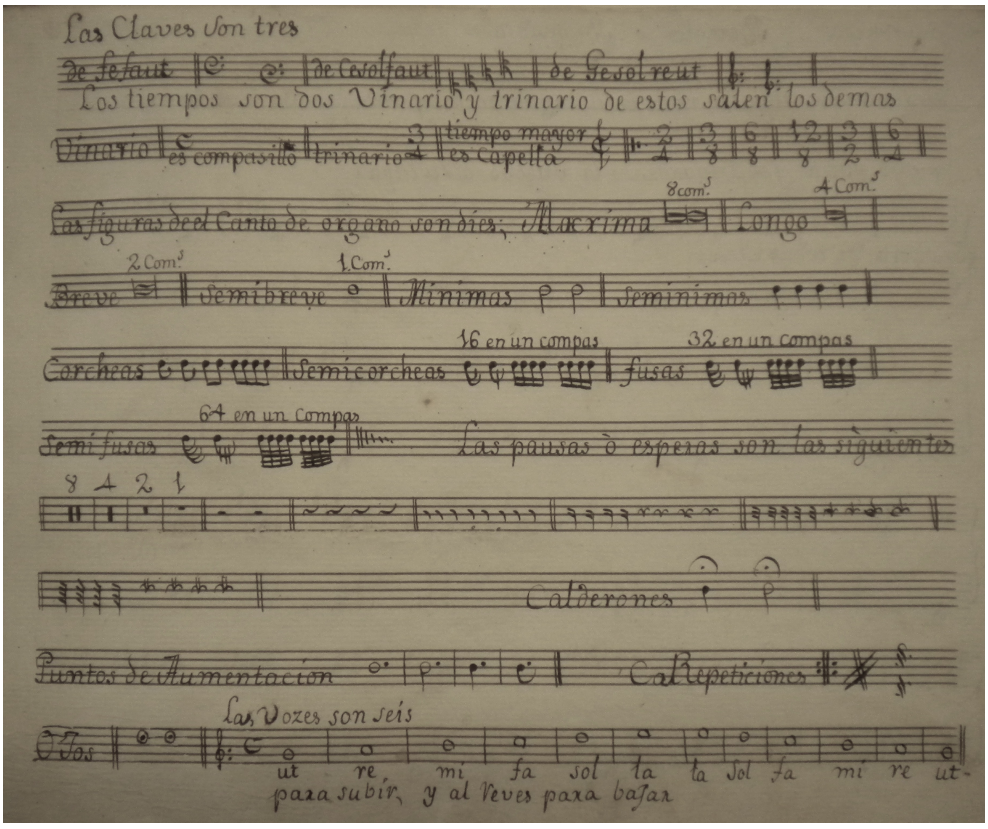
"Nota negra"

[641] Leonardo Leo, "Solfeggi a Voce Sola Di Soprano Con Basso Del Signore Leonardo Leo," n.d., MS 2369, Santini Collection, as cited in Gjerdingen, "Monuments of Solfeggi."

"Proporcion mayor" ¢ $\frac{3}{2}$

"Sexquialtera" $\frac{6}{4}$ $\frac{6}{8}$ $\frac{12}{8}$

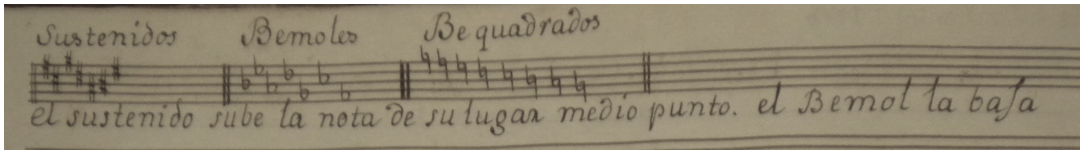
Page 2v contains prose explanations of syncopation, time signatures, and note values. Page 3r (Example 33) lists and names the clefs (line 1); time signatures (line 2); note values (lines 3–6); rest values (lines 7–8); fermatas (line 8); dotted notes, repeat signs, and canon entrances (line 9); *ojos* (eyes, the meaning of which is unclear) and the six sol-fa syllables (*ut–la*).



EXAMPLE 33. Explanation of musical symbols.[642]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

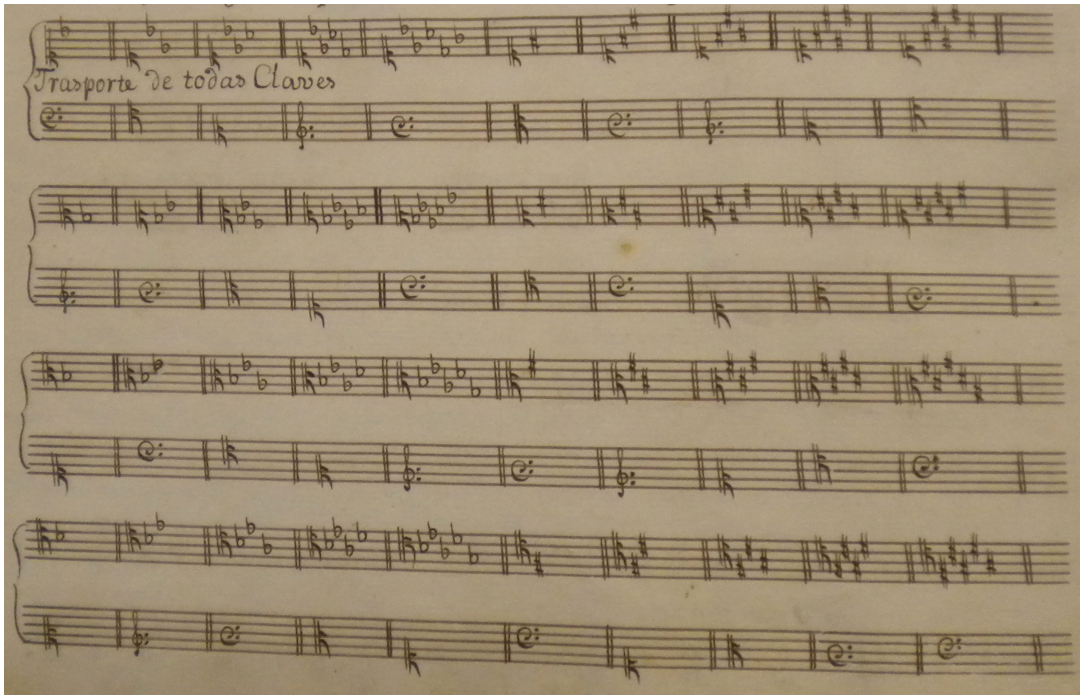
[642] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, "Vezerro de Lecciones," 3r.

Next, “Vezerro” lists the order of sharps and flats and a string of naturals (Example 34).



EXAMPLE 34. Presentation of sharps, flats, and naturals.[643]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

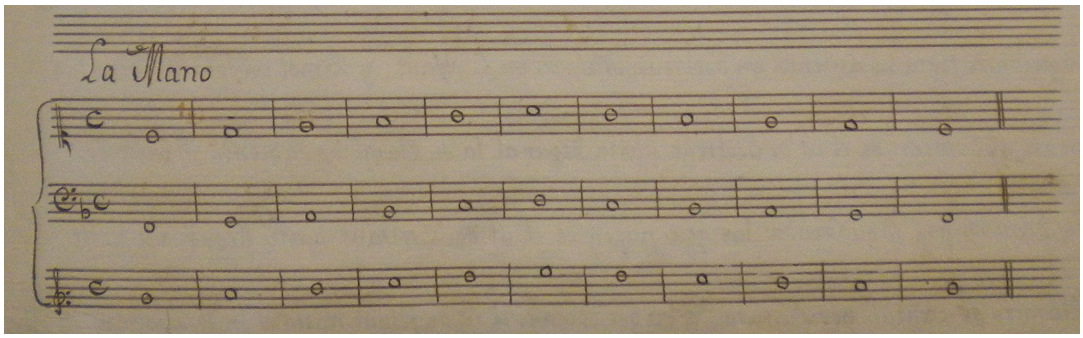
Two pages of exercises provide students with practice rewriting key signatures in various G, C, and F clefs (Example 35).



EXAMPLE 35. Exercises practicing writing key signatures in various clefs.[644]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[643] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, 3v.
[644] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, 3v.

Next, the compiler of "Vezerro" presents "La Mano Musical" (The Guidonian Hand) in staff notation (Example 36) and provides an additional page explaining it in prose. Each line notates a different hexachord: natural hexachord in soprano clef (line 1), soft hexachord in bass clef (line 2), and hard hexachord in treble clef (line 3).

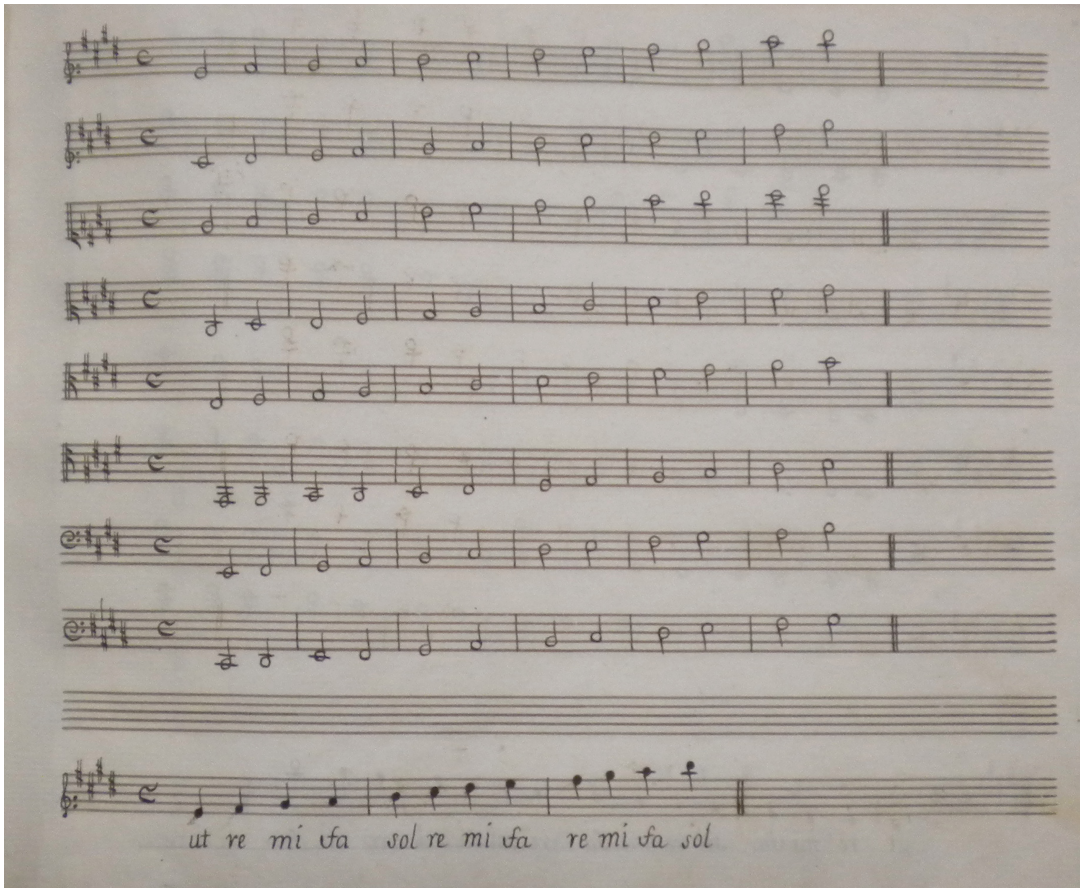


EXAMPLE 36. "La Mano Musical."[645]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

In the next section, each page shows the solfege syllables and scale for a single key in treble clef (at the bottom of the page) and transcribes the scale to eight different clefs (treble, French violin, soprano, mezzo-soprano, alto, tenor, bass, and bass-baritone). (See Example 37.) There are eleven pages, each showing a different key signature, covering major keys with 0–5 sharps and 0–5 flats. Gjerdingen writes that the nineteenth-century concept of a "tonic sol-fa" (i.e. movable *do*) that assigned sol-fa syllables to specific scale degrees was a theoretical notion foreign to the world of Bach and Mozart."[646] In "Vezerro," the solmization of every key employs the same pattern of syllables, expanding from the idea of three hexachords starting on the fixed

[645] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, 4r.
[646] Gjerdingen, "Monuments of Solfeggi."

pitches C, F, and G. We see the transition toward tonal solmization, but without the syllable *ti* or *si* for the leading tone, scale degrees 6–8 reuse the syllables *re–fa*.



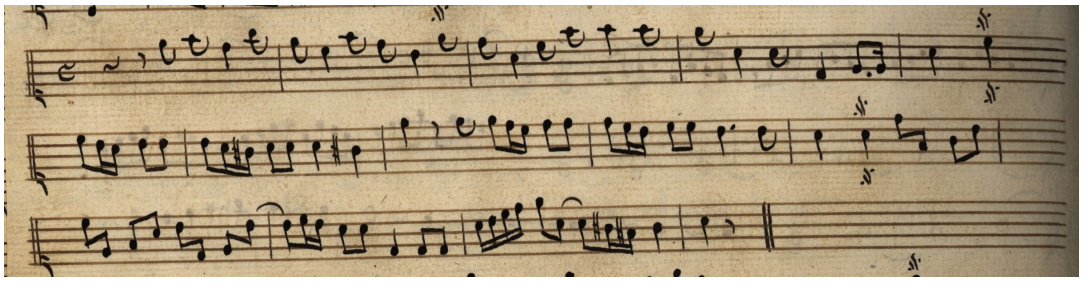
EXAMPLE 37. E Major scale in eight clefs.[647]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

The bulk of "Vezerro de Lecciones" comprises 422 educational compositions by the three Italian teacher-composers Francesco Feo, Leonardo Leo, and Ignacio Jerusalem, all written by a single copyist, in various C, F, and G clefs. Like "Manuscrito 'J.M.J.' del Colegio de Belem," "Vezerro" does not specify

[647] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, "Vezerro de Lecciones," 7r.

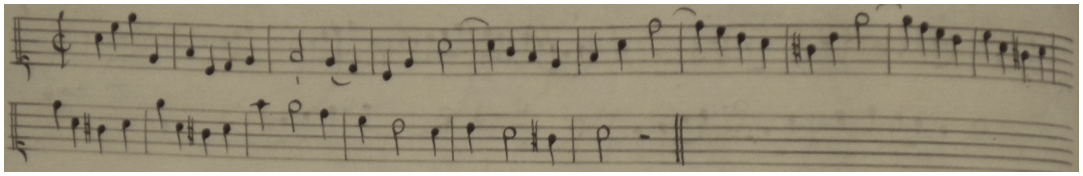
instrumentation. It is a very versatile resource. Presumably, it could be used to teach singing, instrumental performance, theory, improvisation, and composition.

"Vezerro" contains canons such as the one in Example 38, whose composer is unidentified in the manuscript and that Aurelio Tello has attributed to Antonio Caldara (1670–1736).[648] The symbols above and below the staff in mm. 5 and 9 mark the places in which successive voices enter the canon. It was originally intended to be sung, but in "Vezerro" the text is omitted.



EXAMPLE 38. Antonio Caldara's Canon "Che gusto è mai questo" in "Vezerro de Lecciones" (V.2).[649]
Courtesy of the AHCV.

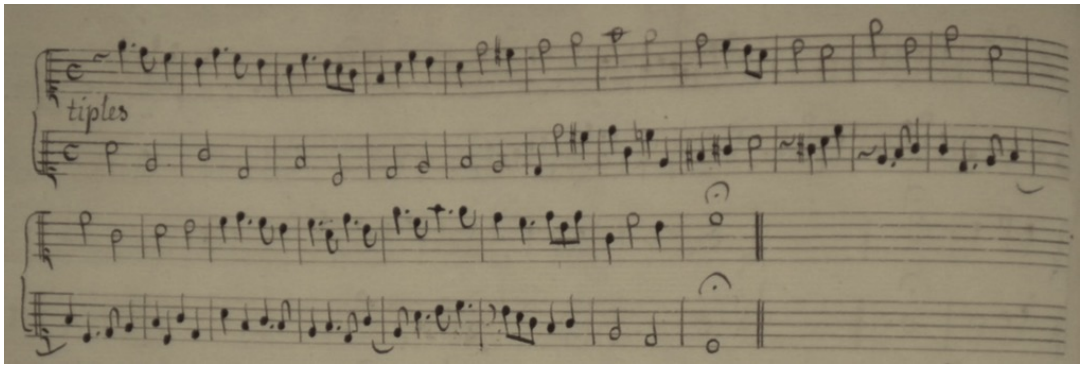
There are exercises with a single melodic line that could be sung in solfege, sung on another syllable, or played by an instrument.



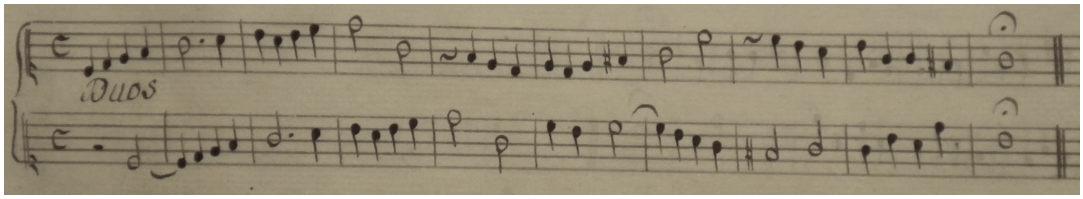
EXAMPLE 39. Partida No. 4 by Jerusalem for solo in soprano clef (VI.4).[650]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[648] Aurelio Tello, September 2014.
[649] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, "Vezerro de Lecciones," 31v.
[650] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, 35v.

Many exercises have two melodic lines. Some are duets with two equal parts often in the same range or clef, such as Examples 40 and 41, which could be sung or played.



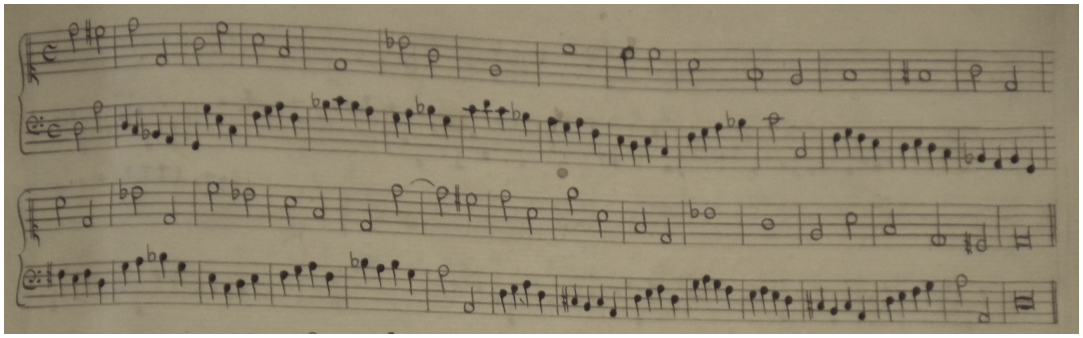
EXAMPLE 40. Leccion No. 18 by Jerusalem (IV.18).[651]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.



EXAMPLE 41. Leccion No. 2 by Jerusalem for duet in soprano clefs (IV.2).[652]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[651] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, 29v.
[652] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, 27r.

Many of the two-part exercises consist of melody and bass, like the one in Example 42, which also illustrates syncopations expressed both as tied-notes and as long notes written bisected by a bar line ("ligados y semicopados").



EXAMPLE 42. Leccion No. 19 by Feo (II.19).[653]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

These melody and bass exercises, known as solfeggi, were very versatile. Robert Gjerdingen writes that solfeggi were "studies in melody" and formed a central component of the pedagogy of court music throughout the Baroque and Classical periods. Despite our present-day assumptions regarding their name, solfeggi were not just intended for sight-singing. The melody did not stand alone; it was always related at least to a bass line, if not also a harmony. Solfeggi formed a sort of stock vocabulary of melodies on which a student could draw when improvising or composing.[654] Gjerdingen analyzes how solfeggi and partimenti were "musical models for phrases and groups of phrases," demonstrating ways "this can connect to this, and then to that."[655] He posits that in establishing structural patterns among

[653] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, 14r.
[654] Gjerdingen, "Monuments of Solfeggi."
[655] Gjerdingen, "The Perfection of Craft Training in the Neapolitan Conservatories."

phrases, cadences, and sequences in young musicians' minds, instruction in solfeggi was "practical, not theoretical." These exercises featured prominently in Italian music education, most especially in Naples. Famous composers and vocalists composed solfeggi as a way to strengthen their reputation as teachers.[656]

The Neapolitan conservatory curriculum included solfeggi work six days each week, supervised by the second maestro of the school. Feo and Leo served as first and second masters at several conservatories in Naples: Sant'Onofrio a Porta Capuana, I Poveri di Gesù Cristo, and La Pietà dei Turchini. Gjerdingen writes regarding the ambiguity of solfeggio performance:

> Many questions also surround the performance practice of the Neapolitan solfeggio. In particular, it is presently unknown whether or not the bass of a solfeggio was realized as a partimento. That is, the nonverbal nature of the solfeggio treatises leaves us without any guidance as to who—teacher, student, or a third party—played the solfeggio's bass and whether that person played the bass as a single line or as a partimento to be enriched with other voices and chords. If the student played the bass, perhaps he played only what was written. This might have been a necessity for the youngest boys who would not yet have become proficient at the keyboard. If, on the other hand, the maestro played the bass, it is difficult to imagine an experienced keyboard improvisor [sic] limiting himself to a single note in the left hand when the singing student would benefit from the richer context of a realized partimento.[657]

Certainly, "Vezerro" contains exercises whose top line we can imagine a student singing while someone else accompanied her on the bass line (Example 43.)

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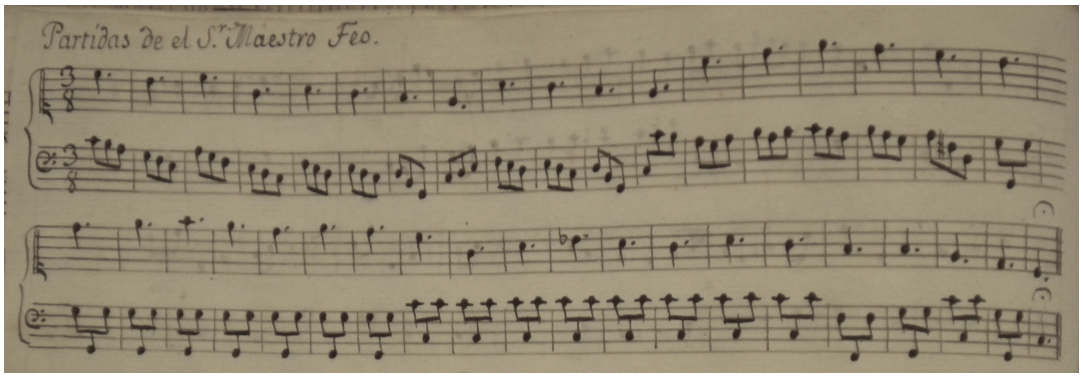
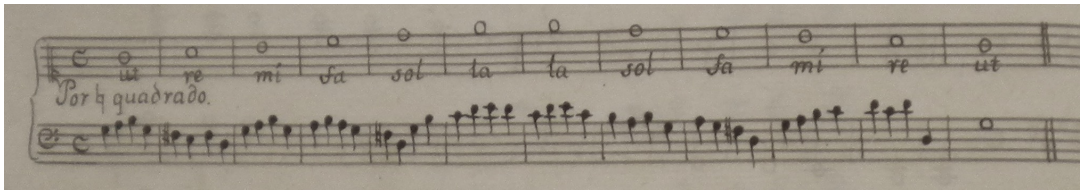
[656] Gjerdingen, "Monuments of Solfeggi."
[657] Robert O. Gjerdingen, "Images of Galant Music in Neapolitan Partimenti and Solfeggi," ed. Regula Rapp and Thomas Drescher, *Improvisatorische Praxis Vom Mittelalter Bis Zum 18. Jahrhundert*, 2009, 137, http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/Papers/PubPapers/index.htm.



EXAMPLE 43. Partida No. 1 by Feo for soprano clef and bass clef (III.1).[658]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

Gjerdingen also describes elementary solfeggi with "simple intervals in long note values" called *Scale e Salti* (Scales and Leaps), as can be seen in Example 44.[659]



EXAMPLE 44. Leccion No. 2 by Feo (II.2).[660]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

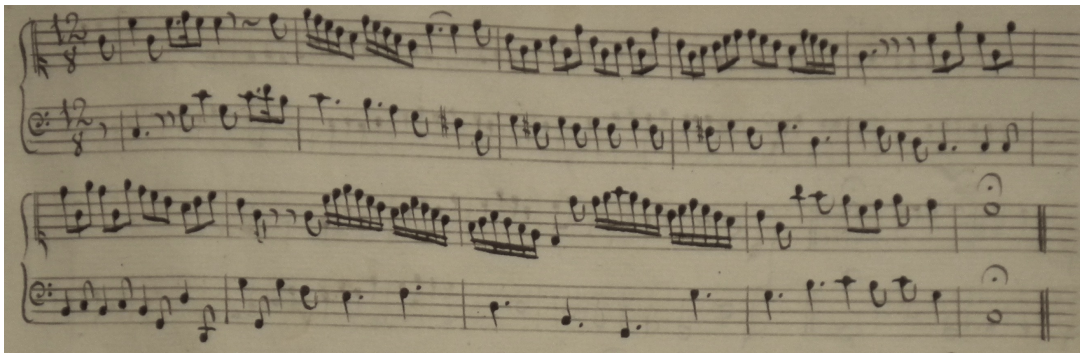
For solfeggi with florid or rapid passages (as in Example 45), singers would have likely dispensed with sol-fa syllables for individual pitches. Gjerdingen critiques the present-day practice of solmization in such melodies:

> Yet even with the facility that early training permits, many Neapolitan solfeggi are florid to a degree that would make syllabification more humorous than impressive. We are thus left with the irony that today we ask adult learners to perform feats of sight singing (singing with syllables tied to scale degrees and chromatic inflections, free of any harmonic and contextual support from a keyboard instrument) that seem not to have been imagined in

[658] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, "Vezerro de Lecciones," 24v.
[659] Gjerdingen, "Monuments of Solfeggi."
[660] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, "Vezerro de Lecciones," 10v.

> the eighteenth century. Perhaps, with the evidence of actual eighteenth-century pedagogy before us, we can envision the emergence of a "historically informed" style of instruction, one that focuses on the accumulation of stylistic knowledge rather than on a gymnastics of syllables.[661]

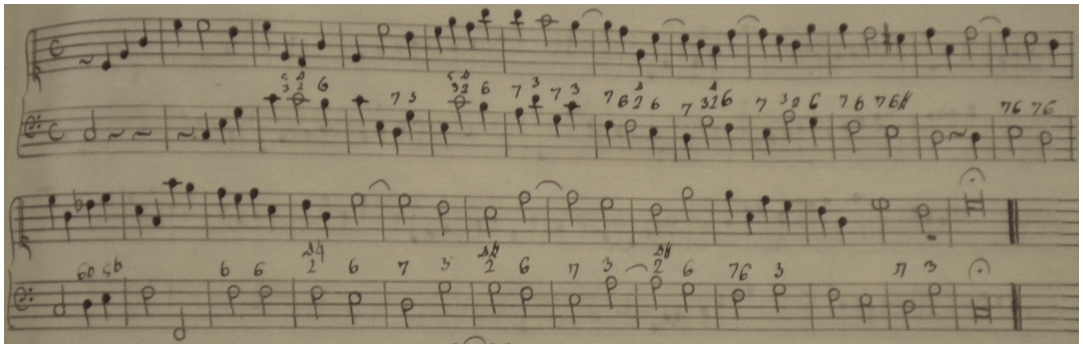
When thinking about the execution of solfeggi, it is important to bear in mind that solemnization is (and was) a tool to facilitate audiating and singing correct pitches. Like any tool, it would have been applied only when necessary. Applying sol-fa syllables was not the goal; it was a means to an end. A student may have used solmization to learn a melody, such as that in Example 45, but by the time she was executing it at tempo, she likely would have dispensed with the syllables.



EXAMPLE 45. Leccion No. 1 by Jerusalem (IV.1).[662]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[661] Gjerdingen, "Monuments of Solfeggi."
[662] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, "Vezerro de Lecciones," 27r.

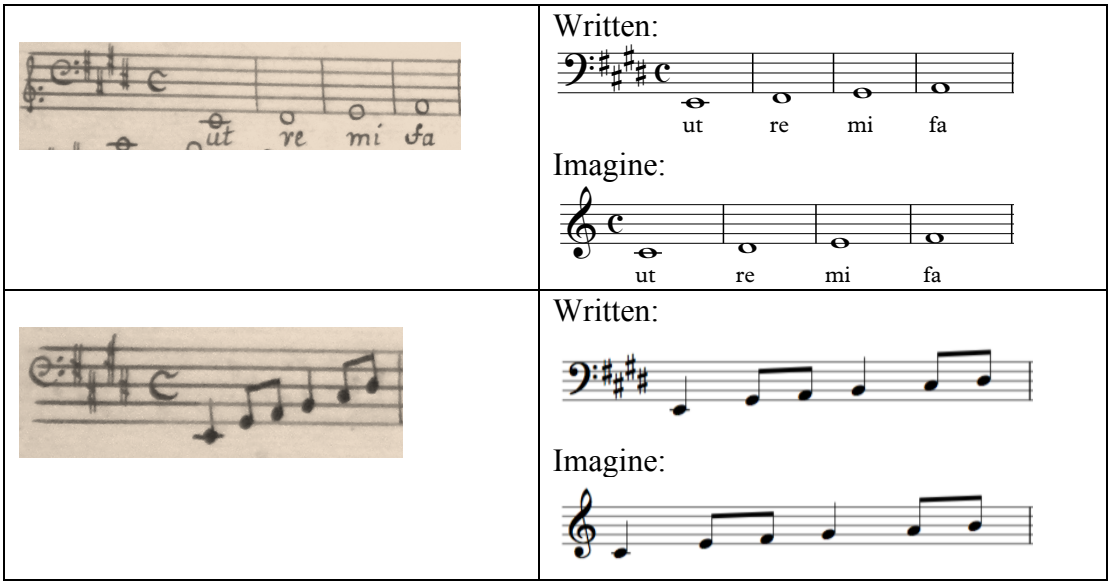
Although solfeggi characteristically contained unfigured bass, a small number of exercises in “Vezerro” have figures for the bass part (Example 46).



EXAMPLE 46. Leccion No. 33 by Feo (II.33).[663]
Photo by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[663] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, 17r.

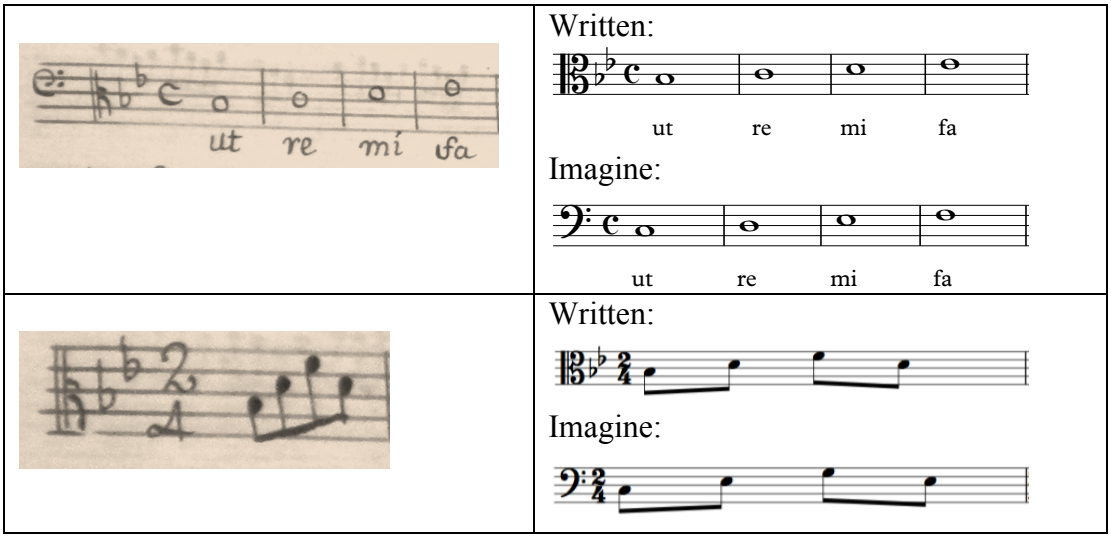
The last section of Vezerro provides a solution for vocalists who want to use solfege syllables but are not comfortable reading in various key signatures. The solution does assume that the singer is literate in numerous clef placements. It suggests that when a singer encounters a difficult key signature, she can imagine a different clef, wipe away the accidentals, and read it in the key of C. Example 47 is written in bass clef in the key of E. If the student imagines a treble clef, she can read it and apply solfege syllables as if it were in the key of C.



EXAMPLE 47. Incipits of Lecciones 216 and 217 by Feo (VII.216 and VII.217).[664] Photos by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

[664] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, 90v.

In Example 48, the alto clef places the tonic (B♭) on space 2. However, if the student imagines the exercise to be in bass clef, space 2 becomes C, and the student can solfege in the key of C.



EXAMPLE 48. Incipits of Lecciones 152 and 153 by Leo (VII.152 and VII.153).[665] Photos by the author. Used by permission of the AHCV.

Conclusion

From the pedagogical methods described above, we see numerous concepts and skills having been taught at Belem: plainchant and polyphony, music notation in moveable clefs, hexachordal solmization, instrumental technique, style and interpretation, ornamentation, transposition, ensemble playing, figured bass realization, ear training, and improvisation and composition. The books of Montanos, Torres, and Navas facilitate the study of the performance practices of plainchant and

[665] Jerusalem, Feo, and Leo, 82v.

polyphony, both of which were used in religious services at Belem and other institutions where women trained at Belem would have played.

The three manuscripts—"Livro de Lecciones A Solo Violin del Señ. Don Nicolas Olivari," "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' del Colegio de Belem," and "Vezerro de Lecciones"—all exemplify the Italian pedagogy employed in Belem's escoleta de música. In them, the students learn about and/or practice executing a variety of keys, time signatures, and ornaments.

Olivari's collection of lessons is the only one of the three manuscripts to specify instrumentation. It is a resource specifically for violinists. Unlike the other two manuscripts, it does not provide explanations of theory. It prepares students for the literature of the period: techniques used by Corelli and extended range used by J.S. Bach. Techniques such as string-crossing, alternative fingerings, articulations (e.g. portato), and higher positions on the fingerboard are particular to bowed string instruments.

"Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' del Colegio de Belem" is unique because it was copied by a student and serves as a chronicle of her lessons. It is the latest of the three manuscripts and the only one from the nineteenth century. It is the only one to require the student to quickly switch among various C, F, and G clefs within a melodic line and the only one with no composer attributions. The last couple of pages contain exercises added by a different student. The first student (who wrote the bulk of the manuscript) studied hexachordal solmization, whereas the second student annotated a scale using tonic sol-fa.

"Vezerro de Lecciones" is unique in that it is a well-conceived curriculum with detailed explanations of theory and hundreds of practical exercises. Its methodical layout and comprehensive nature evince the influence of an experienced teacher. Unlike the other two manuscripts, its exercises include canons and solfeggi.

Olivari's "Livro de Lecciones" is similar to "Vezerro de Lecciones" by Feo, Leo, and Jerusalem in that their exercises are attributed to specific composers. Because the Olivari manuscript is specifically for violin and does not teach theory, "Vezerro de Lecciones" and "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' del Colegio de Belem" have much more in common. Both present explanations of theory, specifically dealing with meter, note values, musical symbols, key signatures, and hexachordal solmization. They provide solos and duets among their practical exercises, and both place emphasis on reading movable C, F, and G clefs. "Vezerro de Lecciones" goes as far as to suggest that students can change the clef of an exercise in order to change the key to C, thus simplifying the application of sol-fa.

CHAPTER 6:

BELEM'S PERFORMANCE MUSIC

As with the pedagogical music, purchase receipts and pieces held in the AHCV give us an idea of the types of music Belem students performed. The repertoire is largely Italian in style and liturgical—mostly Masses, services of the Daily Office, and some feast days.

In December of 1777, Ignacio Pedroza purchased twenty-one pieces (most no longer extant or identified), including a Mass by Mendoza (first name[s] unknown); pieces for St. Michael, "Dolores" (Our Lady of Sorrows), Lent, and general festivities; seven pieces for Christmas Eve; an overture; and two villancicos (one each for Christmas Eve and the Incarnation). Many of the pieces are for two (*duo*) or four (*quatro*) voices:[666]

- La Misa de Mendoza
- Un quatro de Sr. Sn. Miguel
- Un quatro de Noche buena
- Un quatro para la quaresma
- Un villancico a quatro para noche buena
- Un quatro para todas festividades

[666] Cited as "AHCV 13-IV-1, f. 144" in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas,* 83. As of September 2014, f.144 is missing from the cited volume.

- Un quatro de Noche buena
- Duo de Pastorela pa. Noche buena
- Duo de las Tabletillas pa. Noche buena
- Duo la Cartilla del Niño Jesús
- Otro duo de Noche buena
- Otro duo del Ssmo
- Un villancico á tres pa. la Encarnación
- Otro duo para todas festividades
- Otro duo en latin
- Aria para Dolores
- Aria para todas festividades
- Aria para el Ssmo
- Un laudate dominum omnes gentes â solo
- Aria de Noche buena
- Una obertura del Sr. Maza

The next year in January 1778, Belem acquired eight pieces by Ignacio Jerusalem (who died on January 15, 1769). This collection includes two Magnificats, two settings of *Ave Maris Stella*, a duet for Our Lady of Sorrows, and a setting each of *Pange lingua*, *Stabat mater*, and *Laudate dominum omnes gentes*.[667]

[667] "Music Purchase Records," 1777–1778, AHCV 13-IV-1, f.144; cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 83. As of September 2014, f.144 is missing from the cited volume.

- Magnificat a cuatro trompas
- Otro Magnificat por otro tono
- Laudate dominum omnes gentes
- Staba[t] mater dolorosa
- Pange lingua
- Ave Maris Stella a dúo
- Otra Ave María Stela
- Dúo de Dolores

Extant Prints and Manuscripts

Using the catalog of the Vizcaínas archive and information provided by Muriel and Lledías, and sifting through archival scores and part books, I have compiled a list of pieces that were intended for performance and are designated as belonging to Belem and still held in the AHCV. Many of the pieces are unattributed; the biographical information for many listed composers is not available to present-day scholars.

Keyboard works include two collections of organ versos[668] and Six Variations for the Fortepiano by Manuel Izquierdo (late 1700s and early 1800s).[669] Izquierdo was a student of the organist Matheo Tollis de la Rocca (c. 1710–1780), who succeeded Ignacio Jerusalem in the position of maestro de capilla of the Metropolitan Cathedral.[670] Izquierdo later taught composition, and his most notable student was José Antonio Gómez y Olguín (1805–1876).[671] Gómez was the maestro de capilla at the Metropolitan Cathedral and an important composer during the early years of Mexico's independence. He enjoyed a long and successful career, four decades of it spent at the cathedral where he also served as the primary organist. Gómez also made significant contributions to music education, including the foundation of a music conservatory and publication of several method books.[672] (The Colegio de San

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[668] Marcos Vega, "Versos Para Órgano. Para Tocarlos En Visperas o Maytines" n.d., AHCV 26-II-2-2, manuscript; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 85, 227–36; "Versos de La Escoleta Del Colegio de San Miguel de Bethlem" n.d., AHCV catalogue number unknown; discussed in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 110; transcription available in Muriel and Lledías, 217–26, 269–70.

[669] Manuscript, "Comunidad": Manuel Izquierdo, "Seis Variaciones Para El Forte Piano" n.d., AHCV 26-III-2-9.

[670] Dianne Lehmann, "A Diamond Among Jewels: Matheo Tollis de La Rocca and His Place in Mexican Vice-Regal Music" (University of California, Santa Cruz, 2005).

[671] John G. Lazos, "Dice José Antonio Gómez, Célebre Profesor de Forte-Piano: '¿Y Es Esto Todo Lo Que Hay Que Tocar de Más Difícil?,'" *Anuario Musical* 67 (2012): 189, https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=5&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0ahUKEwiJ-_jLgLzVAhUI42MKHUt-DjIQFghCMAQ&url=http%3A%2F%2Fanuariomusical.revistas.csic.es%2Findex.php%2Fanuariomusical%2Farticle%2Fdownload%2F141%2F142&usg=AFQjCNEFtaJMB_nq6ZK14R-DKql6717kYA.

[672] John G. Lazos, "A Young Bishop, Eleven Music Manuscripts, and a Remote Cathedral Archive: A Mexican Musical Legacy Comes to Light," *Latin American*

Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas, owned various compositions by Gómez, including a setting of "Non fecit taliter" and a set of organ versos, which are held in the AHCV.)[673]

Among the instrumental ensemble pieces, we find prints of Arcangelo Corelli's (1653–1713) Sonata for violin and continuo (Op.5)[674] and the Spanish composer Giacomo Facco's (1676–1753) twelve concertos entitled *Pensieri Adriarmonici,* for three violins, viola, cello, and organ.[675] The instrumentation of mass ordinaries ranges from as few as two soprano voices and continuo[676] to as many

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Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana 32, no. 2 (2011): 240–68, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41348254; Lazos, "Dice José Antonio Gómez, Célebre Profesor de Forte-Piano: '¿Y Es Esto Todo Lo Que Hay Que Tocar de Más Difícil?'"

[673] José Antonio Gómez y Olguín, "Non Fecit Táliter," n.d., AHCV 26-III-1-18, manuscript; José Antonio Gómez y Olguín, "Juego de Versos Para Organo Sobre Los 8 Favordones," 1843, AHCV 26-I-16, manuscript. Editions available by the author.

[674] Corelli, "Sonate à Violino e Violone o Cimbalo" (Op. 5), AHCV 26-I-17, printed score; Muriel and Lledías mention that Belem owned original prints of sonatas by Corelli; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 99. Op. 5 is the only Corelli in the AHCV catalogue.

[675] Giacomo Facco, "Pensieri Adriarmonici, Concertos 1–12," n.d., AHCV 26-1-6 to 15, printed part books, incomplete (Violin 2 and Cello for concertos 1–6 missing); Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 84; Complete printed part books available at Giacomo Facco, *Pensieri Adriarmonici* (Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger), accessed January 22, 2016, http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/d/d8/IMSLP114737-PMLP234040-Facco_12_Concerti_a_5_op.1.pdf.

[676] Gregorio Mariano de Soberanis, "Misa a Dúo y Bájo" n.d., AHCV 26-II-1-14, manuscript part books, incomplete (Soprano 2 and Accompaniment only), "De La Escoleta de Bethlém"; Soprano 1 is found in another caja in the AHCV, caja unspecified in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 111; transcription of mass available in Muriel and Lledías, 239–50, 256–65, 267–68, 271–72.

as five *a cappella* voices (SSATB).[677] Requiem masses range from unison voice (plainchant)[678] to multiple voices with trumpets, viola, and bass.[679] In honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe, there are two settings of "Non fecit taliter" by Ignacio Jerusalem,[680] an anonymous setting of "Non fecit taliter," [681] and a gradual dated 1846 by Guadalupe Ortuño.[682] There are two villancicos[683]—the only Spanish-language pieces to be performed in services—and numerous other sacred pieces, largely by unnamed composers. Below is a list of sample pieces, organized by category.

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[677] Garrido, "Misa a 5 Vozes" n.d., AHCV 26-III-1-9, manuscript part books, incomplete (Soprano 1 missing), archive folder labeled "Colegio San Miguel de Belem."

[678] "Oficium Defunctorum; Ad Vesperas Absolute Incipitur Ab Antiphona" n.d., AHCV 26-I-1, manuscript, "este libro pertenese Al Colegio de San Miguel de belen."

[679] Bassni (possibly Giovanni Battista Bassani), "Missa de Requiem Con V Trompas Viola y Bajo" n.d., AHCV 26-I-2-3, Manuscript part books, incomplete (Tenor and melodic instrument only), "Dedico al Colegio de Sn Miguel de Bhelem...."

[680] Ignacio Jerusalem, "Non Fecit Taliter" n.d., AHCV 26-I-2-1 (Soprano 1 and accompaniment) and AHCV 26-II-2-13 (Soprano 2); Ignacio Jerusalem, "Non Fecit Taliter a 8 Con Violines, Clarines, y Bajo" n.d., AHCV 26-II-2-13, manuscript part books, incomplete (Choir 1 [SSAT] and figured bass only), "Comunidad"; Composer unnamed; attributed to Iganacio Jerusalem by F. Lanam using Ireri Elizabeth Chávez Bárcenas, "Non fecit taliter omni nationi: Muestras de la Felicidad mexicana en la iconografía y música guadalupana del siglo XVIII." (Universidad de las Américas Puebla, 2006), http://catarina.udlap.mx/u_dl_a/tales/documentos/lmu/chavez_b_ie/; Also found at Ignacio Jerusalem, "Non Fecit Taliter a 8 Con Violines, Clarines, y Bajo" n.d., 58.2/C1/LEG Eb13/AM0543 (Rollo 42 E b 13), Archivo de Música de la Catedral Metropolitana de México.

[681] "Non Fecit Taliter," n.d., AHCV 26-II-1A-26, manuscript score, "de la comunidad de Belen."

[682] Guadalupe Ortuño, "Gradual a La Virgen de Guadalupe" 1846, AHCV 26-II-2-41, manuscript part books; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 84.

[683] Pedro Rebasa, "Oye Niño Mio" n.d., AHCV 26-I-2-4, manuscript part books, incomplete (Soprano 2 and figured bass only), "Comunidad"; Not as cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 85; "Grande Nepomucceno" n.d., AHCV 26-I-2-22, manuscript part books.

Keyboard Solos

- Anonymous, "Versos de la Escoleta del Colegio de San Miguel de Bethlem" (organ)[684]
- Manuel Izquierdo (late 1700s and early 1800s), "Seis Variaciones para el Forte Piano"[685]
- Marcos Vega (1797–1848), "Versos para órgano. Para tocarlos en Visperas o Maytines"[686]

Instrumental Ensemble Pieces

- Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), *Sonate á Violino e Violone o Cimbalo* (Op.5)[687]
- Giacomo Facco (1676–1753), *Pensieri Adriarmonici*, concerti 1–12 (three violins, viola, cello, and organ)[688]

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[684] "Versos de La Escoleta Del Colegio de San Miguel de Bethlem"; Discussed in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 110; Transcription available in Muriel and Lledías, 217–26, 269–70.
[685] "Catálogo Del Archivo Histórico Del Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas. Archivo José María Basagoiti."
[686] Vega, "Versos Para Órgano. Para Tocarlos En Visperas o Maytines," AHCV 26-II-2-2, manuscript; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 85, 227–36.
[687] Corelli, "Sonate à Violino e Violone o Cimbalo" (Op. 5), AHCV 26-I-17, printed score; Muriel and Lledías mention that Belem owned original prints of sonatas by Corelli; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 99. Op. 5 is the only Corelli in the AHCV catalogue.
[688] Facco, "Pensieri Adriarmonici, Concertos 1–12," AHCV 26-I-6 to 15, printed part books, incomplete (Violin 2 and Cello for concertos 1–6 missing); Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 84; Complete printed part books available at Facco, *Pensieri Adriarmonici*.

- Franz Josef Haydn (1732–1809), "Grand Sonata" (violin and keyboard)[689]

Mass Ordinaries

- Gregorio Mariano de Soberanis (fl. 1735–1750), "Misa a Dúo y Bájo" (two sopranos and continuo)[690]
- Magín Ginesta (late 1700s and early 1800s), "Misa a quatro voces y organo obligado" (SATB and organ)[691]
- Garrido, "Misa a 5 vozes" (SSATB) [692]

Requiem Masses

- Anonymous: "Misa de Requiem" (SS and unfigured bass)[693]

[689] Franz Josef Haydn, "Grande Sonata; Por El Sor. Dn. Josef Hhiden Con Àcompañam[e]to de Violin p[Ar]a El Uso de D[Oñ]a Lucecita Barrientos" 1832, AHCV 26-1-1-1, manuscript score, incomplete (keyboard part only); Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 84.
[690] Soberanis, "Misa a Dúo y Bájo," AHCV 26-II-1-14, manuscript part books, incomplete (Soprano 2 and Accompaniment only), "De La Escoleta de Bethlém," Soprano 1 is found in another caja in the AHCV, caja unspecified in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 111; Transcription of mass available in Muriel and Lledías, 239–50, 256–65, 267–68, 271–72.
[691] Magín Ginesta, "Misa a Quatro Voces y Organo Obligado" n.d., AHCV 26-1-1B-47, manuscript partbooks; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 84.
[692] Garrido, "Misa a 5 Vozes," AHCV 26-III-1-9, manuscript part books, incomplete (Soprano 1 missing), archive folder labeled "Colegio San Miguel de Belem."
[693] "Misa de Requiem" n.d., AHCV catalogue number unknown; Transcription available in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 289–302.

- Anonymous, "Oficium defunctorum; Ad vesperas absolute incipitur ab Antiphona" (plainchant) [694]
- Bassni (possibly Giovanni Battista Bassani), "Missa de Requiem Con V Trompas Viola y Bajo"[695]

Sacred Music in honor of the Our Lady of Guadalupe

- Ignacio Jerusalem (1707–1769), "Non fecit taliter" (SS and keyboard accompaniment)[696]
- Ignacio Jerusalem, "Non fecit taliter a 8 con violines, clarines, y bajo" (*clarín y trompa 1* [trumpet and horn 1], *clarín y trompa 2* [trumpet and horn 2], two oboes, two violins, SSAT, SATB, two organs, unfigured bass, and timpani)[697]

[694] "Oficium Defunctorum; Ad Vesperas Absolute Incipitur Ab Antiphona," AHCV 26-I-1, manuscript, "este libro pertenese Al Colegio de San Miguel de belen."
[695] Bassni (possibly Giovanni Battista Bassani), "Missa de Requiem Con V Trompas Viola y Bajo," AHCV 26-I-2-3, manuscript part books, incomplete (Tenor and melodic instrument only), "Dedico al Colegio de Sn Miguel de Bhelem...."
[696] Ignacio Jerusalem, "Non Fecit Taliter" n.d., AHCV 26-1-2-1 (Soprano 1 and accompaniment) and AHCV 26-II-2-13 (Soprano 2), manuscript part books, "Comunidad."
[697] Jerusalem, "Non Fecit Taliter a 8 Con Violines, Clarines, y Bajo," n.d., AHCV 26-II-2-13, manuscript part books, incomplete (Choir 1 [SSAT] and figured bass only), "Comunidad"; Composer unnamed; attributed to Ignacio Jerusalem by F. Lanam using Chávez Bárcenas, "Non fecit taliter omni nationi"; Also found at Jerusalem, "Non Fecit Taliter a 8 Con Violines, Clarines, y Bajo," n.d.

- Guadalupe Ortuño, "Gradual a la Virgen de Guadalupe" (SS and organ) (1846)[698]
- Anonymous, "Non fecit taliter" (SS and organ)[699]

Villancicos

- Anonymous, "Grande Nepomucceno" (SATB and keyboard with figured bass)[700]
- Pedro Rebasa, "Oye Niño mio" (soprano and figured bass)[701]

Other Sacred Music

- Lara, "Antífona del Santísimo y Sagrado Corazón de Jesús" (dedicated to Colegio de Belem) (SSS and organ)[702]
- Gerónimo Gutiérrez, "Mi Jesús aplaca tu ira" (SATB, two violins, two flutes, two horns, bass, and organ)[703]

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[698] Ortuño, "Gradual a La Virgen de Guadalupe," AHCV 26-II-2-41, manuscript part books; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 84.
[699] "Non Fecit Taliter," AHCV 26-II-1A-26, manuscript score, "de la comunidad de Belen."
[700] "Grande Nepomucceno," AHCV 26-I-2-22, manuscript partbooks, "comunidad."
[701] Rebasa, "Oye Niño Mio," AHCV 26-I-2-4, manuscript part books, incomplete (Soprano 2 and figured bass only), "Comunidad"; Not as cited in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 85.
[702] Lara, "Antífona Del S[Antísi]Mo y Sagrado Corazón de Jesús" n.d., AHCV 26-II-1A-37, manuscript part books; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 85.
[703] Gerónimo Gutiérrez, "Mi Jesús Aplaca Tu Ira" n.d., AHCV 26-II-1B-71, n.12, manuscript part books, incomplete (bass voice, two violins, two flutes, and two horns missing), "Comunidad."

- Anonymous, “Lauda sion salvatorem” (SS and figured bass)[704]
- Anonymous, “Aplaca se non” (SS and organ)[705]
- Anonymous, Responsorio “Que est ista que processit…” (SS and keyboard with figured bass)[706]
- Anonymous, “Ave María de Violines a cuatro vozes para Nra. Señora de los Dolores” (SSA, 2 violins, viola, bass [mostly unfigured])[707]
- Anonymous, “Antífona Lumen ad Revelationem” (SS and figured bass)[708]
- Anonymous, “Alabado y Ensalzado” (SS and bass [both figured and unfigured])[709]
- Anonymous, “Subtum presidium á dos voces” (SS and organ)[710]
- Anonymous, “Bendita sea tu pureza” (SS and organ)[711]

[704] “Lauda Sion Salvatorem” n.d., AHCV 26-I-2-5, Manuscript part books, “Comunidad.”
[705] “Aplaca Se Non” n.d., AHCV 26-I-2-15, manuscript part books, “Comunidad.”
[706] “Responsorio ‘Que Est Ista Que Processit…’” n.d., AHCV 26-I-2-19, manuscript part books, “de la comunidad de Belen.”
[707] “Ave María de Violines a Cuatro Vozes Para N[Uest]Ra Señora de Los Dolores” n.d., AHCV 26-1-2-29, manuscript part books; Discussed in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 116; Transcription available in Muriel and Lledías, 275–83.
[708] “Antífona Lumen Ad Revelationem” n.d., AHCV catalogue number unknown; Transcription available in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 285–86.
[709] “Alabado y Ensalzado” n.d., AHCV catalogue number unknown; Transcription available in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 287–88.
[710] “Subtum presidium á dos voces,” n.d., AHCV 26-II-1a-31, manuscript part books.
[711] “Bendita Sea Tu Pureza” n.d., AHCV 26-III-1-64, manuscript part books, “Comunidad.“

- Anonymous, “Himno Del Sagrado Corazon de Jesus á dos voces con acomp[añamien]to de Organo” (SS and organ)[712]
- Anonymous, “In Festo S. Michaelis Archangeli ad Vesperas Aña” (two vespers and terce)[713]

With the exception of Izquierdo's variations for fortepiano and a few instrumental ensemble pieces such as Facco's concerti, the music preserved from the Colegio de Belem is appropriate for the religious services of Mass and the Daily Office. Belem’s sacred vocal music includes motets, arias, graduals, and antiphons, among others. Most are for voices and organ, but many have additional instruments, including violins, violas, flutes, horns, and bass. The most common instrumentation, as is appropriate for a girls’ school, calls for two sopranos and organ or continuo. There are several pieces that call for tenor and/or bass voices, for example Ginesta's mass for four voices (SATB) and organ and Garrido's mass for five voices (SSATB). The question of who performed non-treble voice parts at a female institution will be addressed later.

Next, we will examine a selection of representative pieces: two settings of “Non fecit taliter” by Ignacio Jerusalem, Guadalupe Ortuño’s 1846 “Gradual a la

[712] “Himno Del Sagrado Corazon de Jesus á Dos Voces Con Acomp[Añamien]to de Organo” n.d., AHCV 26-III-2-25, manuscript part books, “Comunidad.“
[713] “In Festo S. Michaelis Archangeli Ad Vesperas Aña,” AHCV 26-I-20, “Este librete pertenece al Colegio de S. Miguel de Belem, y se acabo en 25 de septiembre de 1797”; Discussed in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 110; Transcription available in Muriel and Lledías, 197–216.

Virgen de Guadalupe," and "Versos para órgano. Para tocarlos en Vísperas o Maytines" by Marcos Vega (editions of all of which are included in volume II). All of the vocal selections relate to Our Lady of Guadalupe, a Marian devotion primarily observed by criollos. As Our Lady of Guadalupe represents both the primary feminine aspect of Christianity (in the form of Mary) and the creation of a blended European-American identity, it seems particularly appropriate to the discussion of female colegio that predominantly served criollas. The two settings of "Non fecit taliter" by Ignacio Jerusalem are especially relevant to Belem because of the connection of the Jerusalem family to the colegio. In addition, the selected pieces present valuable performance opportunities for today's performers, teachers, and students. Marcos Vega's collection of organ versos are short pieces organized by key (a very useful resource for liturgical organists), and the two-voice and organ settings by Jerusalem and Ortuño are beautiful pieces that are accessible to youth choirs.

Our Lady of Guadalupe

The devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe (also known as the Virgin of Guadalupe) originated when Mary, the mother of Jesus, ostensibly appeared several times to Cuauhtlactoatzin (commonly known by his Spanish name Juan Diego),[714] a Native American peasant, on the Hill of Tepeyac in 1531. In very short summary, in this legend Mary asked Diego (in his native Nahuatl) to go to the archbishop of

[714] Stafford Poole, *The Guadalupan Controversies in Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 132.

Mexico City, Fray Juan de Zumárraga, and ask that a church be built in her honor. The archbishop sent him back to ask for a miracle to prove her identity. Mary first healed Diego's uncle, then sent Diego to collect Castilian roses (not native to Mexico) from the top of the hill. When he returned to the archbishop and opened his cloak, which he had used to carry the roses, the flowers fell to the floor, revealing the image of Mary. Psalm 147:20, "Non fecit taliter," then became closely associated with Our Lady of Guadalupe when, over 200 years later in 1754, a Jesuit priest brought a painted reproduction of the cloak from Mexico to Pope Benedict XIV, who reportedly fell to his knees and recited the verse:

> Non fecit taliter omni nationi:
> et judicia sua non manifestavit eis. Alleluia.
>
> He hath not dealt so with any nation:
> and as for his judgments, they have not known them. Praise ye the LORD.[715]

Our Lady of Guadalupe is a vivid illustration of the blended European-American identity in colonial Mexico. A Marian devotion originally observed primarily by the criollo population of New Spain, it appealed to the educated and helped create a criollo identity by blending Spanish music and religion with a Mexican story. There are many parallels between Our Lady of Guadalupe and the Aztec fertility goddess Tonantzin, including their station as mother figures. Hamnett describes Tonantzín as "a post-Conquest adaption of the Aztec cult of Tonantzín, the moon goddess, who on occasions doubled with Coatlicue, the mother goddess who

[715] Psalm 147:20, Vulgate and King James Version.

had given birth to Huitzilopochtli, conceived without prior intercourse."[716] Tepeyac Hill—on the northern mainland, connected to the island of Tenochtitlán (present-day Mexico City) by a causeway[717]—was both the site of a temple to Tonantzín and the location where Mary in the legendary tale appeared to the Native American Juan Diego. In the Catholic church's tradition of adopting and altering numerous pagan holidays and gods throughout the world, Our Lady of Guadalupe appears, in the view of many scholars, to be an appropriation of Tonantzin. In the story of Our Lady of Guadalupe, a Catholic saint appearing to a Nahua man and speaking to him in his own language places and legitimizes the European religion in America.

Psalm 147:20 is the Communion Proper of the Mass for Our Lady of Guadalupe, held yearly on December 12. It also serves as the versicle of the response and versicle following the third lesson of the second nocturn of the matins and as the antiphon preceding the final prayer of Lauds of the same feast day.[718]

Ignacio Jerusalem, "Non fecit taliter à dos voces y Bajo"[719]

The AHCV holds a unique setting of Psalm 147:20 by Ignacio Jerusalem: "Non fecit taliter à dos voces y Bajo" ("Non fecit taliter for two [soprano]voices and basso continuo"). For many years, this manuscript was thought to be incomplete,

[716] Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico*, 68.
[717] Hamnett, 50.
[718] Chávez Bárcenas, "Non fecit taliter omni nationi," 28.
[719] Ignacio Jerusalem, "Non Fecit Taliter" n.d., AHCV 26-I-2-1 (Soprano 1 and accompaniment) and AHCV 26-II-2-13 (Soprano 2), manuscript part books, "Comunidad."

containing only the Tiple 1.o (First Soprano) part and keyboard accompaniment. I recently discovered the Tiple 2.o (Second Soprano) part in another archive file, tucked in with an unattributed setting of “Non fecit taliter” in the same key. Given the appropriateness of the instrumentation for a girls' school, the fact that María Micaela and María Joaquina Jerusalem were at Belem, and the circumstance that the only known copy was owned by Belem, it seems likely that Jerusalem composed this setting of “Non fecit taliter” specifically for the escoleta de música where his daughters studied. I have tentatively dated the manuscript between 1758 (the earliest date María Jerusalem and María Joaquina Jerusalem might have gone to Belem) and 1769 (Ignacio Jerusalem's death).

The harmonic language and melodic lines of “Non fecit taliter à dos voces y Bajo” reflect the theatrical *galant* style for which Jerusalem is well known. The change between triple and duple subdivision and climax with all parts in unison are also hallmarks of Jerusalem's compositional style.

The organ part is fully composed when voices are not present; however, only figured bass is provided when one or more voices are present. When the organ is playing alone (in the introduction, interlude, and coda), it is functioning as a solo instrument; thus, the part includes a composed melody written out in the right hand, presumably by the composer. When the voices are present, the organist provides accompaniment, improvising using the figured bass. Improvising an accompaniment allows the organist to cater to the vocalists' abilities. She has the flexibility to explicitly double the vocal parts (if the vocalists need help) or to realize more

modestly-voiced continuo (if the singers are more confident and only require harmonic support).

This type of keyboard part that alternates between figured bass and composed right-hand can be seen in other pieces performed in Mexico City colegios. From Belem, five such pieces have separate part books for the voices and instruments,[720] and one is in score form.[721] This style of writing an accompaniment was used as late as the nineteenth century. From Vizcaínas, we have a setting of "Non fecit taliter" composed for two sopranos and organ by José Antonio Gómez y Olguín (1805–1876).[722] In the first part of the score, the organ right hand is written out to double the voices; in the second part, Gómez provides figured bass. Keyboard parts alternating

[720] Grande Nepomucceno" n.d., AHCV 26-I-2-22. "Subtum Presidium á Dos Voces," n.d., AHCV 26-II-1A-31. Lara, "Antífona Del S[antísi]mo y Sagrado Corazón de Jesús," n.d., AHCV 26-II-1A-37. "Bendita Sea Tu Pureza," n.d., AHCV 26-III-1-64. "Himno Del Sagrado Corazon de Jesus á Dos Voces Con Acomp[Añamien]to de Organo," n.d., AHCV 26-III-2-25.
[721] "Non Fecit Taliter," n.d., AHCV 26-II-1A-26.
[722] José Antonio Gómez y Olguín, "Non fecit táliter," n.d., AHCV 26-III-1-18.

between composed obbligato lines and figured bass accompaniment are also found in the instrumental works of composers suchs as CPE Bach[723] and Josef Haydn.[724]

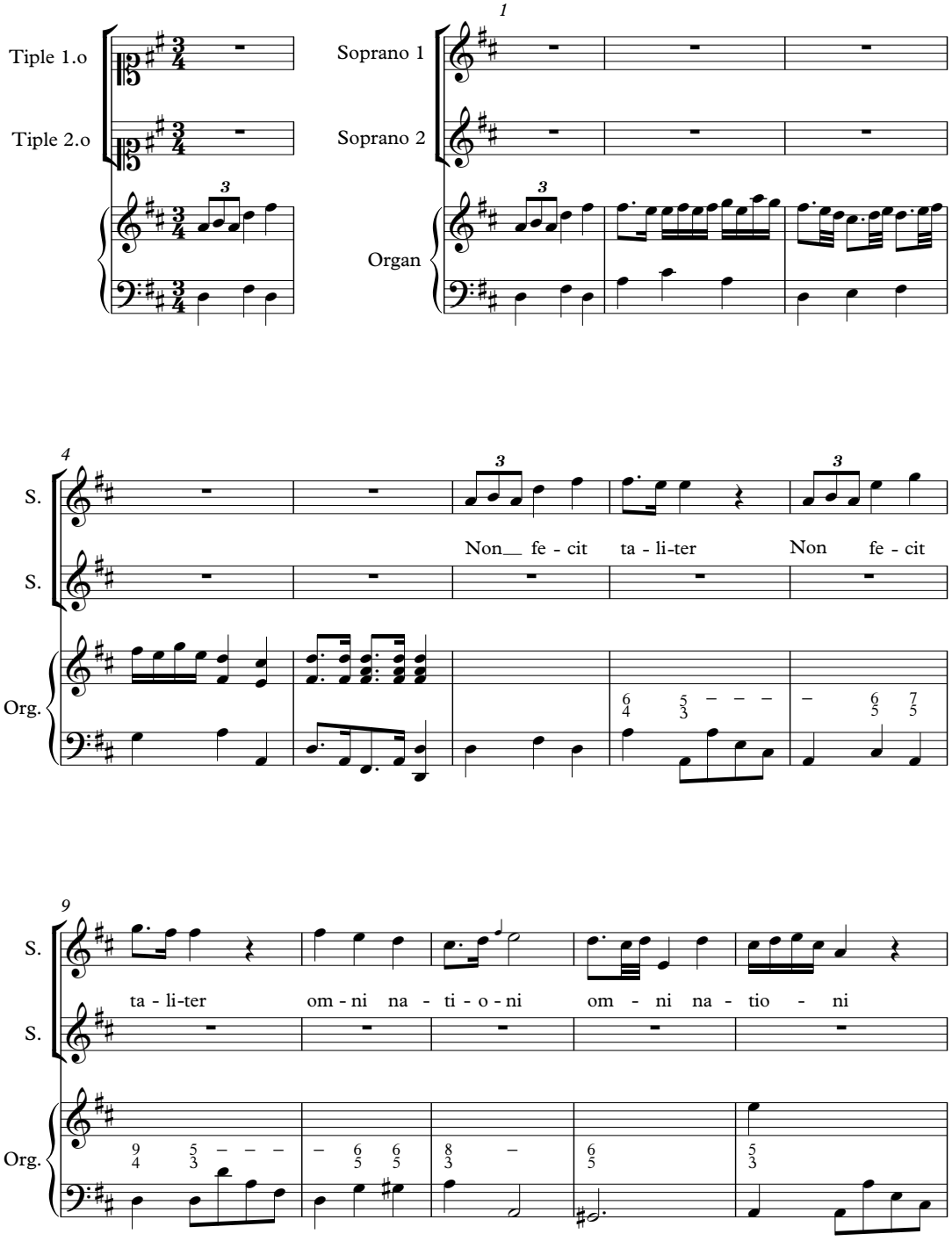
[723] Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, "Sonata in D Major for Keyboard and Flute, Wq. 83, Largo," in *Keyboard Trios II*, ed. Steven Zohn, vol. 3.2, The Complete Works, II (Los Altos, CA: Packard Humanities Institute, 2010), 7–10. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, "Concerto in E Minor, Wq. 24, Largo," in *Keyboard Concertos from Manuscript Sources VIII*, ed. Elias N. Kulukundis and David Schulenberg, vol. 9.8, The Complete Works, III (Los Altos, CA: Packard Humanities Institute, 2010), 22–28. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, "Sonatina No. 5 in F Major for Keyboard, Two Horns, Two Flutes, Two Violins, Viola, and Bass, H. 452, Largo," in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach Edition*, ed. Claudia Widgery, vol. 23, II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Music Department, 1989), 26–70.

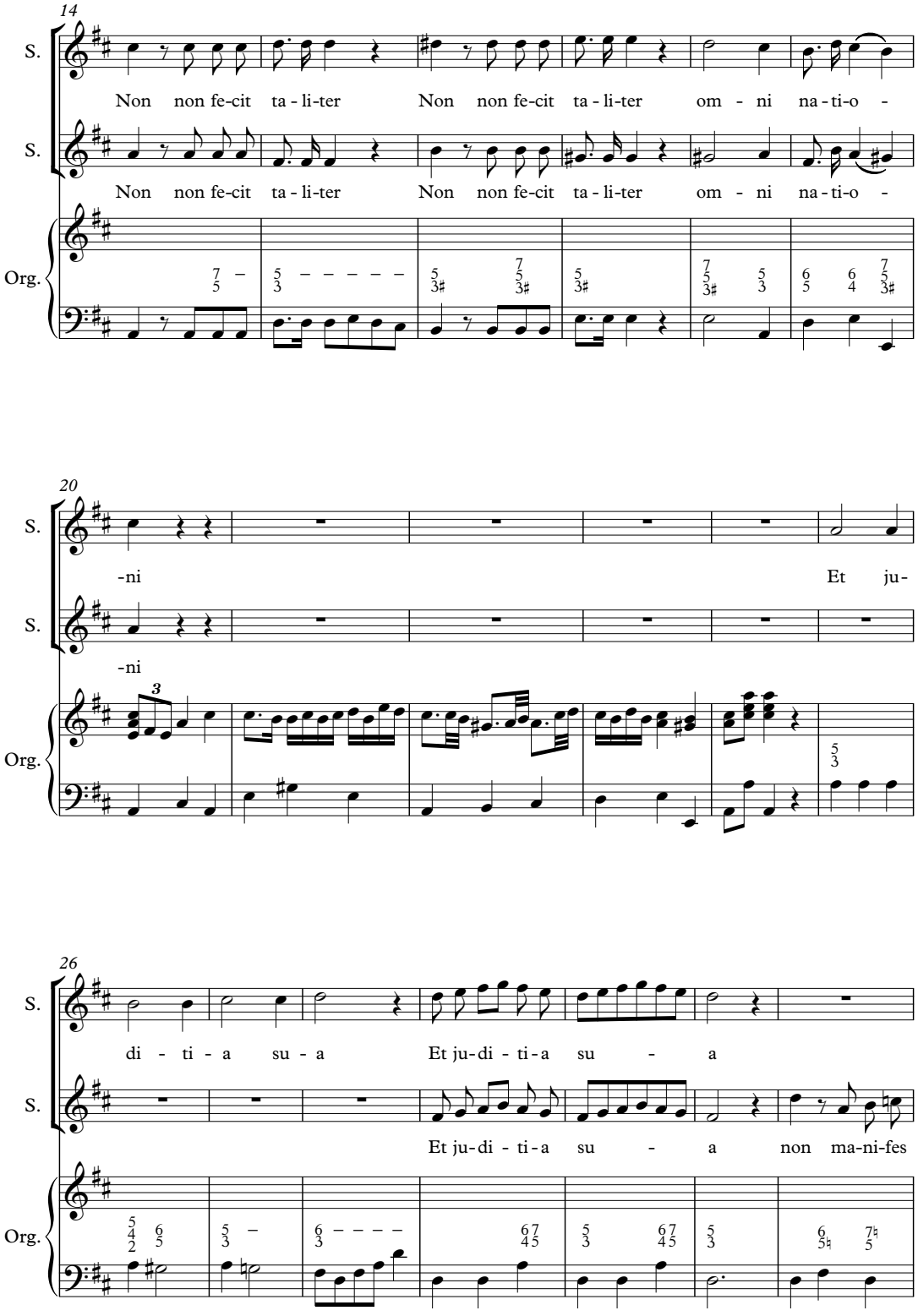
[724] Joseph Haydn, "Konzert in D, H. XVIII:11," in *Konzerte für Klavier (Cembalo) und Orchester*, ed. Georg Feder, vol. 2, Werke, XV (Munchen-Duisburg: G. Henle, 1968).

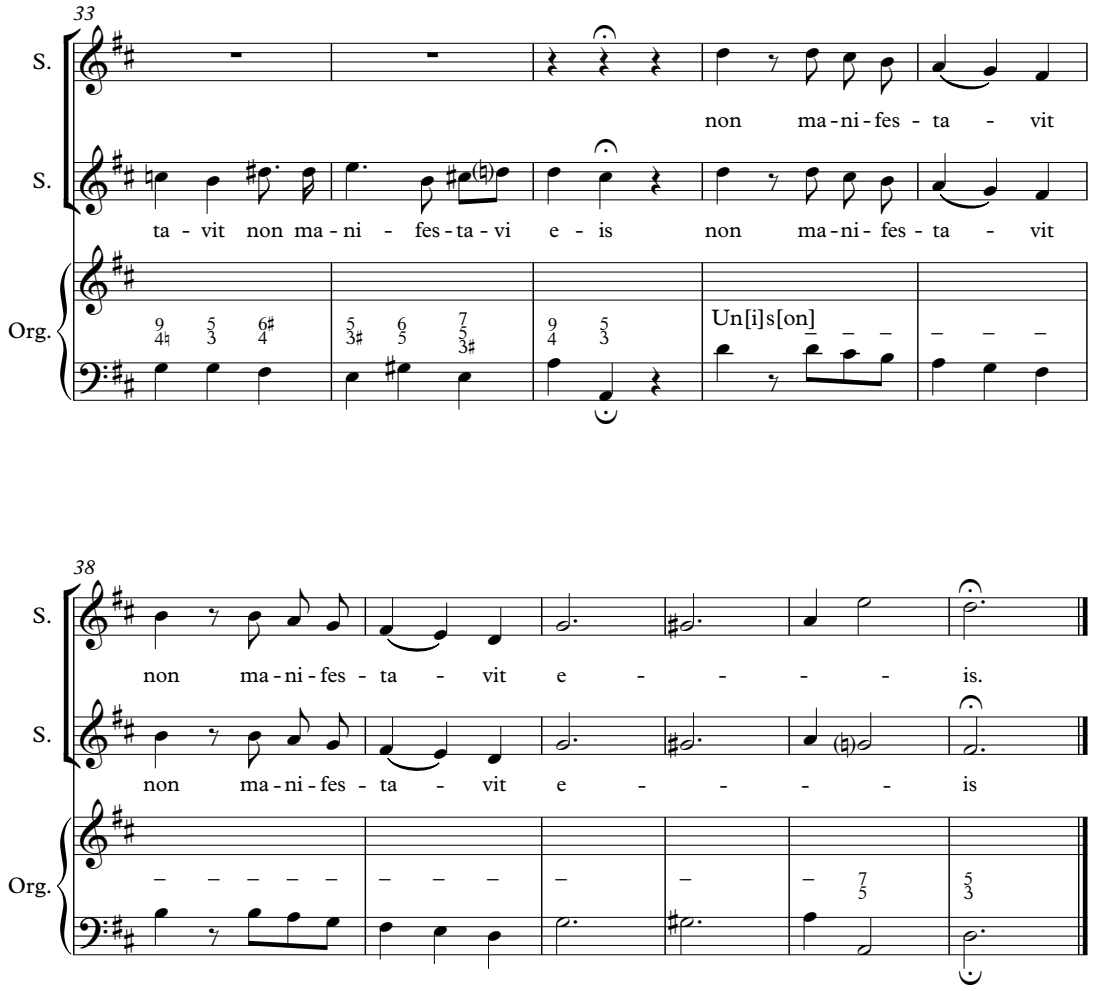
Non fecit taliter à dos voces y Bajo

AHCV 26-I-2-1
AHCV 26-II-2-13

Composicion de Don Ygnacio Jerusalen




14
S.
Non non fe-cit ta - li-ter Non non fe-cit ta - li-ter om - ni na - ti-o -
S.
Non non fe-cit ta - li-ter Non non fe-cit ta - li-ter om - ni na - ti-o -
Org.
20
S.
-ni Et ju-
S.
-ni
Org.
26
S.
di - ti - a su - a Et ju - di - ti - a su - a
S.
Et ju - di - ti - a su - a non ma-ni-fes
Org.



Example 49. Ignacio Jerusalem, "Non fecit taliter à dos voces y Bajo"[725]

The organ introduces the initial two-measure theme with elaboration, then concludes with a I-IV-Cadential 6/4-V-I cadence before the Soprano 1 entrance. Soprano 1 repeats the first two-measure theme with the text "Non fecit taliter" ("He

[725] Ignacio Jerusalem, "Non Fecit Taliter" n.d., AHCV 26-I-2-1 (Soprano 1 and accompaniment) and AHCV 26-II-2-13 (Soprano 2), manuscript part books, "Comunidad."

hath not dealt so"). She then repeats it, modifying the end of the sequence up one tone. Jerusalem presents the phrase "Omni nationi" in a descending then ascending arc and repeats in a more ornamented manner. Soprano 2 enters at a third below the Soprano 1 line, then the voices expand to a harmonic interval of a sixth for a repetition of the text "Non, non fecit taliter." The pattern is repeated sequentially up a tone, modulating from the tonic (D) to the dominant (A). The voices return to parallel thirds by the end of "omni nationi" ("with any nation"), at which point the voices cadence on the dominant (A), and the organ repeats the introduction in A. Soprano 1 enters with the text "Et juditia sua" ("and as for his judgments") in an ascending diatonic line, joined by Soprano 2 for a melismatic bubbling of repeated text in parallel sixths. Soprano 2 sings her only solo portion in a chromatic rendering of the text "non manifestavis eis" ("they have not known them"), cadencing with a 4–3, 2–1 suspension to the dominant (A). The double-repetition of the text "non manifestavit eis" occurs in unison in all parts (including the accompaniment), descending diatonically until the voices split in contrary motion in the last two pitches, ending in a V7–I cadence.

Ignacio Jerusalem, "Non fecit taliter a 8 con violines, clarines, y bajo"[726]

The setting of "Non fecit taliter" in which the missing second soprano part of Jerusalem's two-voice "Non fecit taliter" was hidden is identified in the AHCV

[726] "Catálogo Del Archivo Histórico Del Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas. Archivo José María Basagoiti.," 341.

catalogue as "Motete a 4 voces y bajo. Anónimo (Belem)." In fact, I identified it as an incomplete collection of parts for Jerusalem's double-choir "Non fecit taliter a 8 con violines, clarines, y bajo," which is held in the archive of Mexico City's Metropolitan Cathedral and has been edited by Ireri Elizabeth Chávez Bárcenas.[727] This setting of Psalm 147:20 is much grander in scale than the previous one discussed. The orchestra calls for *Clarín y trompa* 1 (Trumpet and horn 1), *Clarín y trompa* 2 (Trumpet and horn 1), Oboe 1, Oboe 2, Violin 1, Violin 2, *Baxo* (Bass), and *Timbales* (Timpani) (in A and D). There are two choirs—SSAT and SATB—and two figured bass parts (which are identical) for organs. The instrumental parts contain much more complicated and florid melodic lines, especially the violin parts, which is characteristic of Jerusalem's style.

The presence of select parts of this piece at Belem raises several questions: Was this ever performed at Belem? If so, how? The cathedral's setting calls for a minimum of twenty musicians (assuming they were one-on-a-part), which was roughly the size of Belem's entire escoleta de música. We have no record of Belem training girls in brass instruments or timpani. Although there are a few records of nuns singing tenor and bass parts at written pitch, it seems unlikely that the girls or women of Belem would have been able to sing in that octave. Although Belem brought in select male music teachers from the cathedral, it seems unlikely—given

[727] Jerusalem, "Non Fecit Taliter a 8 Con Violines, Clarines, y Bajo," n.d., AHCV 26-I-2-13, manuscript part books, incomplete (Choir 1 [SSAT] and figured bass only), "Comunidad"; Composer unnamed; attributed to Iganacio Jerusalem by F. Lanam using Chávez Bárcenas, "Non fecit taliter omni nationi"; Also found at Jerusalem, "Non Fecit Taliter a 8 Con Violines, Clarines, y Bajo," n.d.

Belem's cloistered nature—that they would have introduced a large number of male musicians into the colegio. Viable possibilities for women performing pieces containing tenor and bass parts include singing tenor and bass parts up the octave while doubling them at written pitch with a melodic instrument, playing the part solely with a melodic instrument, or (if the range of the soprano part allows) transposing the entire piece higher (which seems less likely in this case).[728] The practice of playing the tenor and bass vocal lines on a melodic instrument could explain why a large percentage (two out of four) of the Belem-trained nuns discussed in Chapter 4 were bass players.

Could Belem have performed this setting with reduced forces? Belem's collection of parts for this setting of "Non fecit taliter" contains only the voices of Choir 1 (SSAT) and a bass line with figures (instrument unspecified). The full score from the cathedral opens with an elaborate instrumental introduction. Choir 1 presents each segment of text, which is echoed by Choir 2. Once the verse is completed in this alternating fashion, both choirs repeat the entire verse in homorhythm. If Belem had performed it with only Choir 1, it would not have had the echo effect, but the entire text of Psalm 147:20 would have been represented.

Let us now turn to the instrumental bass part included with the vocal parts at Belem. It is not, as one might expect, the figured bass part slated for organs in the cathedral's version, which have sections of rests that meant they could not stand alone

[728] Candace Smith and Bruce Dickey, "Introduction," in *Vespers Music by Chiara Margarita Cozolani: Confitebor Tibi Domine à 8 from the Salmi a Otto Voci Concertati...(Venice, 1650)* (Bologna: Artemisia Editions, 1998), ii, iv.

as the only instrumental accompaniment. Rather, it is melodically identical to the cathedral's "Baxo" part, which is present continuously throughout the entire piece. The cathedral's Baxo part would have been performed by a melodic bass instrument. (The part does not contain figures, and the harmonic structure was covered by the assortment of other wind instruments, organs, and voices.) By contrast Belem's sole bass part does contain the entire melodic bass line and figures, many of them unique to this part book (i.e. not found anywhere in the cathedral's parts, including the organ parts). The continuous presence and inclusion of figures means that Belem's bass part could have been realized on organ and functioned as the only instrumental accompaniment.

It is not entirely clear if or how this setting of "Non fecit taliter" was ever performed at Belem. Although it would have been much sparser than the cathedral's version, it is possible that the students of Belem could have performed it with just SSAT and organ.

FIGURE 48. Mexico City Metropolitan Cathedral.
Photo by the author.

Guadalupe Ortuño, "Gradual á la Santísima Virgen de Guadalupe á Duo, con acompañamiento de Órgano"[729]

The title page of the "Gradual á la Santísima Virgen de Guadalupe á Duo, con acompañamiento de Órgano" identifies the date 1846 and the name Guad[alupe] Ortuño. Annotations of "de la comunidad de Belen" and "Comunidad" place it as belonging to Belem's escoleta de música (Figure 49).

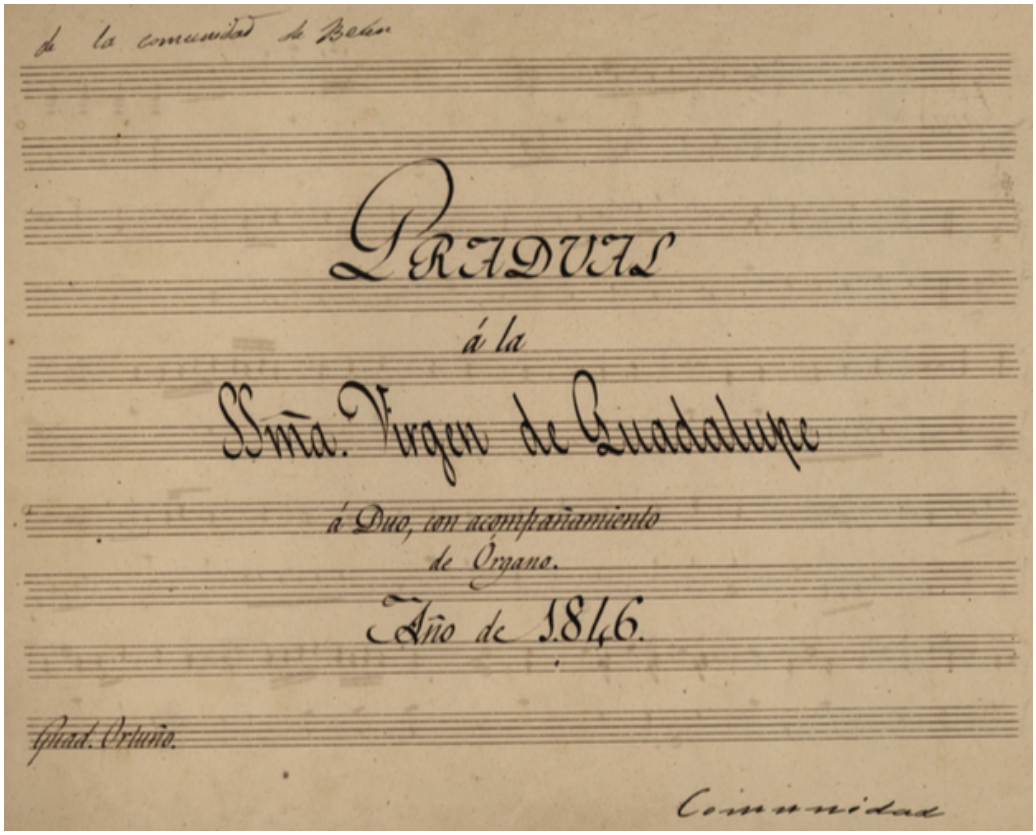


FIGURE 49. Title page of Ortuño's "Gradual á la Santísima Virgen de Guadalupe."[730]
Courtesy of the AHCV.

[729] Ortuño, "Gradual a La Virgen de Guadalupe," AHCV 26-II-2-41, manuscript part books; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 84.
[730] Ortuño, "Gradual a La Virgen de Guadalupe."

Muriel and Lledías write that this gradual is unusual because it was composed by Guadalupe Ortuño, a woman ("algo excepcional la obra de una mujer: Guadalupe Ortuño"), and they include her in a list of women who studied at Belem.[731] They provide no other information about her, and we are left wondering if they based the claims that she was a woman and that she studied at Belem solely on her name—Guadalupe is most often a female name, but can be male as well—and the presence of her gradual in Belem's escoleta de música. Until other primary source evidence emerges, we proceed tentatively with the assumption that these claims are true.

Separate parts exist for organ and two sopranos (Tiple 1o and Tiple 2o). Both voice parts are written in soprano clef. There is a single copy extant for each part, indicating that it was either sung one-on-a-part or with few enough girls that they shared manuscripts. The voices are in homorhythm, moving in thirds or sixths. Soprano 1 has a few florid runs introducing the beginning of phrases. The organ part is composed throughout and expressed in treble and bass clefs. The left hand provides a simple bass line, and the right hand double the voices, occasionally adding a third note to fill out the chord. With respect to the difficulty of the organ and voice parts and the fact that the voices are explicitly doubled by the organ, this gradual appears to be appropriate for student performance.

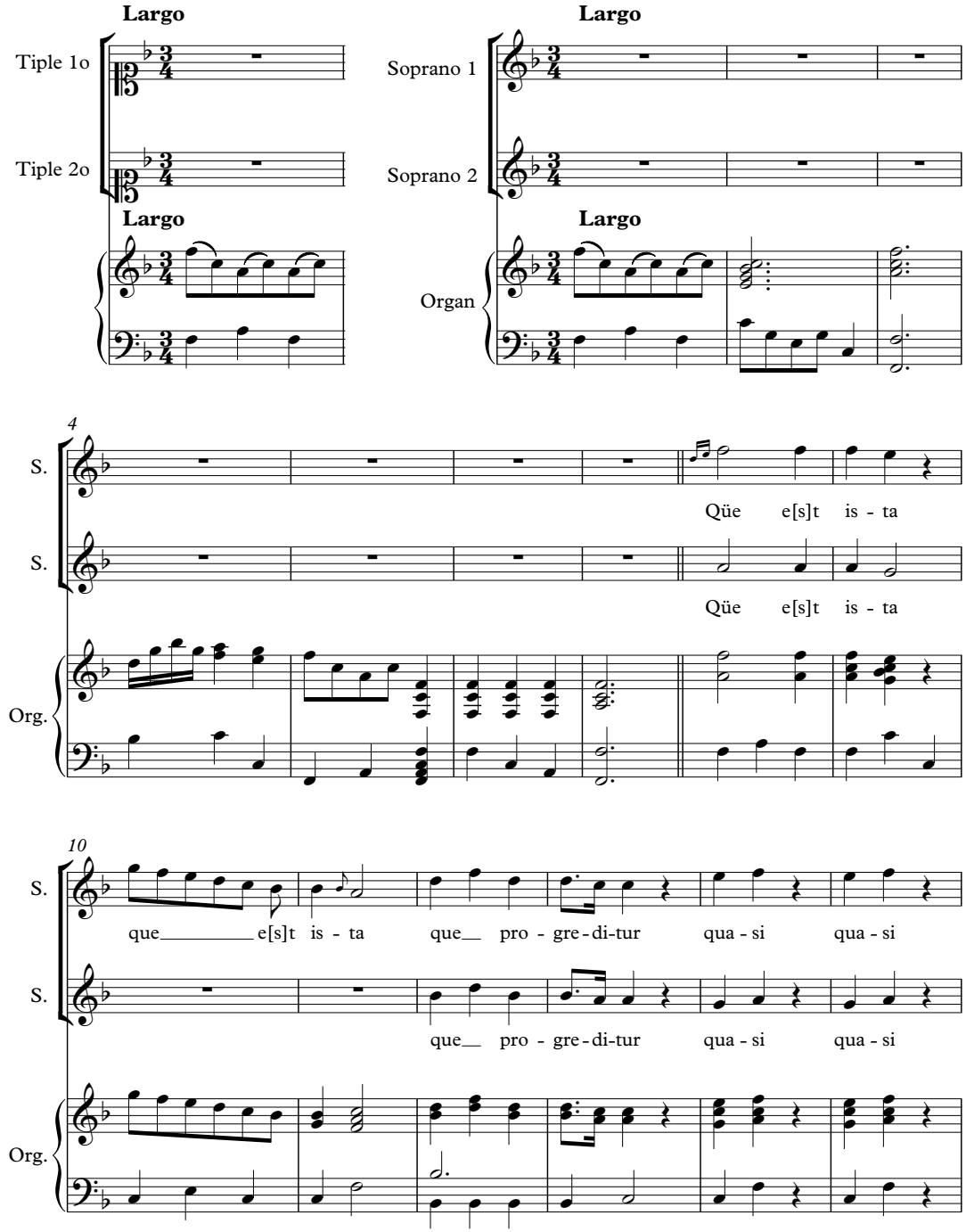
[731] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 84, 538–39.

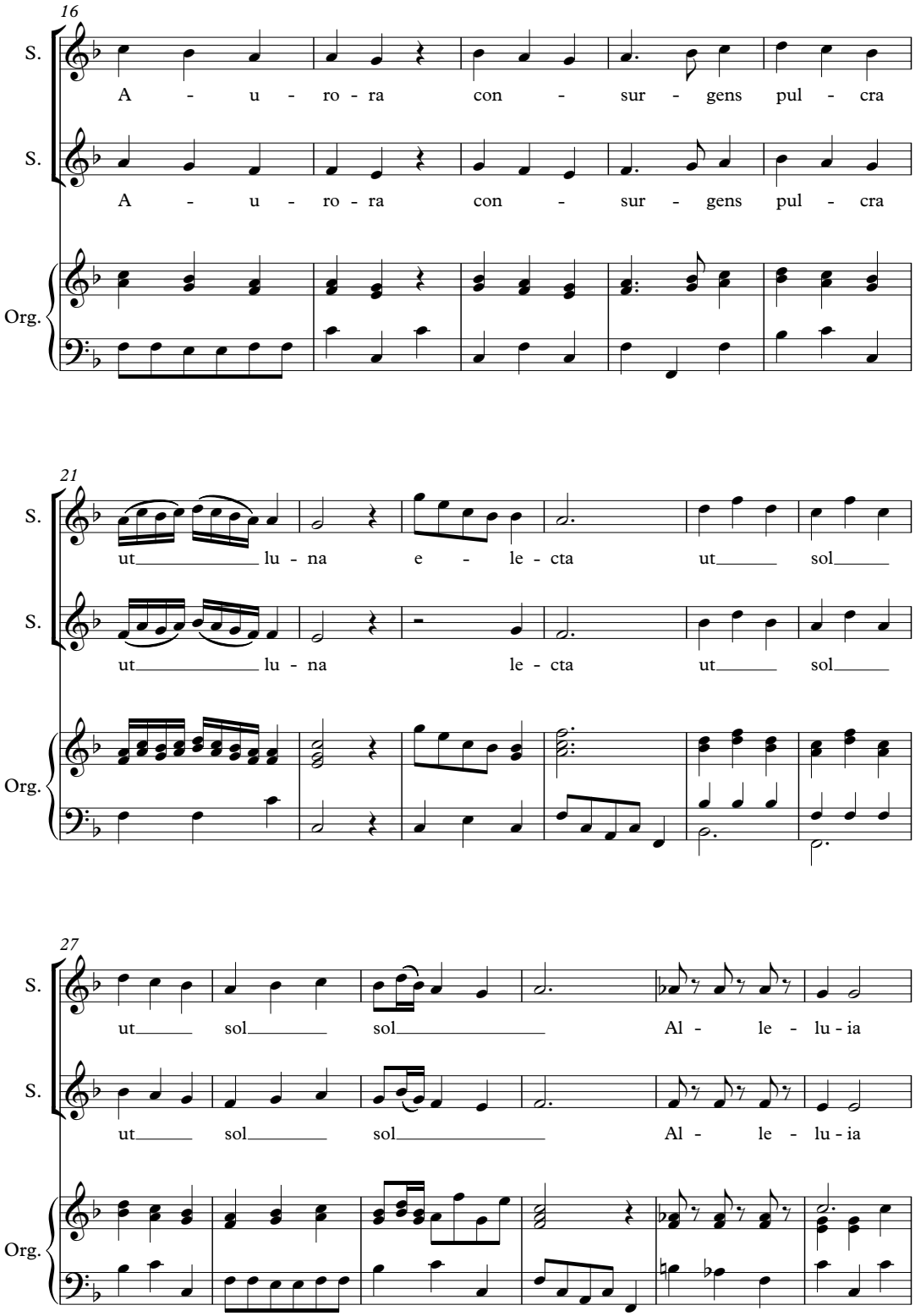
Gradual á la Santísima Virgen de Guadalupe

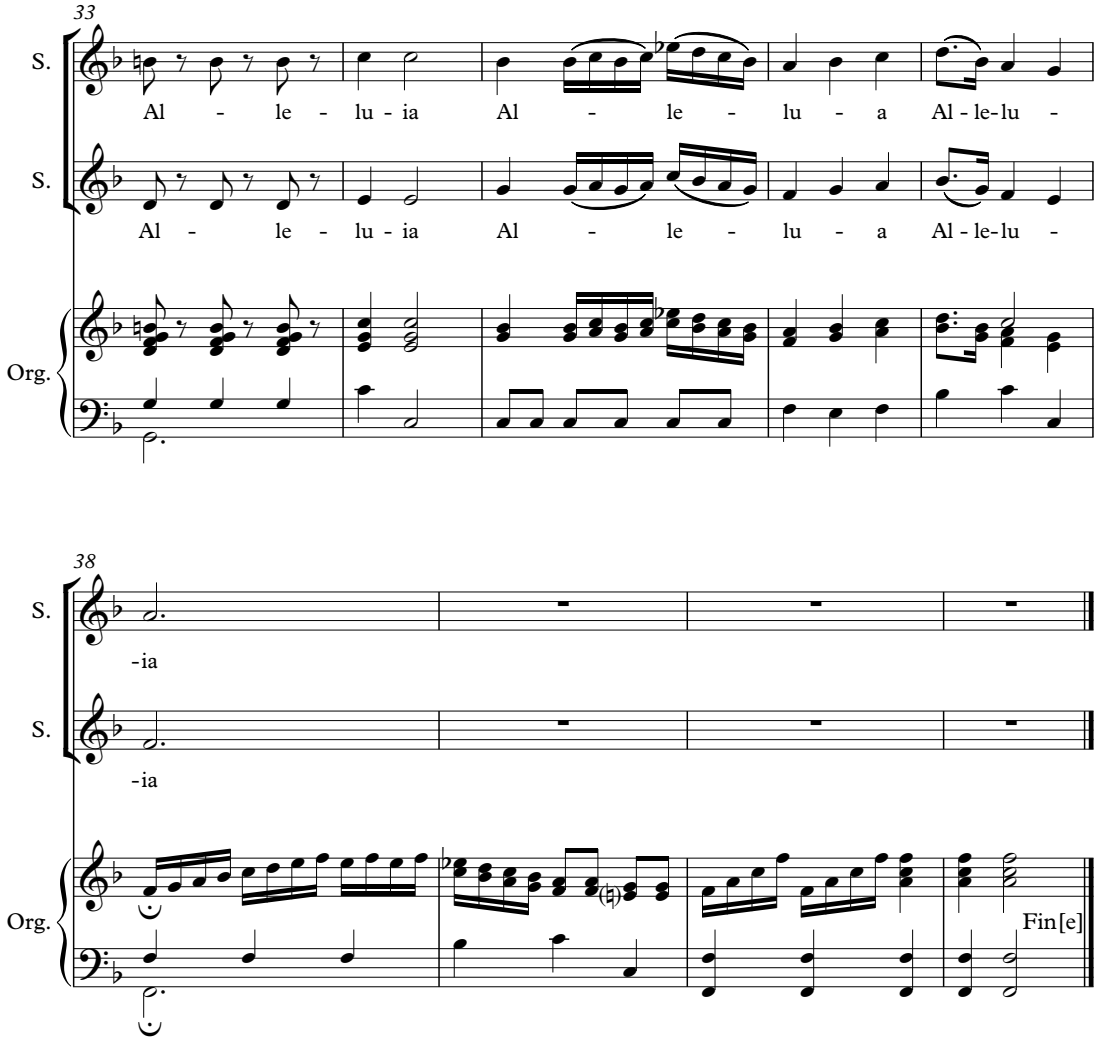
á Duo con acompañamiento de Órgano. Año de 1846

AHCV 26-II-2-41

Guad[alupe] Ortuño




16
S.
A - u - ro - ra con - sur - gens pul - cra
S.
A - u - ro - ra con - sur - gens pul - cra
Org.
21
S.
ut lu - na e - le - cta ut sol
S.
ut lu - na le - cta ut sol
Org.
27
S.
ut sol sol Al - le - lu - ia
S.
ut sol sol Al - le - lu - ia
Org.



Example 50. Guadalupe Ortuño, "Gradual á la Santísima Virgen de Guadalupe á Duo, con acompañamiento de Órgano"[732]

[732] Ortuño, "Gradual a La Virgen de Guadalupe"; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 84.

The text of Guadalupe Ortuño's "Gradual á la Santísima Virgen de Guadalupe" serves—as the title implies—as the gradual in the Proper of the Mass to Our Lady of Guadalupe.[733]

Quæ est ista quæ progreditur quasi aurora consurgens,
pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol,
terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinate?[734]

Who is she that looketh forth as the morning,
fair as the moon, clear as the sun,
and terrible as an army with banners?[735]

Ortuño's gradual presents the first part of the verse ("Qüe et ista que progreditur quasi Aurora consurgens pulcra ut luna electa ut sol") but omits the last phrase ("terribilis ut acies ordinate"). In the Propers of the Holy Eucharist, the gradual directly precedes the alleluia. Ortuño combines the two items into one setting. Following the phrase "ut sol," the style changes from legato to punctuated eighth notes separated by eighth rests for two repetitions of the word "Alleluia." The style then returns to a florid legato for a final two repetitions of "Alleluia."

Marcos Vega, "Versos para el organo para tocarlos en visperas o maytines"

After studying as a boy chorister in the Colegio de Infantes at the Metropolitan Cathedral in Mexico City, Marcos Vega (1797–1848) rose through the

[733] Song of Solomon 6:9 is also the the Gradual for the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (October 16) and the Comunion Proper for the Vigil of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary (December 7).
[734] Song of Solomon 6:9, Vulgate.
[735] Song of Solomon 6:10, King James Version.

ranks, ultimately serving as the organist. He taught singing, piano, and organ. His most notable student was the famous mezzo-soprano, pianist, teacher, and composer Paulina Viardot (1821–1910), whose three daughters were also professional musicians.[736]

There are two surviving manuscripts of organ versos from Belem: an anonymous collection called "Versos de la Escoleta del Colegio de San Miguel de Bethlem"[737] and a book by Vega entitled "Versos para órgano. Para tocarlos en Vísperas o Maytines" ("Versos for organ to be played in vespers or matins").[738]

Versos (also known as versets) were short organ improvisations or compositions (approximately one hand-written page in length) that were performed in the place of sung psalm verses. For example, the choir might opt to sing the odd-numbered verses, and the organ could play while the even-numbered verses were quietly spoken.[739] This alternation between the choir and organ is one form of alternatim, a performance practice in which "alternate sections of certain liturgical items were performed by distinct and normally dissimilar forces."[740] These

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[736] Gabriel Pareyón, *Diccionario enciclopédico de música en México* (Zapopan, Jalisco, México: Universidad Panamericana, 2007), 1079.
[737] "Versos de La Escoleta Del Colegio de San Miguel de Bethlem"; Discussed in Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 110; Transcription available in Muriel and Lledías, 217–26, 269–70.
[738] Vega, "Versos Para Órgano. Para Tocarlos En Visperas o Maytines," AHCV 26-II-2-2, manuscript; Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 85, 227–36.
[739] Michael Kennedy, ed., "Verset," *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, n.d.; quote from Alex Lingas, "Verset," ed. Alison Latham, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, n.d.
[740] Edward Higginbottom, "Alternatim," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, accessed October 27, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00683.

contrasting forces also took the form of plainchant and polyphony, a choir and soloist in responsorial chants, and (similar to organ versos) organ and choir in organ hymns (in which the choir and organ alternated verses in a plainchant hymn.[741]

Psalm tones are melodies specific to the recitation of psalms and directly relate to medieval church modes and to the plainchant antiphon that precedes and follows it. There are generally considered to be eight different psalm tones matching the medieval modes. The tenor, or dominant of the medieval mode, often becomes the reciting tone of the psalm tone. Each tone has many unique final cadences, which assist in the smooth transition back to the antiphon and, in effect, create many different psalm tone variations. (See *Saint Dunstan's Plainsong Psalter* for further explanation and illustration.)[742]

Versos coordinated with the mode of the psalm tone of the verses sung in plainchant by the choir. Thus, nineteenth-century collections of versos are arranged by keys, which relate to the modes (or tone). Vega provides six versos each in D minor and E minor, five in D Major, and three each in A minor and G Major. Vega organizes his versos in the following manner:

- Versos of the First Tone—6 versos in D minor
- Versos of the Second and Third Tones—6 versos in E minor

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[741] John Caldwell, "Organ Hymn," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, accessed October 27, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20435.

[742] *Saint Dunstan's Plainsong Psalter: The Psalms of David and the Canticles Pointed and Set to the Ancient Gregorian and British Tones Together with the Order for Matins and Evensong* (Glendale, CO: Lancelot Andrewes Press, 2002), xv–xx, 499-508.

- Versos of the Fourth and Seventh Tones—3 versos in A minor
- Versos of the Fifth and Sixth Tones—5 versos in D Major
- Versos of the Eighth Tone—3 versos in G Major

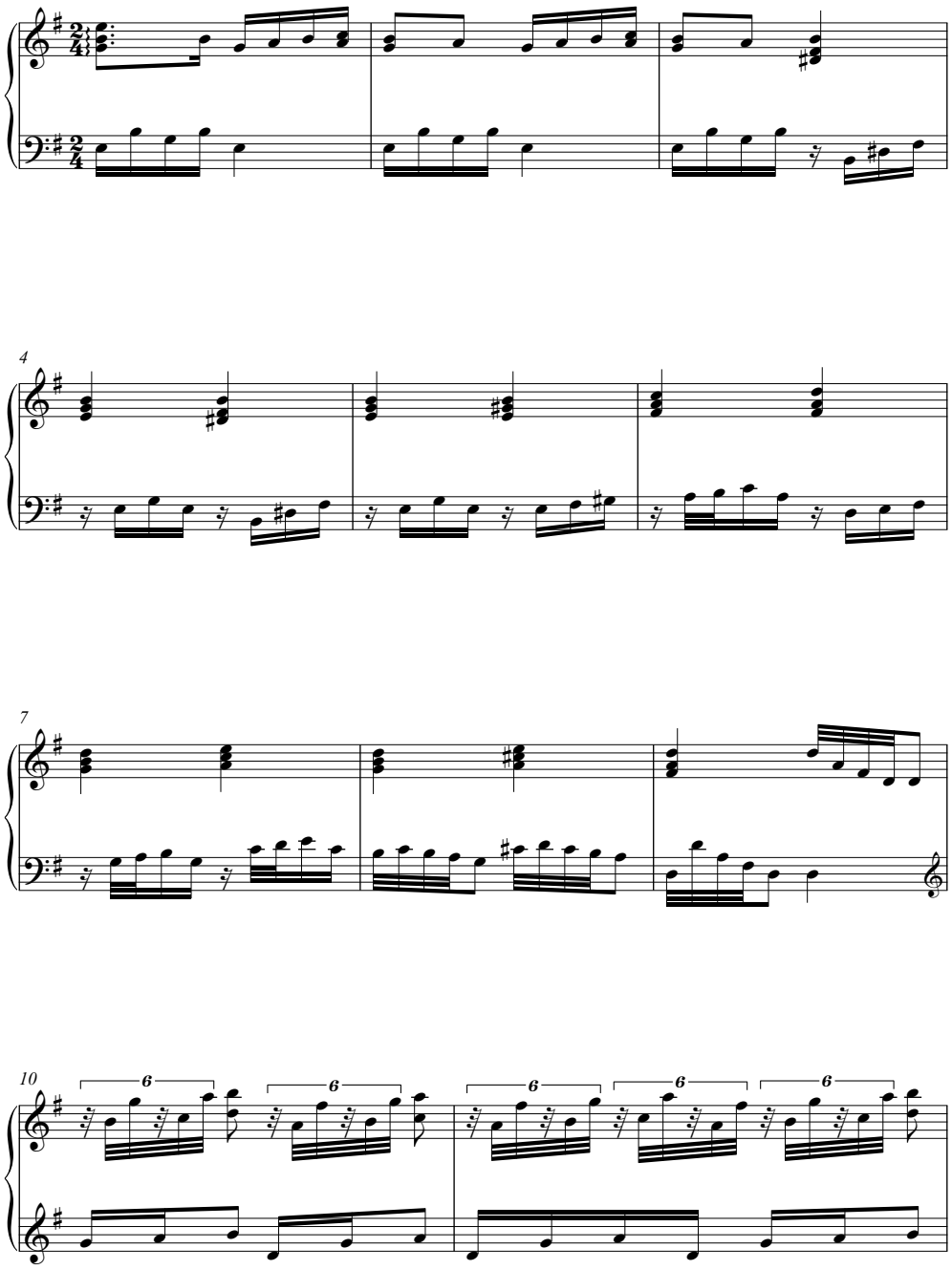
Each tone corresponds with a medieval church mode as described by eighteenth-century theorists such as Pablo Nassarre (c.1654–c.1730) and Antonio Eximeno (1729–1808).[743] In Vega's nineteenth-century versos, these tones correspond to tonal keys.

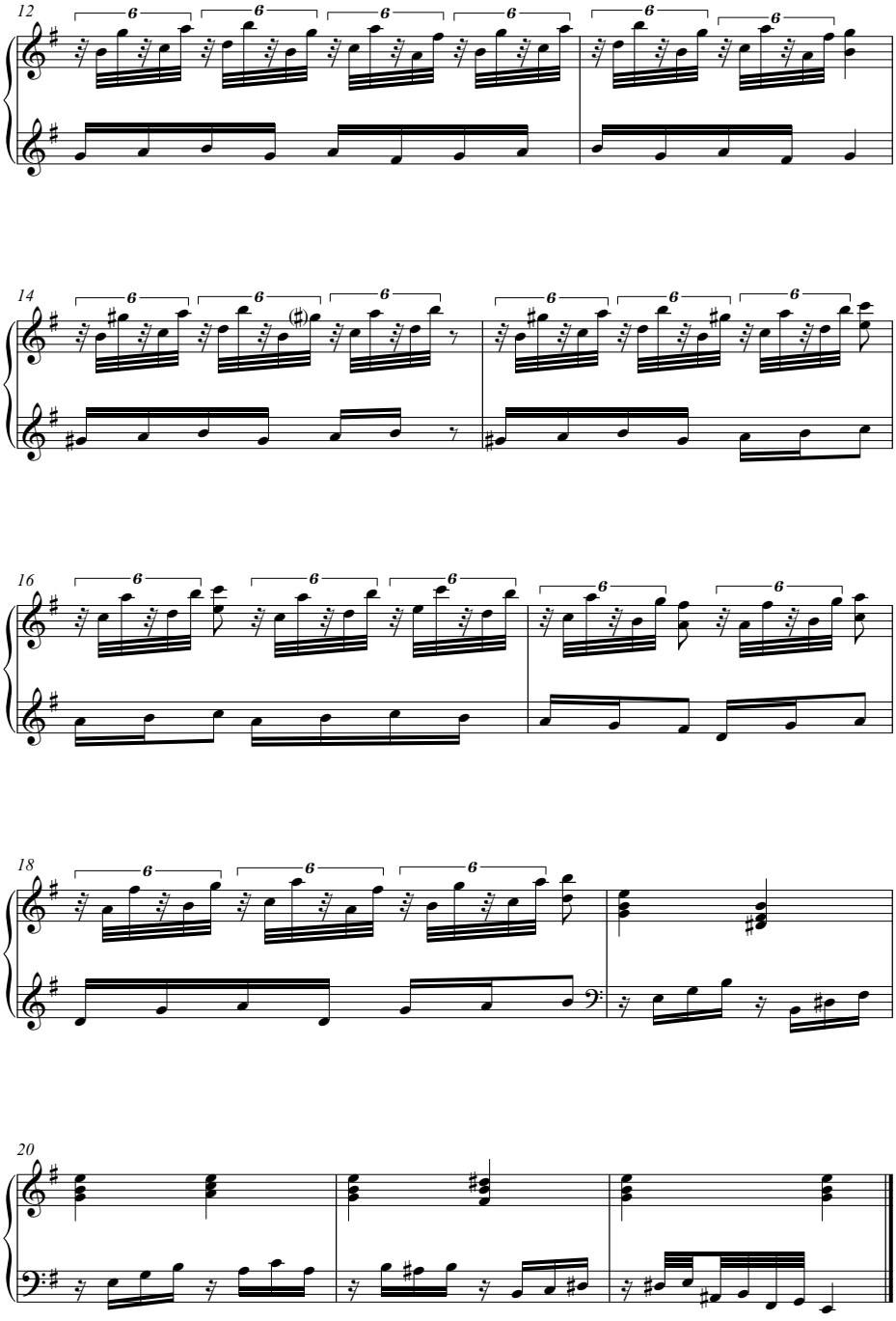
[743] Pablo Nassarre, *Escvela mvsica: segvn la practica moderma dividida en primera, y segvnda parte: esta primera contiene qvatro libros, el primero trata del sonido armonico, de svs divisiones, y de sus efectos; El segvndo, del canto llano, de sv vso en la iglesia, y del provecho espiritual que produce; El tercero, del canto de organo, y del fin, porqve se introduxo en la iglesia, con otras advertencias necessarias. El qvarto, de las proprciones qve se contraen de sonido à sonido, de las que ha de llevar cada instrumento musico, y las observancias, que han de tener los artifices de ellos* (Zaragoza: Diego de Larvmbnre, 1723); Antonio Eximeno, *Dell'origine et delle regole della musica colla storia del suo progresso, decadenza, e rinnovazione* (Roma, 1774); Ladson Jonathan Saylor, "Antonio Eximeno's Del Origen y Reglas de La Musica Con La Historia de Su Progreso, Decadencia y Restauracion (1796, Spanish Edition): Introduction, Commentary, and Translation" (Boston University, 1992).

Tones 2 & 3 No. 5

Con la Corneta Magna
[With the Great Trumpet]

Moderato





EXAMPLE 51. Verso No. 5 of the Second and Third Tones in "Versos para el Organo Para tocarlos en Visperas ó Maytines por Marcos Vega"[744]

[744] Vega, "Versos Para Órgano. Para Tocarlos En Visperas o Maytines," 6v.

The only information available about Belem's organ is that it existed. Beyond that fact, we are left to generalize about other organs found in Mexico during the colonial period. Organs grew in size and proliferated throughout Mexico during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. At first, churches and monasteries imported small organs, but by the early to mid-1700s, nearly all new organs were constructed in Mexico.[745] During the high Baroque, Iberian and Mexican organs were similar to Spanish organs from the Renaissance. They typically had one manual and no pedals. A system known as *medio registro* divided the keyboard into treble and bass halves—generally divided between middle C and C♯. Some (or all) stops could apply to only the upper or lower half of the manual, meaning that the player could have different registrations sounding in the right hand than in the left hand. It was common practice to register the left hand with higher-sounding stops (e.g. 4') and the right hand in lower-sounding stops (e.g. 16'). Although executed pitch (i.e. the key that was pressed) reflected in the score is—as we would expect—lower for the left hand and higher for the right hand, the registration often resulted in both hands *sounding* in approximately the same range.[746]

Little is known about the organ at Belem, but we have a surviving organ from roughly the same period that belonged to an institution very similar to Belem: the

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[745] Barbara Owen, Peter Williams, and Stephen Bicknell, "Organ," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, accessed June 21, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/44010pg5.
[746] Barbara Owen, *The Registration of Baroque Organ Music* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997), 130–32, 232.

Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas. Vizcaínas owned an organ at its opening in the mid-1700s; however, it appears that the organ extant now appeared sometime later. Muriel and Lledías describe a note found in a "secret" location on the present organ:

> Hizo éste el Sôr Maestro Don Francisco Perez de Lara, concluyéndolo a 27 de Junio del año de 1834 siendo tesorero el Sôr Ygnacio Oxirena.[747]
>
> Señor Maestro Don Francisco Pérez de Lara made the body of this organ, finishing it on 27 June 1834, Señor Ygnacio Oxirena being the treasurer.

The Pérez de Laras were a family of organ builders. In his study of the organs of the Mexico City Metropolitan Cathedral, Dirk Andries Flentrop notes that José Perez de Lara restored the Gospel Organ of the cathedral in 1817.[748] Muriel and Lledías mention a restored organ in the iglesia (church) de Tecamac in the State of México. Its 1862 inscription states that Francisco Pérez de Lara—the builder of the Vizcaínas organ—began building it, and at his death, Manuel Pérez de Lara finished it.

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[747] Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas*, 324.
[748] Dirk Andries Flentrop, *The Organs of Mexico City Cathedral*, trans. John Fesperman, Smithsonian Studies in History and Technology 47 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1986), 4, https://permanent.access.gpo.gov/gpo20715/SSHT-0047.pdf.

Stop Name	Translation	Type of Pipes	Description
Stops listed to the right of the manual:			
Lleno	"Full"	Principal Mixture	Compound stop (more than one pitch sounding per key pressed)
Docena Clara	"Clear 12th"	Principal	2 2/3' (sounds an octave + a 5th above the executed pitch)
Octava Clara	"Clear 8th"	Principal	4' (sounds an octave above the executed pitch)
Violon	"Bass"	Chimey Flute	Open-ended flute, probably 8' (at pitch)
Corneta Magna	"Great Cornet"	Reed or compound flue stops	Imitation of renaissance/baroque *cornetto* (not to be confused with the modern brass instrument)
Flautado Mayor	"Main Principal Flute"	Principal-Flute hybrid	8' main foundation stop
Trompeta Magna	"Great Trumpet"	Reed	8'
Clarín Claro	"Clear Trumpet"	Reed	4'
Stops listed to the left of the manual:			
Lleno	"Full"	Principal Mixture	Compound stop (more than one pitch sounding per key pressed)
Veinte y Docena	"32th"	Principal	1' (sounds 3 octaves above executed pitch)
Diez y Novena	"19th"	Principal	1 1/3' (sounds 2 octaves + a 5th above executed pitch)
Quin[ce]na Clara	"Clear 15th"	Principal	2' (sounds 2 octaves above executed pitch)
Violon	"Bass"	Chimey Flute	Open-ended flute, probably 8' (at pitch)
Flautado Mayor	"Main Principal Flute"	Principal-Flute hybrid	8' main foundation stop
Bajoncillo	"Small Bassoon"	Reed	4' (sounds an octave above the executed pitch)
Clarín en Quincena	"Trumpet in 15th"	Reed	2' (sounds 2 octaves above executed pitch)
Accessory Stops:			
Tambores	"Drums"		A military drum used in *batallas* (battle pieces)
Pajaritos	"Little Birds"		Immitated bird sounds with 3–4 small pipes whose tops were immersed in a cup of water
Campanas	"Bells"		Chimes or bells

TABLE 5. Registration stops on the Vizcaínas organ.[749]

[749] Description of each stop is based on the stop name listed on the organ (not on physical examination of the instrument's pipes).

FIGURE 50. The author at the organ at the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas.
Photo by Joshua Lanam. Used by permission of the Museo Vizcaínas.

FIGURE 51. "Organ in the chapel of the Colegio de Las Vizcaínas."[750]
Courtesy of the INAH.

[750] "Organo en la capilla del colegio de las Vizcaínas," Núm. Inv. 153507, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.

FIGURE 52. "Organ keyboard in the chapel of the Colegio de Las Vizcaínas." [751]
Courtesy of the INAH.

FIGURE 53. The author at the organ console with bellows at the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas.
Photo by Joshua Lanam. Used by permission of the Museo Vizcaínas.

[751] "Teclado del órgano en la capila del colegio de las Vizcaínas," Núm. Inv. 153508, Fototeca Nacional de INAH, accessed August 27, 2016, http://fototeca.inah.gob.mx/fototeca/.

CHAPTER 7:

CONCLUSION

Recogimientos, colegios, and convents were feminine institutions that could serve as a woman's home for nearly her entire life. Each of these institutions was engaged in the education of girls and continued to house them as they matured into adult women. If girls did not leave to marry, many remained in one of these organizations as adults, either in the same one or transferring to another. Adult women could continue to live in recogimientos and colegios, completing daily tasks necessary for the functioning of the institution, making a profit (e.g. creating works of embroidery for sale), or serving as a teacher. Women who professed as nuns went to live in convents, the most elite of all feminine institutions, where they could serve as teachers or musicians.

An anonymous eighteenth-century oil painting showing the clothing worn in twenty-seven Mexico City institutions of women—including convents, colegios, and recogimientos—visually connects and categorizes these organizations (Figure 54).

FIGURE 54. *Traje de las religiosas de los conventos de Mexico, de los colegios y recogimientos* (Clothing of the devout women of the convents of Mexico, of the colegios and recogimientos).[752]
Courtesy of the INAH, Museo Nacional del Virreinato

[752] *Traje de las religiosas de los conventos de Mexico, de los colegios y recogimientos*, eighteenth century, Oil on canvas, 134.5 cm by 104 cm, eighteenth century, permanent exhibition, Museo Nacional del Virreinato, http://lugares.inah.gob.mx/museos-inah/museo/museo-piezas/8279-827...10-95192-indumentaria-de-las-monjas-novohispanas.html?lugar_id=475.

In this painting, we see representations of the female institutions that have been central to our story:

Recogimiento de Belem (Row 1, No. 5)

Capuchin nuns (Row 1, No. 1), whose austerity lent the Recogimiento de Belem the nickname "the lay capuchins"

Recogidas (Row 4, No. 5), women from unspecified recogimientos throughout Mexico City

Colegio de la Enseñanza (Row 4, No. 2), which revolutionized the system of convent education and whose founder tried to acquire the building of the Colegio de las Vizcaínas while its founders fought with the archbishop to begin operation

Colegio de las Vizcaínas (Row 5, No. 6), where María Micaela Jerusalem held the positions of celadora de la escoleta de música, vice-rectora, and rectora, and where the Archivo Histórico del Colegio de Vizcaínas preserves the music and documents of Belem

Convento de San José de Gracia (Row 2, No. 2), Conceptionist convent whose nuns sold Archbishop Vizarrón two properties that he used to fund Belem's escoleta de música, where the former Belem pensionista Doña Anna María Guertas (a singer and contrabassist) professed as a nun of the choir in 1779, and where other former Belem students made their livings as music teachers

Convento de la Encarnación (Row 2, No. 3), Conceptionist convent where María Micaela Jerusalem studied for a short time, and where former Belem student Doña María Lugarda Fernandes Cordova professed as a nun of the choir in 1778. La Encarnación's eighteenth-century, three-story building, originally located on forty acres of land, now is home to The National Office of the Ministry of Education.[753]

Convento de San Jerónimo (Row 3, No. 2), Jeronymite convent and the home of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz

Convento de la Concepción (Row 3, No. 3), the first convent founded in New Spain (in 1540), and whose primary purpose was the education of girls. La Concepción was the home of Sor María Rosa de San José (who requested in 1747 to switch from oboe to viola because of a mouth wound), and where María Micaela Jerusalem went to visit "su hermana Religiosa" in 1786

Convento de San Lorenzo (Row 3, No. 4), Jeronymite (Augustinian) convent where former Belem student Doña Úrsula Alcívar professed as a nun of the choir in 1779 and served as the organist

Convento de Santa Brígida (Row 4, No.1), whose nuns sought shelter at the Colegio de Belem when they were evicted from their convent under the Reform Laws of the 1850s

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[753] Manuel Ramírez Aparicio, *Los conventos suprimidos en México: estudios biográficos, históricos y arqueológicos* (México: Editorial Innovacíon, 1979), 71–86, as cited in Cárdenas de Vega, *The Education of Women in New Spain*, 30.

Convento de Jesús María (Row 4, No. 3), Conceptionist convent which was allowed to keep its students when other convent-schools were closed under the Royal Decree of May 22, 1774, which enforced vida común

Convento de Regina Coeli (Row 4, No. 4), Conceptionist convent which was known for its nun's opulent cells, and where former Belem pensionista and singer and contrabassist Doña María Gertrudis García professed as a nun of the choir in 1778

Convento de Balbanera (Row 5, No. 3), which employed some former Belem students as music teachers

The nuns are depicted wearing the habits uniform to their order. For example, the artist shows the nuns of the Convento de La Encarnación in their Conceptionist white tunics and scapulars, blue mantle, black veil, and escudo de monja (nun's badge, painted or embroidered with a "religious scene," and worn over the chest.)[754] Laywomen (such as those at Belem and Vizcaínas) are shown in non-uniform clothing with no head-covering. The nuns of the Compañia de María (La Enseñanza) are shown in their black and white habits with two young students representing their primary purpose: education. The lack of children in the depiction of Belem is consistent with its identification primarily as a recogimiento (rather than an colegio) in the early eighteenth century.

[754] Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico*, 216.

Row	Institution and position in row (left to right)
1	(1) Capuchin [nuns], (2) [Convento de] San Juan, (3) [Convento de] Santa Clara, (4) [Convento de] Santa Isabel, (5) Betlen de las Moch[s] [Recogimiento de Belem]
2	(1) [Convento de] Santa Teresa la Antigua, (2) [Convento de] San José de la Gracia, (3) [Convento de] la Encarnación, (4) [Convento de] Santa Isabel, (5) Colegio de Niñas [de Nuestra Señora de la Caridad]
3	(1) [Convento de] Corpus Christi, (2) [Convento de] San Jerónimo, (3) [Convento de] la Concepción, (4) [Convento de] San Lorenzo, (5) [Colegio de la] Misericordia
4	(1) *Brígidas* [nuns], (2) [El Colegio de] la Enseñanza, (3) [Convento de] Jesús María, (4) [Convento de] Regina Coeli, (5) Recogidas [unspecified]
5	(1) Carmelite [nuns], (2) [Convento de] San Bernardo, (3) [Convento de] Balbanera, (4) [Convento de] Santo Calvario, (5) Colegio de Niñas (6) [Colegio de] Vizcaínas, (7) [Colgio de] Locas

TABLE 6. Institutions depicted in *Traje de las religiosas de los conventos de Mexico, de los colegios y recogimientos*[755]

Also tying together many of the places and concepts presented in this study is the Jerusalem family. The first Italian maestro de capilla of the Mexico City Metropolitan Cathedral, Ignacio Jerusalem promoted the *galant* style taking hold in the cathedral. A teacher-composer, he (or his daughter[s]) compiled and brought to Belem the pedagogical manuscript "Vezerro de Lecciones," which, as we have seen, includes exercises by Jerusalem and the Neopolitan teacher-composers Francesco Feo and Leonardo Leo. Facilitating the study of solfeggi, clefs, theory, and hexachordal

[755] *Traje de las religiosas de los conventos de Mexico, de los colegios y recogimientos,* "Indumentaria de Las Monjas Novohispanas. ca. 1700-1799. Museo Nacional Del Virreinato," accessed June 20, 2017, http://lugares.inah.gob.mx/museos-inah/museo/museo-piezas/8279-827...10-95192-indumentaria-de-las-monjas-novohispanas.html?lugar_id=475.

sol-fa transitioning to tonal sol-fa, it illustrates the influence of Italian pedagogy in Belem's escoleta de música (discussed in Chapter 4).

Through the one pedagogical print and three manuscripts extant from the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem's escoleta de música (discussed in Chapter 5), we see young women learning about musical theory and performance practice. "Vezerro de Lecciones" and the "Manuscrito J.M.J. del Colegio de Belem" illustrate the transition from the theoretical understanding of hexachordal solmization to the notion of tonic sol-fa. In these two manuscripts, we see students learning about time signatures, note values, key signatures, clefs (movable C, F, and G clefs), ornamentation, and playing/singing as part of an ensemble. Olivari's manuscript of lessons is very different in two aspects: it does not contain explanations of theory and it does specify instrumentation. In it, we see the student practicing technique specific to the violin: string crossing, bow technique, articulation like portato, alternative fingerings, and higher positions on the finger board. The two printed pedagogical books that we know Belem owned (one of which is still extant in the AHCV) evidence the girls learning about plainchant and polyphony, both of which were necessary in the performance of liturgical music. Performance of sacred music ran throughout many of the young women's educational and professional lives—singing and playing in Belem's religious services; teaching the same skills as adult teachers; and/or performing in mass, the daily office, and feast days as a nun of the choir.

The music intended for either sacred and secular performance at Belem (described in Chapter 6) covers a wide gamut. Secular instrumental music includes

Arcangelo Corelli's violin sonatas, Giacomo Facco's concertos, and Manuel Izquierdo's variations for forte piano. Belem's students performed masses by Gregorio Mariano de Soberanis, Magín Ginesta, and an unidentified composer by the name of Garrido, among others. The girls performed in requiem masses for their fellow colegialas, adult recogidas, and others who had died. These funeral masses range from plainchant to voices and instruments. The students performed in masses and services of the daily office, such as matins and vespers, for Marian feast days such as that of Our Lady of Guadalupe and Our Lady of Sorrows (Nuestra Señora de los Dolores), as well as that of their patron saint, Michael the Archangel. We also have two villancicos—the only genre performed in the vernacular in services—from Belem. Performance music from Belem ranges in instrumentation from voices in monophony to that of a full, early Classic orchestra. All of these pieces not only served the needs of the colegio (both in religious services and in entertainments), but they also gave the girls performance experience, preparing them to become professional musicians.

As was discussed Chapter 6, Ignacio Jerusalem's settings of Psalm 147:20 at Belem link the colegio to the cathedral, demonstrate the vocal and instrumental forces available at Belem, and evidence the role of Our Lady of Guadalupe in New Spanish criollo culture. Along with Belem's escoleta de música teachers, who were chosen from the performers of the capilla of the cathedral, "Non fecit taliter a 8 con violines, clarines, y bajo" presents another direct link to the Metropolitan Cathedral. Assuming that it was, indeed, performed at Belem with only the parts currently extant, it

represents adjustments made to a composition in order to accommodate the available performing forces at the colegio. (A single SSAT choir is possibly accompanied, not by an orchestra of instrumentalists, but rather by an organist realizing a bass line with figures unique to Belem's copy.) Ignacio Jerusalem's "Non fecit taliter à dos voces y Bajo" also exemplifies the resources and training function of Belem's escoleta de música. The two soprano voices move predominantly in homorhythm in thirds and sixths. The organ part is composed to accompany the solo parts and written as figured bass when it accompanies the voices. Both of these settings of "Non fecit taliter" were performed on the feast day of Our Lady of Guadalupe, who illustrated the criollo identity (both European and American) and later served as the banner for the fight for an independent Mexico in the 1810s.

María Micaela and María Joaquina Jerusalem (daughters of Ignacio Jerusalem and Antonia Sixto) both trained as flutists and bassoonists at Belem's escoleta de música. The separation of their parents and the scandalous financial circumstances of their father probably prompted the two sisters to live at a boarding school where they learned the musical trade that would give them the means to support themselves. María Micaela Jerusalem was connected to the cathedral through her baptism, her father (who was the maestro de capilla), her teachers (who were capilla musicians), her brother (Pedro Joseph Jerusalem, who was also a musician in the capilla), and her goddaughter (Maria Josepha Antonia Cleofas [Pedro Joseph Jerusalem's daughter], who was baptized at the cathedral). María Micaela Jerusalem went for a short time to study at the Convento de La Encarnación, which ties into the discussion of convent

education and the imposition of vida común; this obligatory change in convent governance and lifestyle influenced female education (ending most convent education and necessitating other institutions to fill the vacuum) and changed the convents where Belem alumnae professed and lived as nuns.

The Jerusalem sisters also provide another link between the colegios of Belem and Vizcaínas. The Cofradía de Aránzazu (which founded Vizcaínas) supported students who lived and studied at Belem while they waited for Vizcaínas to open. When María Joaquina and María Micaela Jerusalem transferred from Belem to Vizcaínas, they would have been surrounded by familiar faces, both of the colegialas and the teachers who had lived with them at Belem. Vizcaínas's educational and family-style living would also have been familiar to the sisters, considering it was modeled on that of the colegio they had just left. Their roles as celadora de música and María Micaela's as vice-rectora and rectora of Vizcaínas cover a period of political instability and allow us to imagine the scene in Mexico City through their eyes. The governmental changes and uncertainty of the the early- and mid-1800s took its toll on colegios through the reduction of financial support and the unwillingness of parents to send their girls to institutions close to the insurrections in the capital. The subsistence crisis of 1785–1786 and the migration of rural families to Mexico City prompted Vizcaínas to open a public day school on its ground floor in 1793. After Iturbide's army marched into Mexico City in 1821 and the Treaty of Córdoba established Mexican independence, Vizcaínas changed its name from "El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola" to "El Colegio Nacional de San Ignacio de

Loyola." The connection between Belem and Vizcaínas would continue after María Micaela Jerusalem's death in 1824 and into the Reform Era of 1850s and 60s. When Belem closed, the women and girls who called Belem home were sent to Vizcaínas. They took with them as much of Belem's archive and music as they could, and Vizcaínas's archive and museum continue to preserve these artifacts today.

Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Belem developed a sophisticated curriculum that empowered women to become not just wives and mothers, but also accomplished nuns and teachers who, through their musical skills, increased their autonomy. Becoming a nun in the eighteenth century was more than a religious calling: it was the opportunity for upper-class women to lead professional lives and practice their art. Being part of an all-female community, many nuns enjoyed more personal freedom in their daily lives than they might have experienced in the secular world. However, we ought not forget that they were permanently cloistered in their monastery, a microcosm of New Spain with rigid social hierarchy—including servants and slaves—all under the authority of the patriarchal church. The Colegio de San Miguel de Belem was remarkable in the regard that it endowed underprivileged girls with skills that would allow their services as convent musicians to take the place of a prohibitively large dowry, enabling at-risk young women to enter the highest classes of society and profess as nuns on their merits alone.

Some women who trained at Belem also became teachers, either as nuns in convents that focused on the education of girls or at other colegios. The sisters María

Joaquina and María Micaela Jerusalem, are examples of the latter. She may have come from a well-known musical family, but it was through her training and skills that María Micaela Jerusalem became a well-respected educator and administrator in her own right. She served a long and illustrious career at the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas, an institution still shaping the lives of children today.

Pedagogical manuscripts such as "Livro de Lecciones A Solo Violin," "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' del Colegio de Belem," and "Vezerro de Lecciones" facilitated the girls' theoretical and practical musical development, giving them the skills they would need as professional musicians. Through the act of performing pieces like Marcos Vega's "Versos para órgano" and Ignacio Jerusalem's setting of "Non fecit taliter" in services of the Eucharist and Daily Office, girls not only provided a service to the colegio, but also honed their performance skills, preparing them for life as nuns of the choir and teachers. Moreover, these unique manuscript sources are significant to us today: they augment our appreciation of how music was understood and taught in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, illustrate one of the cultures at play in a colonial territory, and increase our awareness of women's experiences in New Spain. For performers and music educators, they represent a significant source of well-crafted music excluded from the western canon for far too long and offer the opportunity to add diversity to our curricula and encourage open and critical discussions regarding the roles race, culture, and gender have played in our histories.

GLOSSARY

altepetl—a city-state or small area governed by a cacique

amiga school—small girls' school run by an individual laywoman

Archivo Histórico del Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas—Historic Archive of the School of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, [originally for] Basque Women (AHCV)

Audiencia—Real Audiencia, highest court of law in the Spanish Americas

Aztec— "the people who came from Aztlan" (Nahuatl); group of Aztecs who followed Huitzilopochtli (also known as Mexi) divided from the rest, renamed themselves "Mexica," and eventually founded Tenochtitlán

bajón—bassoon

bajoncillo—a small bassoon

beata—laywoman who chose to live and work collectively with other beatas in a beaterio

beaterio—institution that housed beatas and served the purposes of evangelization and education

Belem—Bethlehem; abbreviation for the Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belem and the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem (named for its proximitiy to the Convento de Belem); also seen as Belen, Belén, and Bethlen

cacique -Native American nobility

caja—case

canto de órgano—metered music or polyphony

canto llano—plainchant

cárcel—jail

casta— racial caste; person of mixed racial descent

cedula—decree

celadora—monitor

chinampas—floating gardens in a lake

clarín—trumpet

clausura—enclosure

clave—clef; key

clavecin—harpsichord

cofradía—confraternity

Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Aránzazu—the Basque Confraternity of Our Lady of Aránzazu, which founded the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas

Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento y Caridad—Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament and Charity, which founded the Colegio de Niñas de Nuestra Señora de la Caridad

colegio—school

Colegio de Belem—Colegio de San Miguel de Belem, previously the Recogimiento (de San Miguel) de Belem

Colegio de Infantes—school for boys at the Metropolitan Cathedral in Mexico City

Colegio de La Enseñanza—"School of the Teaching," monastic schools in which girls lived separately from nuns and were taught in classes; run by the order of Compañia de María

colegio de niñas—girls' school

Colegio de Niñas de Nuestra Señora de la Caridad—The School of Girls of Our Lady of Charity, colloquially called the Colegio de Niñas

Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas—School of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, [originally for] Basque Women

Colegio de San Miguel de Belem—School of Saint Michael in the Mexico City neighborhood of Belem

Convento de La Encarnación—Convent of the Incarnation

Convento de Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción—The Convent of Our Lady of the Purest Conception

Coliseo—the theatre in Mexico City

communidad—community

Communidad de Belem/Belen—the Recogimiento/Colegio de San Miguel de Belem

Compañia de María Nuestra Señora—Company of Mary Our Lady, a religious order of nuns whose primary purpose was female education; founded the Colegios de la Enseñanza

conquistador—conquerer

criollo(a)—person of European descent who was born in the Americas

consulado—consulate

encomendero—owner of an encomienda

encomienda—area of land in New Spain granted to a Spaniard; the encomendero owned the rights to the labor of the Native American people who lived on the land

escoleta—school; "a little room" (Catalan)

escoleta de música—school of music (interchangeable with escuela de música in other sources)

escuela—school

escuela de música—school of music (interchangeable with escoleta de música in other sources)

escuela pía—free day school

español(a)—Spanish; Spanish person

estante—large shelving unit

flautista—flutist or oboist

hacendado—owner of an hacienda

hacienda—privately owned estate

indio—Native American

La Enseñanza—Colegio de La Enseñanza, monastic schools in which girls lived separately from nuns and were taught in classes, run by the order of Compañia de María

leccion—lesson

legajo—file

limpieza de sangre—"purity of blood"

maestro(a)—master, teacher

maestro(a) mayor—head teacher

maestro de capilla—composer and director of music

manuscrito—manuscript

medio registro—organ keyboard divided into treble and bass halves with separate registrations available to each

mestizaje—the "process of racial and cultural miscegenation"[756]

mestizo(a)—person of mixed European and Native American heritage

Mexica—group of Aztecs ("the people who came from Aztlan") who followed Huitzilopochtli (also known as Mexi) and divided from the rest of the Aztecs, renamed themselves "Mexica," and eventually founded Tenochtitlán (also known as Mexico, "the home of the Mexica")

miga school—colloquialization of amiga school

monja—nun

monja del coro—nun of the choir

monocordio—clavichord

Nahua—group of First Peoples of Central America (including Aztecs and Tlaxcalans, among others)

Nahuatl—the language (of which there are many dialects) of the Nahua peoples

negro—black; a person of African ancestry

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[756] Gutiérrez, "Miscegenation as Nation-Building," 168–169.

niña—girl; laywoman living in a convent (regardless of age)

organista—organist or harpist

órgano—organ

paquete—parcel

peninsular—Spaniard born on the Iberian Peninsula

pensionista—student who pays tuition

pochteca—merchant

pueblo—Native American village

real—royal

Real Audiencia— highest court of law in the Spanish Americas

real cedula—royal decree

reales—Peninsular Spanish gold coins

recogimiento—institution where women withdrew from society (both voluntarily and punitively); a state of withdrawal or seclusion

Recogimiento de Belem—Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belem, later the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem

rectora—headmistress

república de indios—"Indian Republic," Spanish system of government applied to Native Americans in New Spain

sistema de castas—the classification of castes (people of mixed-race)

tabla—shelf

tlatoani—Aztec ruler

tono—psalm tone

trompa—horn

vezerro—eighteenth-century spelling of "becerro" ("calf"), referring to the leather binding of "Vezerro de Lecciones"

vice-rectora—vice headmistress

viceroy—ruler as representative of the king

vida común—"communal life" practiced in some convents

vida particular—"private life" practiced in some convents

villancico—genre of song popular in the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas; comprised *coplas* (verses) and an *estribillo* (chorus), often used characters from familiar stories, and was one of few vernacular genres allowed in Roman Catholic services

violín—violin

violín tenor—viola

violines—instruments of the of the violin family; may refer to violins, violas, cellos, or contrabasses

violinista—player of any instrument of the violin family; may refer to a violinist, violist, cellist, or contrabassist

violon or **violoncello**—cello

Vizcaínas—Basque women; abbreviation for the Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, Vizcaínas (The School of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, [originally for] Basque Women)

volumen—book

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA CRUZ

EL COLEGIO DE SAN MIGUEL DE BELEM: MEXICO'S FIRST FEMALE MUSIC CONSERVATORY

Volume II: Editions of Music

by

Faith S. Lanam

March 2018

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STATEMENT OF EDITORIAL PRACTICE

Two goals governed the manner in which I edited the two pedagogical and three performance manuscripts: 1) to provide scores that are easily legible for use by today's performers, and 2) to illustrate how Belem students learned, understood, and performed music. As such, I have chosen to adhere to modern notational practices while retaining as much of the original markings, spelling, beaming, and other features as possible.

For the ease of present-day performers, I have standardized certain aspects of the editions. I transcribed pieces that were originally written in clefs other than treble and bass to treble and bass clefs. Prefatory staves at the beginning of each section show the original clefs, what instruments and voices are represented, any initial text as it appears in the manuscript, and the first measure(s) of the piece. I have inserted dotted bar lines where barlines were omitted in the manuscript. In most cases, I maintained the original beaming and note values; however, I standardized the expression of syncopations and beaming when I deemed the original difficult to read. Ligatures (whole notes, breves, and dotted notes) spanning over bar lines are transcribed as tied notes. I have standardized the notation of rests and modified the value of rests at the end of a piece to fill the measure, taking into account antecedents at the beginning of the piece. Stem directions are also standardized. The original copyists included many courtesy accidentals, which I have entered in parenthesis. I have standardized the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century accidentals—e.g. sharps

intended to cancel out flats—according to modern practice. When less than a full measure is indicated to be repeated, I have written out the repeated pitches. When words are missing letters, I have supplied them in brackets. None of the manuscripts contain any English; any English supplied here (generally in parenthesis or brackets) is editorially translated from Spanish, Latin, or Italian. In the event that the edition shows content that is different from the original source—e.g. I corrected a mistake, such as missing accidentals or incorrect rhythmic values— the critical commentary details what was shown in the original source.

Individual manuscript sources, at times, required specific approaches. No prefatory staves are needed in Marcos Vega's verso collection because all the pieces were originally written in treble and bass clefs. In "Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' del Colegio de Belem," there are three lecciones whose numerous clef changes are integral to the excercise. I have provided two versions of each leccion: one in the original clefs, and one transcribed to bass or treble clef.

I have numbered the folios and lecciones of "Vezerro de Lecciones" in the order in which they are bound. (All organizational numbers are editorial.) There are several folios which appear to be mistakenly bound out of order. II.50 begins at the top of folio 22r without a time signature (implied $\frac{3}{8}$) and appears to be missing its first half. II.59 (in $\frac{6}{8}$) ends without a cadence at the end of folio 23v and appears to be missing its second half. III.3 begins in ($\frac{3}{8}$) on folio 24v and changes to $\frac{6}{8}$ (unmarked) with the page break to folio 25r. The first half of III.3 (24r) appears to be the first half of II.50 (22r) II.59 (23v) appears to be the first half of the second half of III.3 (25r).

Each exercise is included in the edition where it is located in the manuscript as it is bound. I have copied and pasted the missing beginning or end of each in smaller notes.

Several canons in “Vezerro de Lecciones” are presented in the manuscript as a signle line with symbols denoting the entrance of each voice. I have transcribed these canons in two ways: as single lines as they are written in the manuscript and as scores in which all parts continue repeating until the last part completes the canon. Some lecciones contain small vertical lines marking individual pitches, which (given the musical context and other articulation) I have transcribed as down-bows. The slurs imply up-bows (e.g.VI. 6).

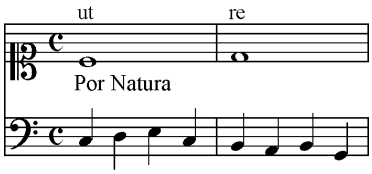
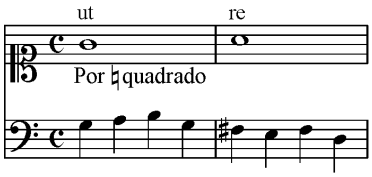
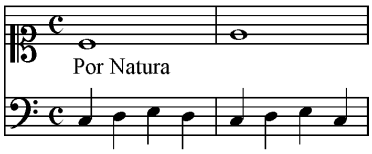
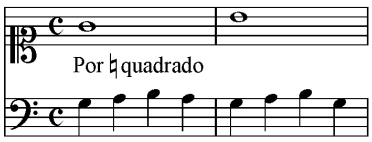
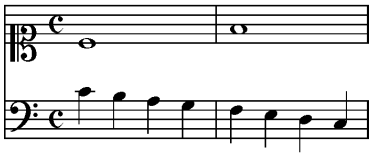
In the selections by Jerusalem and Ortuño in which there is sung text, I made punctuation, capitalization, and spelling consistent between the vocal parts and hyphenated words spread among multiple pitches. Other than when the Soprano 1 and 2 parts presented different spellings for the same word or when a misspelling created a change in meaning (e.g. I corrected the Latin conjunction “et” to the appropriate verb “e[s]t” in Ortuño's setting of Song of Solomon 6:9), I maintained the original copyists' spelling. I provided the spelling as it appears in the Vulgate and the King James Version translation of the text at the end of each edition.

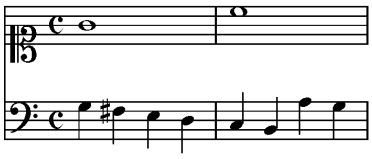
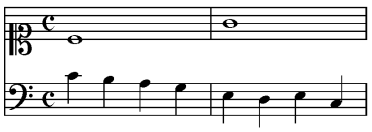
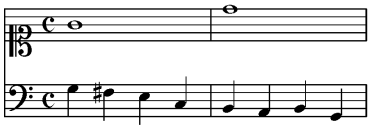
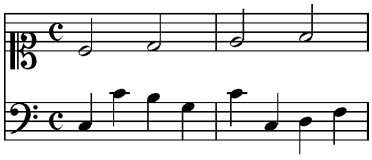
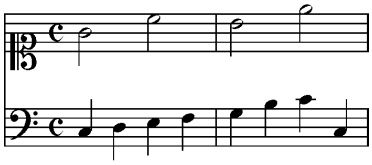
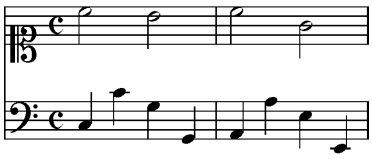
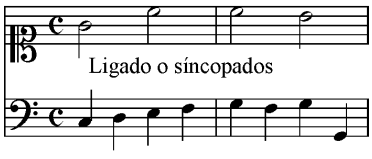
CATALOGUES OF INCIPITS

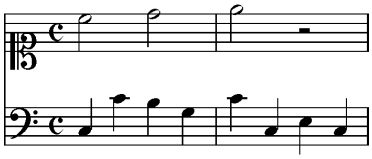
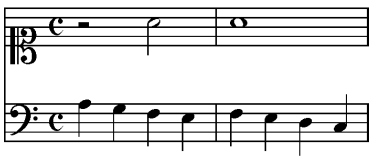
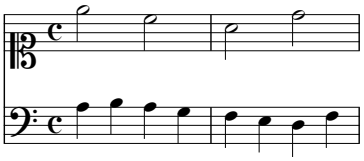
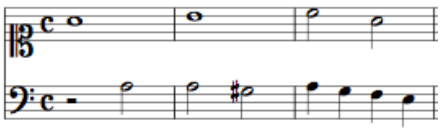
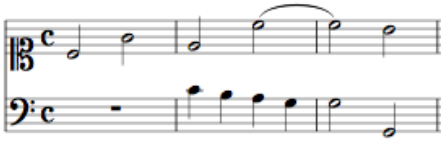
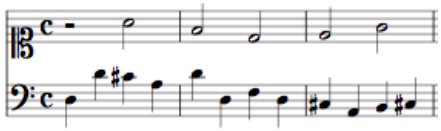
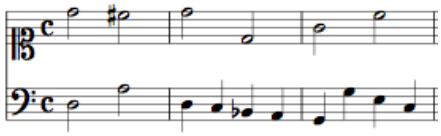
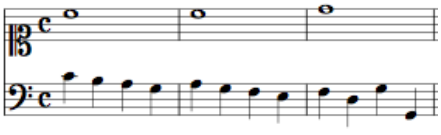
Francesco Feo, Leonardo Leo, and Ignacio Jerusalem

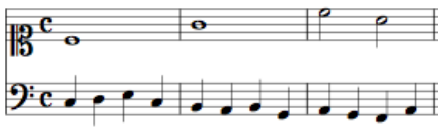
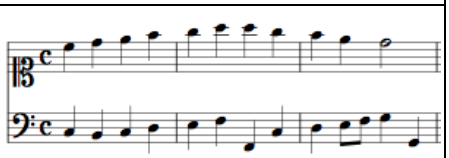
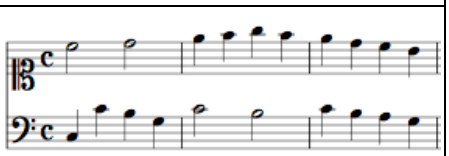
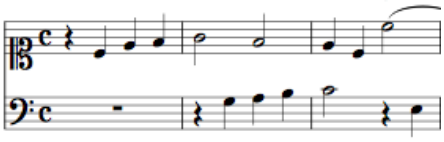
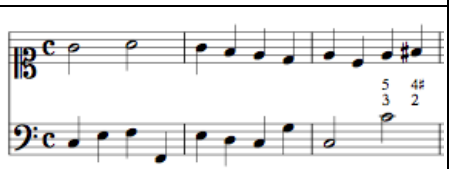
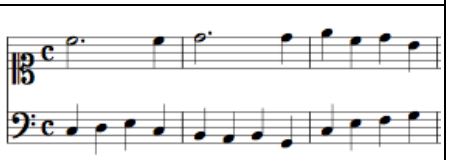
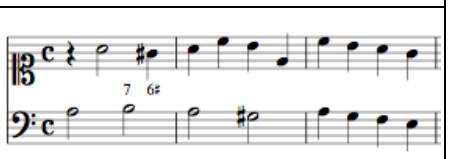
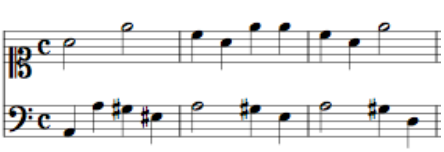
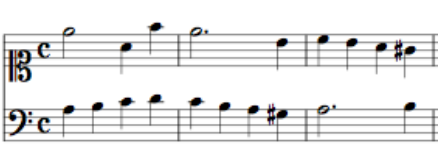
"Vezerro de Lecciones"

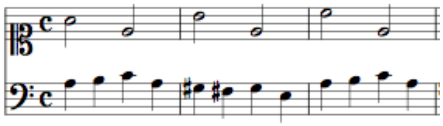
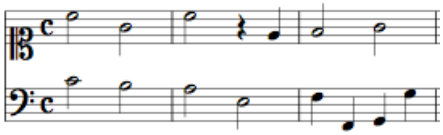
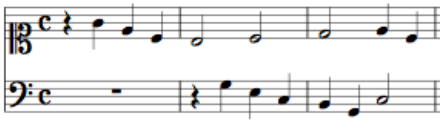
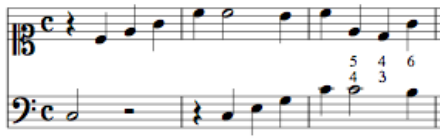
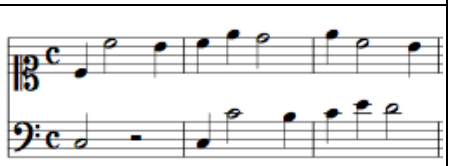
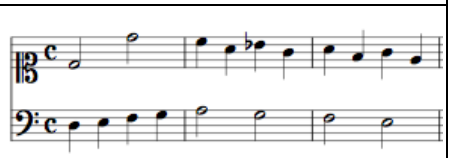
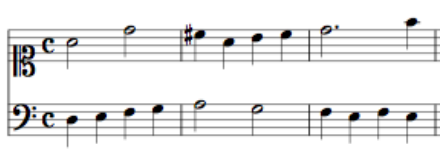
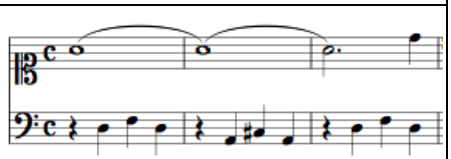
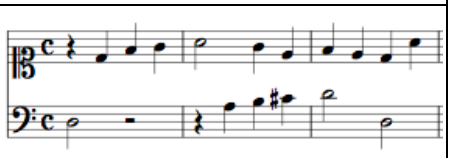
II. Lecciones de el Sr. Mtro. Feo

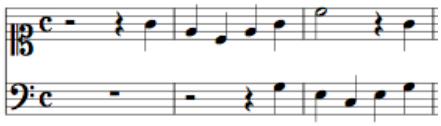
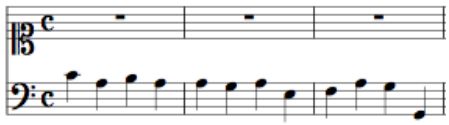
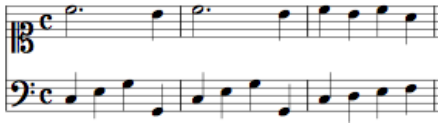
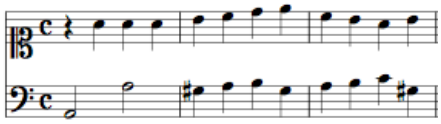
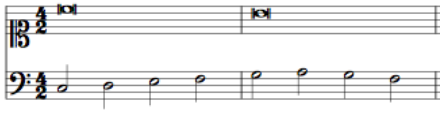
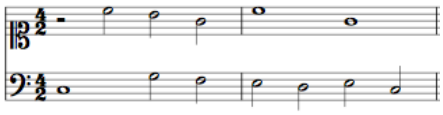
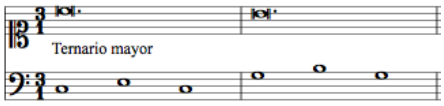
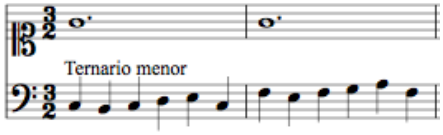
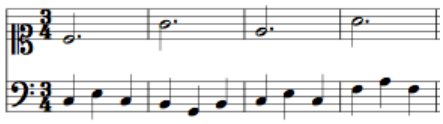
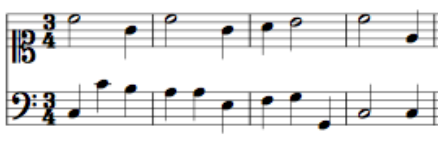
II.1	
II.2	
II.3	
II.4	
II.5	

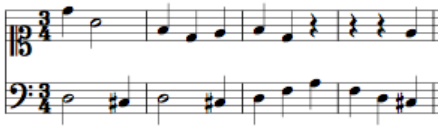
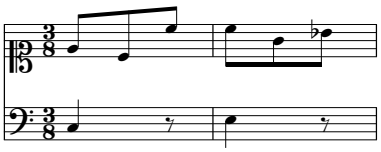
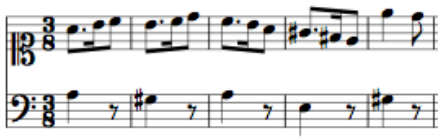
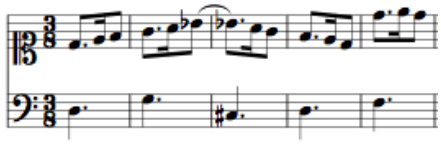
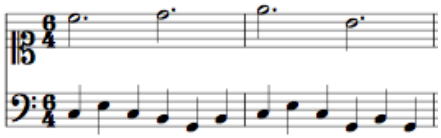
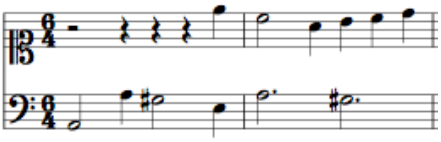
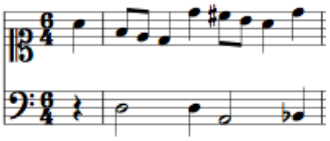
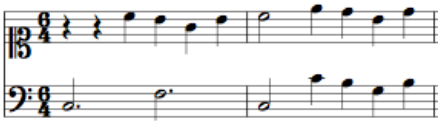
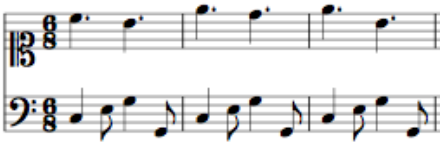
II.6	
II.7	
II.8	
II.9	
II.10	
II.11	
II.12	

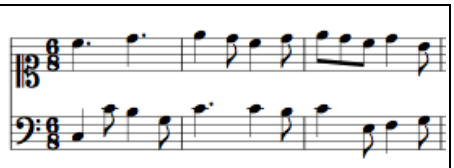
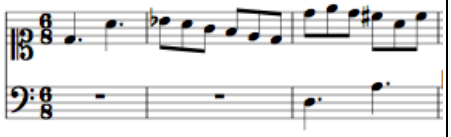
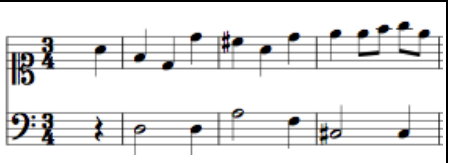
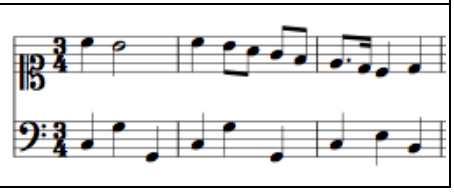
II.13	
II.14	
II.15	
II.16	
II.17	
II.18	
II.19	
II.20	

II.21	
II.22	
II.23	
II.24	
II.25	
II.26	
II.27	
II.28	
II.29	

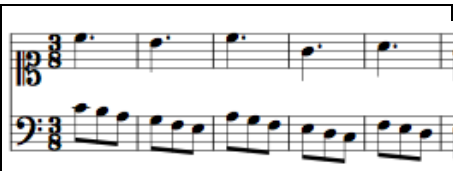
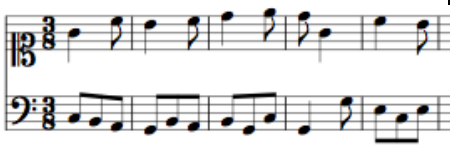
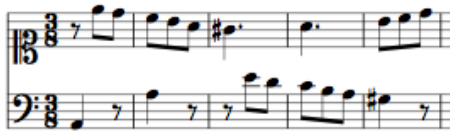
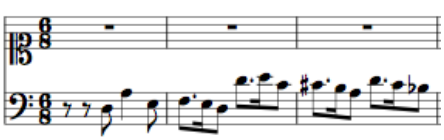
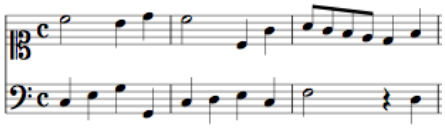
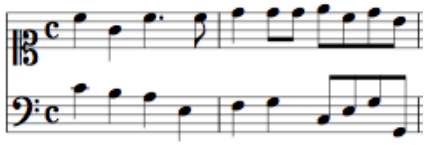
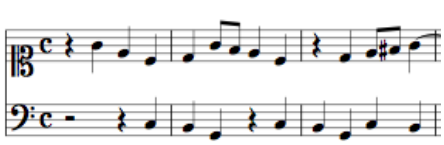
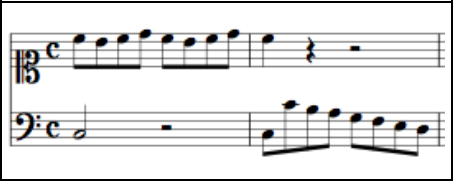
II.30	
II.31	
II.32	
II.33	
II.34	
II.35	
II.36	
II.37	
II.38	

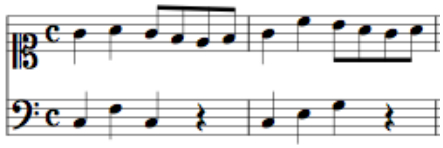
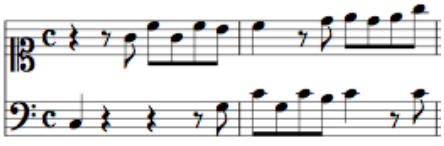
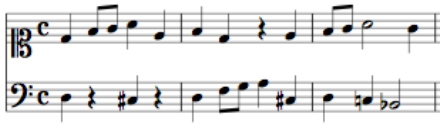
II.39	
II.40	
II.41	
II.42	
II.43	
II.44	
II.45	
II.46	
II.47	
II.48	

II.49	
II.50	
II.51	
II.52	
II.53	
II.54	
II.55	
II.56	
II.57	

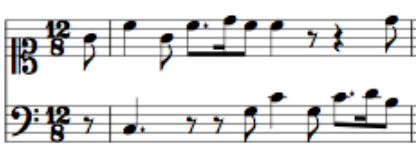
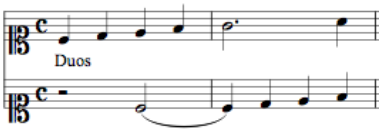
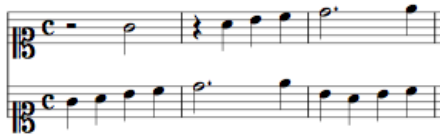
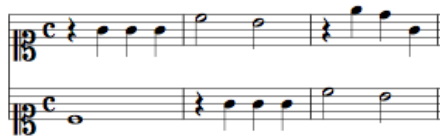
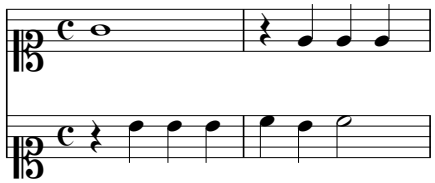
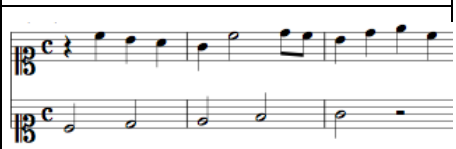
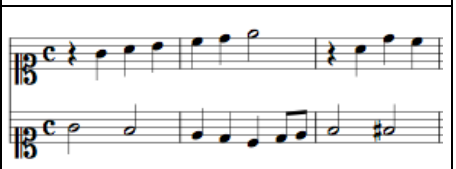
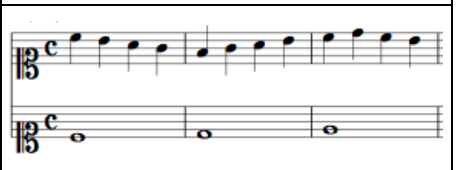
II.58	
II.59	
II.60	
II.61	

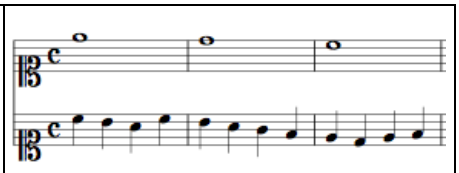
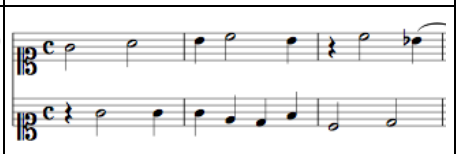
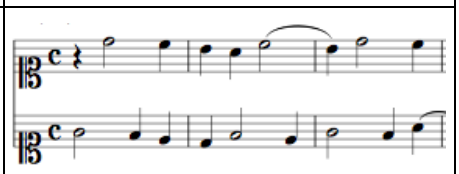
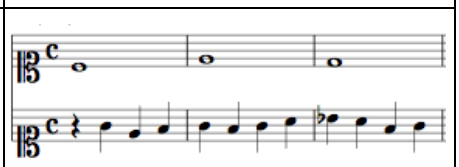
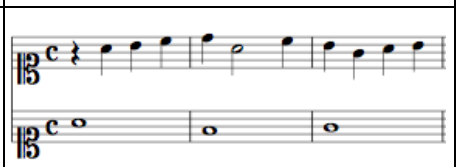
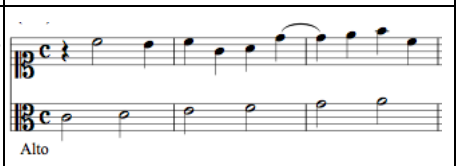
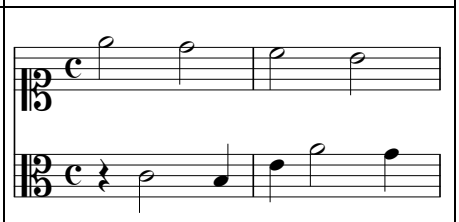
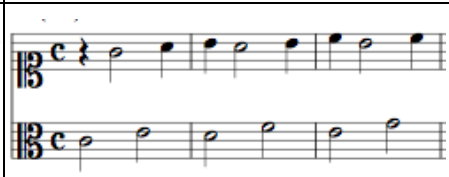
III. Partidas de el Sr. Maestro Feo

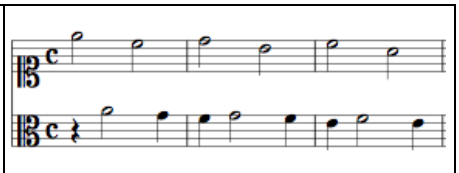
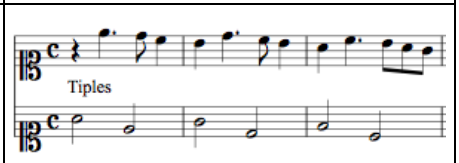
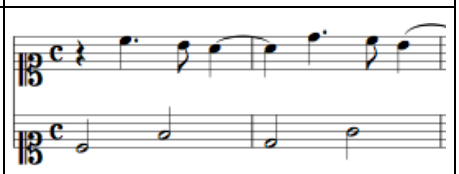
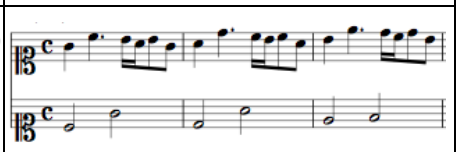
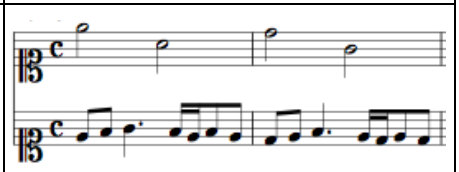
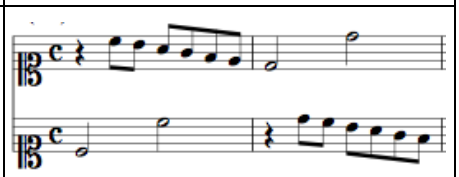
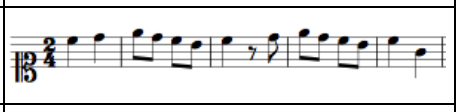
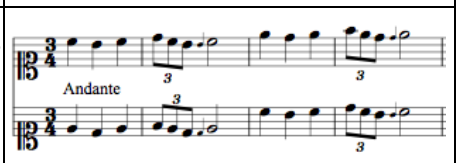
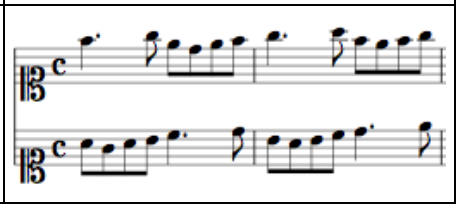
III.1	
III.2	
III.3	
III.4	
III.5	
III.6	
III.7	
III.8	

III.9	
III.10	
III.11	

IV. Lecciones Segudas del Sr. Mtro. Jerusalem

IV.1	
IV.2	
IV.3	
IV.4	
IV.5	
IV.6	
IV.7	
IV.8	

IV.9	
IV.10	
IV.11	
IV.12	
IV.13	
IV.14	
IV.15	
IV.16	

IV.17	
IV.18	
IV.19	
IV.20	
IV.21	
IV.22	
IV.23	
IV.24	
IV.25	

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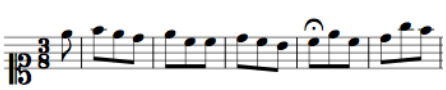
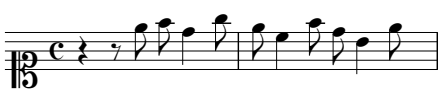
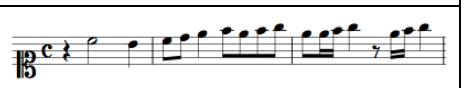
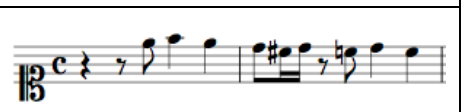
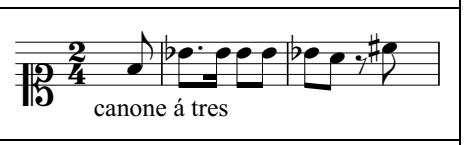
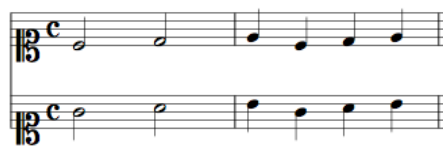
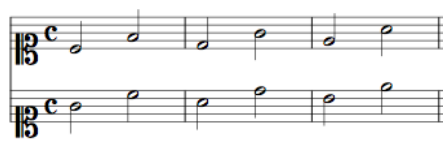
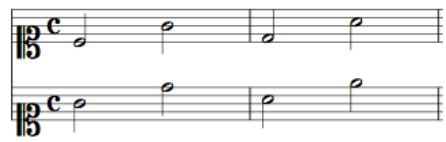
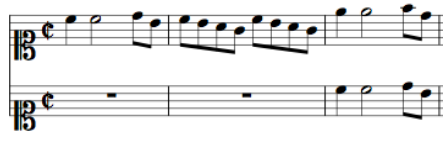
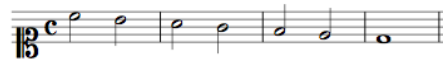
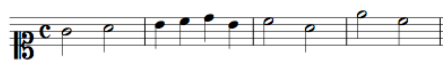
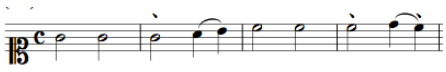
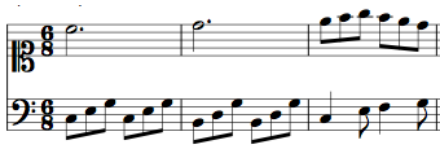
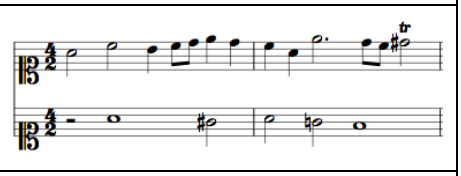
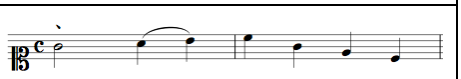
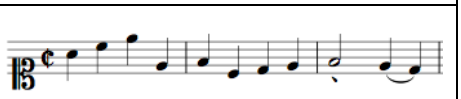
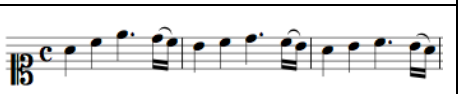
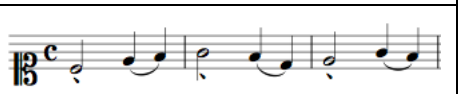
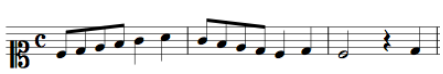
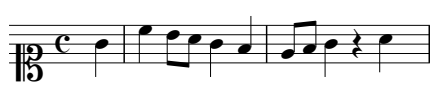
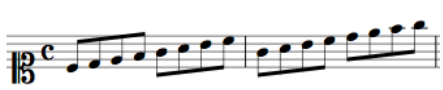
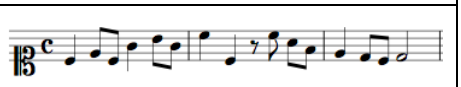
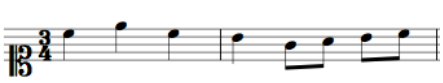
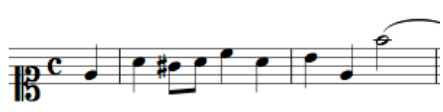
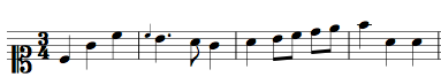
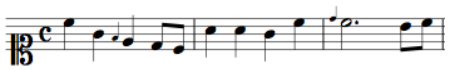
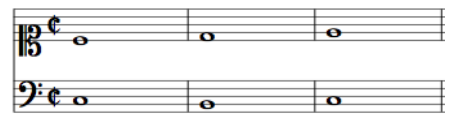
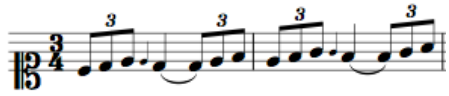
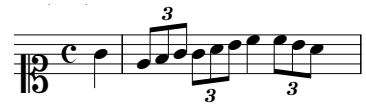
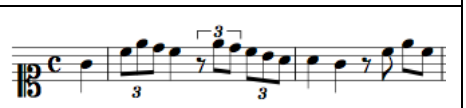
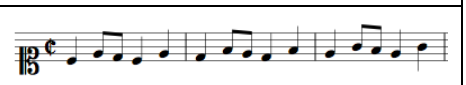
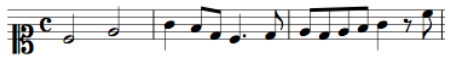
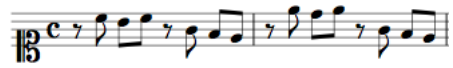
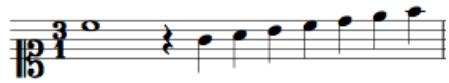
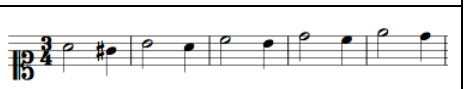
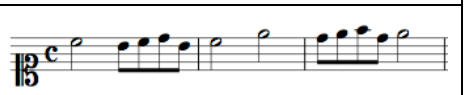
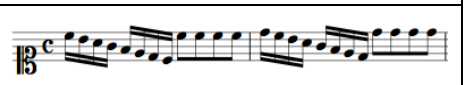
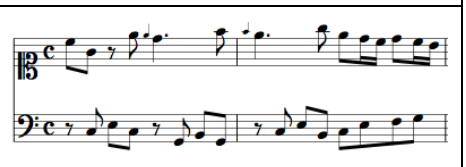
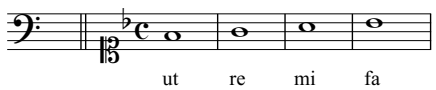
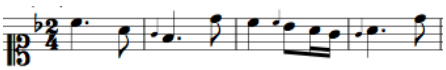
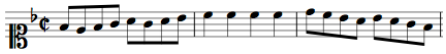
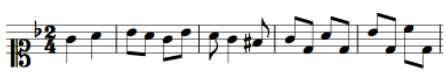
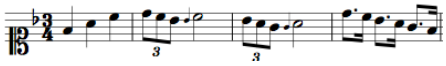
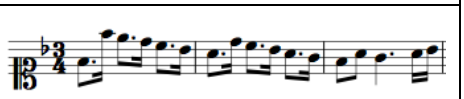
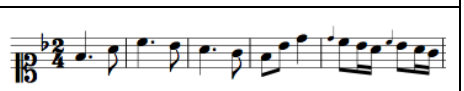
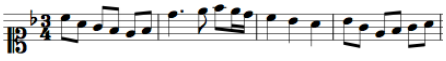
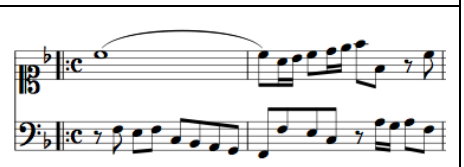
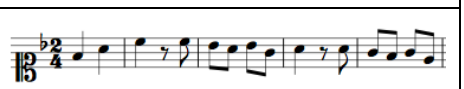
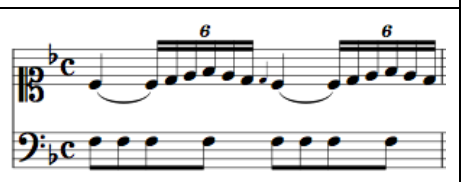
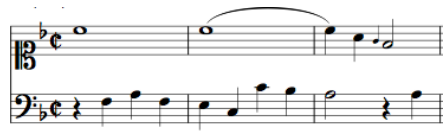
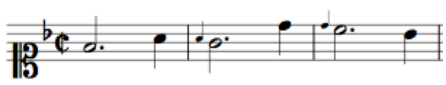
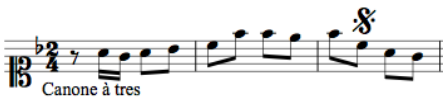
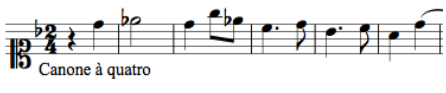
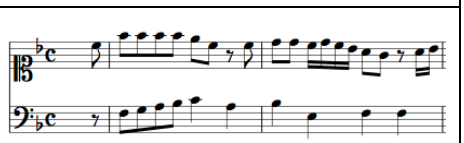
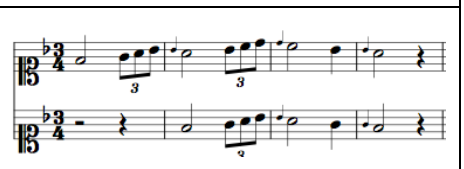
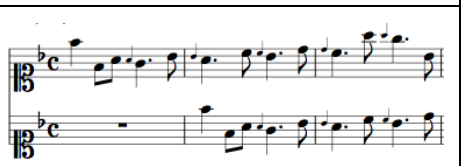
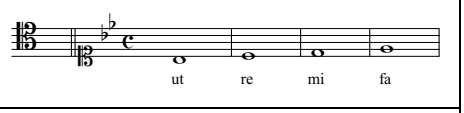
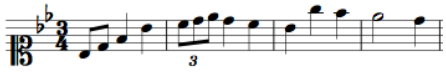
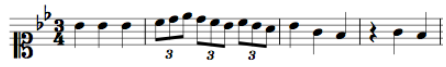
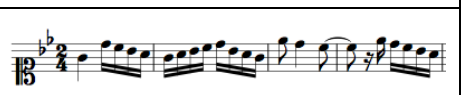
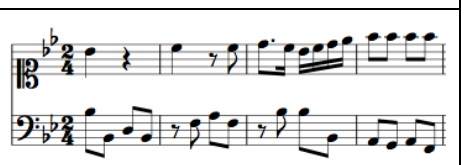
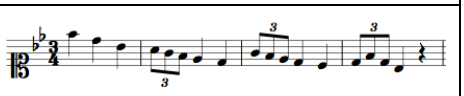
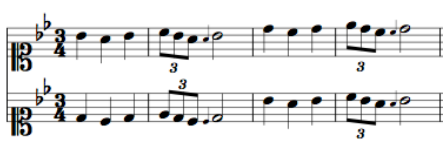
V.1	
V.2	
V.3	
V.4	
V.5	
V.6	
V.7	
V.8	
V.9	
V.10	
V.11	
V.12	

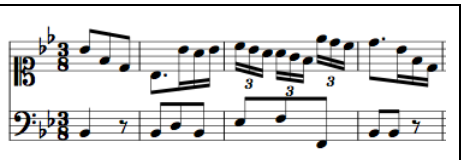
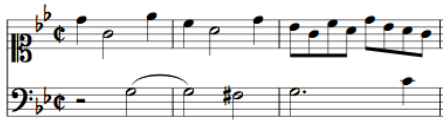
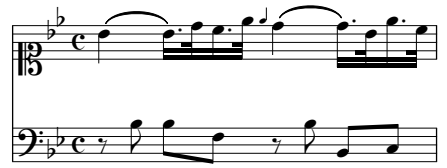
VI. Partidas de el Sr. Jerusalem

VI.1	
VI.2	
VI.3	
VI.4	
VI.5	
VI.6	
VI.7	
VI.8	
VI.9	
VI.10	
VI.11	
VI.12	
VI.13	

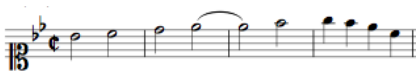
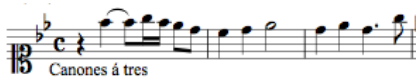
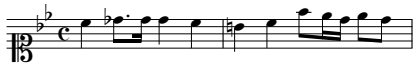
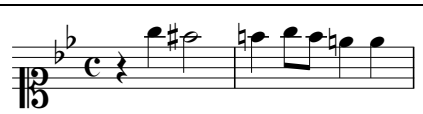
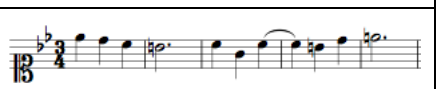
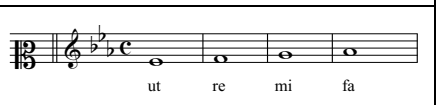
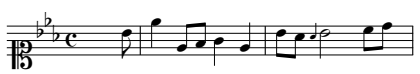
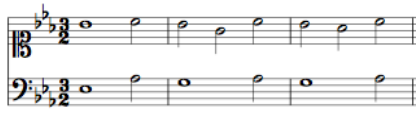
VI.14	
VI.15	
VI.16	
VI.17	
VI.18	
VI.19	
VI.20	
VI.21	
VI.22	
VI.23	
VI.24	
VI.25	
VI.26	

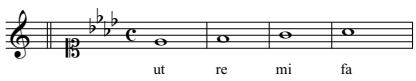
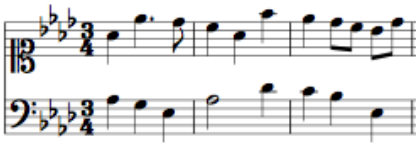
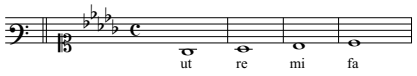
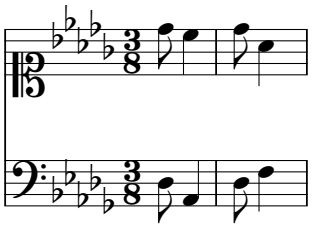
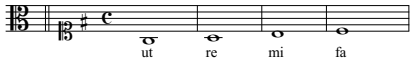
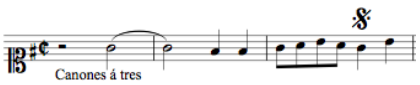
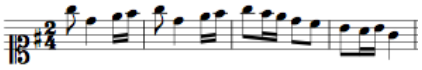
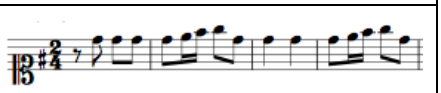
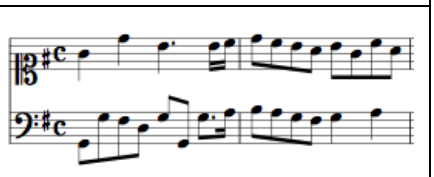
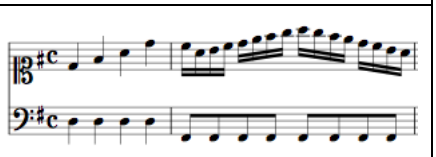
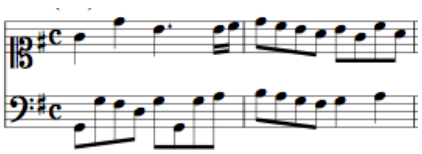
VI.27	
VI.28	
VI.29	
VI.30	
VI.31	
VI.32	
VI.33	
VI.34	
VI.35	
VI.36	
VI.37	
VI.38	
VI.39	

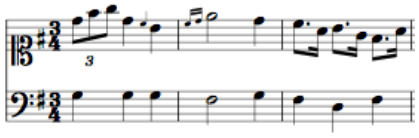
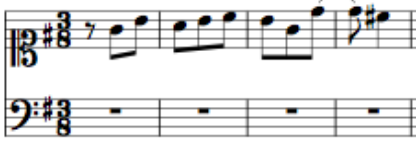
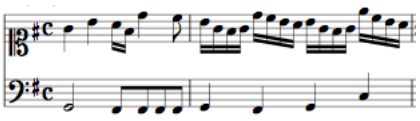
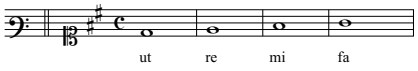
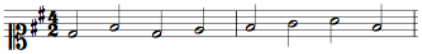
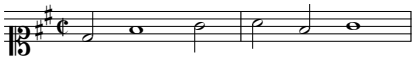
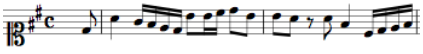
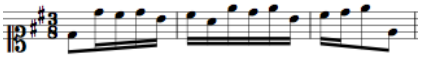
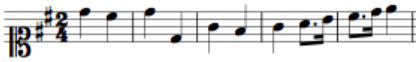
VI.40	
VI.41	
VI.42	
VI.43	
VI.44	
VI.45	
VI.46	
VI.47	
VI.48	
VI.49	
VI.50	
VI.51	

VI.52	
VI.53	
VI.54	

VII. Lecciones terzeras del Sr. Mtro Leo. Duos y partidas

VII.1	
VII.2	
VII.3	
VII.4	
VII.5	
VII.6	
VII.7	
VII.8	

VII.9	
VII.10	
VII.11	
VII.12	
VII.13	
VII.14	
VII.15	
VII.16	
VII.17	
VII.18	
VII.19	

VII.20	
VII.21	
VII.22	
VII.23	
VII.24	
VII.25	
VII.26	
VII.27	
VII.28	
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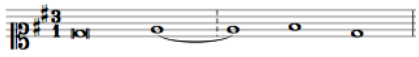
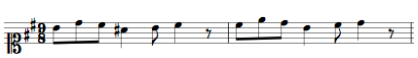
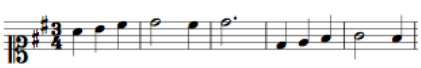
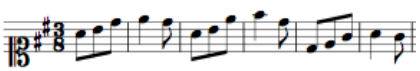
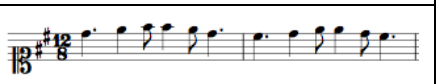
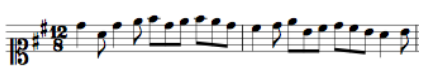
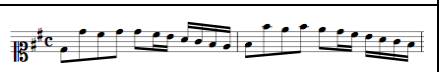
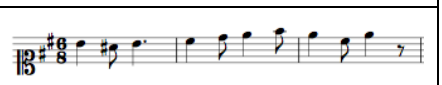
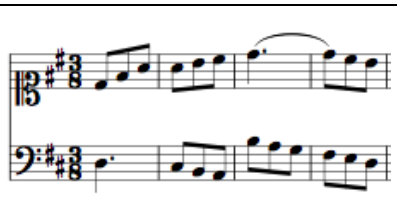
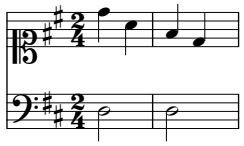
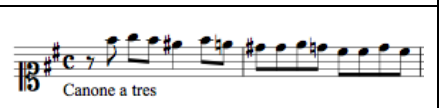
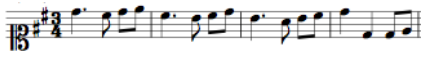
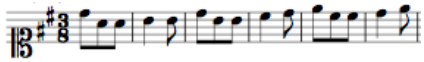
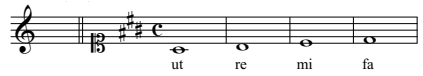
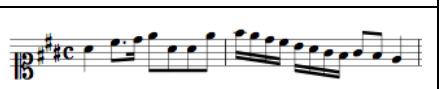
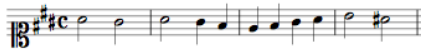
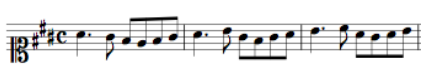
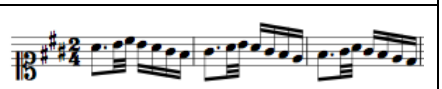
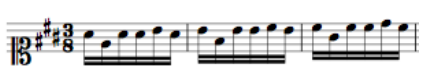
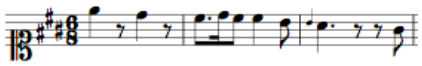
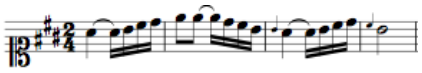
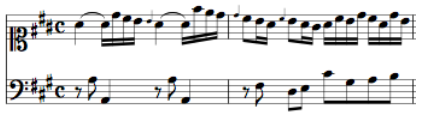
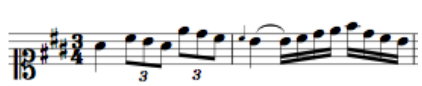
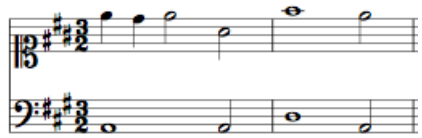
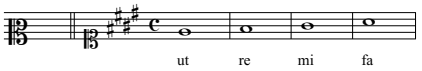
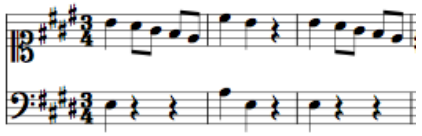
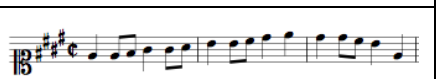
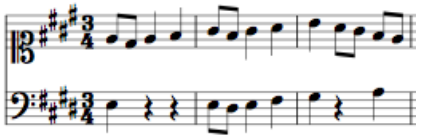
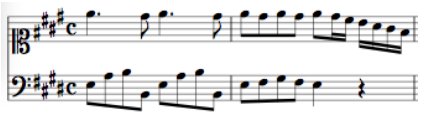
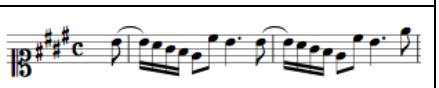
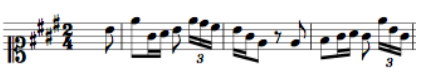
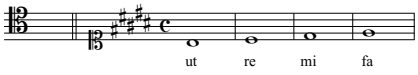
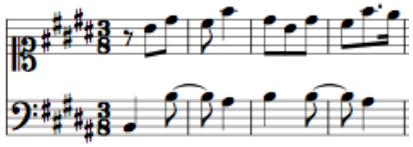
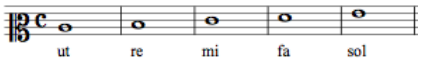
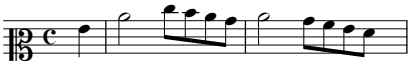
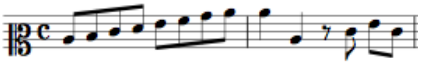
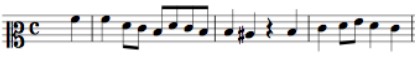
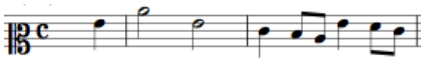
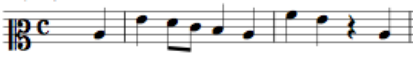
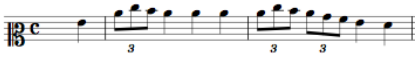
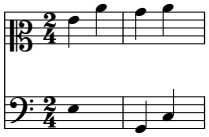
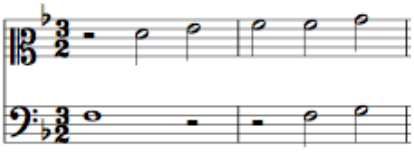
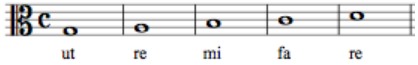
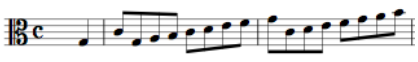
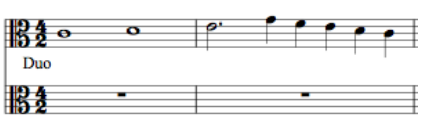
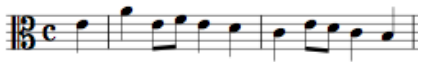
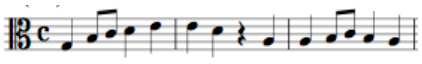
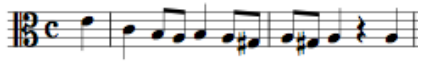
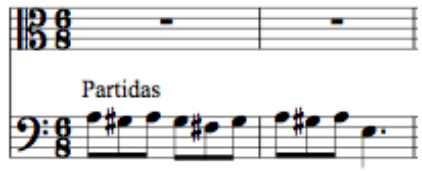
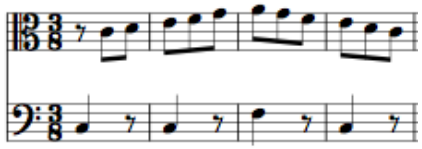
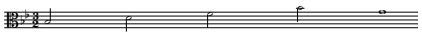
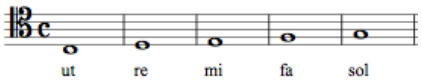
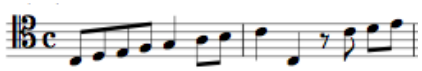
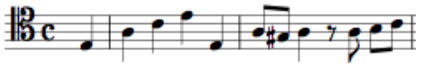
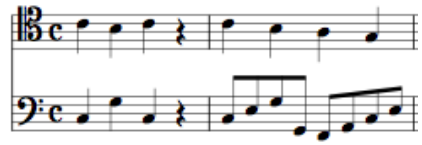
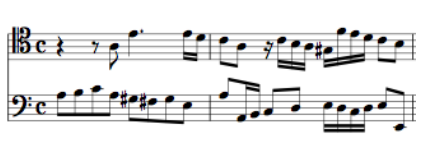
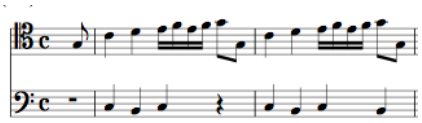
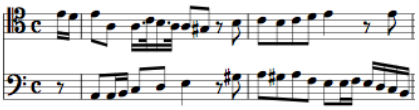
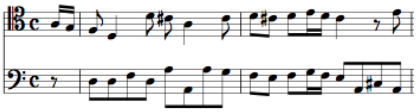
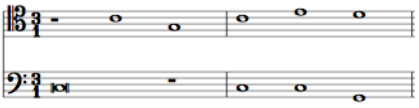
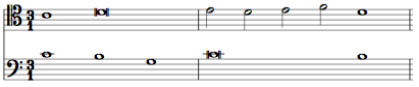
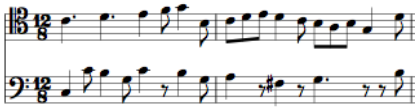
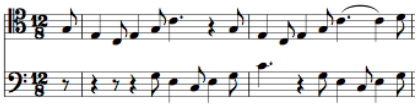
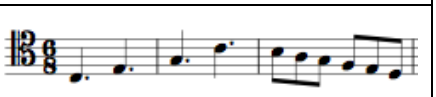
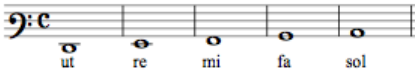
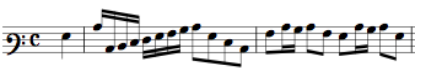
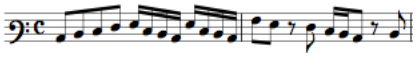
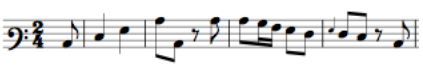
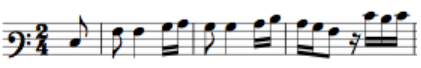
VII.30	
VII.31	
VII.32	
VII.33	
VII.34	

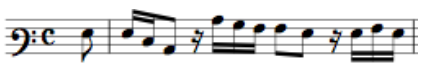
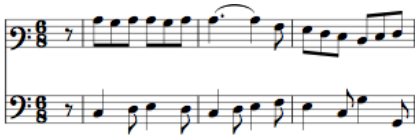
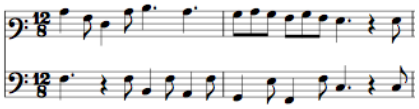
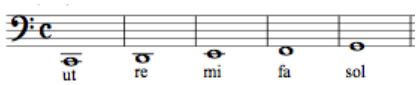
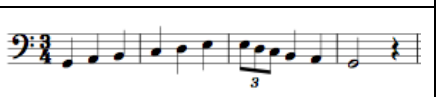
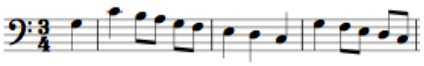
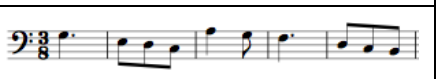
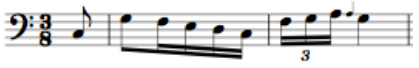
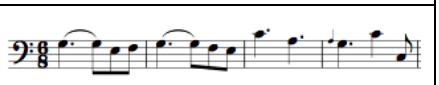
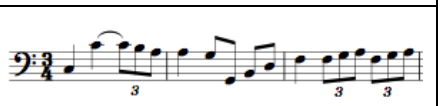
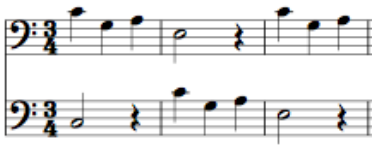
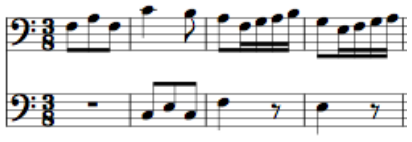
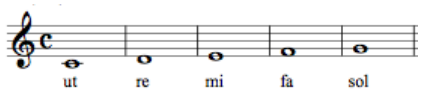
VII.35	
VII.36	
VII.37	
VII.38	
VII.39	
VII.40	
VII.41	
VII.42	
VII.43	
VII.44	
VII.45	
VII.46	
VII.47	
VII.48	

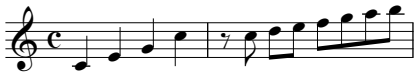
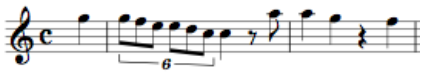
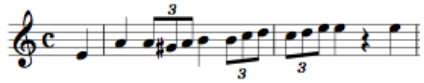
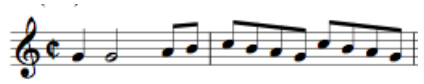
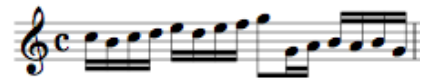
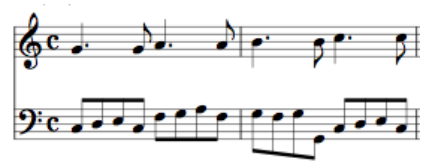
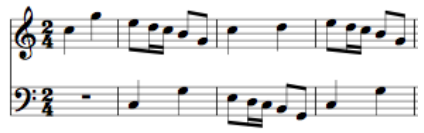
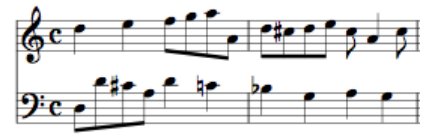
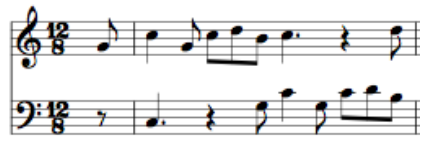
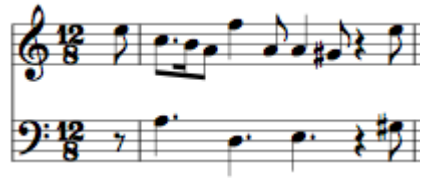
VII.49	
VII.50	
VII.51	
VII.52	
VII.53	
VII.54	
VII.55	
VII.56	
VII.57	
VII.58	
VII.59	
VII.60	

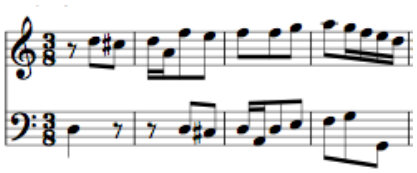
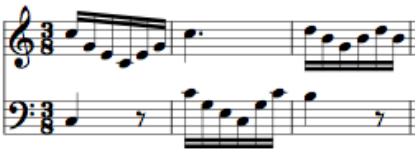
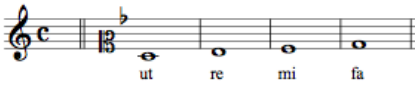
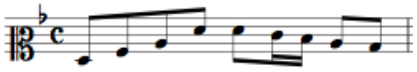
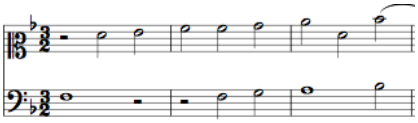
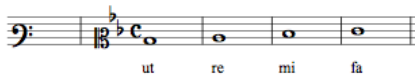
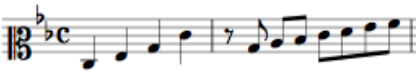
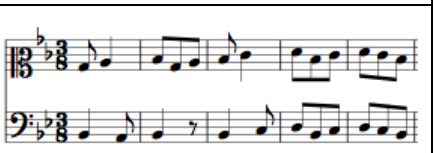
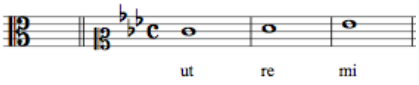
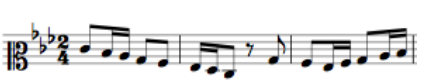
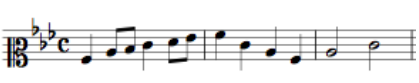
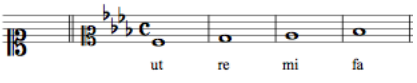
VII.61	
VII.62	
VII.63	
VII.64	
VII.65	
VII.66	
VII.67	
VII.68	
VII.69	
VII.70	
VII.71	
VII.72	
VII.73	

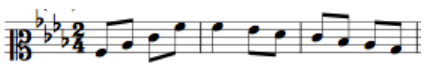
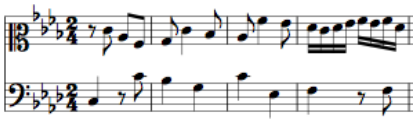
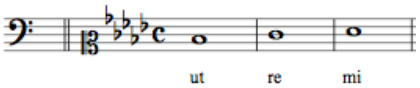
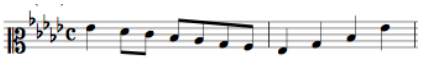
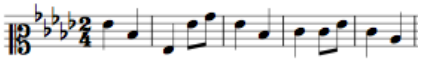
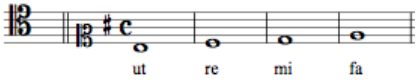
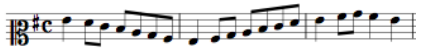
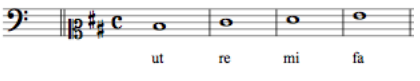
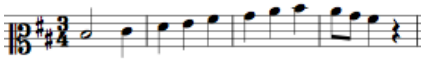
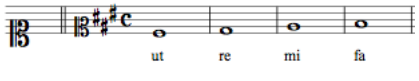
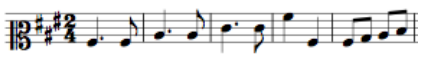
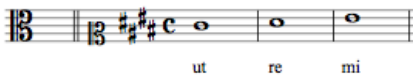
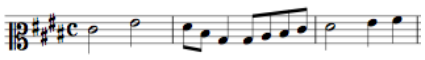
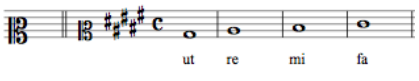
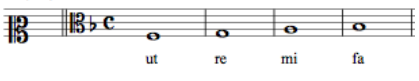
VII.74	
VII.75	
VII.76	
VII.77	
VII.78	
VII.79	
VII.80	
VII.81	
VII.82	
VII.83	
VII.84	
VII.85	

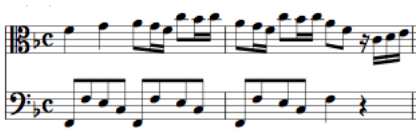
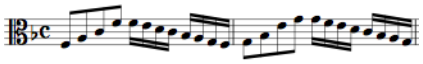
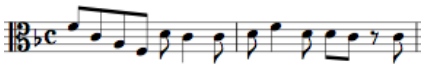
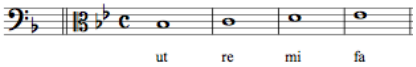
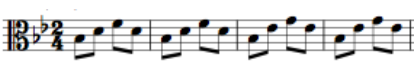
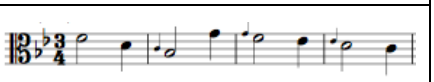
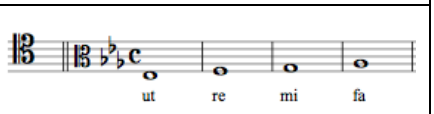
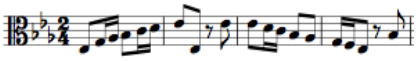
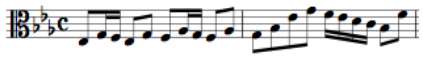
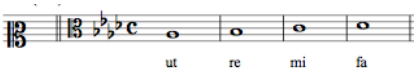
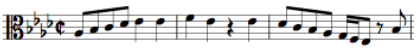
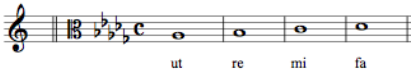
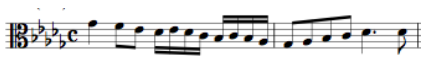
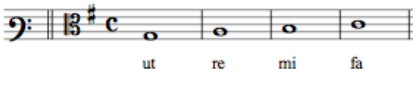
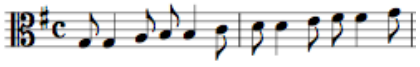
VII.86	
VII.87	
VII.88	
VII.89	
VII.90	
VII.91	
VII.92	
VII.93	
VII.94	
VII.95	
VII.96	
VII.97	
VII.98	

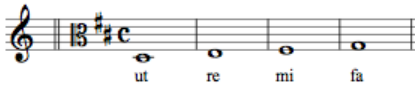
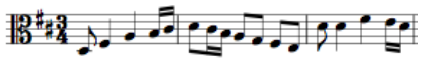
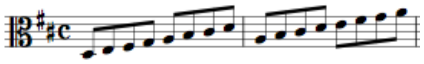
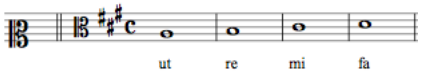
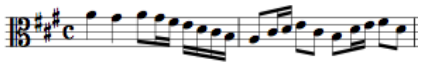
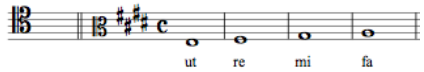
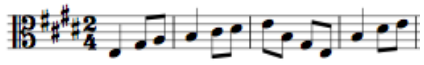
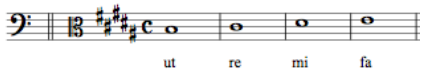
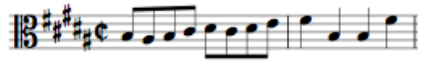
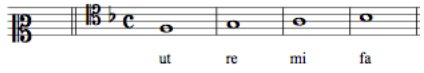
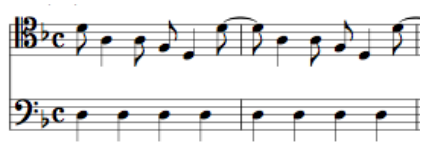
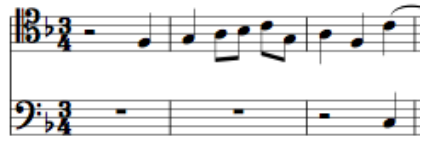
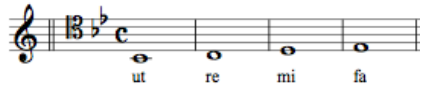
VII.99	
VII.100	
VII.101	
VII.102	
VII.103	
VII.104	
VII.105	
VII.106	
VII.107	
VII.108	
VII.109	
VII.110	
VII.111	

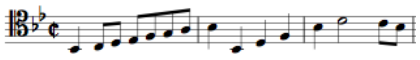
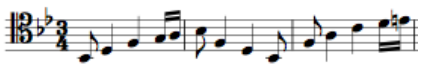
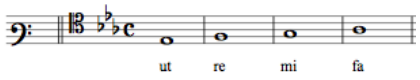
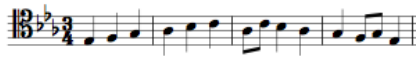
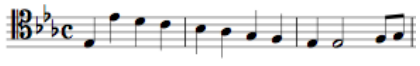
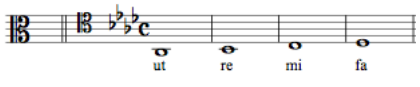
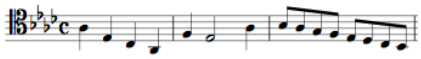
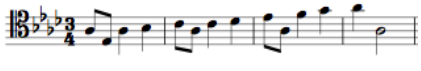
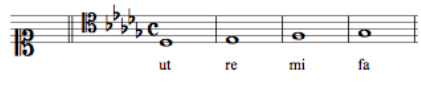
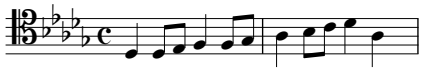
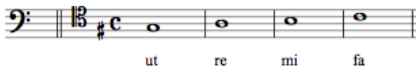
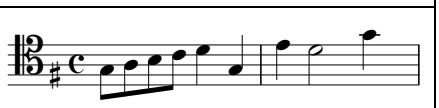
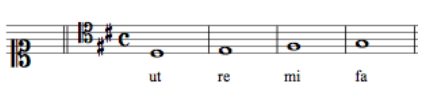
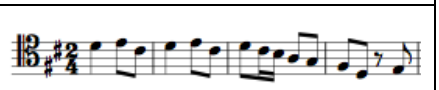
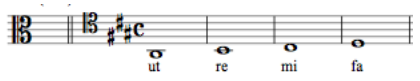
VII.112	
VII.113	
VII.114	
VII.115	
VII.116	
VII.117	
VII.118	
VII.119	
VII.120	
VII.121	

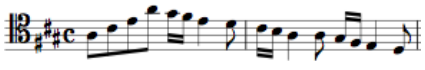
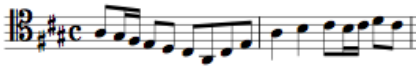
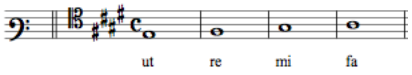
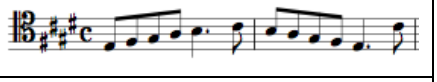
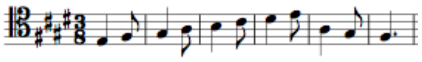
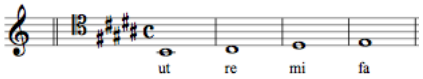
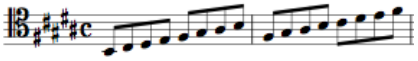
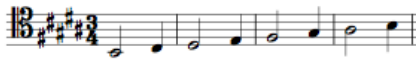
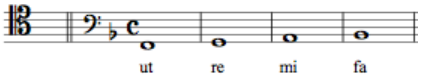
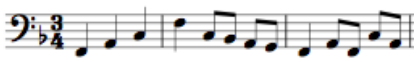
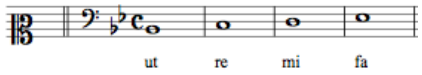
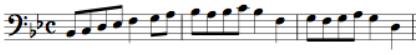
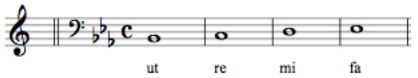
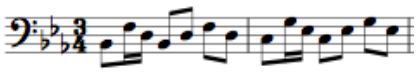
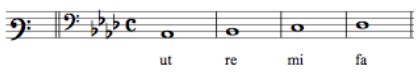
VII.122	
VII.123	
VII.124	
VII.125	
VII.126	
VII.127	
VII.128	
VII.129	
VII.130	
VII.131	
VII.132	
VII.133	

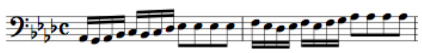
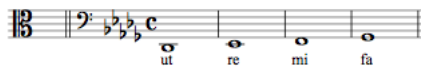
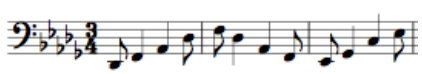
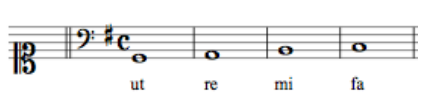
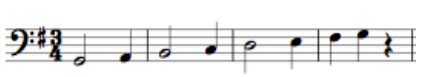
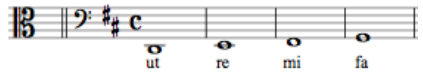
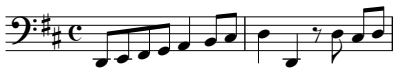
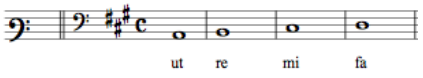
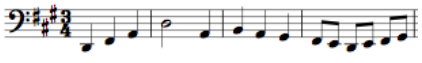
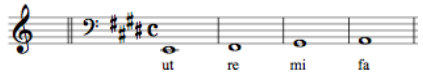
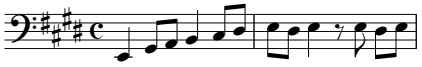
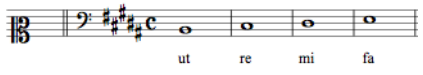
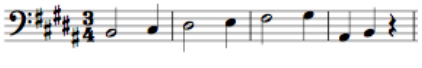
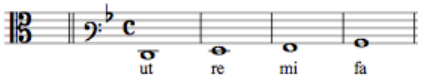
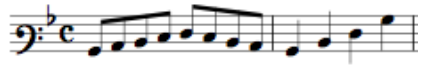
VII.134	
VII.135	
VII.136	
VII.137	
VII.138	
VII.139	
VII.140	
VII.141	
VII.142	
VII.143	
VII.144	
VII.145	
VII.146	
VII.147	
VII.148	

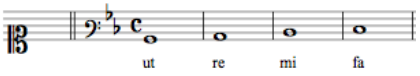
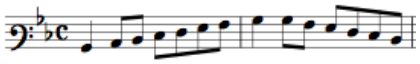
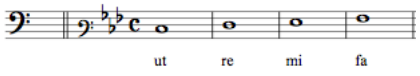
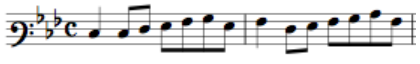
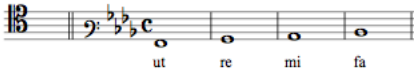
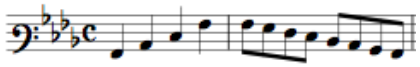
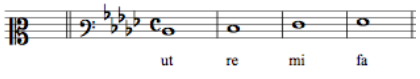
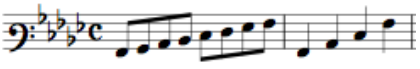
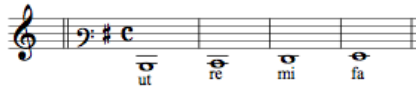
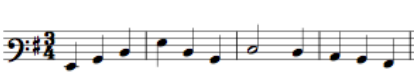
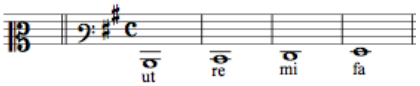
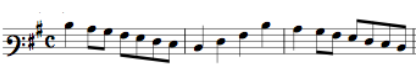
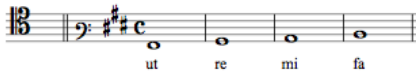
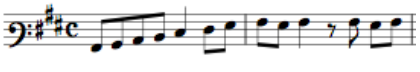
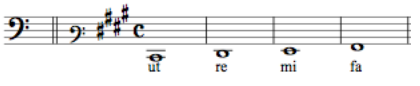
VII.149	
VII.150	
VII.151	
VII.152	
VII.153	
VII.154	
VII.155	
VII.156	
VII.157	
VII.158	
VII.159	
VII.160	
VII.161	
VII.162	
VII.163	

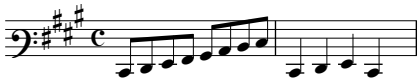
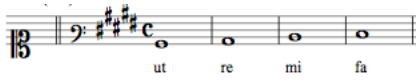
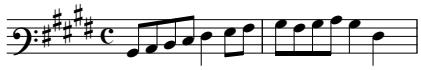
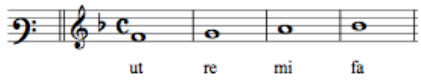
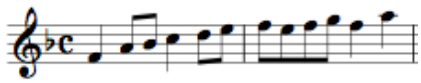
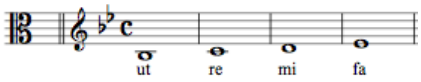
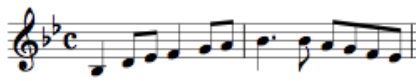
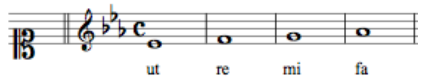
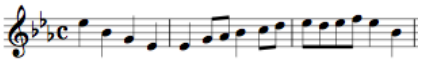
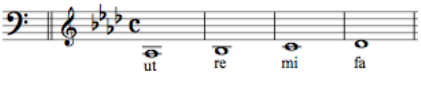
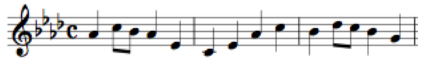
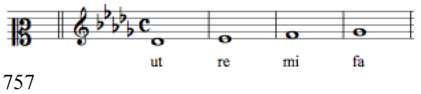
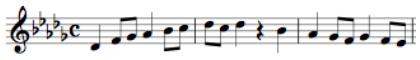
VII.164	
VII.165	
VII.166	
VII.167	
VII.168	
VII.169	
VII.170	
VII.171	
VII.172	
VII.173	
VII.174	
VII.175	
VII.176	

VII.177	
VII.178	
VII.179	
VII.180	
VII.181	
VII.182	
VII.183	
VII.184	
VII.185	
VII.186	
VII.187	
VII.188	
VII.189	
VII.190	
VII.191	

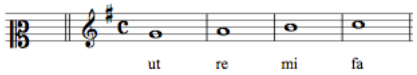
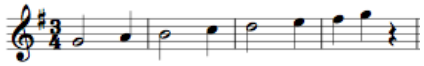
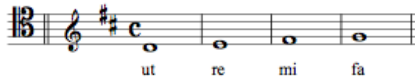
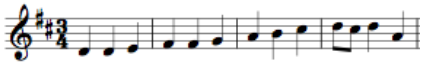
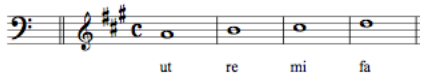
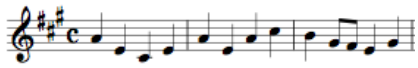
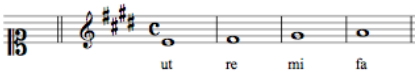
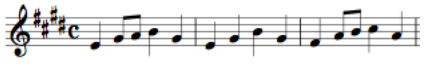
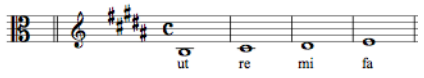
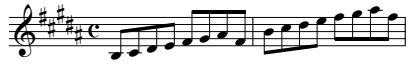
VII.192	
VII.193	
VII.194	
VII.195	
VII.196	
VII.197	
VII.198	
VII.199	
VII.200	
VII.201	
VII.202	
VII.203	
VII.204	
VII.205	
VII.206	

VII.207	
VII.208	
VII.209	
VII.210	
VII.211	
VII.212	
VII.213	
VII.214	
VII.215	
VII.216	
VII.217	
VII.218	
VII.219	
VII.220	
VII.221	

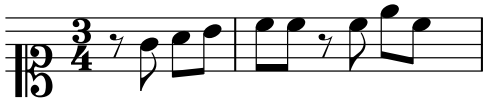
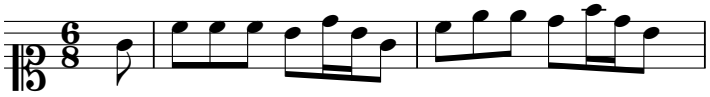
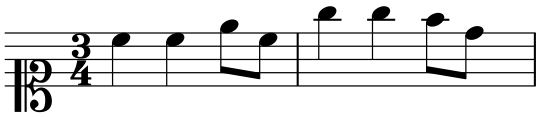
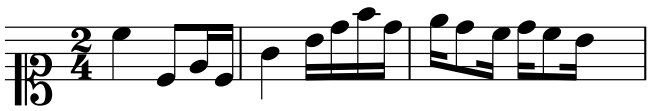
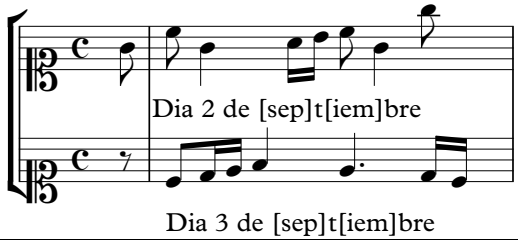
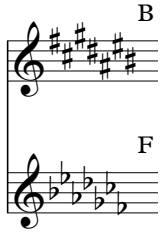
VII.222	
VII.223	
VII.224	
VII.225	
VII.226	
VII.227	
VII.228	
VII.229	
VII.230	
VII.231	
VII.232	
VII.233	
VII.234	
VII.235	
VII.236	

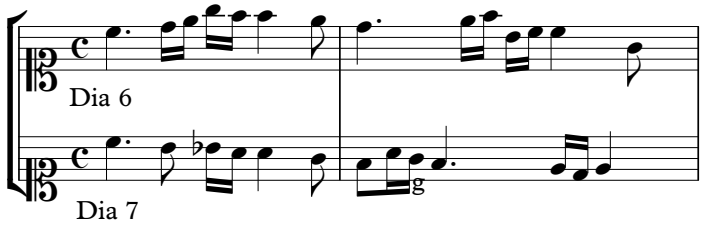
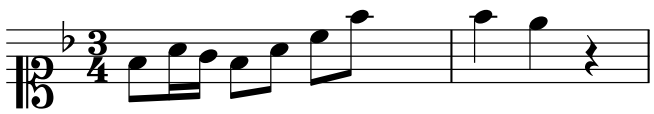
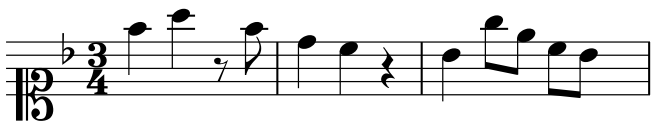
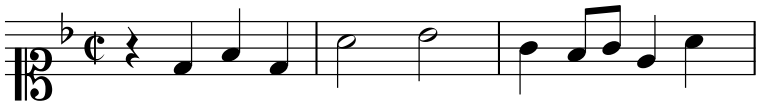
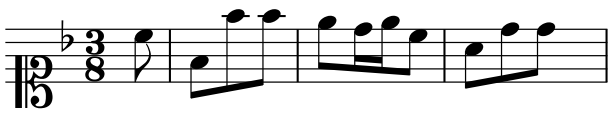
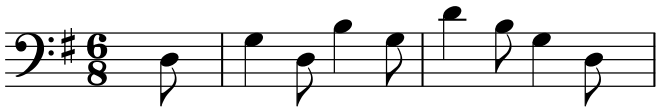
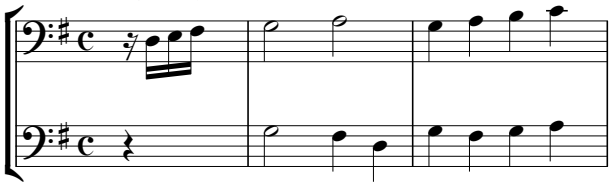
VII.237	
VII.238	
VII.239	
VII.240	
VII.241	
VII.242	
VII.243	
VII.244	
VII.245	
VII.246	
VII.247	
VII.248	 757
VII.249	

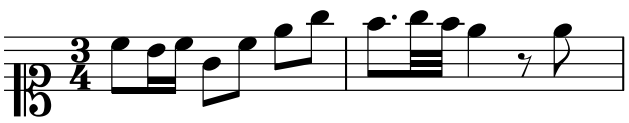
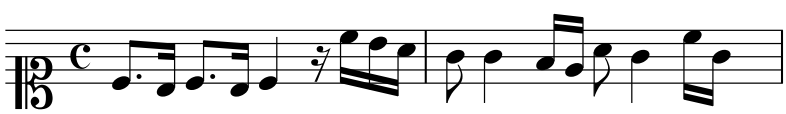
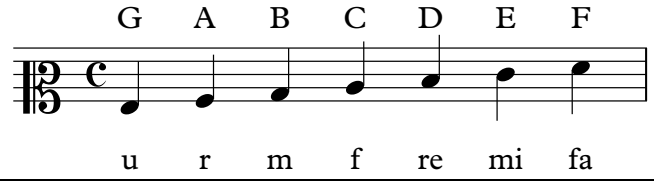
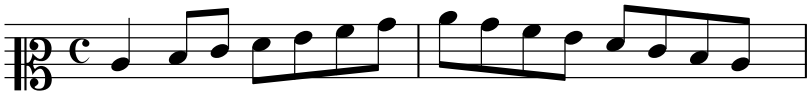
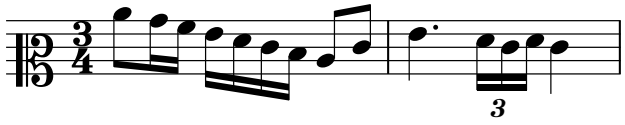
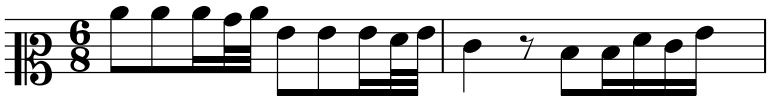
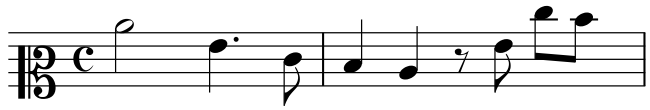
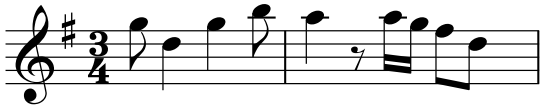
[757] The initial clef in VII.248 should be a tenor clef (rather than the mezzo soprano clef as shown in the manuscript).

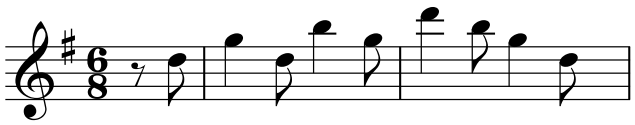
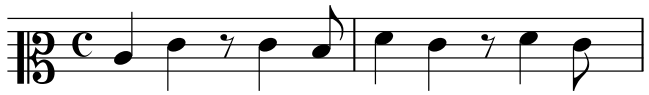
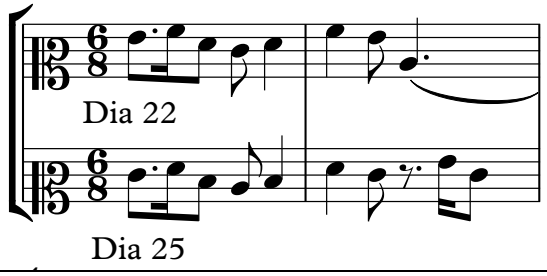
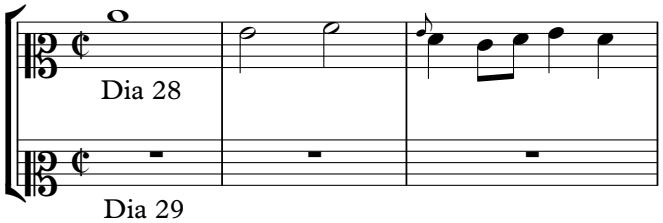
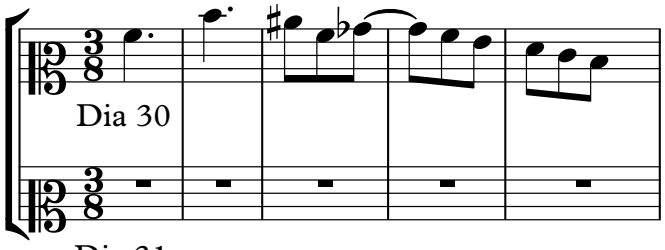
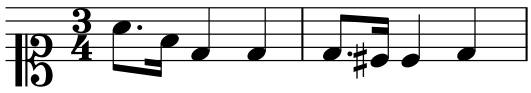
VII.250	
VII.251	
VII.252	
VII.253	
VII.254	
VII.255	
VII.256	
VII.257	
VII.258	
VII.259	

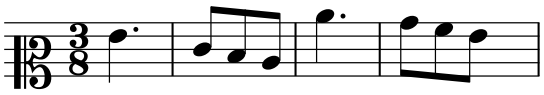
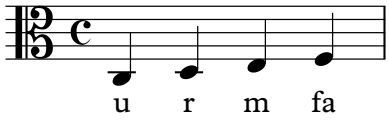
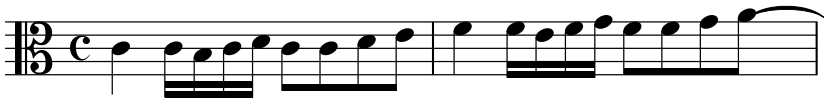
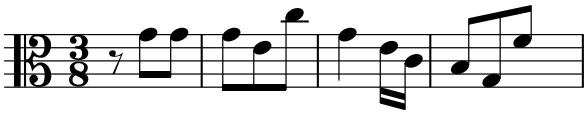
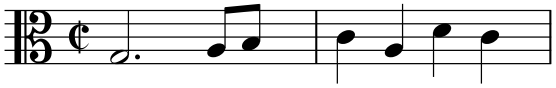
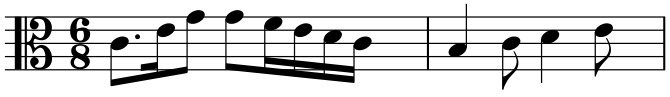
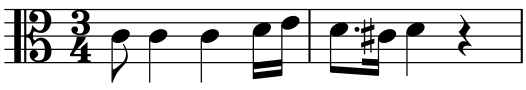
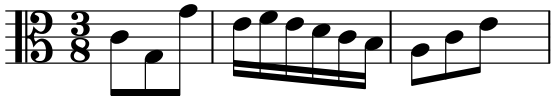
“Manuscrito de Lecciones ‘J.M.J.’ del Colegio de Belem”

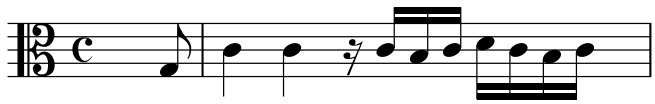
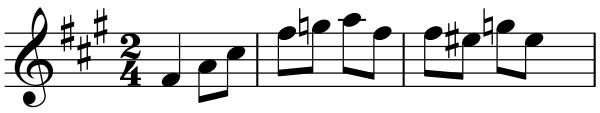
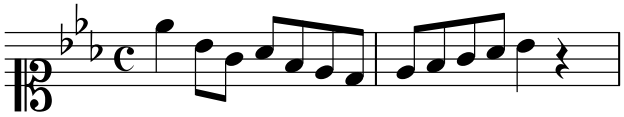
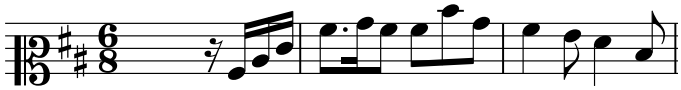
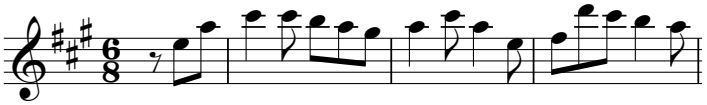
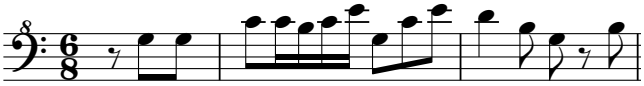
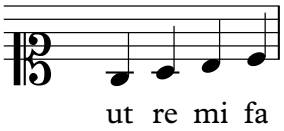
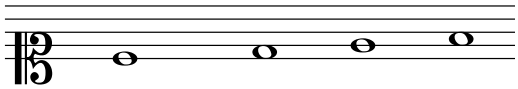
Solo 1 (1r) Aug. 21, 1807	Dia 21 de Agosto de 1807 a[ño]s 
Solo 2 (1r) Aug. 27, 1807	Dia 27 
Solo 3 (2v) Aug. 29, 1807	Dia 29 
Solo 4 (2v) Aug. 31, 1807	Dia 31 
Duet 1 (2v–3r) Sept. 2 & 3, 1807	Lecceon a duo  Dia 2 de [sep]t[iem]bre Dia 3 de [sep]t[iem]bre
Theory 1 (3r)	 B F

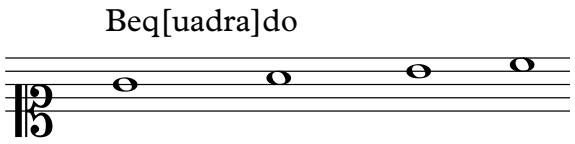
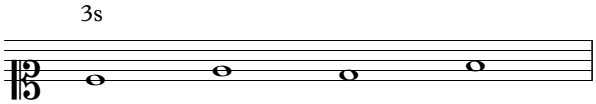
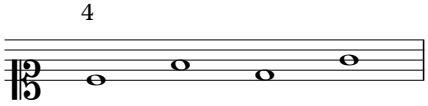
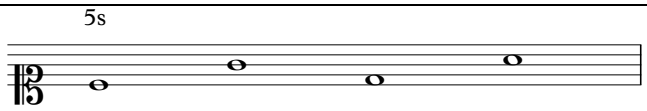
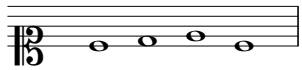
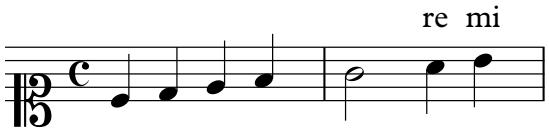
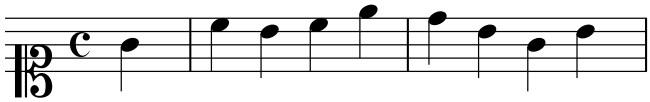
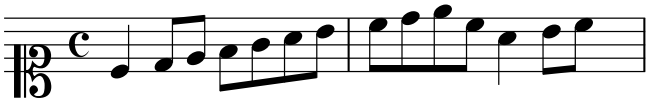
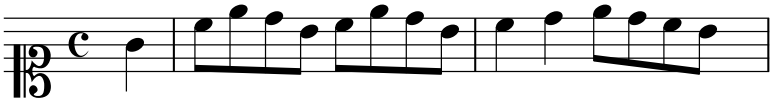
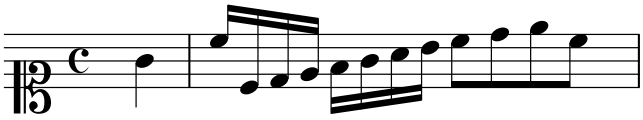
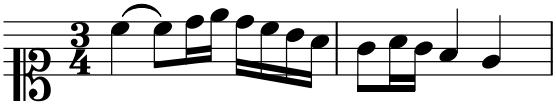
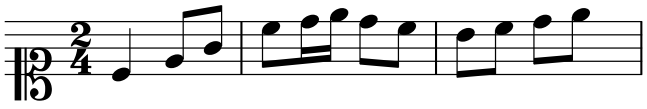
Duet 2 (3v) Sept. 6 & 7, 1807	Duo Dia 6 Dia 7 
Solo 5 (4r) Sept. 10, 1807	Dia 10 
Solo 6 (4r) Sept. 14 & 15, 1807	Dia 14 (4r) 
Solo 7 (4v) Sept. 17, 1807	Dia 17 
Solo 8 (4v) Sept. 19, 1807	Dia 19 
Solo 9 (5r) Sept. 21, 1807	Dia 21 
Duet 3 (5r) Sept. 22, 1807	Dia 22 Duo **All[egr]o y mo[dera]to** 

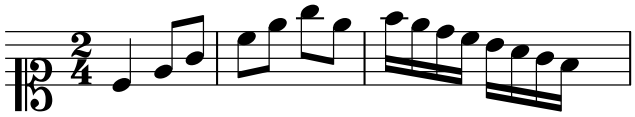
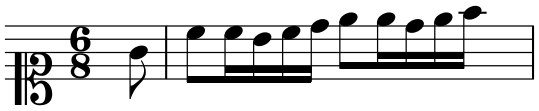
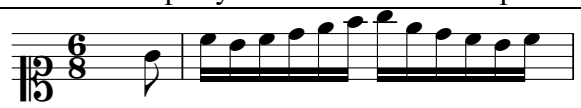
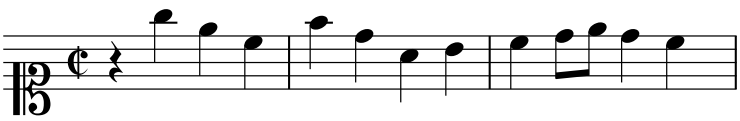
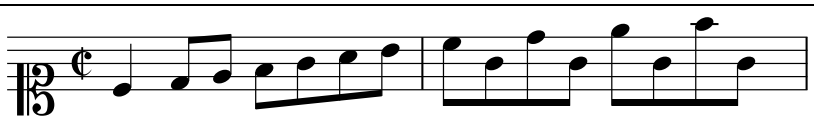
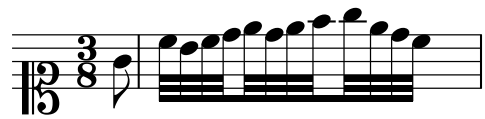
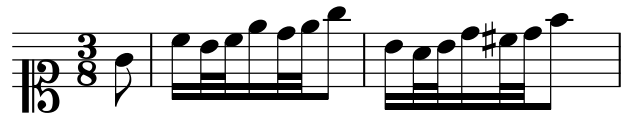
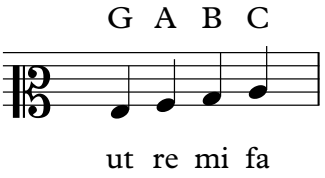
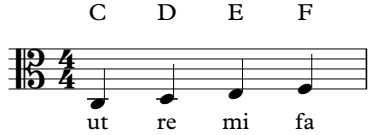
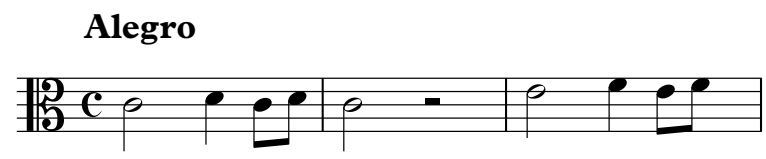
Solo 10 (5v) Sept. 25, 1807	Dia 25 
Solo 11 (5v) Sept. 28, 1807	Dia 28 de d[ic]ho 
Theory 2 (6r) Oct. 3, 1807	Dia 3 de 8bre 
Solo 12 (6r) Oct. 5, 1807	Dia 5 de d[ic]ho 
Solo 13 (6r) Oct. 6, 1807	Dia 6 
Solo 14 (6r) Oct. 9, 1807	Dia 9 
Solo 15 (6v) Oct. 11, 1807	Dia 11 **All[e]g[r]o** 
Solo 16 (6v) Oct. 13, 1807	Dia 13 

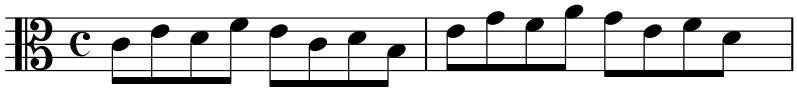
Solo 17 (6v–7r) Oct. 16, 1807	Dia 16 
Solo 18 (7r) Oct. 17, 1807	Dia 17 
Duet 4 (8r) Oct. 22 & 25, 1807	Duo  Dia 22 Dia 25
Duet 5 (8v) Oct. 28 & 29, 1807	Duo  Dia 28 Dia 29
Duet 6 (9r) Oct. 30 & 31, 1807	Duo  Dia 30 Dia 31
Solo 19 (9v) Nov. 3, 1807	Dia 3 de 9bre D menor 1o tono **And[an]te** 

Solo 20 (9v) Nov. 5, 1807	Dia 5 de d[ic]ho **All[e]g[r]o** 
Theory 3 (10v) Nov. 8, 1807	Dia 8 de 9bre (10v) Graves C D E F  u r m fa
Solo 21 (10v)	Solo 21 (10v) 
Solo 22 (10v)	
Solo 23 (11r) Nov. 18, 1807	Dia 18 **All[e]g[r]o** 
Solo 24 (11r) Nov. 22, 1807	Dia 22 
Solo 25 (11v) Nov. 25, 1807	Dia 25 
Solo 26 (11v)	

Solo 27 (11v) Dec. 2, 1807	Dia 2 de Disienbre 
Solo 28 (12r) Feb. 15, 1808	Dia 15 de Fevrero 
Solo 29 (12r) Feb. 16, 1808	Dia 16 de d[ic]ho 
Solo 30 (12r) Feb. 18, 1808	Dia 18 de d[ic]ho 
Solo 31(12v) Feb. 19, 1808	Dia 19 
Solo 32 (12v–13r) Feb. 20, 1808	Dia 20 de d[ic]ho 
Theory 4 (13r)	G A B C  ut re mi fa
Theory 5 (13r)	Natura  ut re mi fa

Theory 6 (13r)	
Theory 7 (13r)	
Theory 8 (13r)	
Theory 9 (13r)	
Theory 10 (13r)	
Solo 33 (13r)	
Solo 34 (13r)	
Solo 35 (13r)	
Solo 36 (13v)	
Solo 37 (13v)	
Solo 38 (13v)	
Solo 39 (13v)	

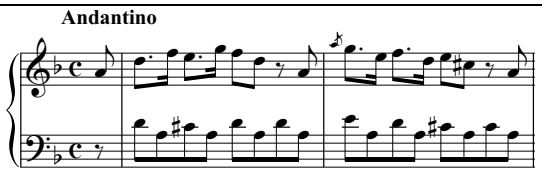
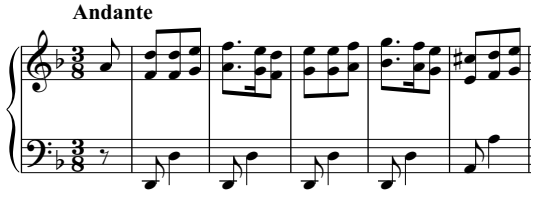
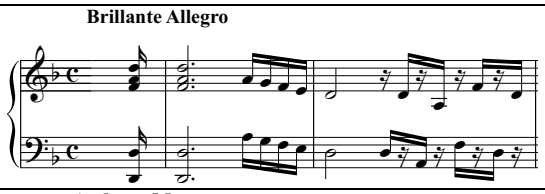
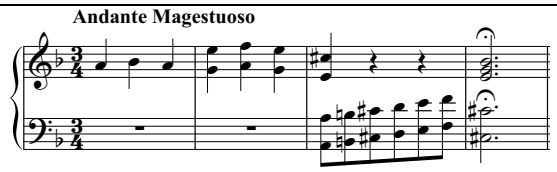
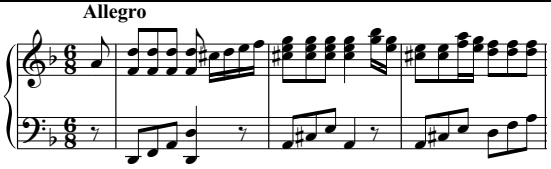
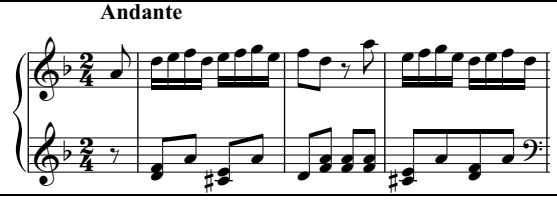
Solo 40 (14r)	
Solo 41 (14r)	
Theory 11 (14r)	“en 6 por 8, una minima con puntillo al compás, 3 seminimas al compás 6 corcheas al compás, 12 semicorcheas al compás, 24 fusas al compás y 48 semifusas al compás.”
Solo 42 (14r)	
Solo 43 (14v)	
Solo 44 (14v)	
Solo 45 (14v)	
Solo 46 (14v)	
Theory 12 (15r)	
Theory 13 (15r)	
Solo 47 (15r)	

Solo 48 (15r)	

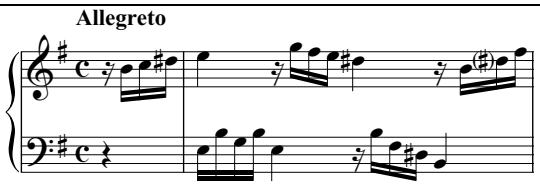
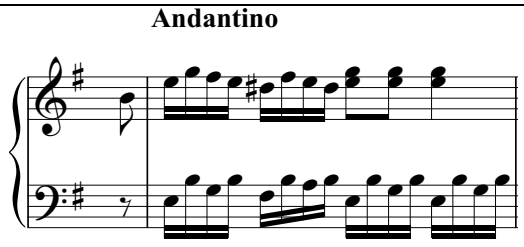
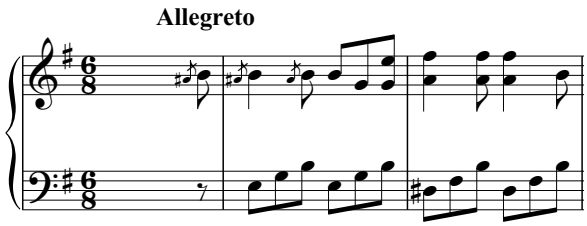
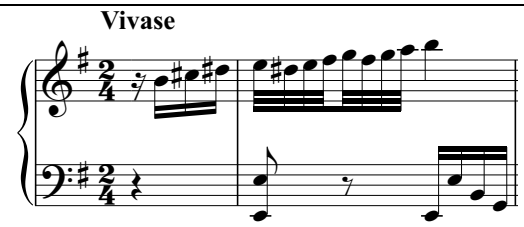
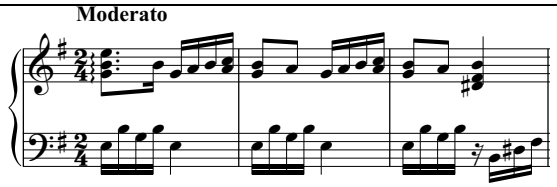
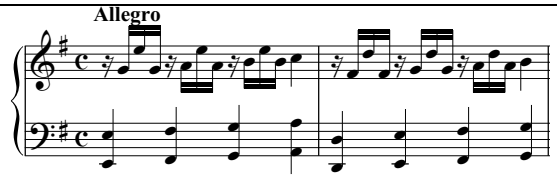
Marcos Vega

"Versos para el organo para tocarlos en visperas o maytines"

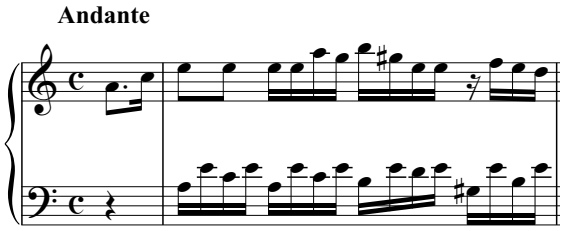
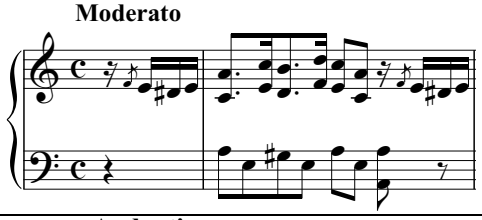
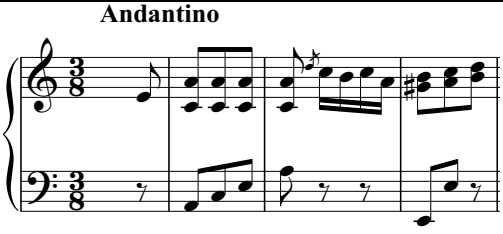
Versos of the First Tone

No. 1	
No. 2	
No. 3	
No. 4	
No. 5	
No. 6	

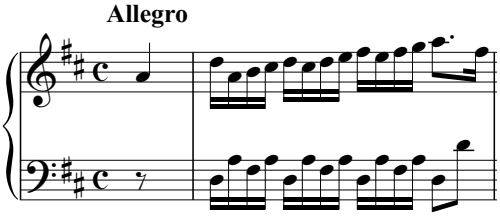
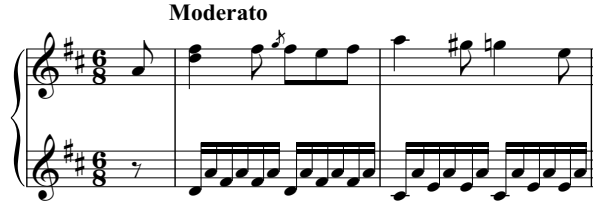
Versos of the Second and Third Tones

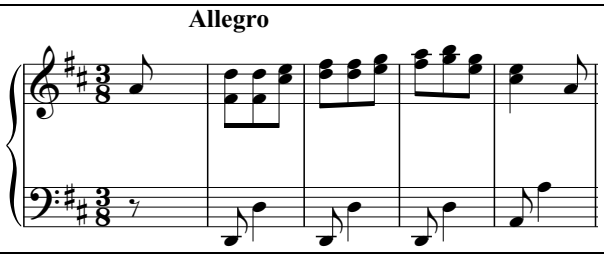
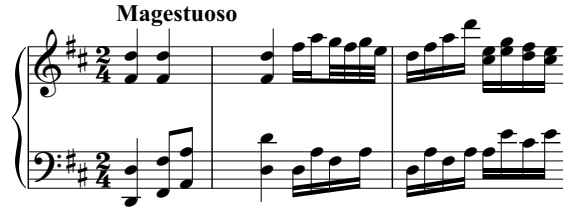
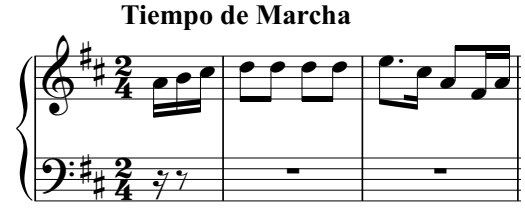
No. 1	
No. 2	
No. 3	
No. 4	
No. 5	
No. 6	

Versos of the Fourth and Seventh Tones

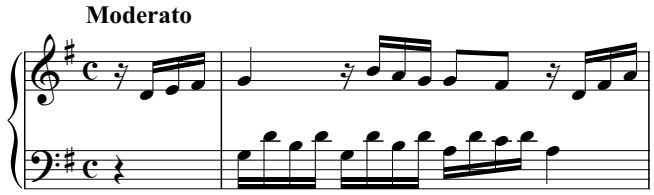
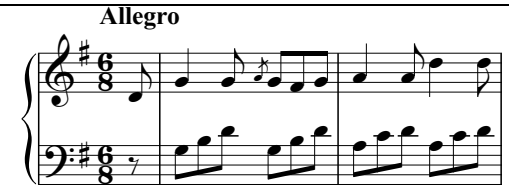
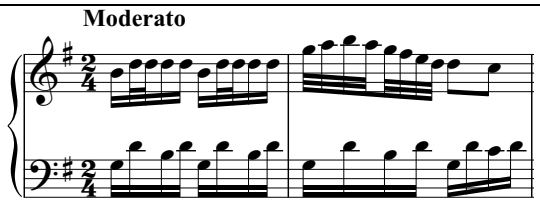
No. 1	
No. 2	
No. 3	

Versos of the Fifth and Sixth Tones

No. 1	
No. 2	

No. 3	
No. 4	
No. 5	

Versos of the Eighth Tone

No. 1	
No. 2	
No. 3	

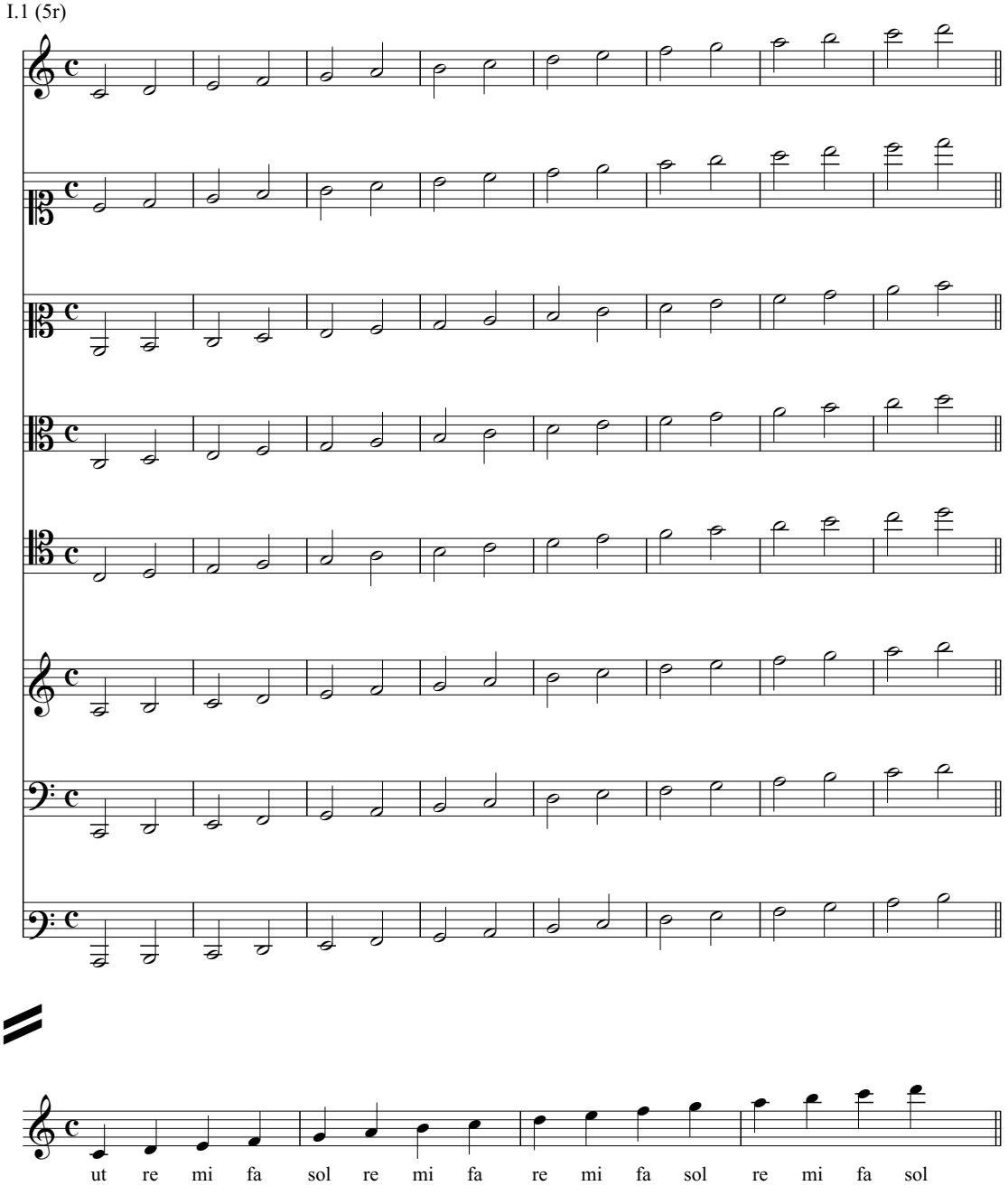
Vezerro de Lecciones
Solas y con Basso, varios Duos,
Canones à tres à quatro y à cinco vozes,
con Ligados y semicopados.
Barias partidas en todas Claves,
de los S.^{s} Maestros q.^{e} son el Sr Feo, el Sr Leo y el Sr Jerusalem,
con todas sus explicaciones para Solfear en todas Claves

Francesco Feo
Leonardo Leo
Ignacio Jerusalem

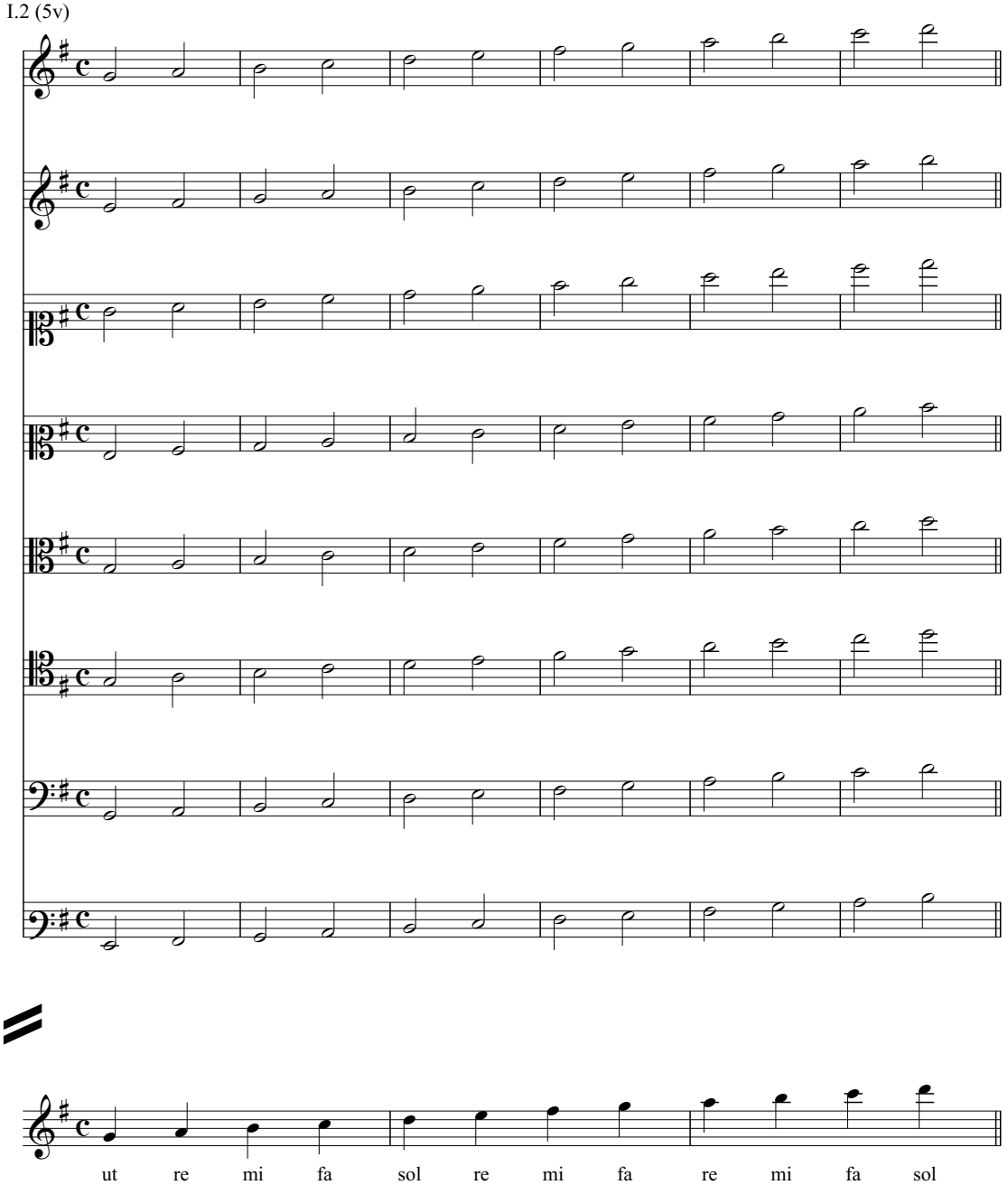
AHCV 26-I-18

I. Introductory Material

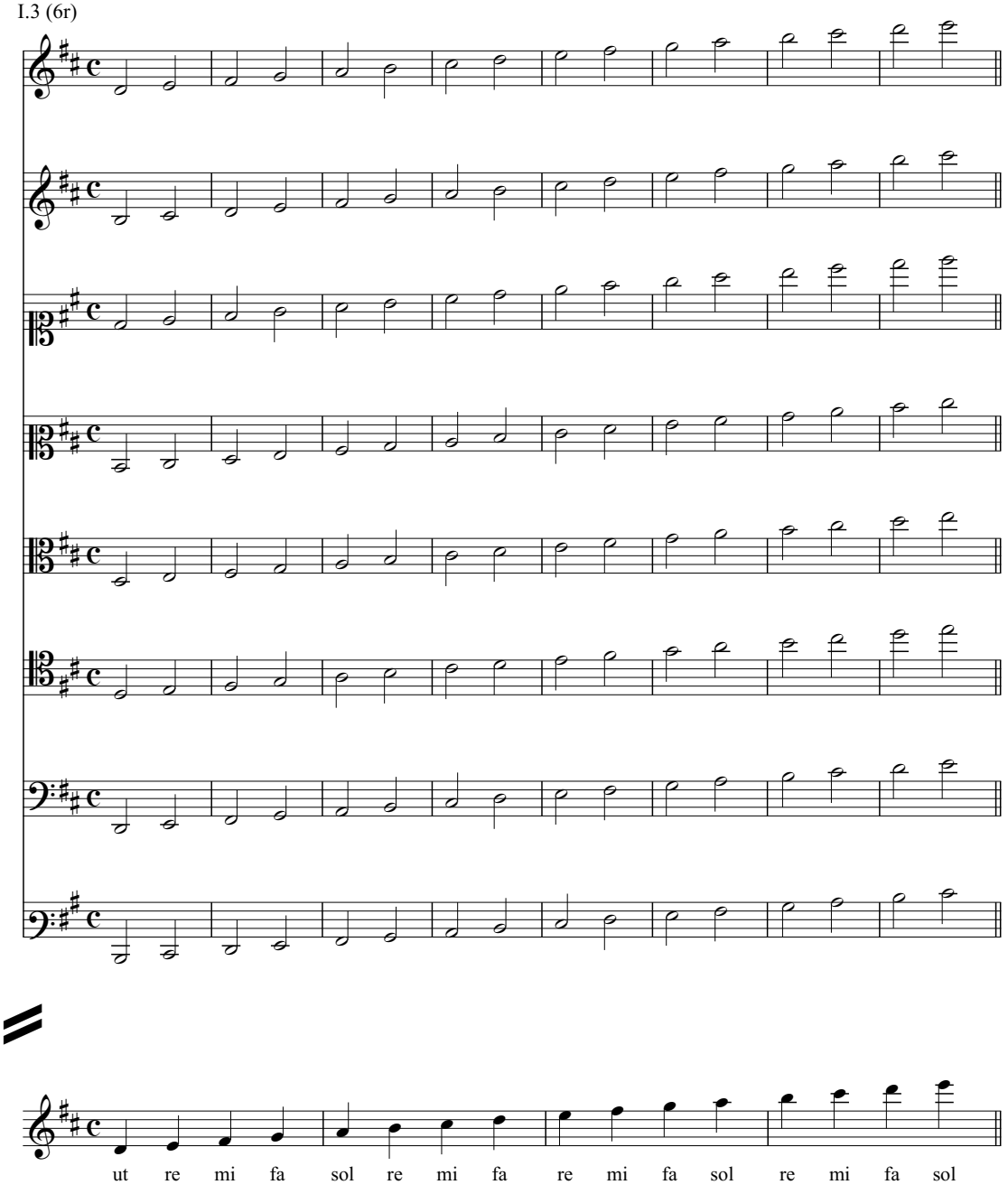
I.1 (5r)



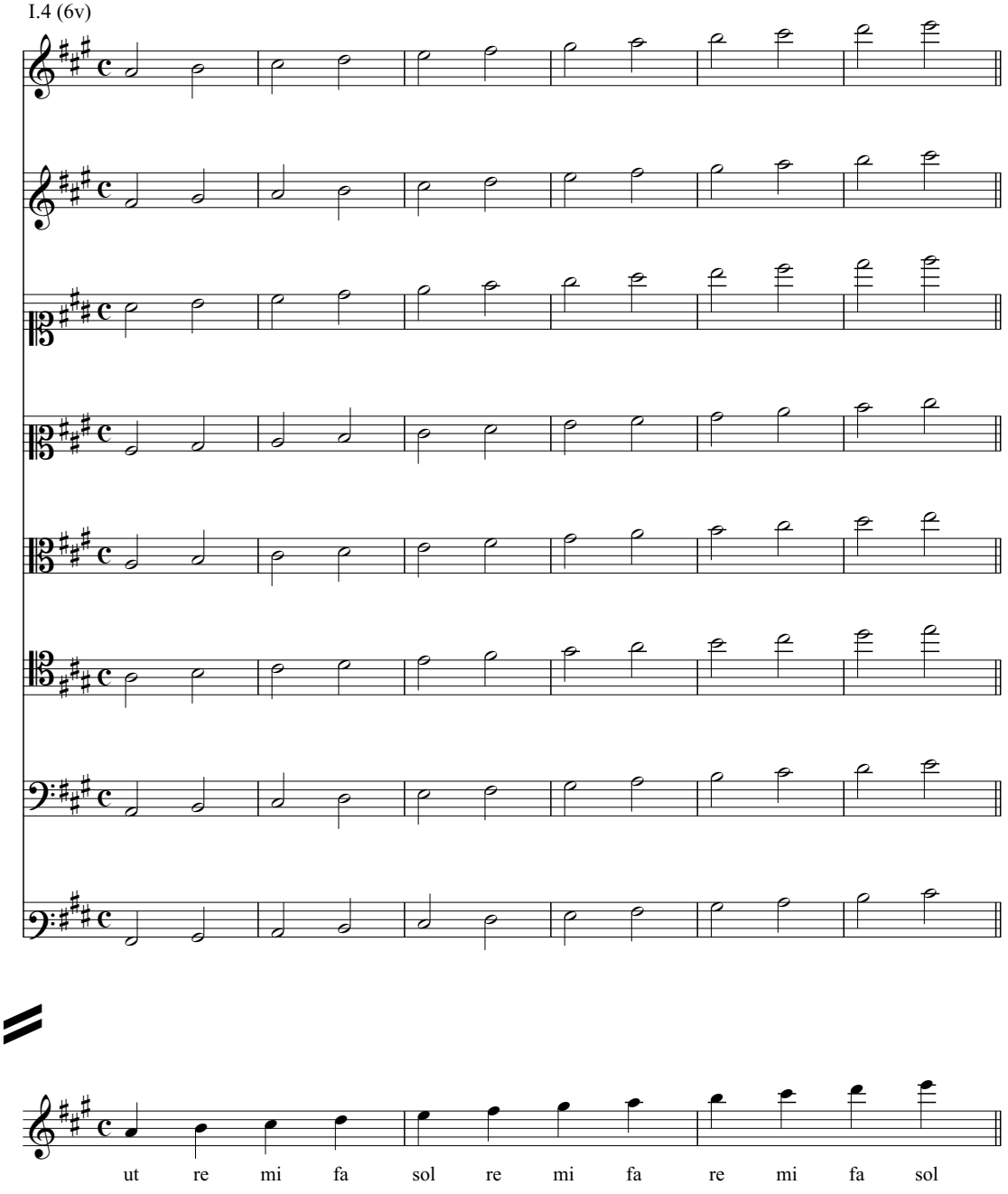
I.2 (5v)



I.3 (6r)

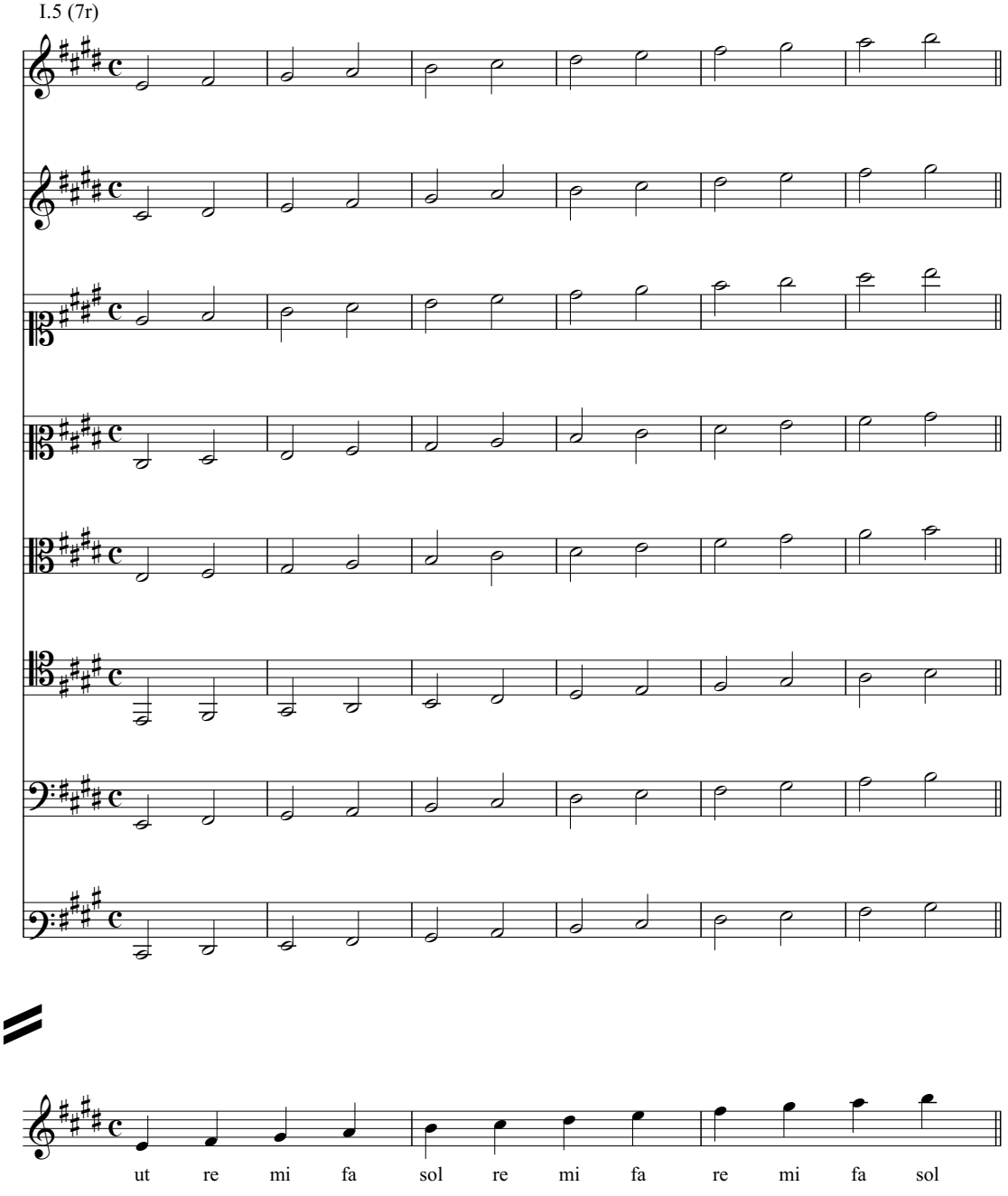


I.4 (6v)

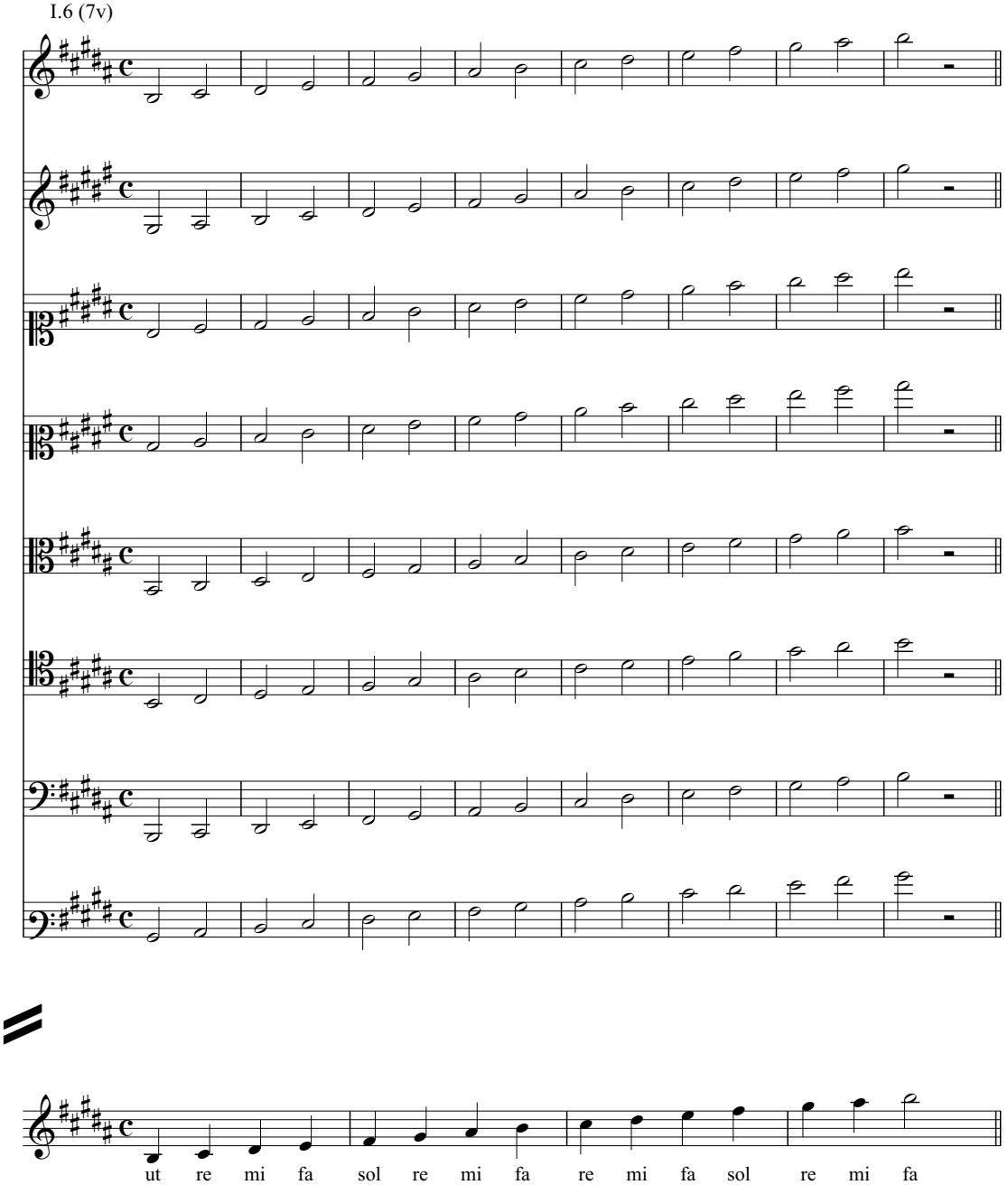


ut re mi fa sol re mi fa re mi fa sol

I.5 (7r)

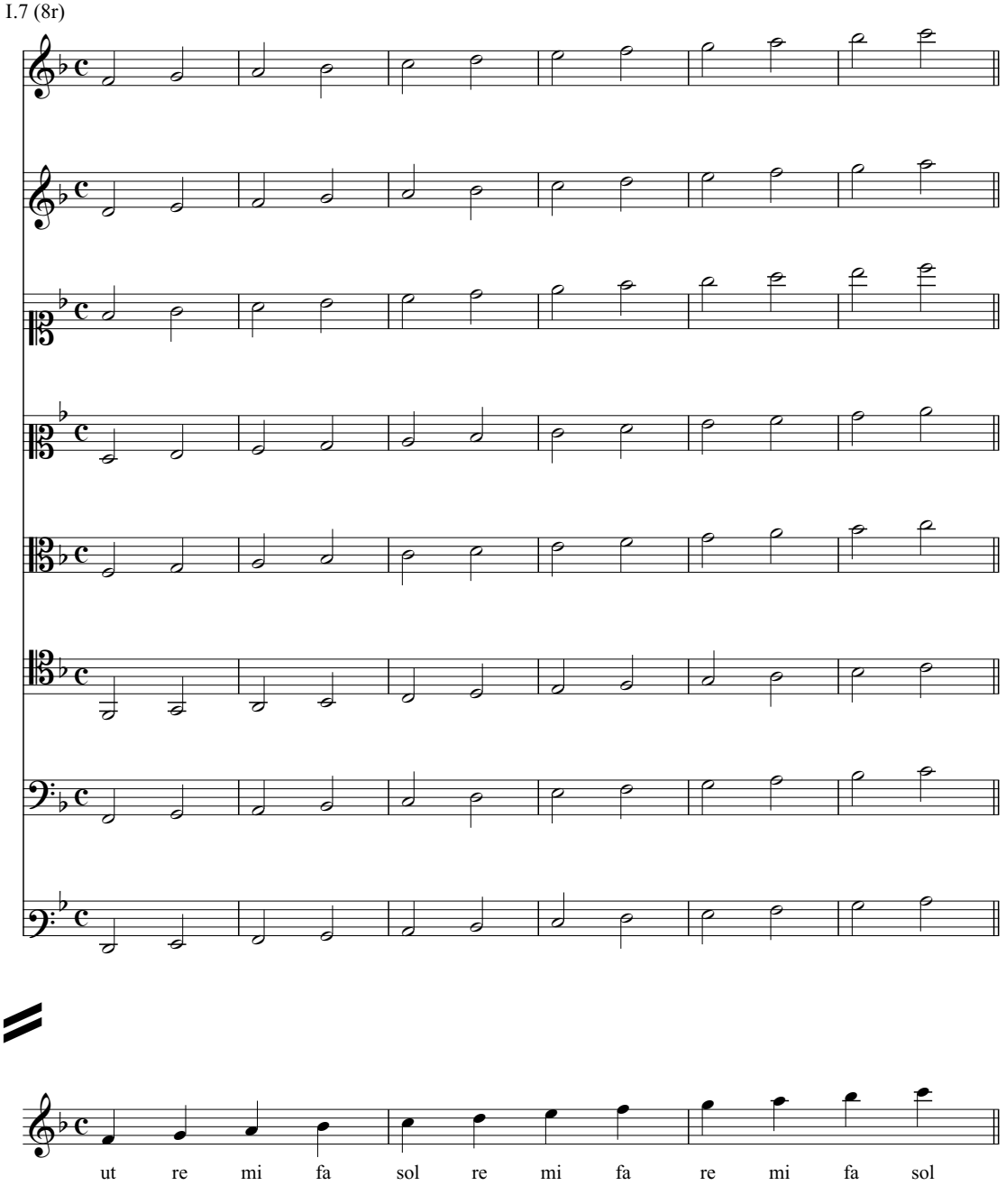


I.6 (7v)

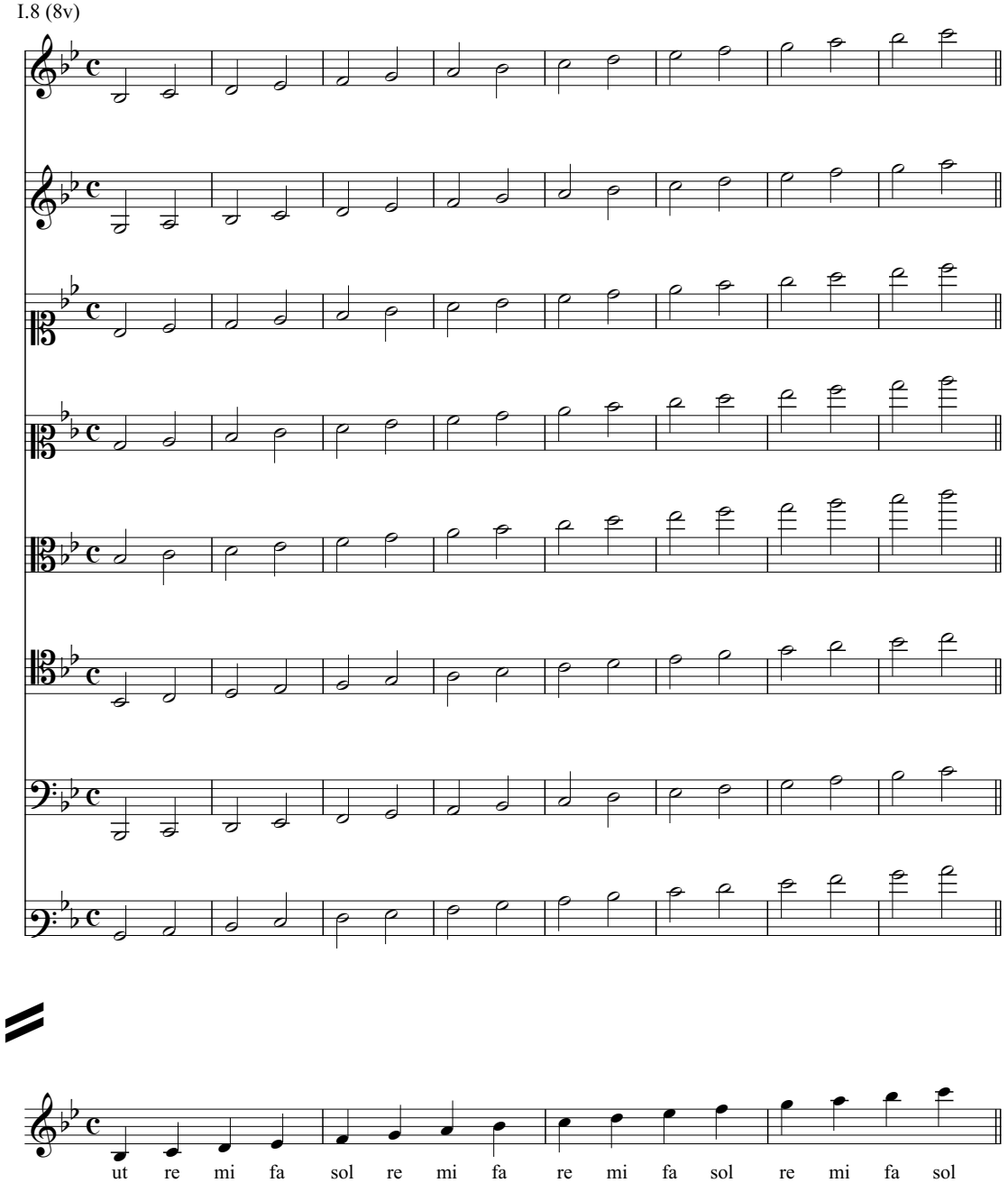


ut re mi fa sol re mi fa re mi fa sol re mi fa

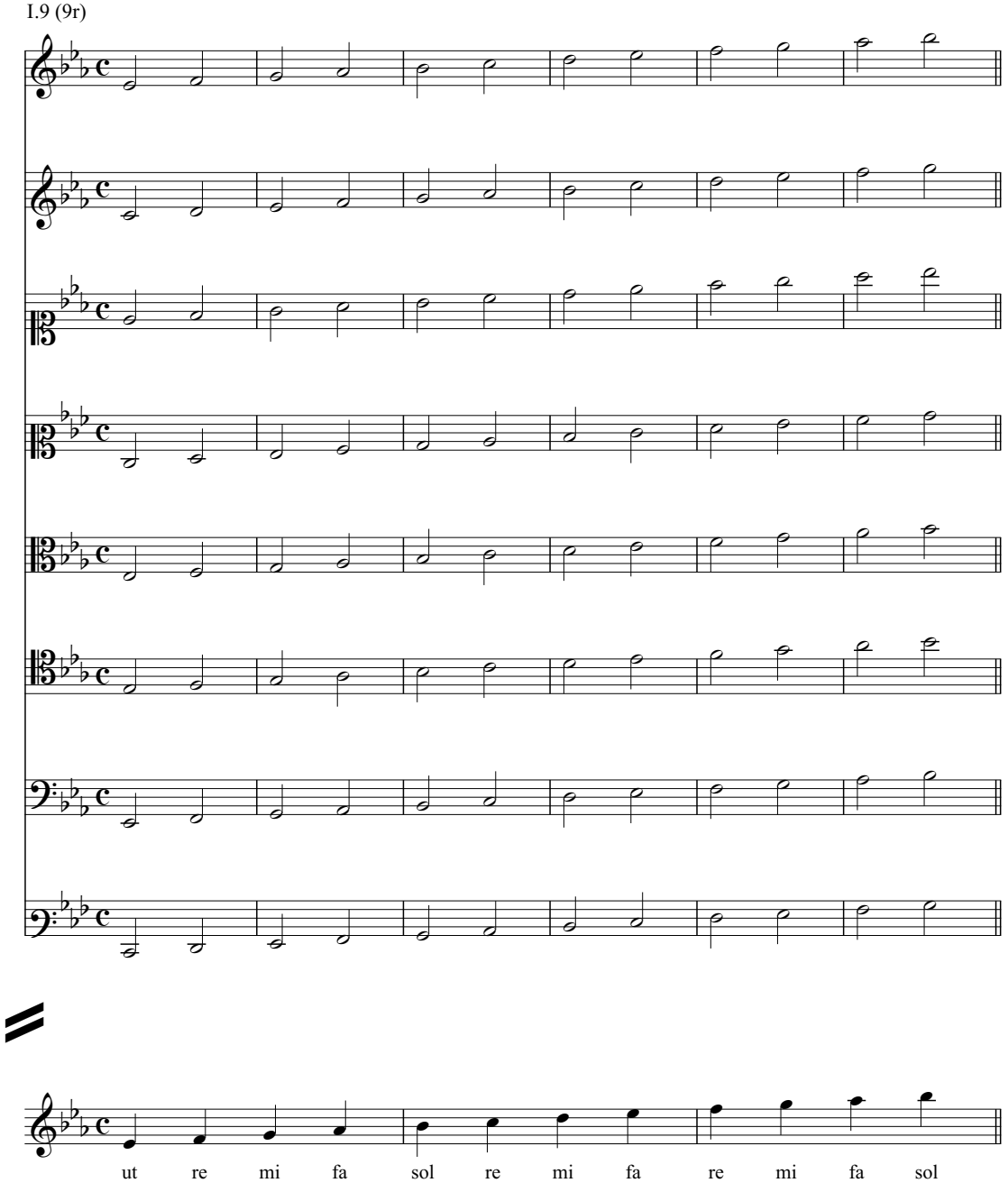
I.7 (8r)



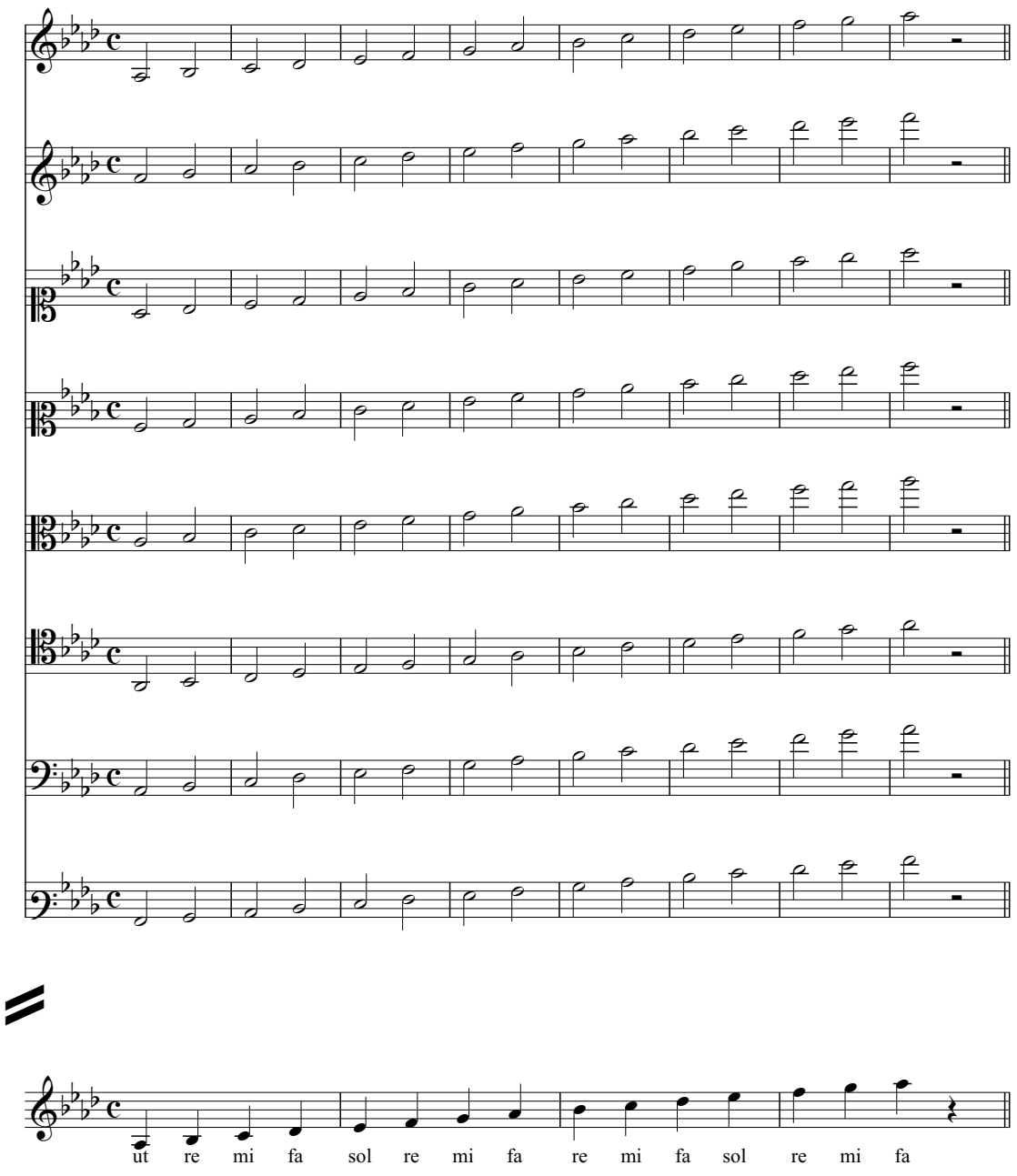
I.8 (8v)



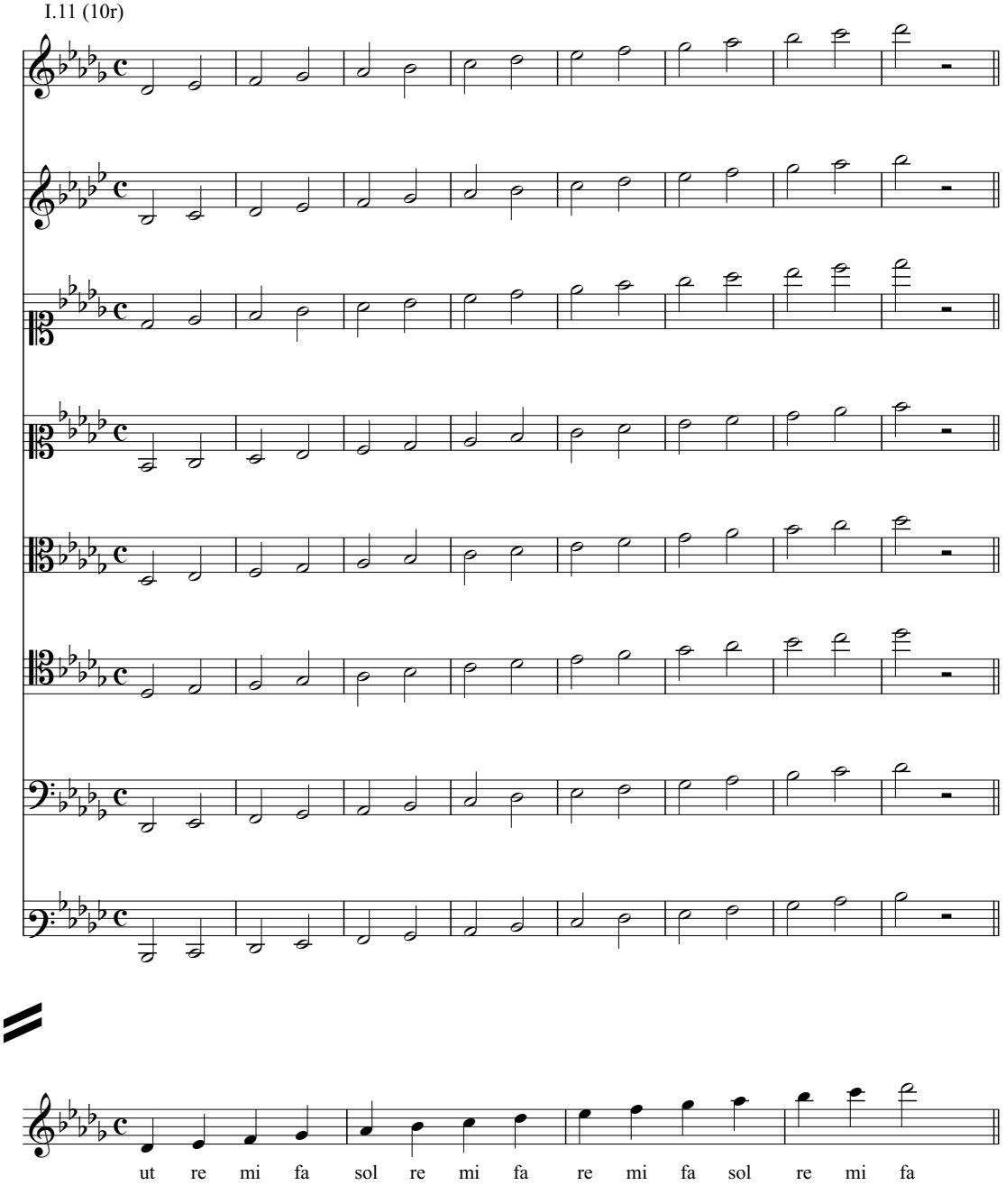
I.9 (9r)



I.10 (9v)

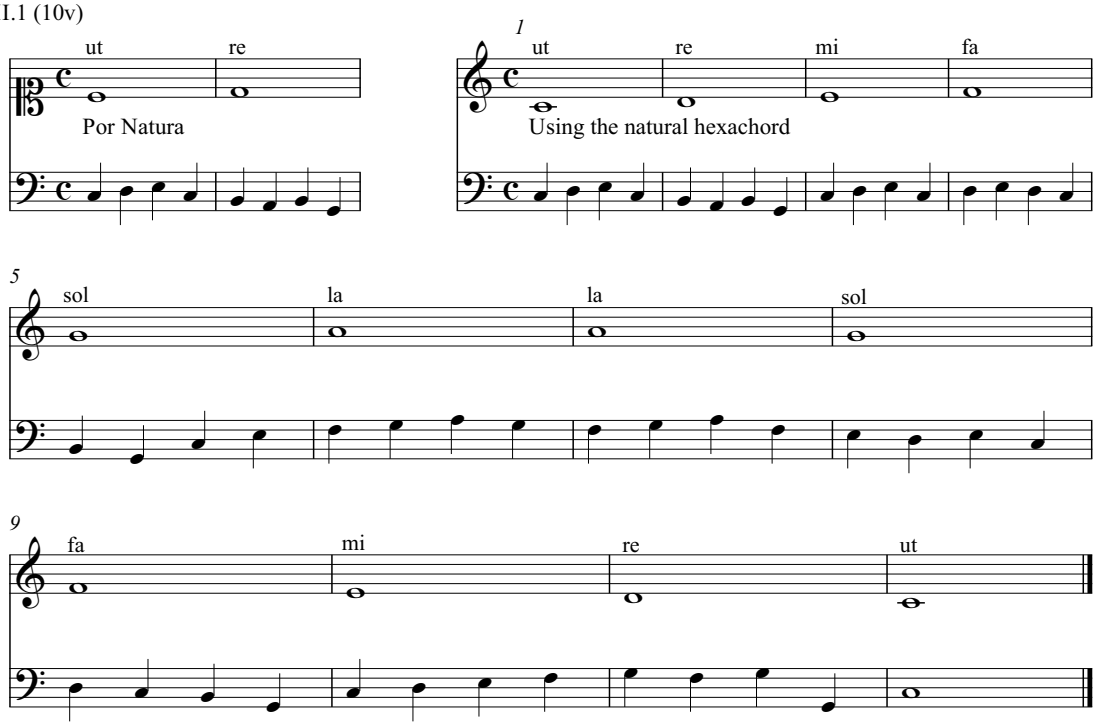


I.11 (10r)



II. Lecciones de el Sr. Mtro. Feo

II.1 (10v)



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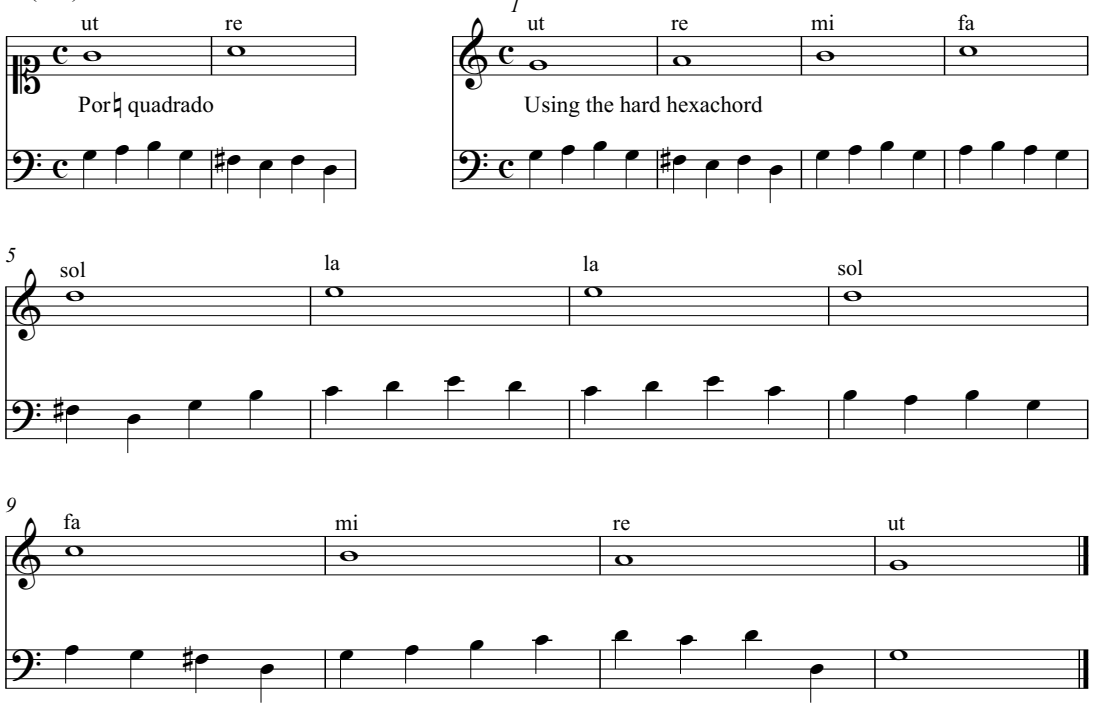

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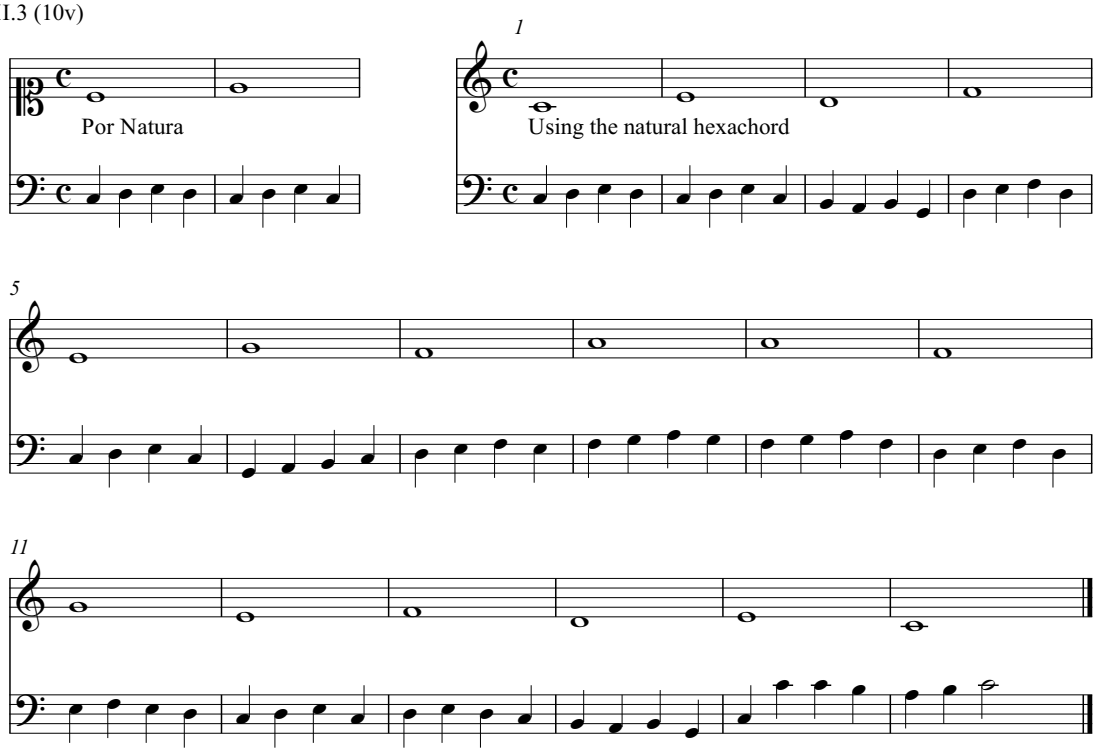

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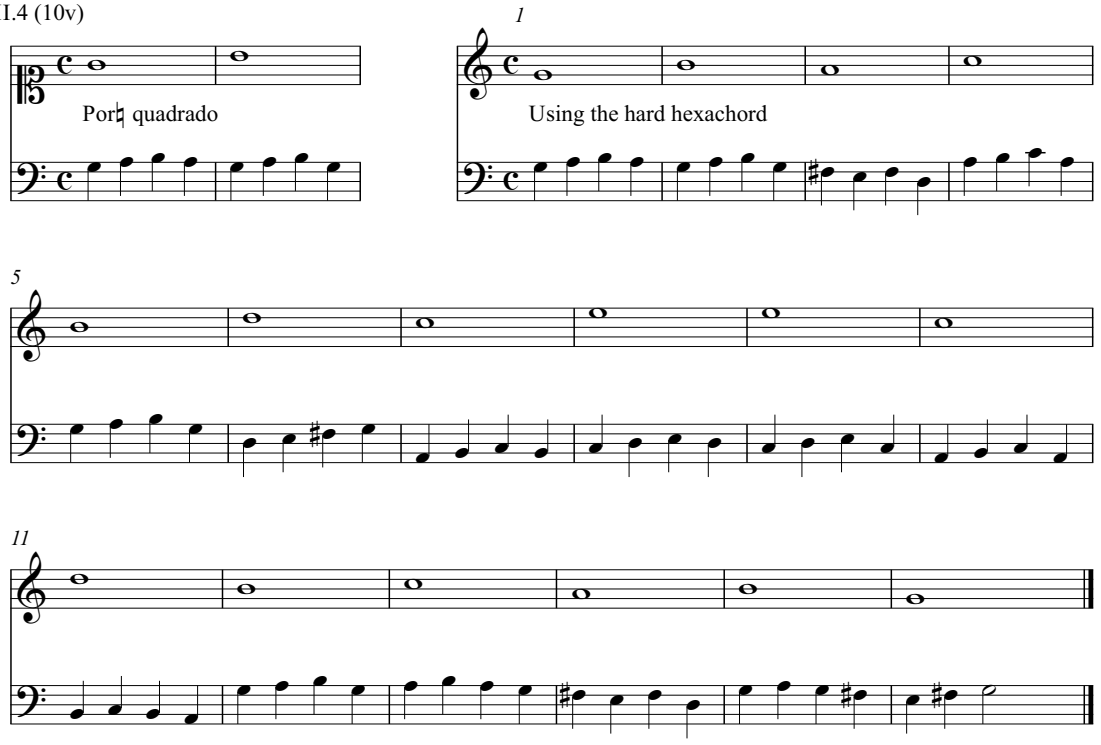

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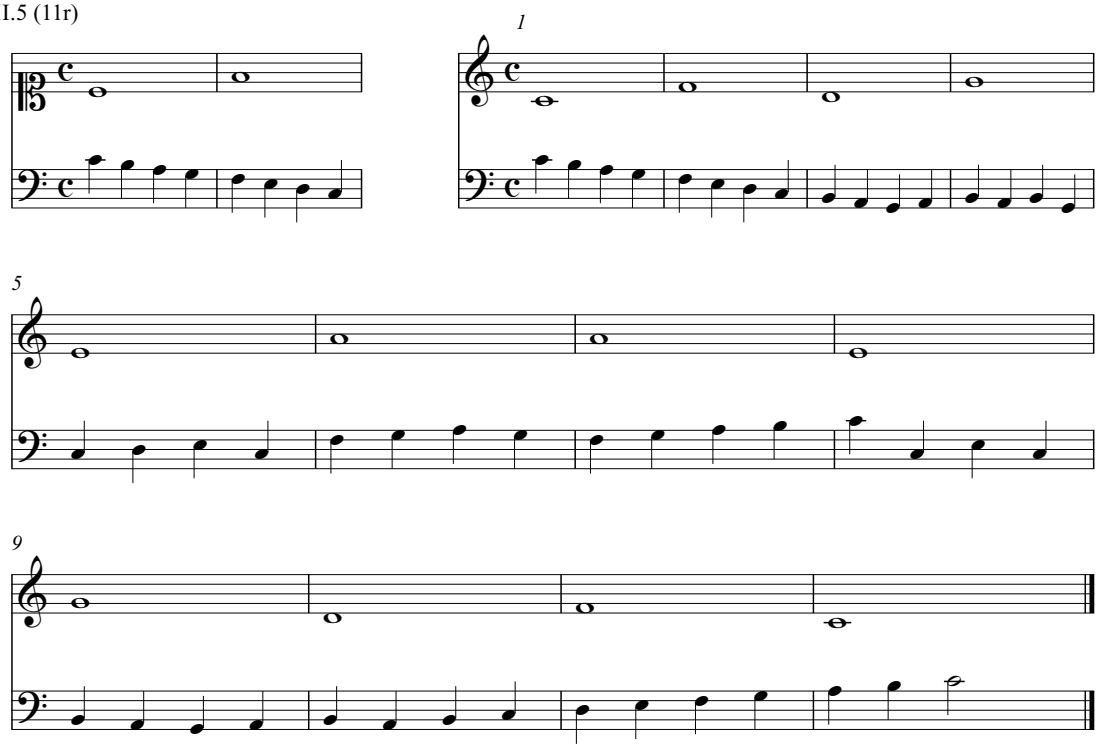

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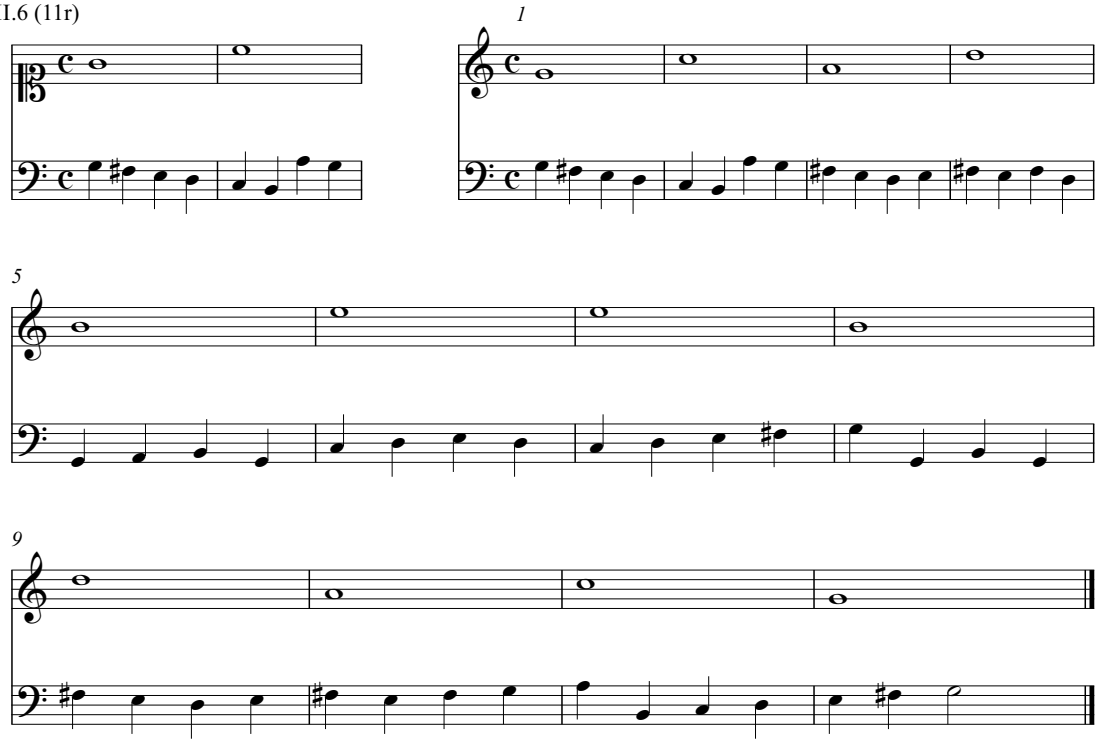

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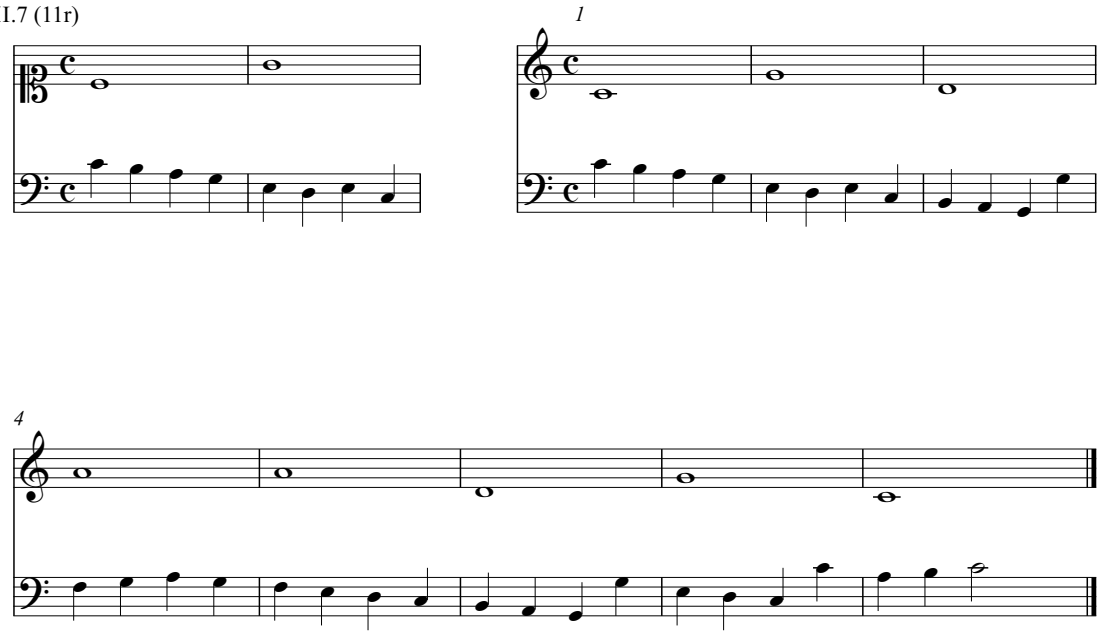

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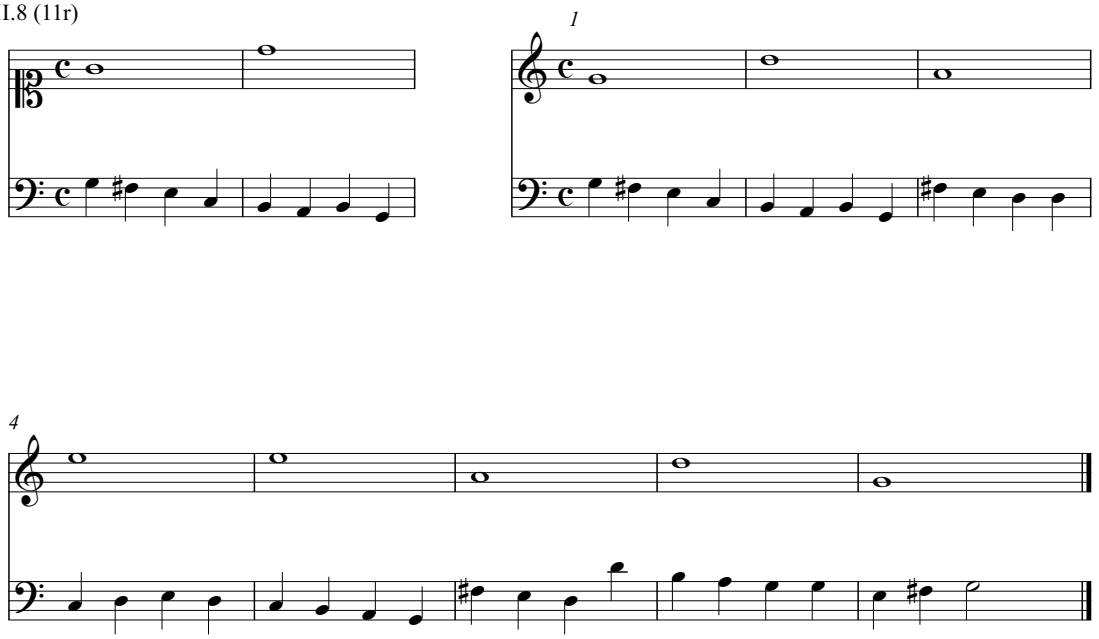

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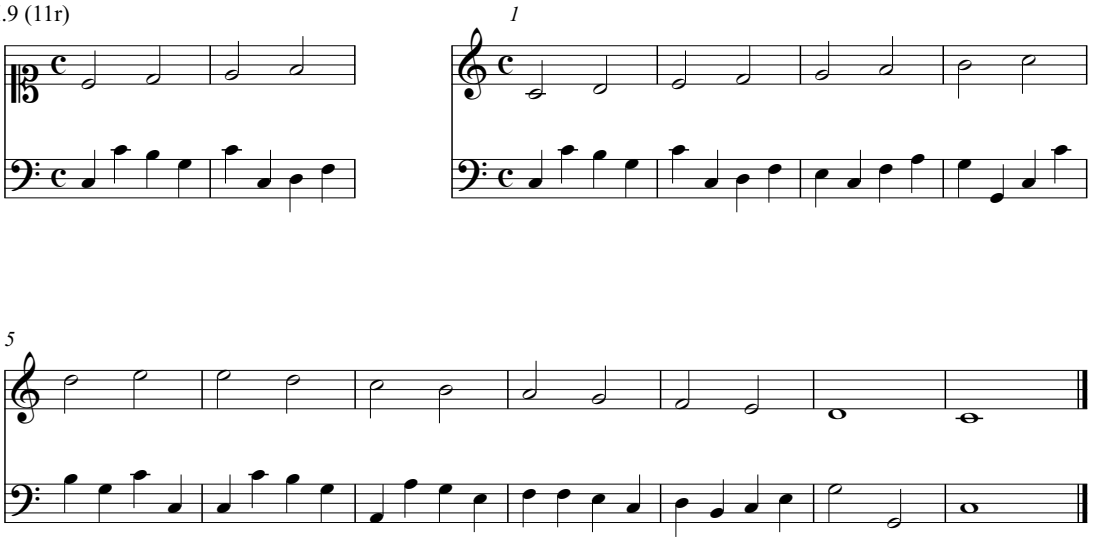

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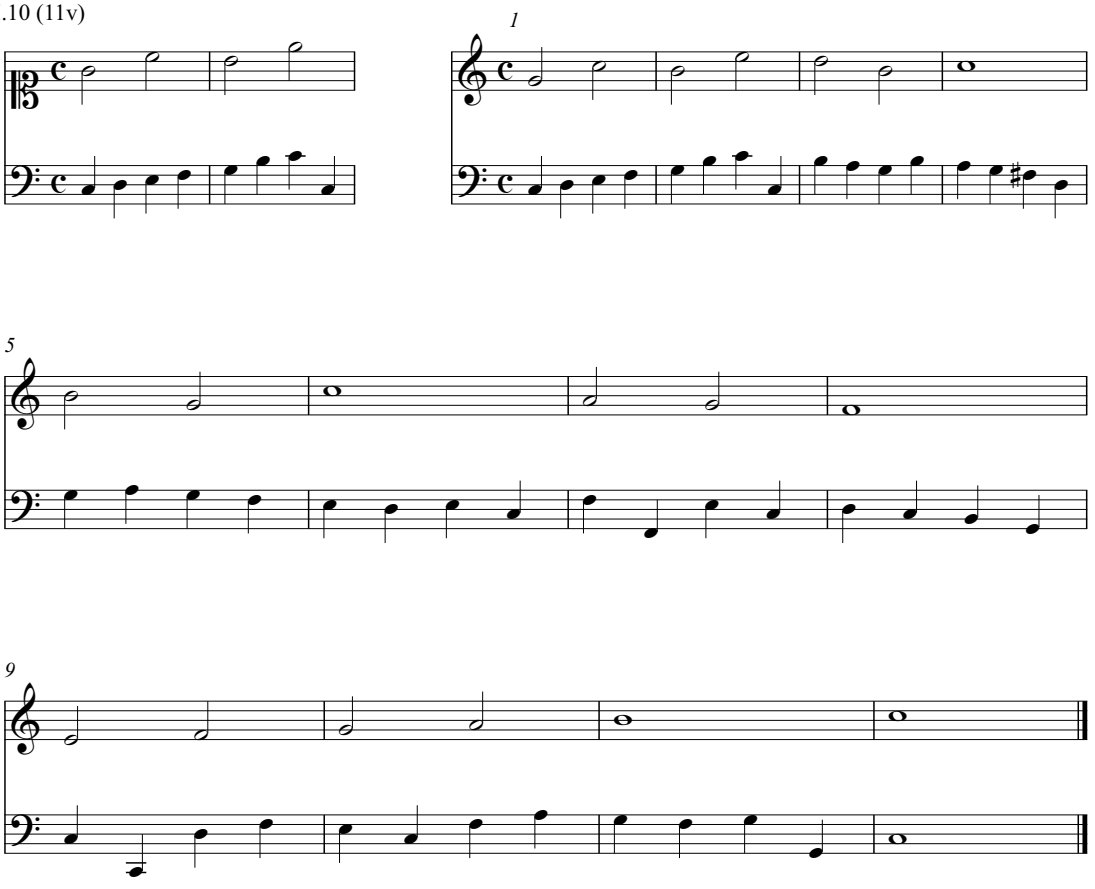

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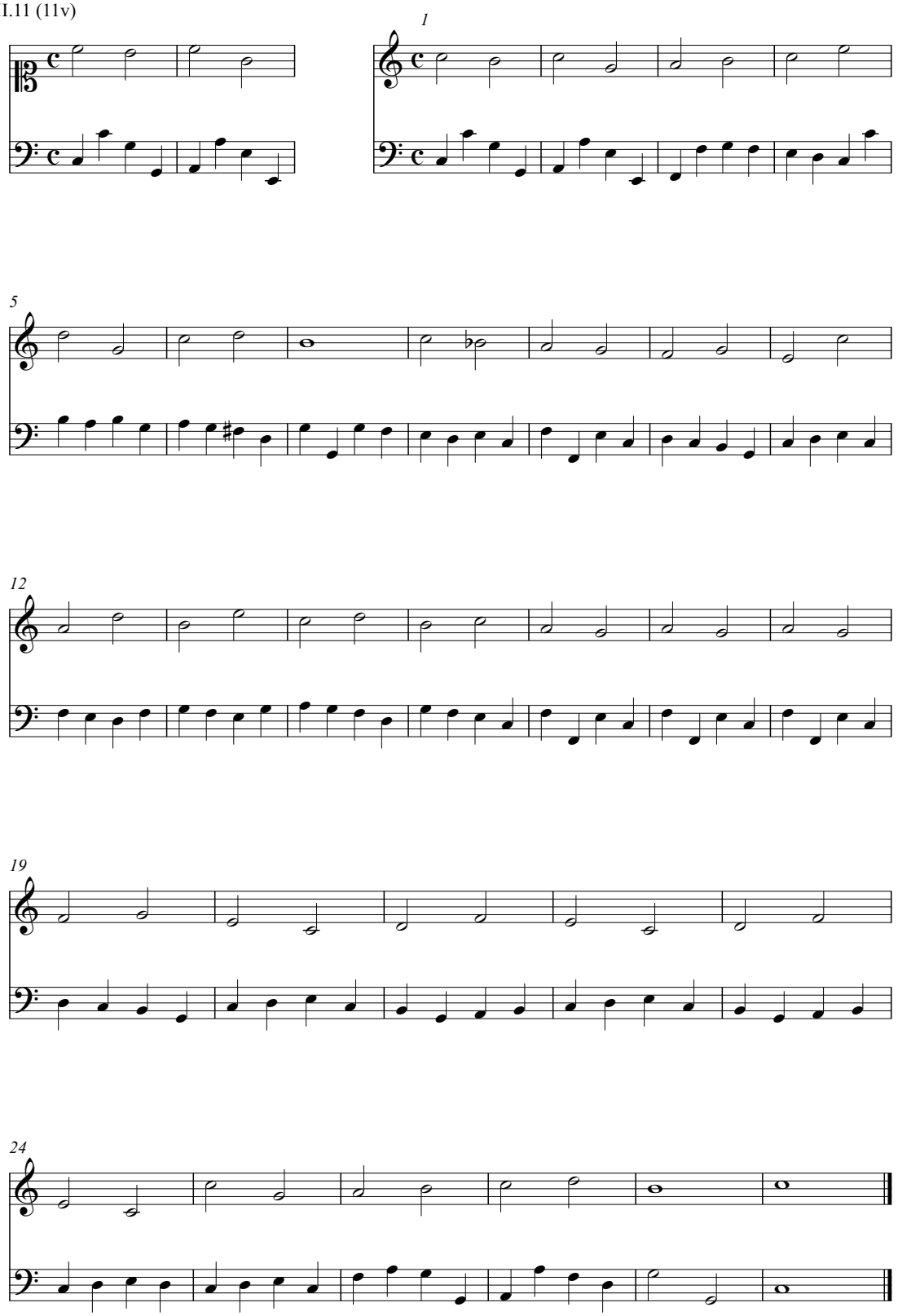

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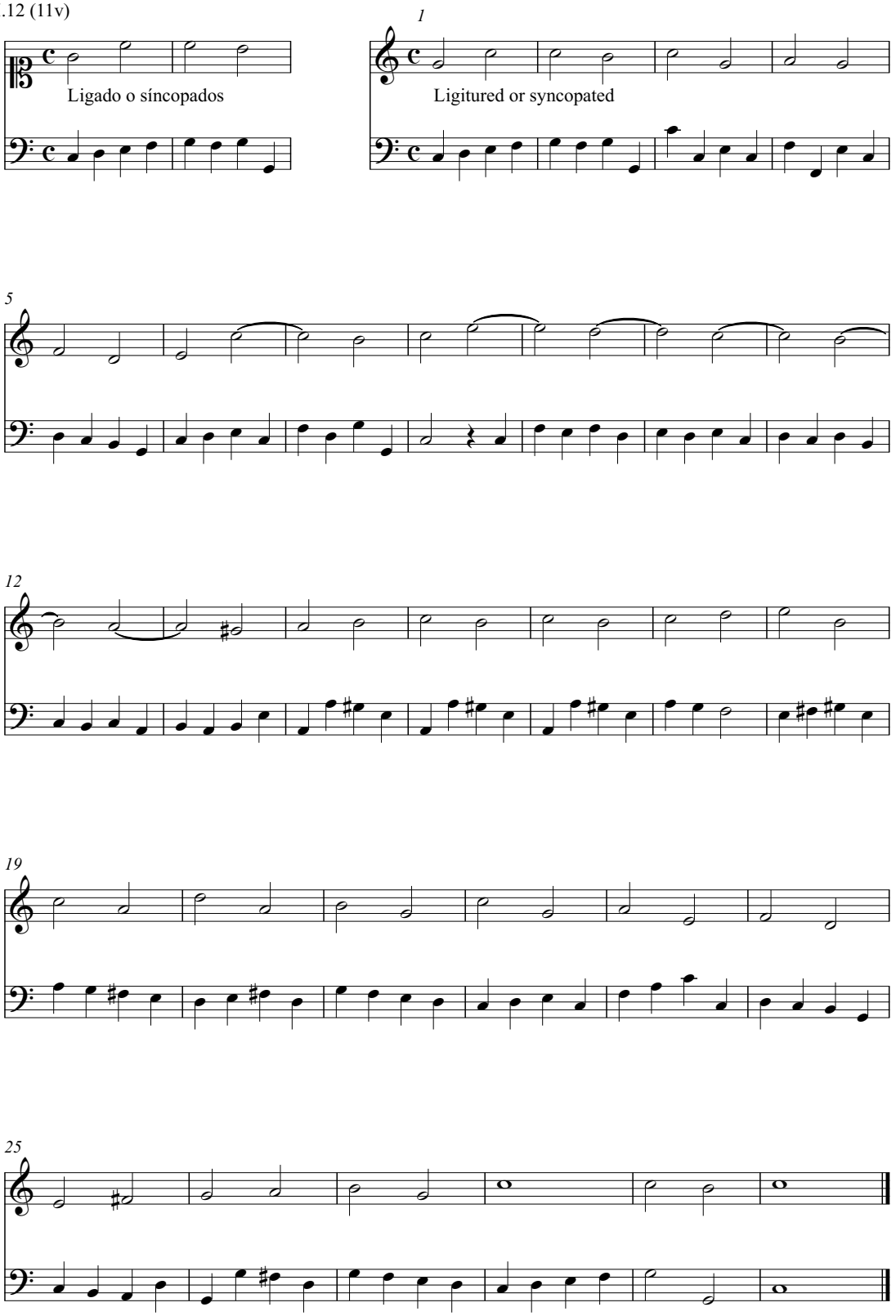

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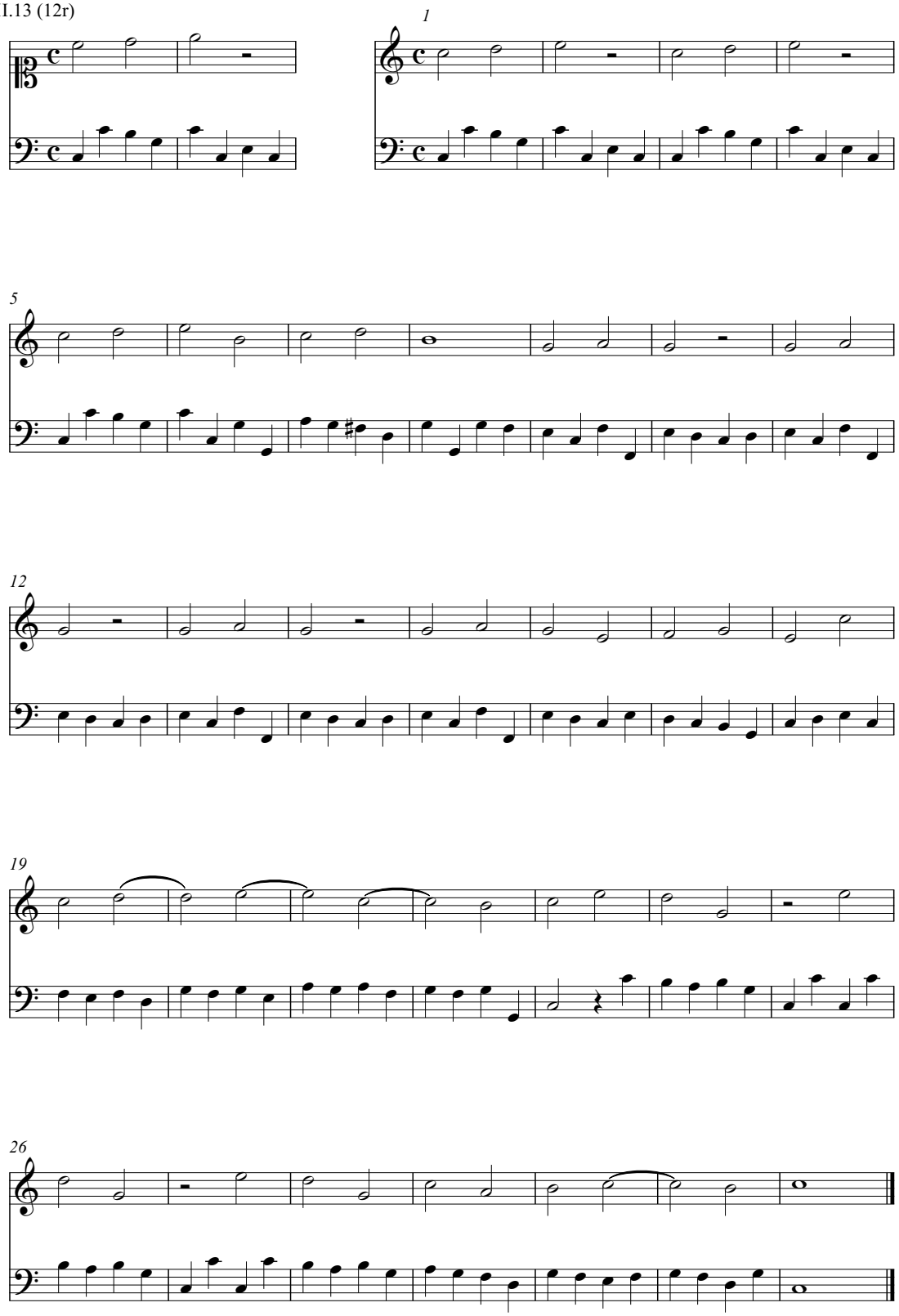

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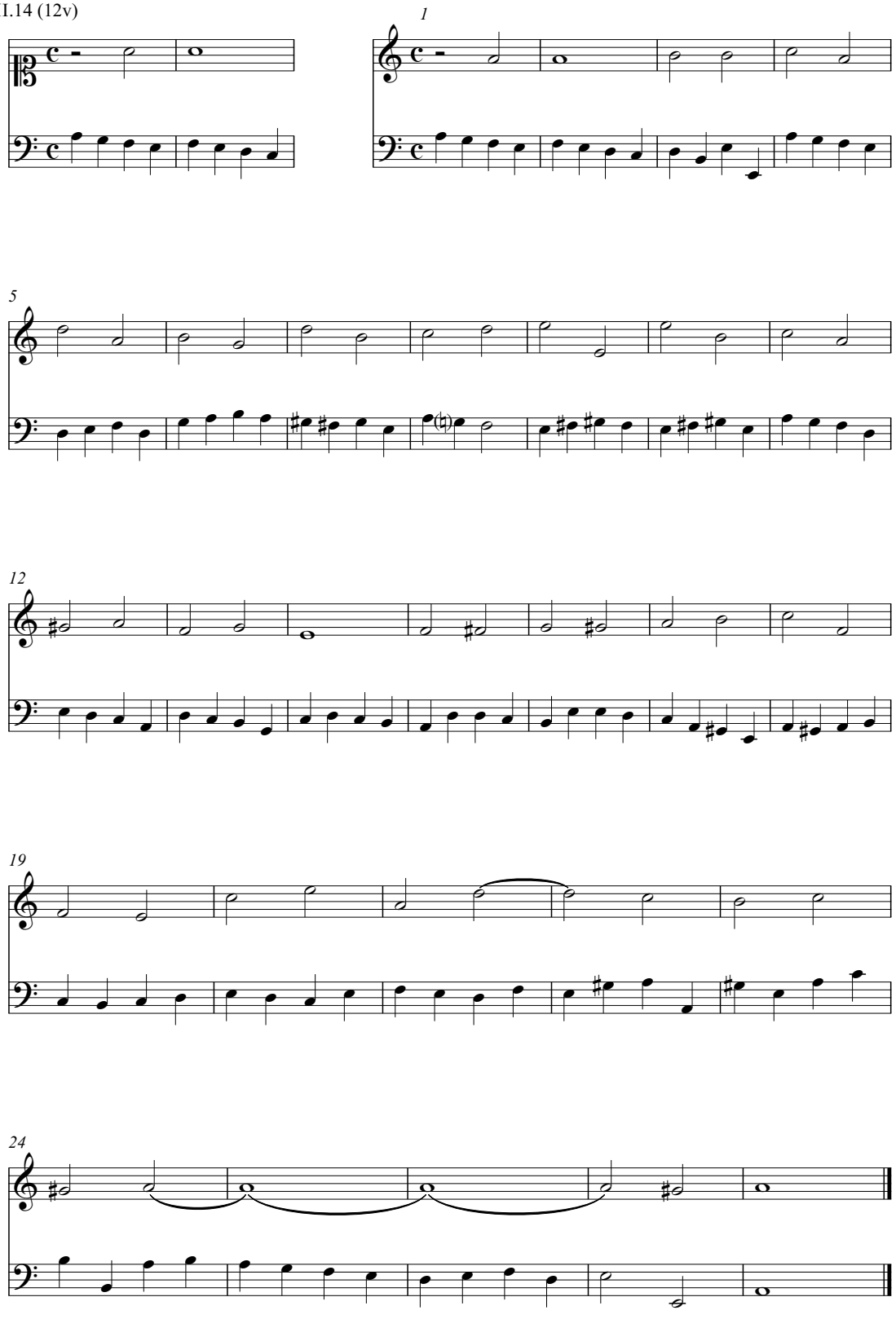

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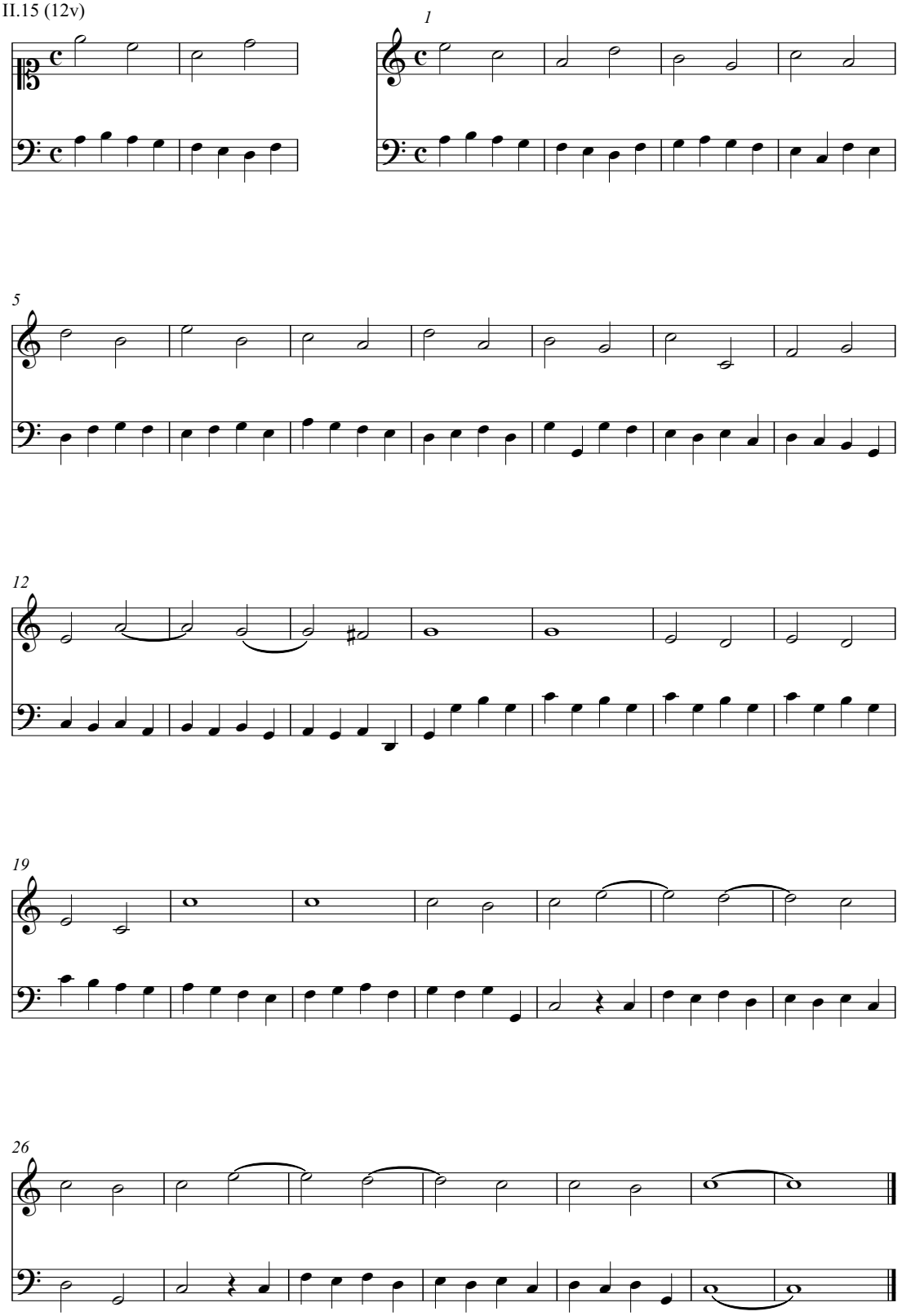

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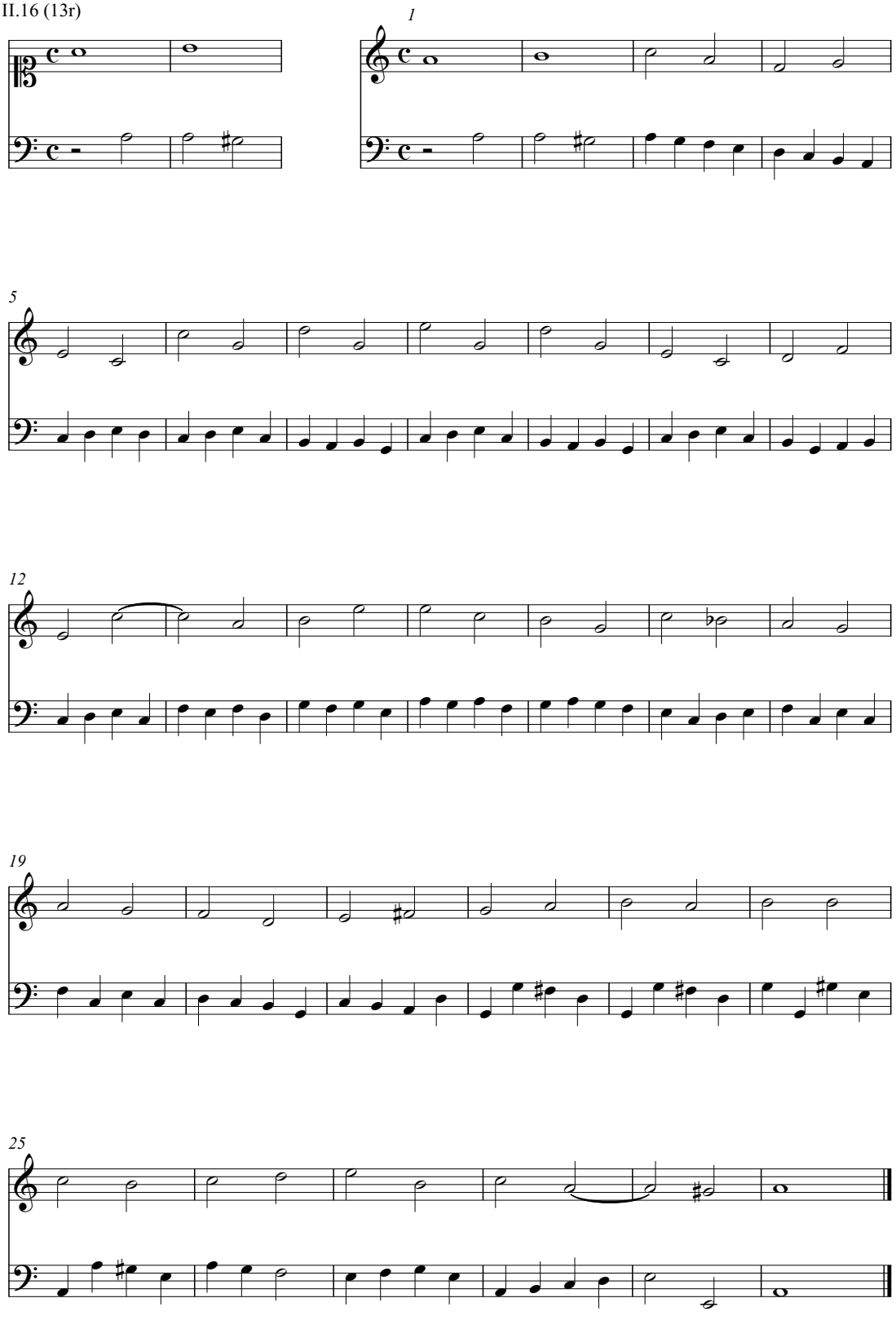

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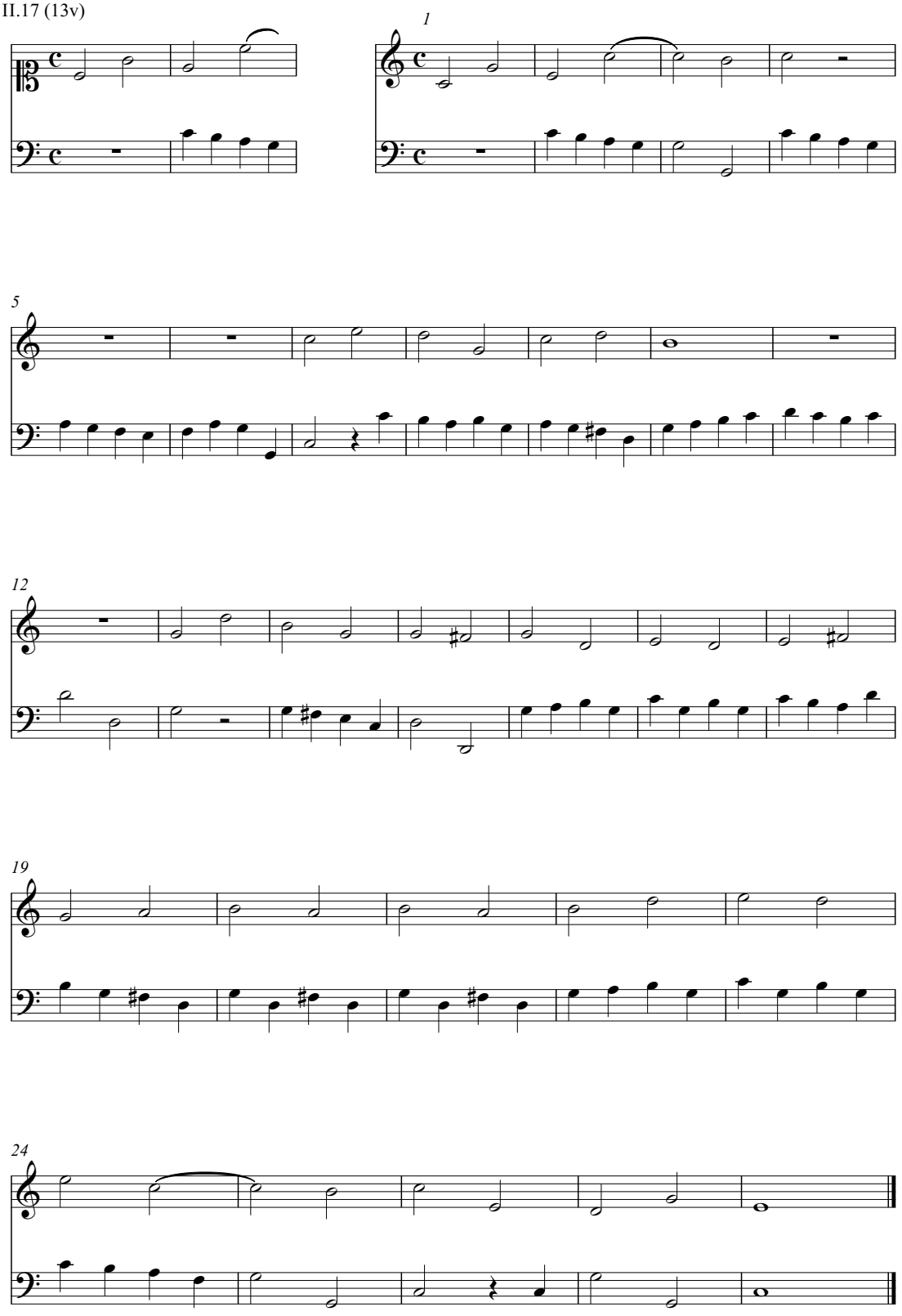

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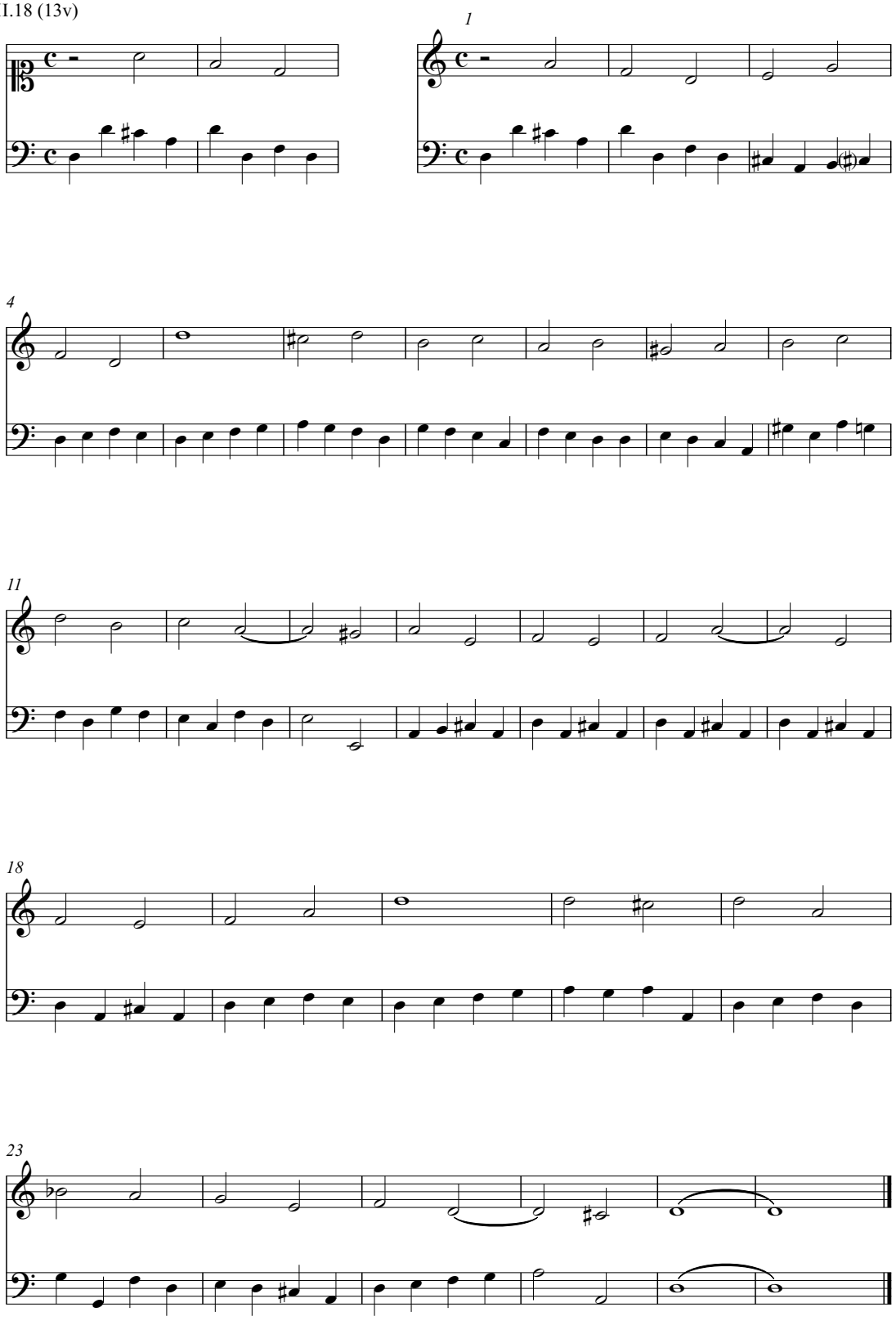

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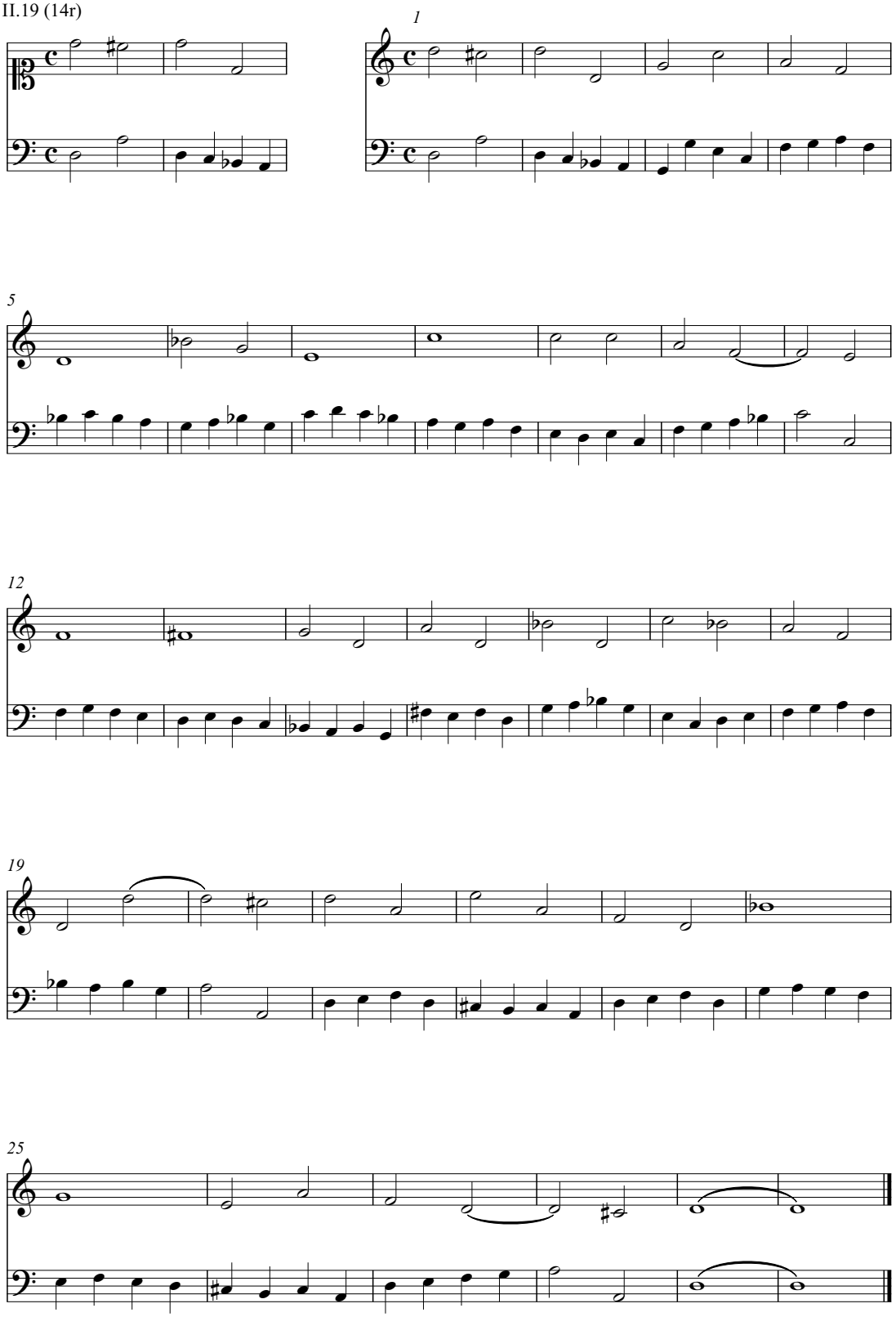
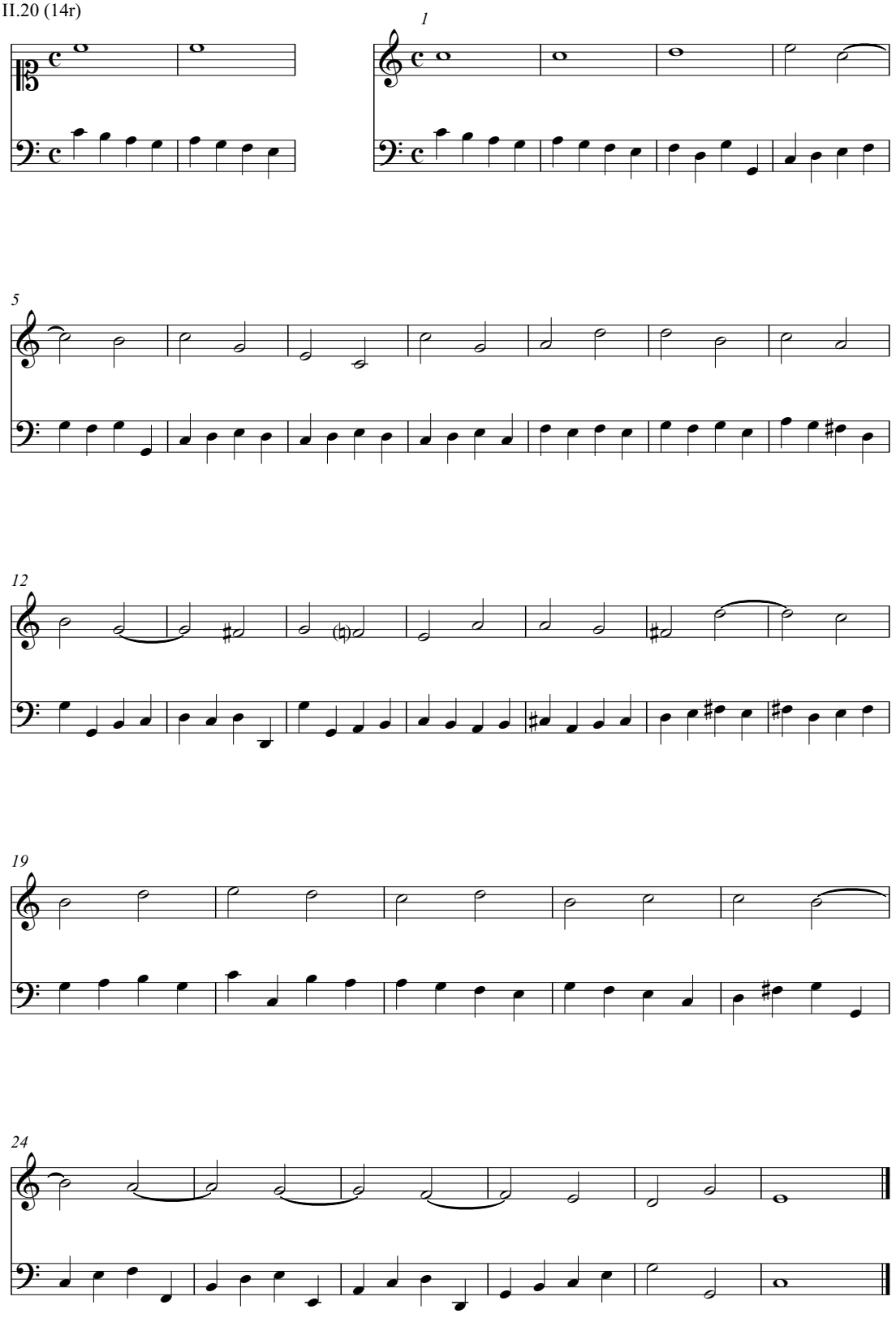


II.20 (14r)



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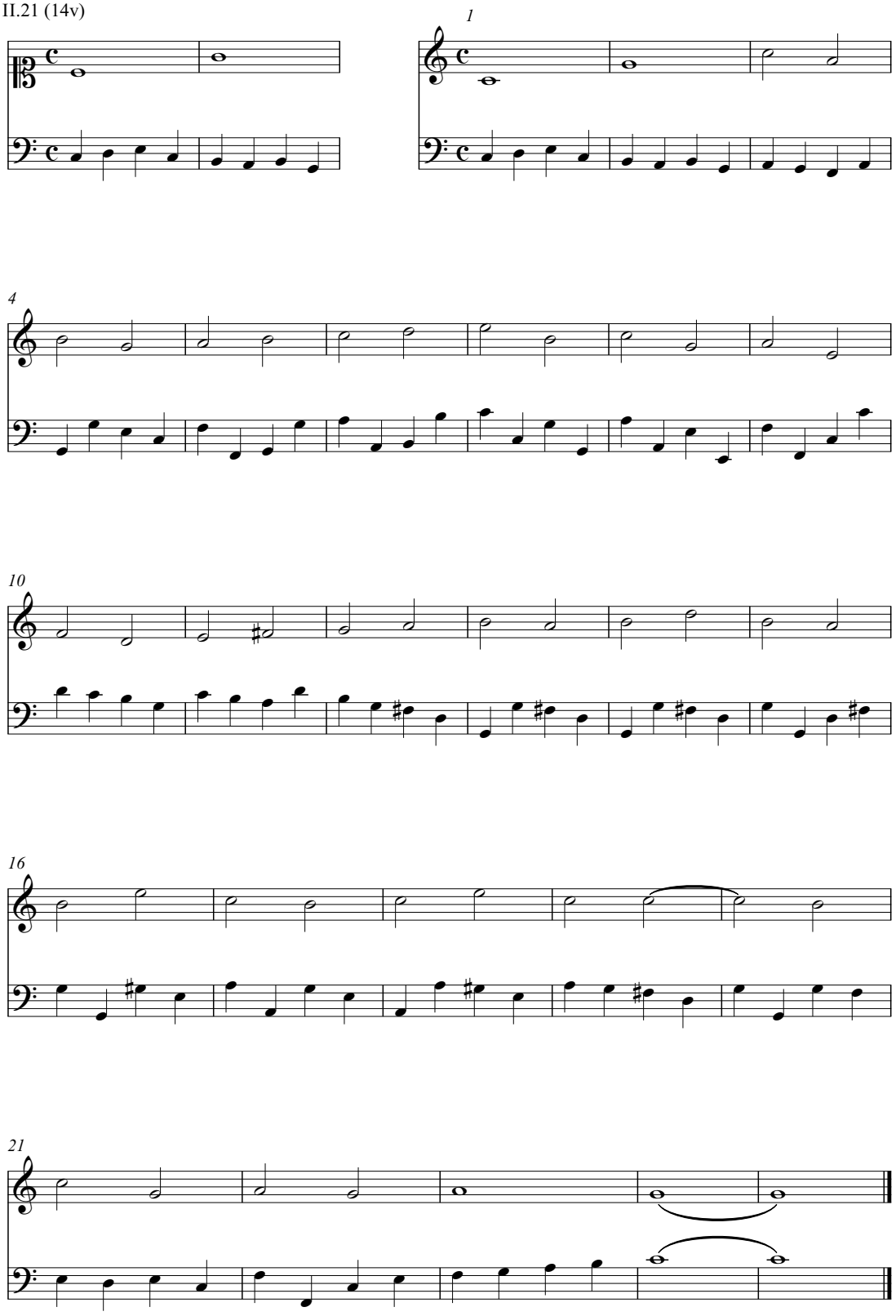

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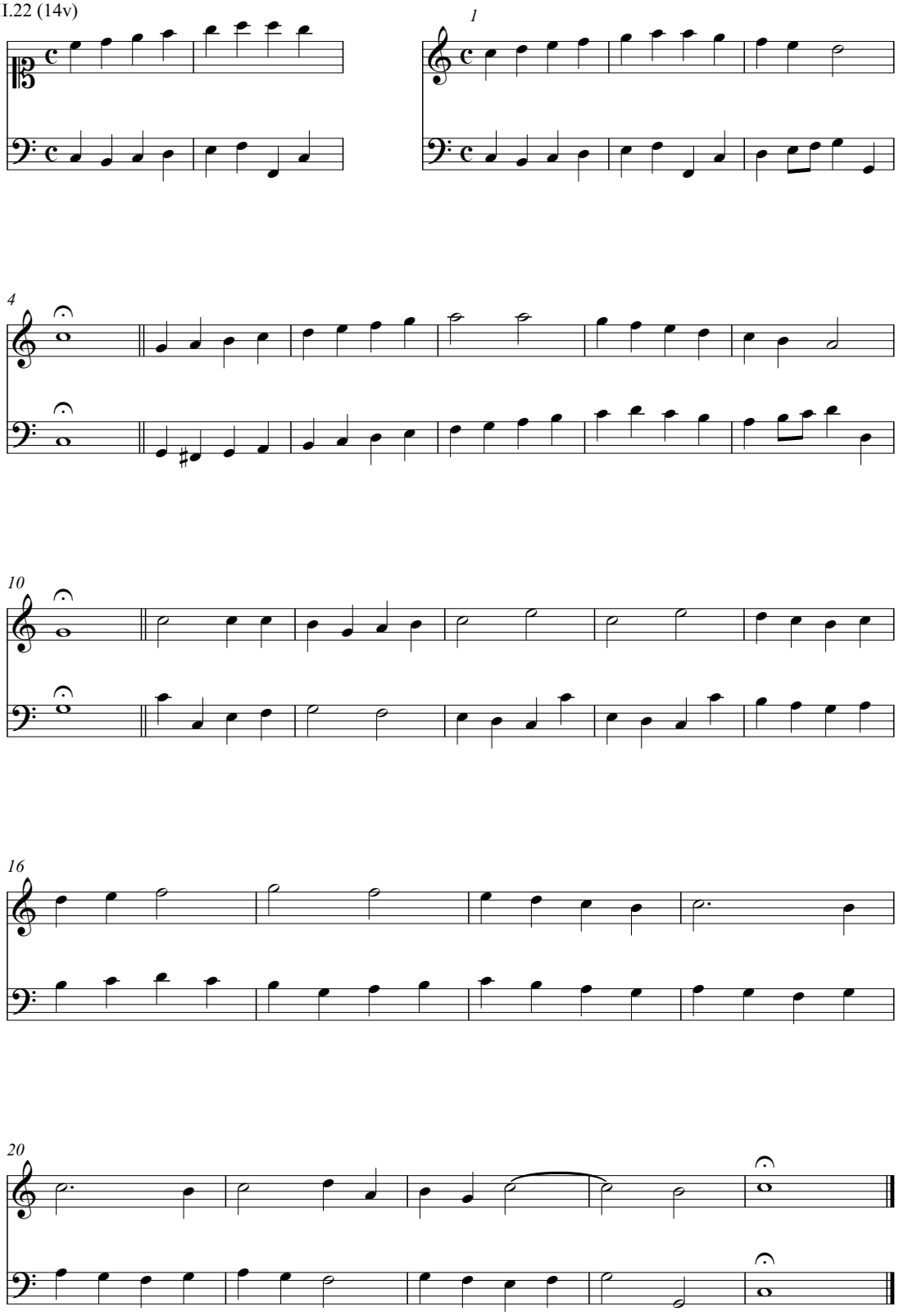

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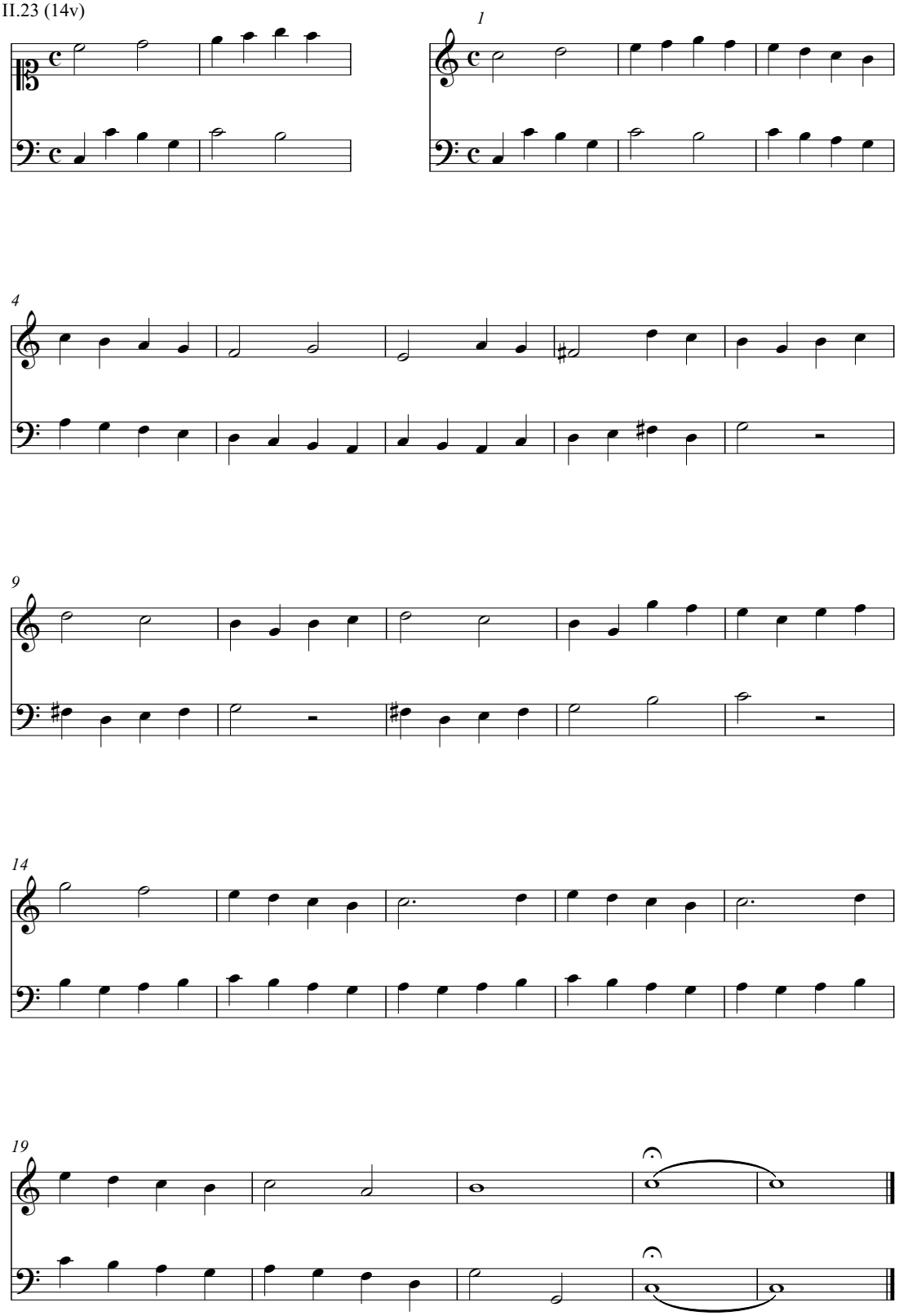
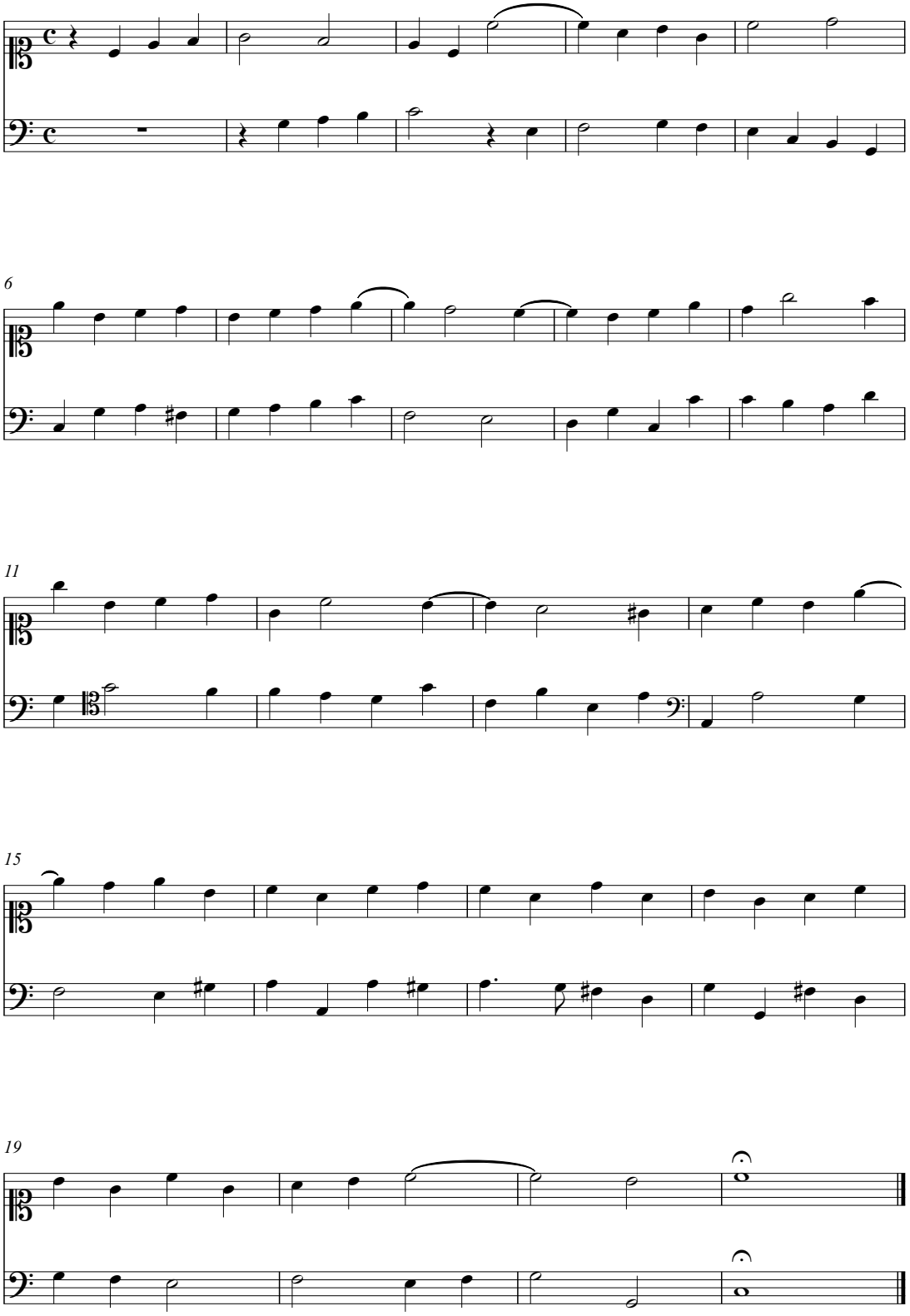
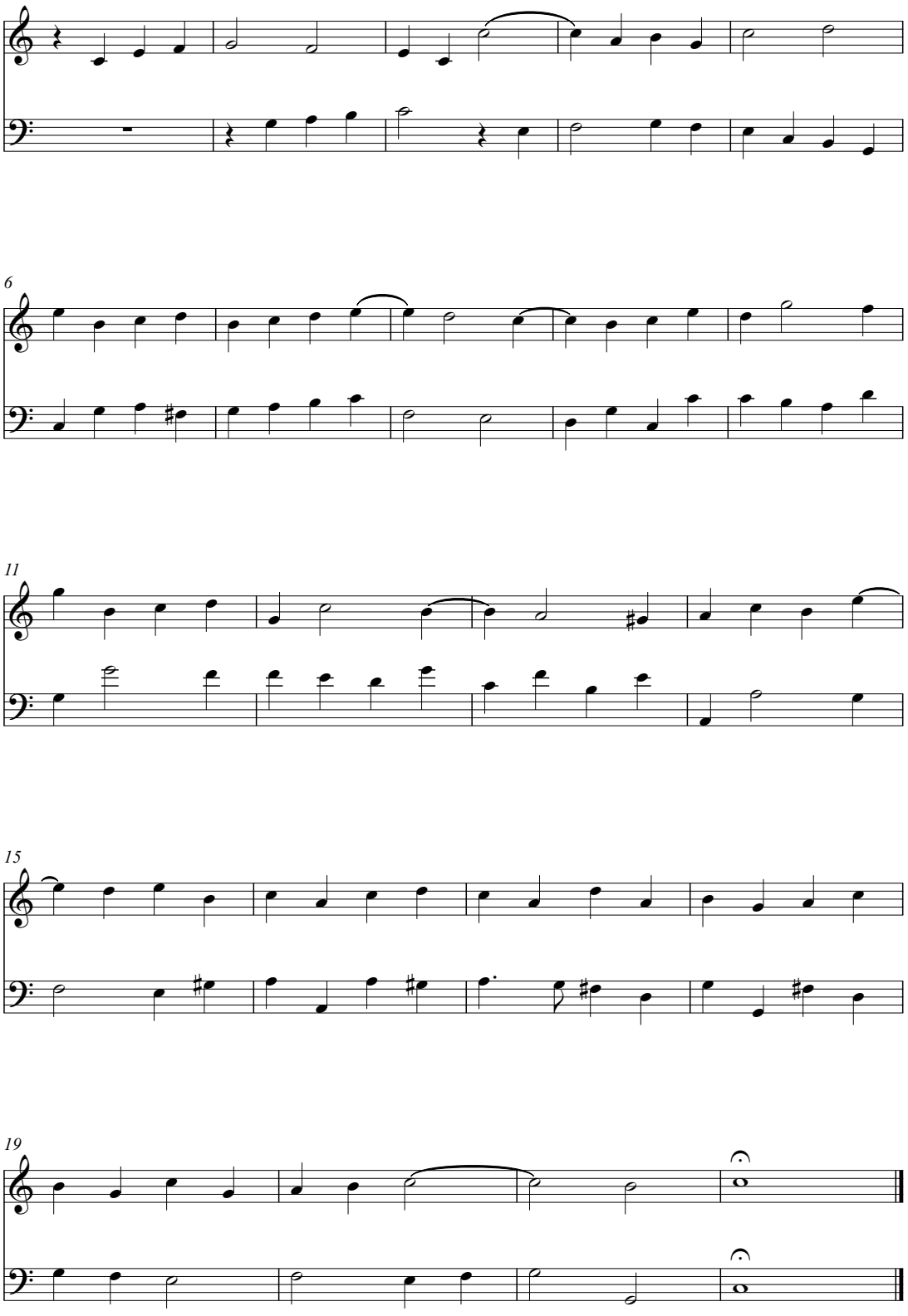


II.24 (15r) (in original clefs)



II.24 (15r) (in treble and bass clefs)



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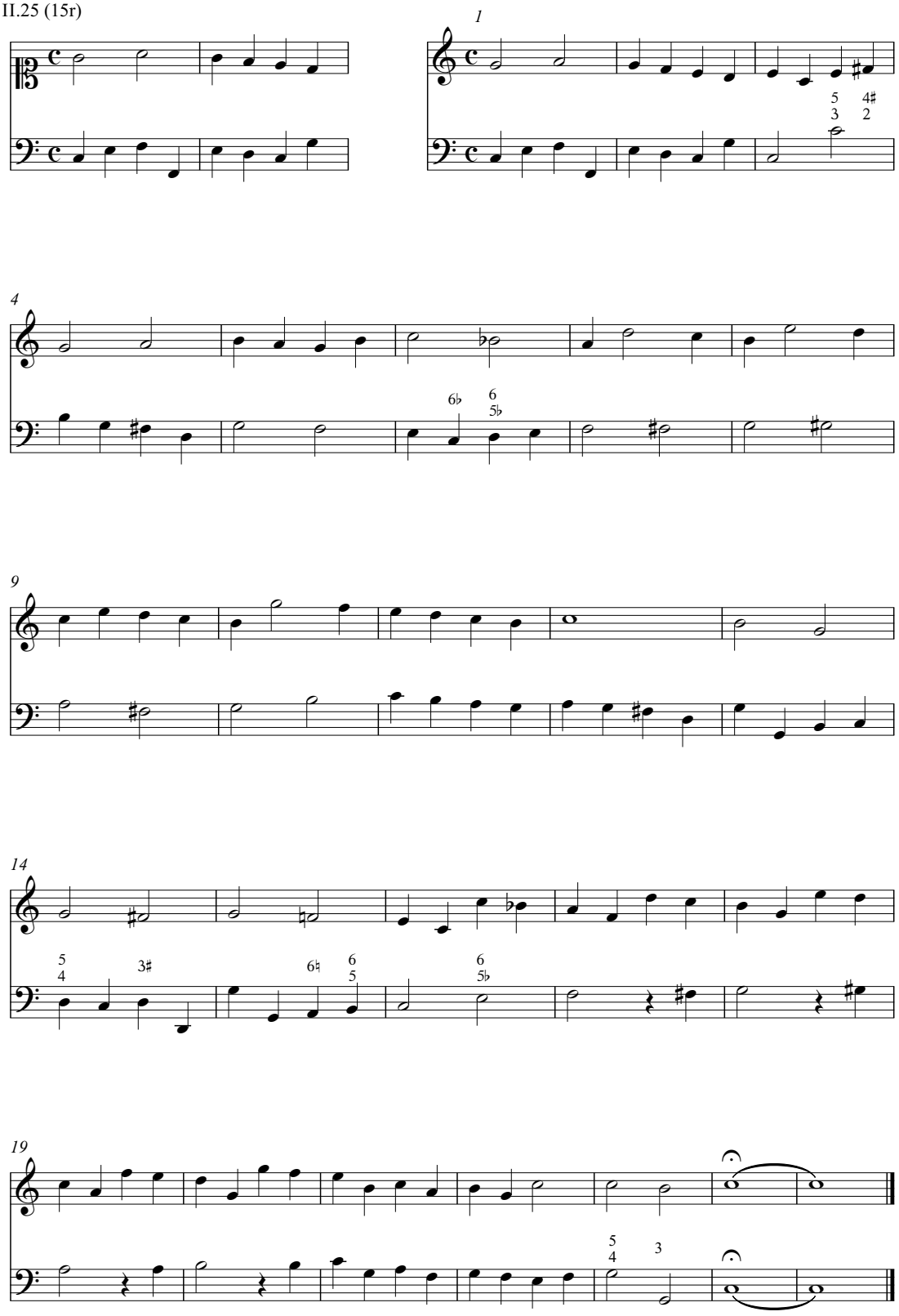

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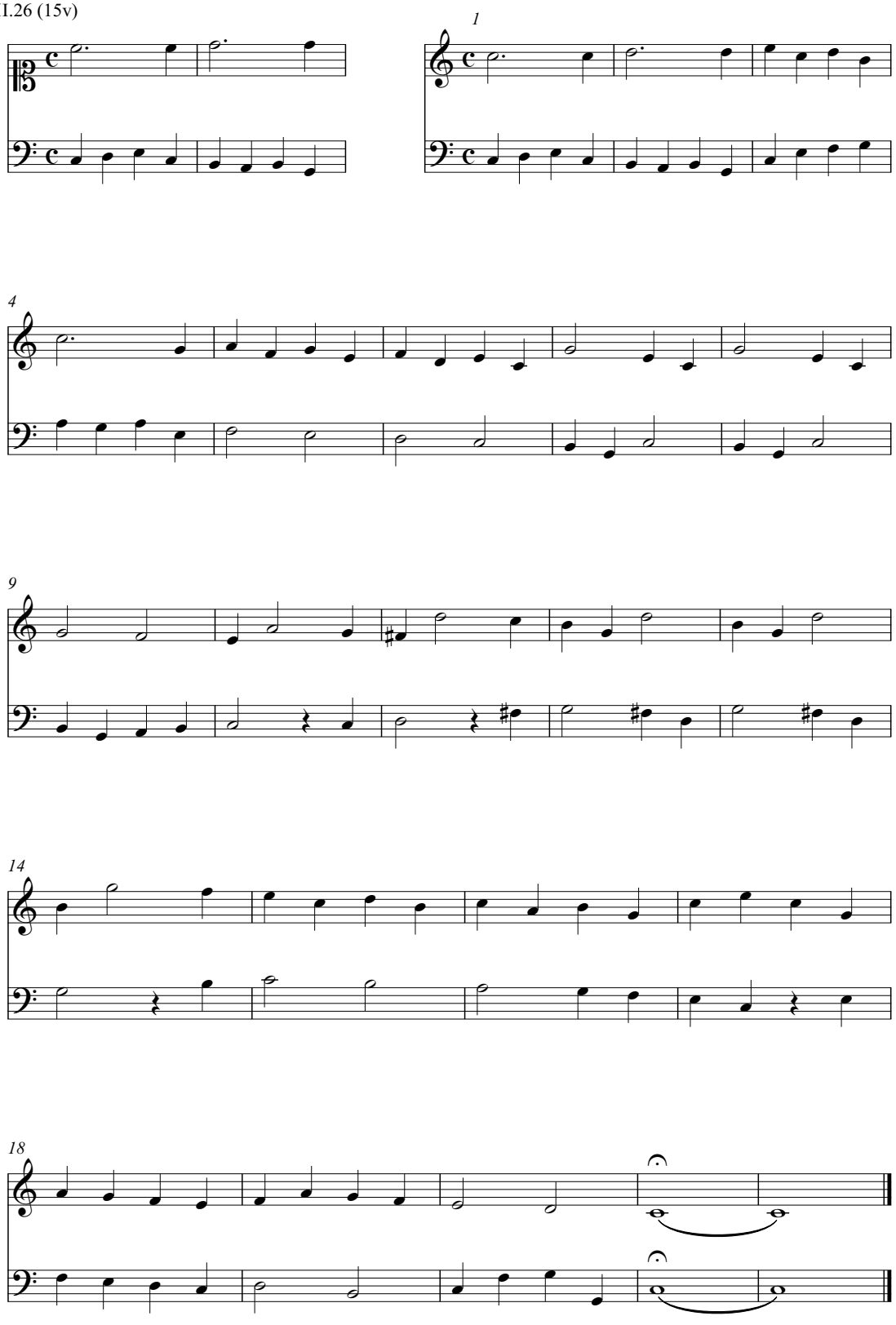

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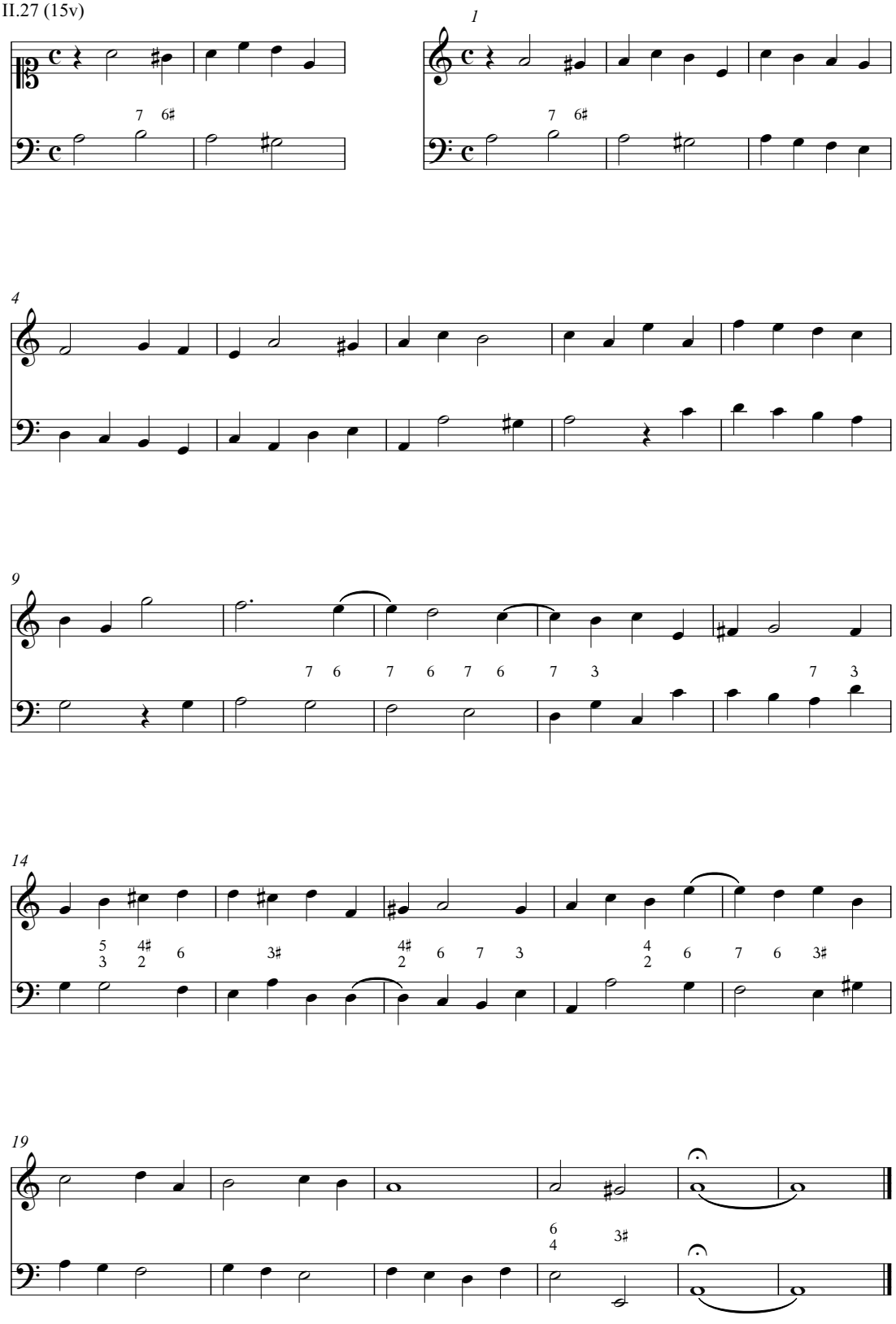
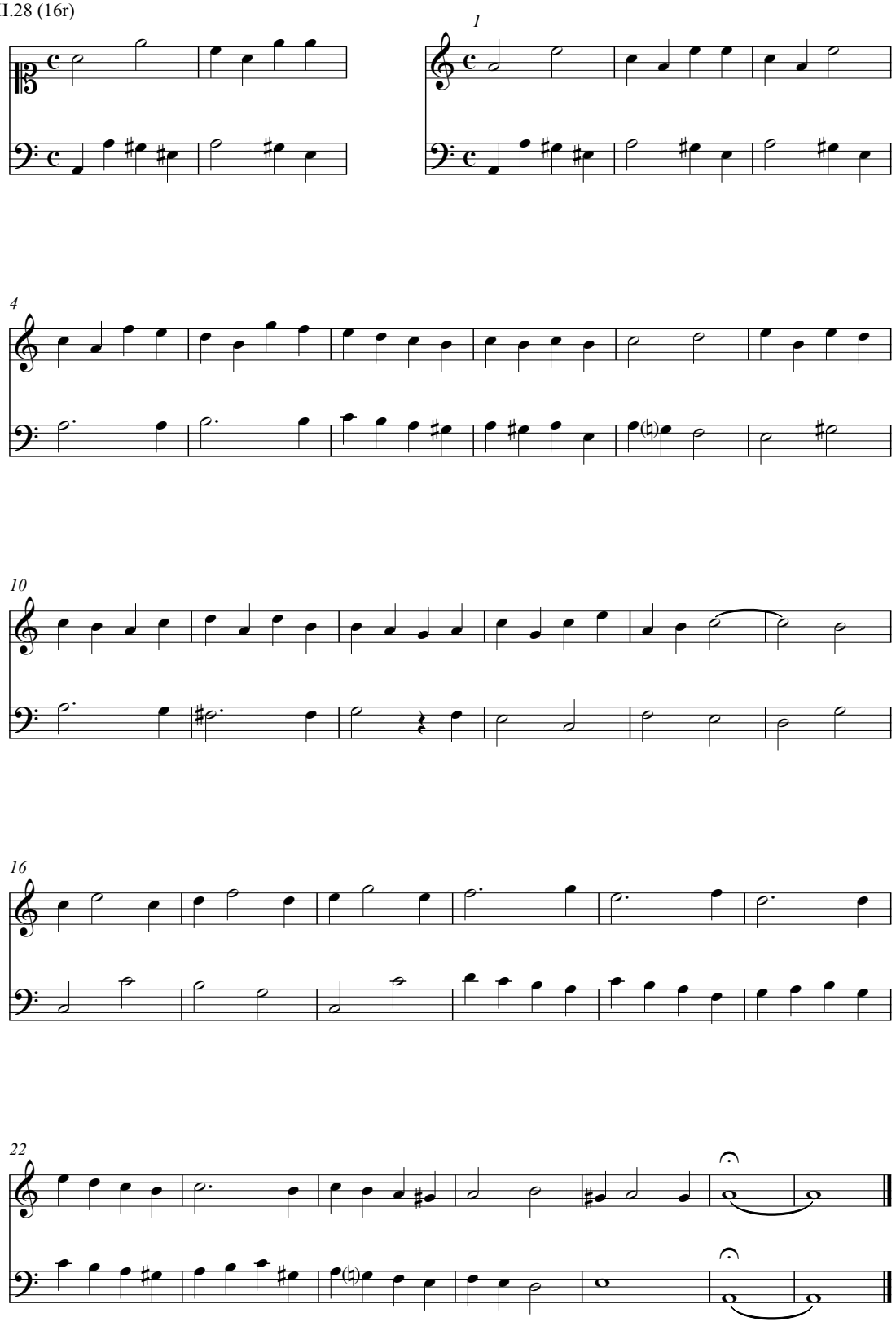
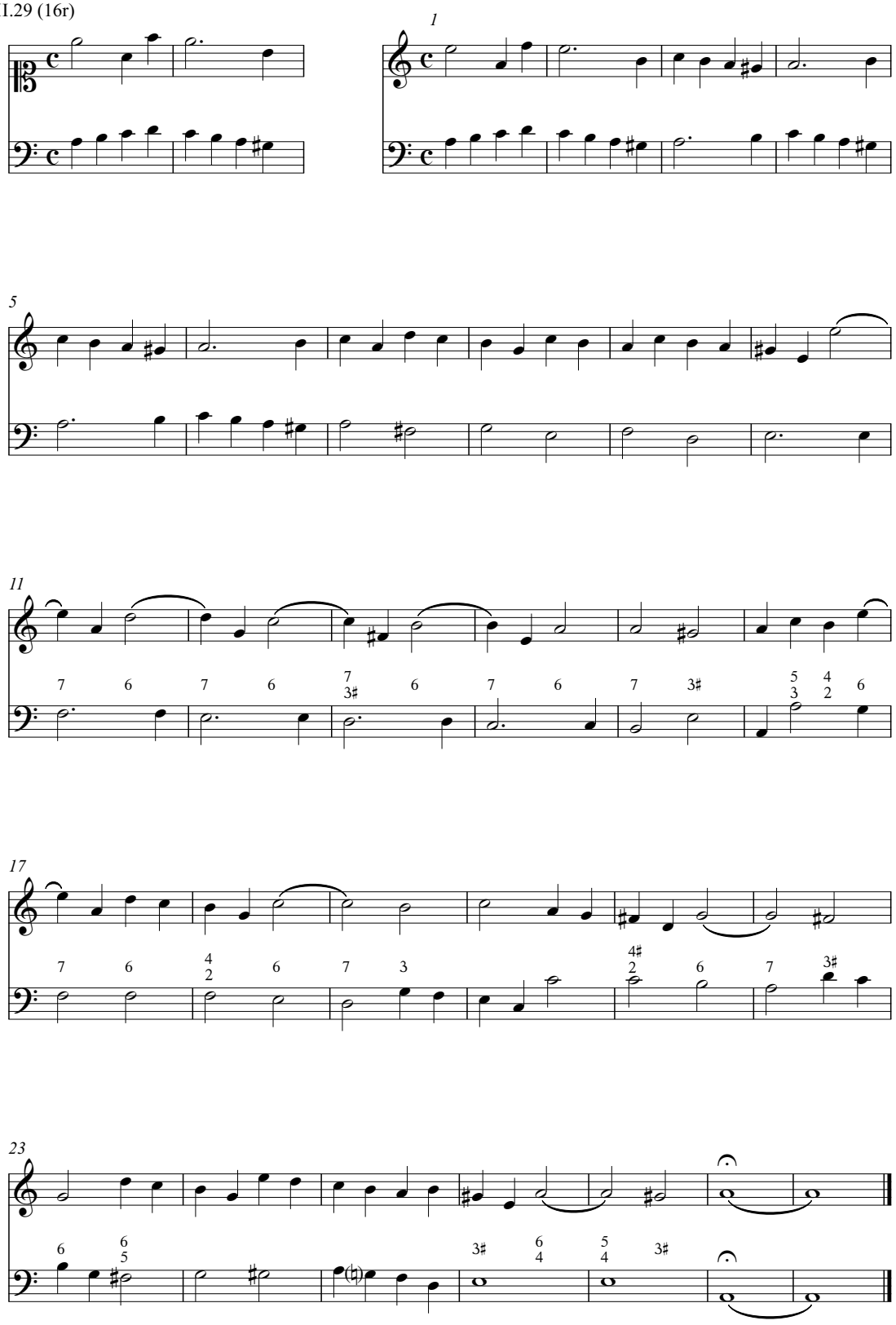


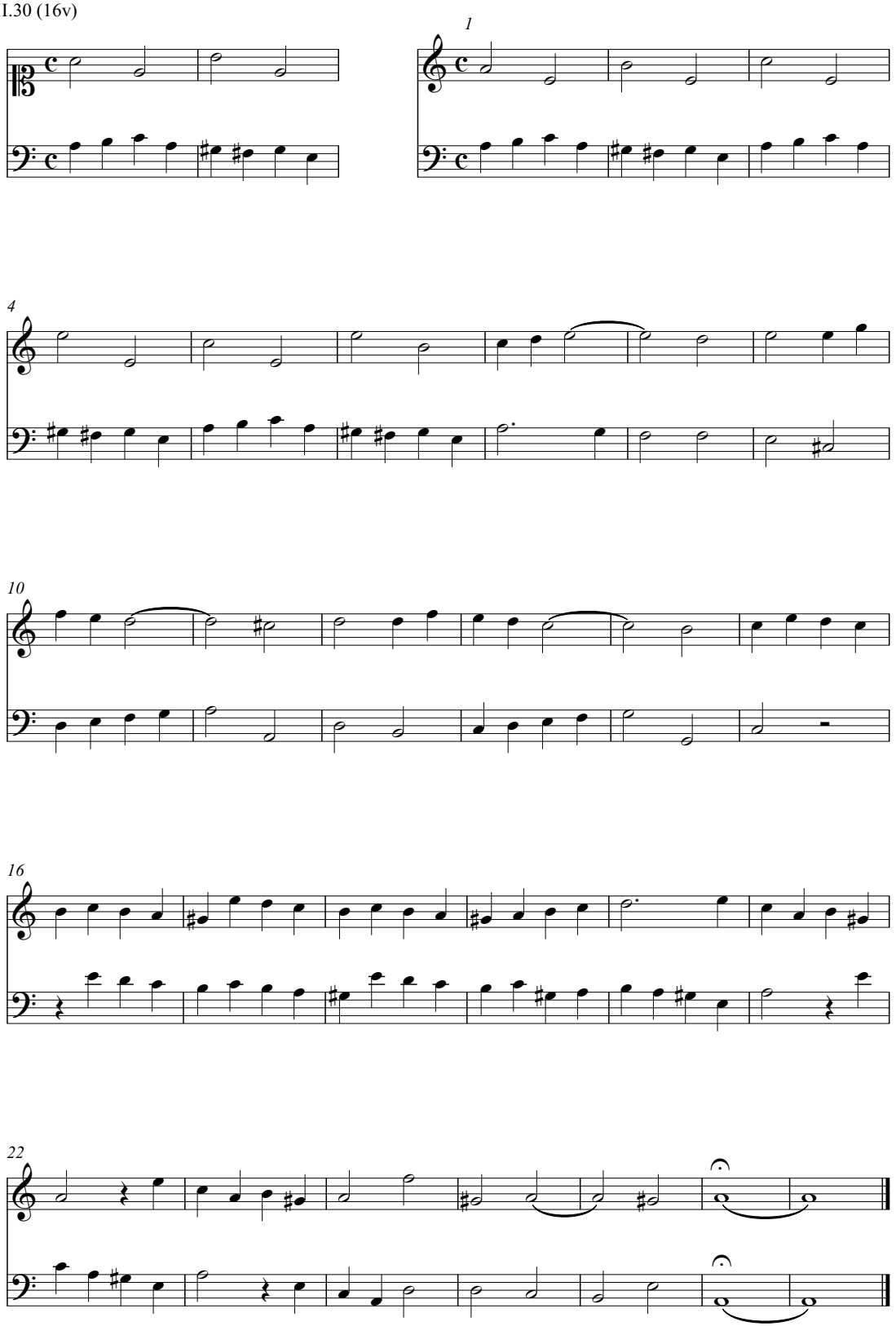
II.28 (16r)



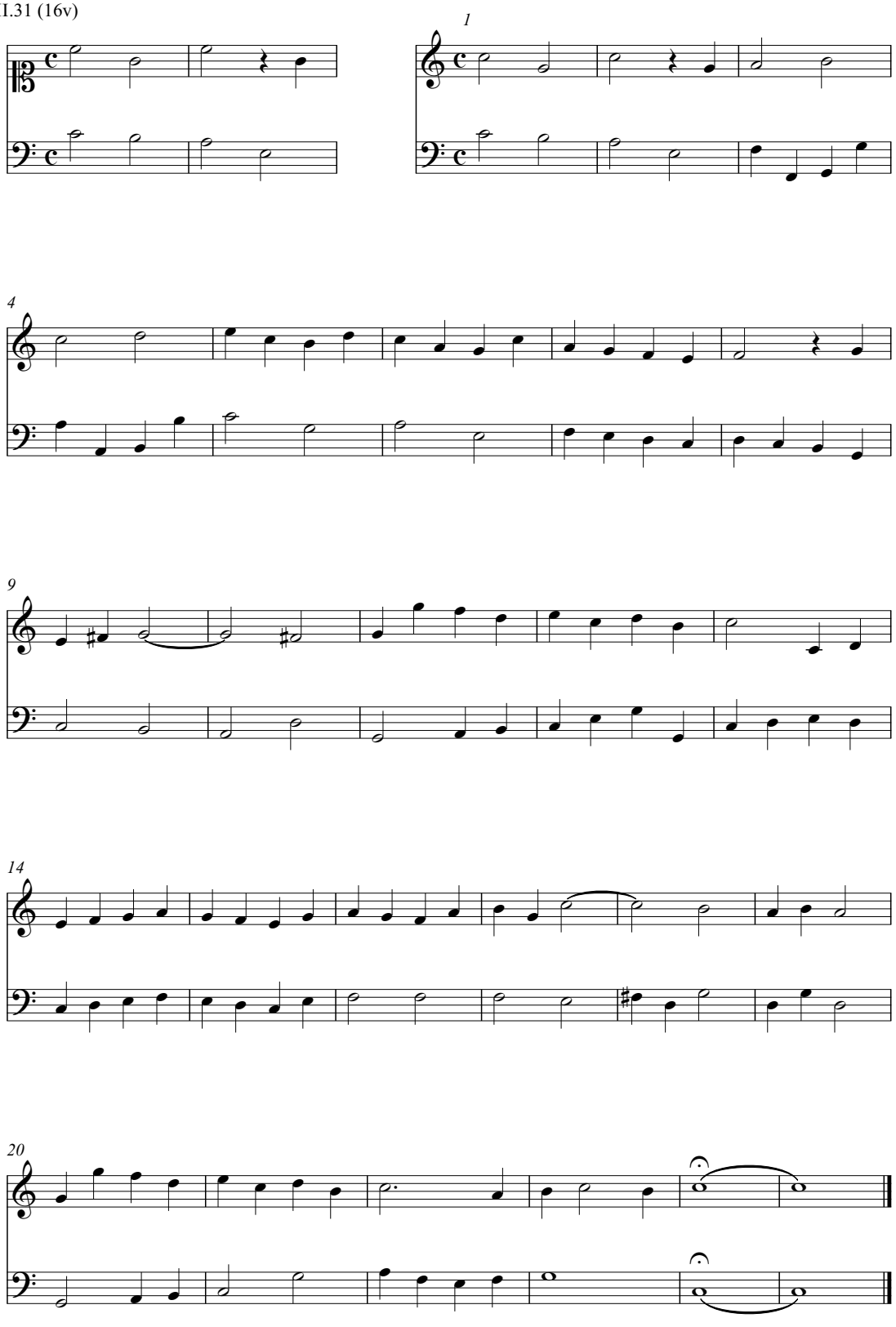
II.29 (16r)



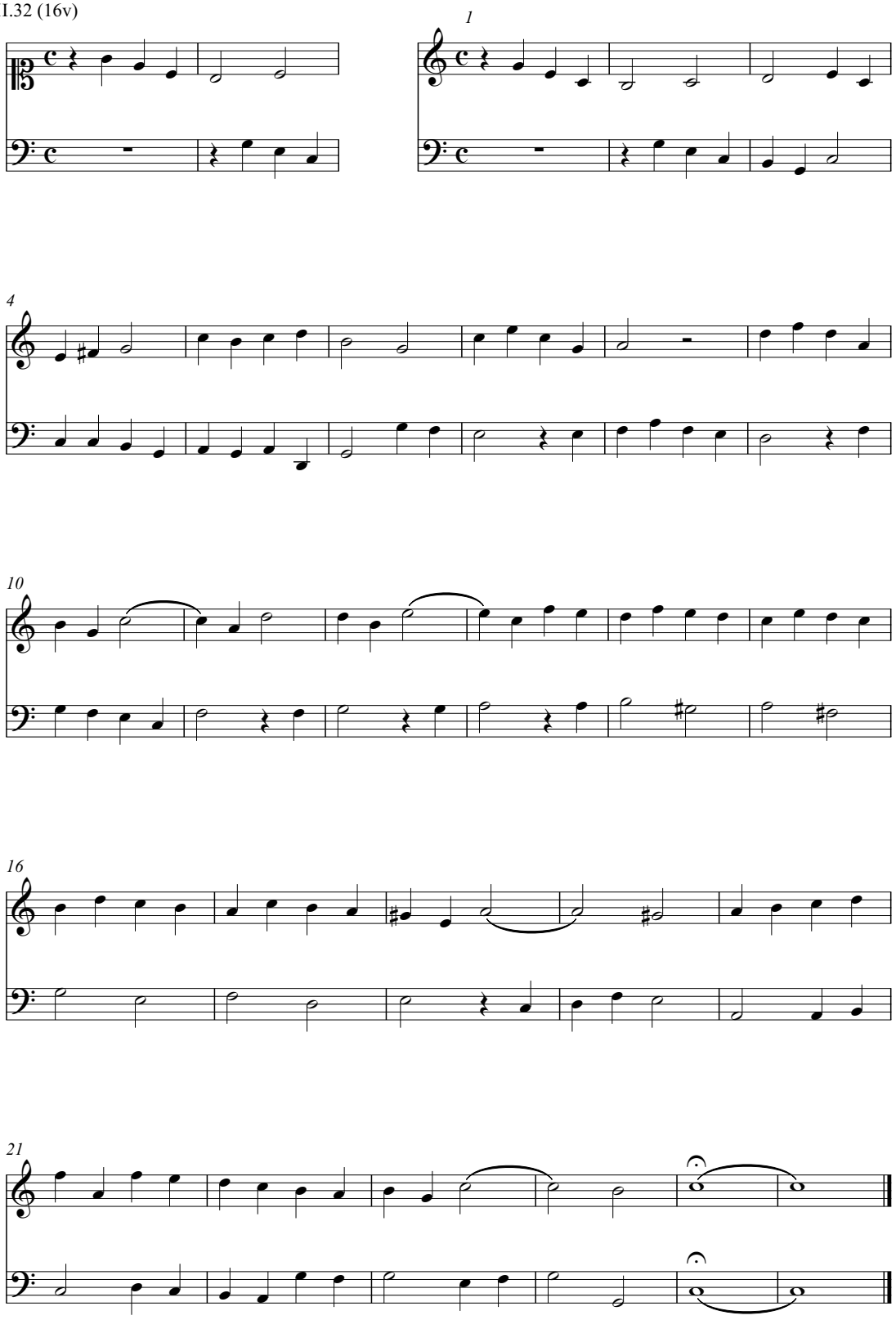
II.30 (16v)



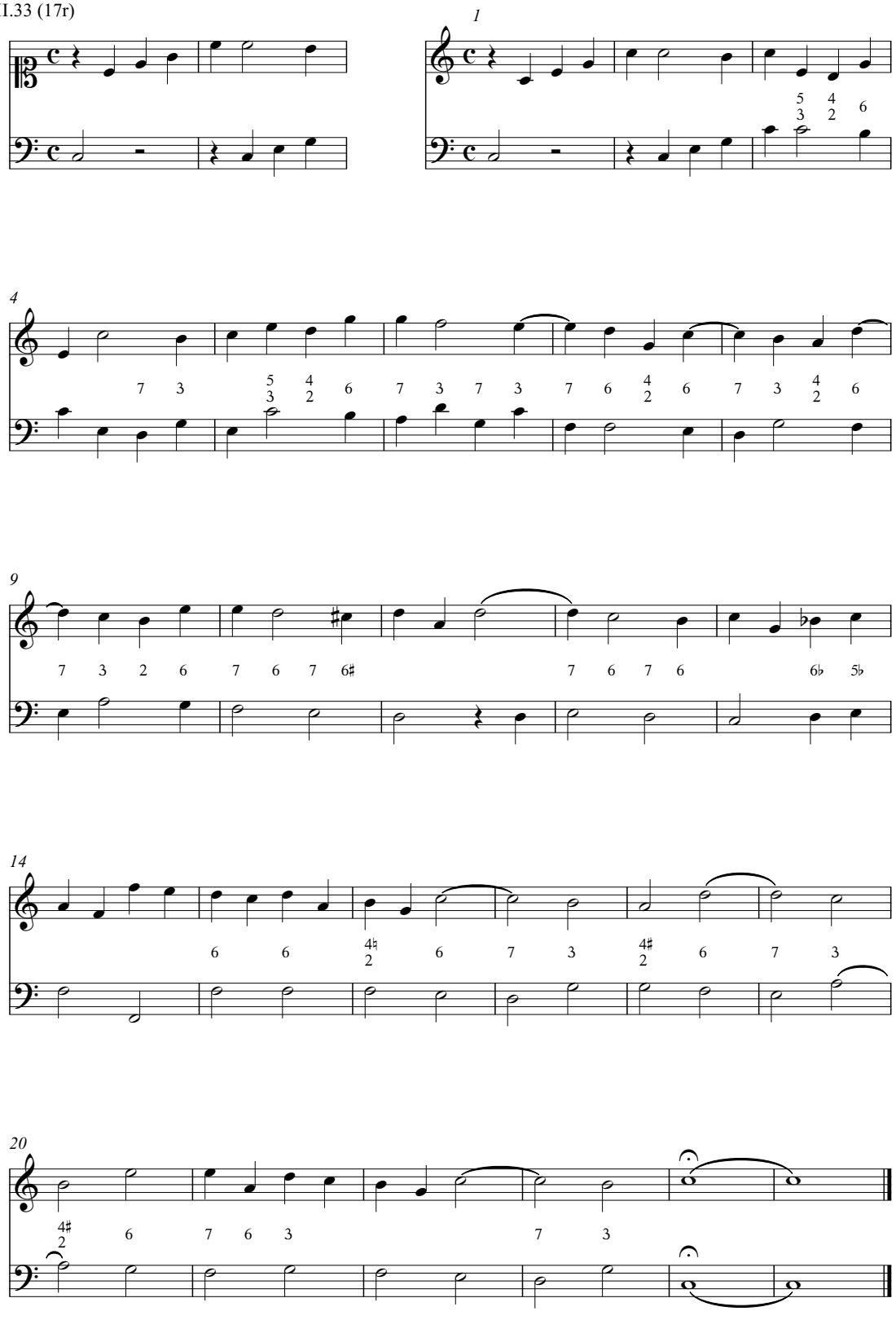
II.31 (16v)



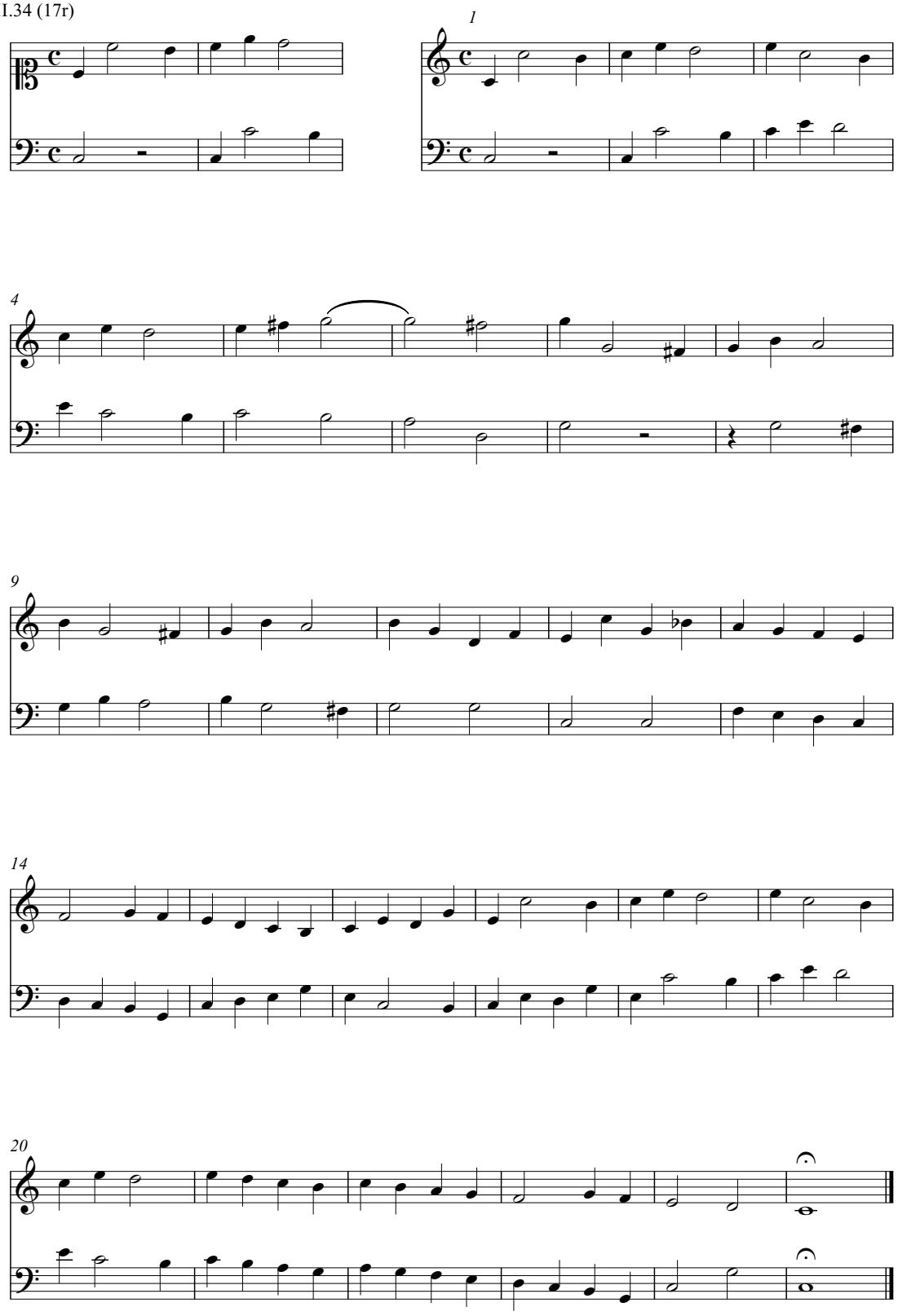
II.32 (16v)



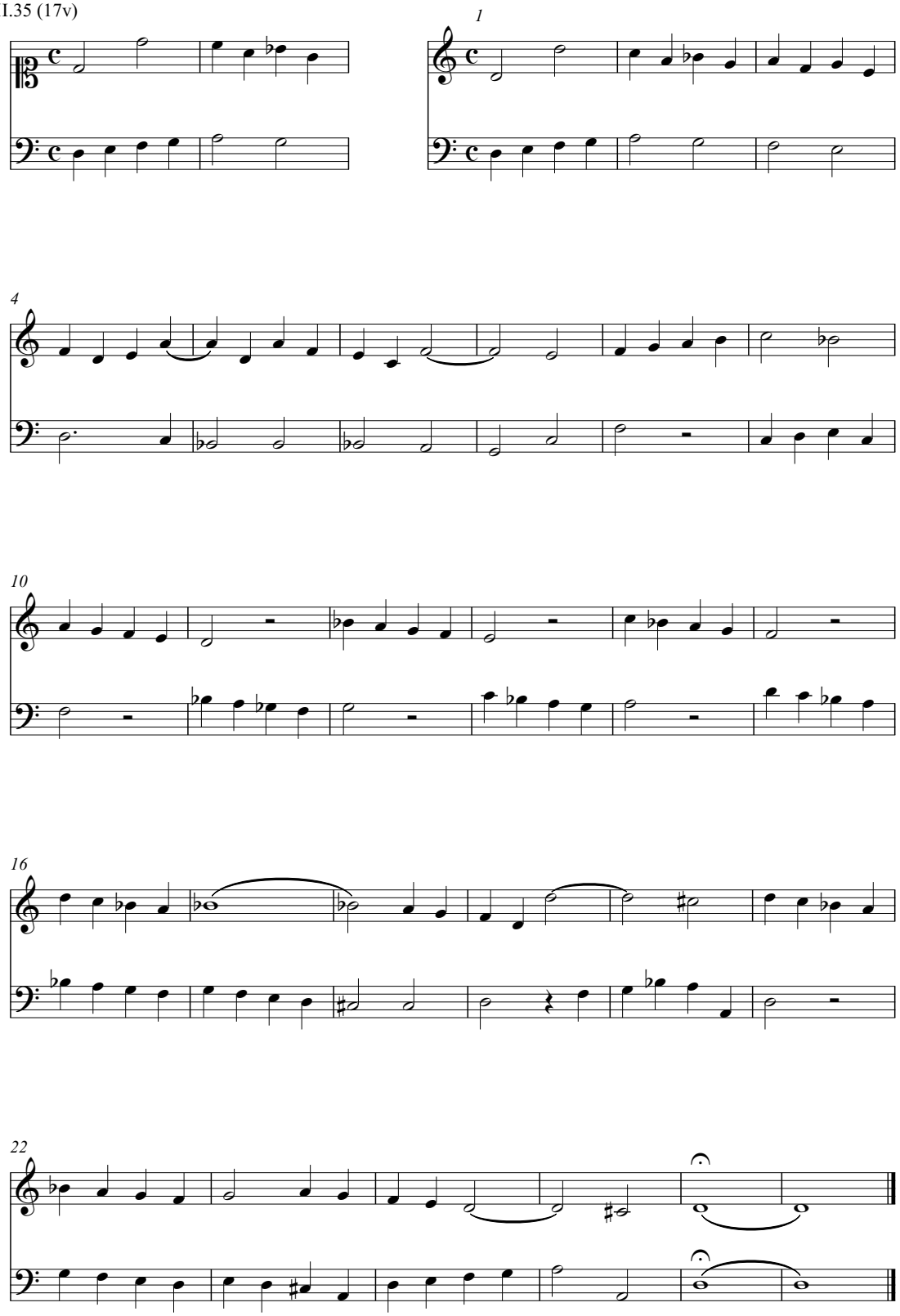
II.33 (17r)


1
5 4
3 2 6
4
7 3 5 4 6 7 3 7 3 7 6 4 6 7 3 4 6
3 2 2
9
7 3 2 6 7 6 7 6♯ 7 6 7 6 6♭ 5♭
14
6 6 4♮ 6 7 3 4♯ 6 7 3
2 2
20
4♯ 6 7 6 3 7 3
2

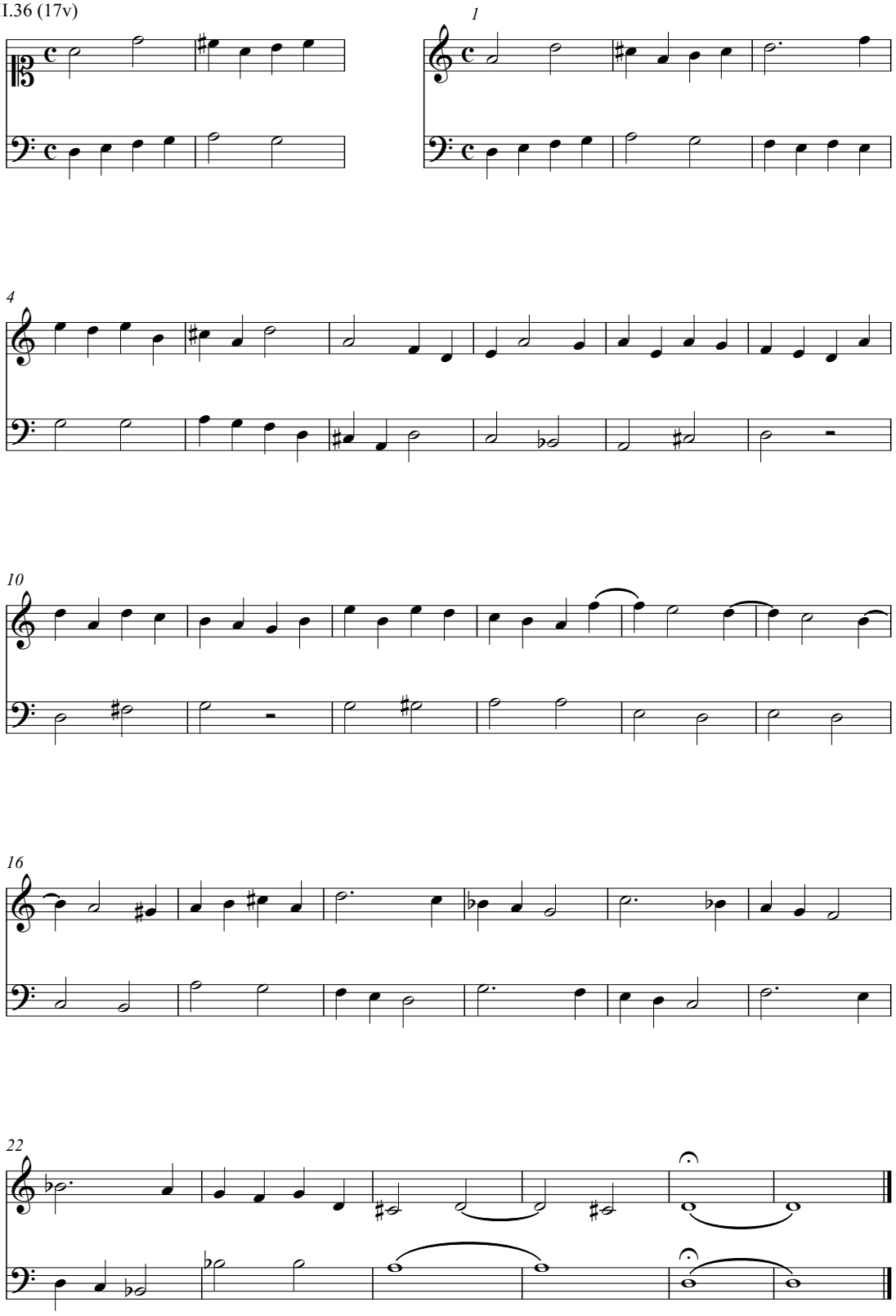
II.34 (17r)



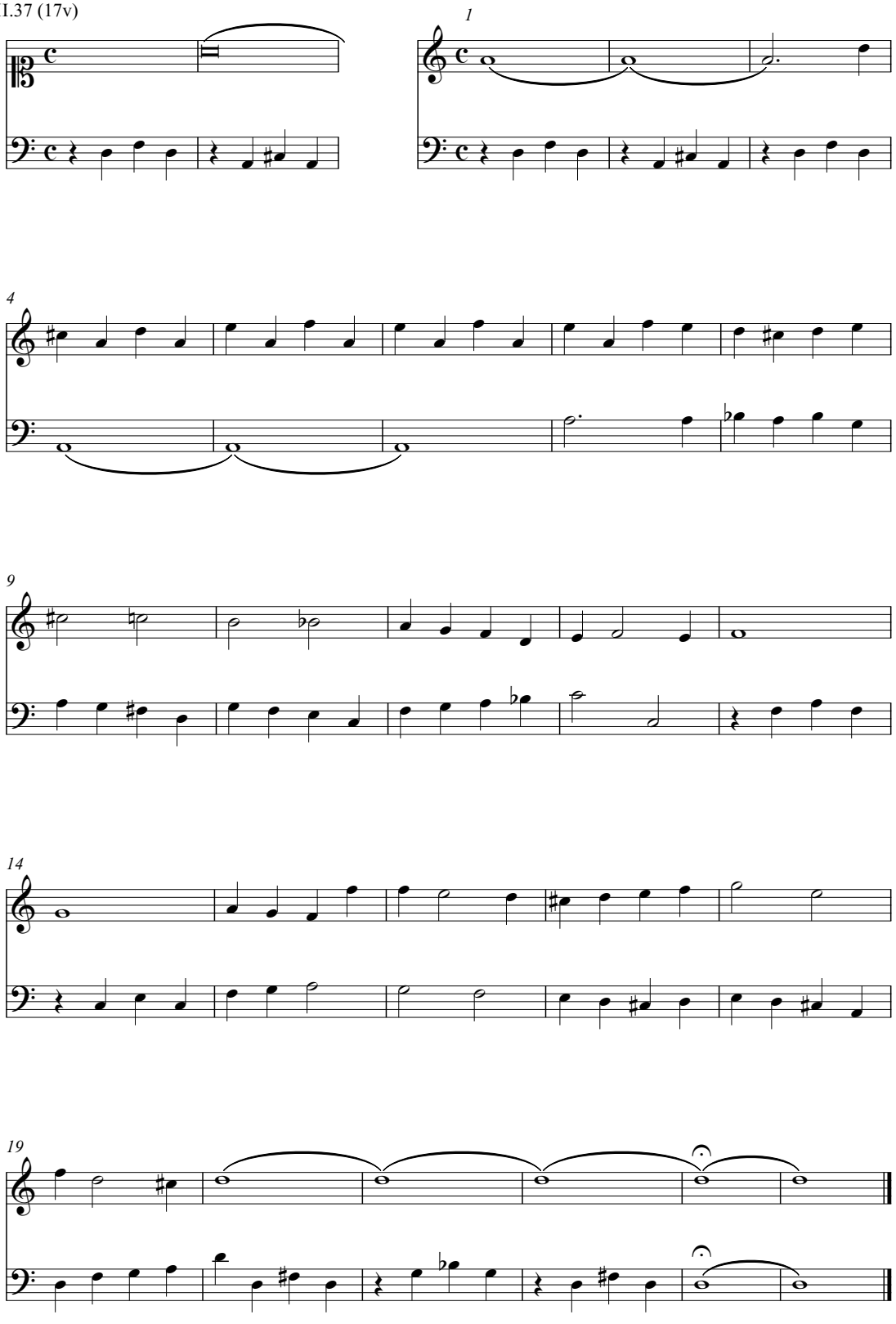
II.35 (17v)



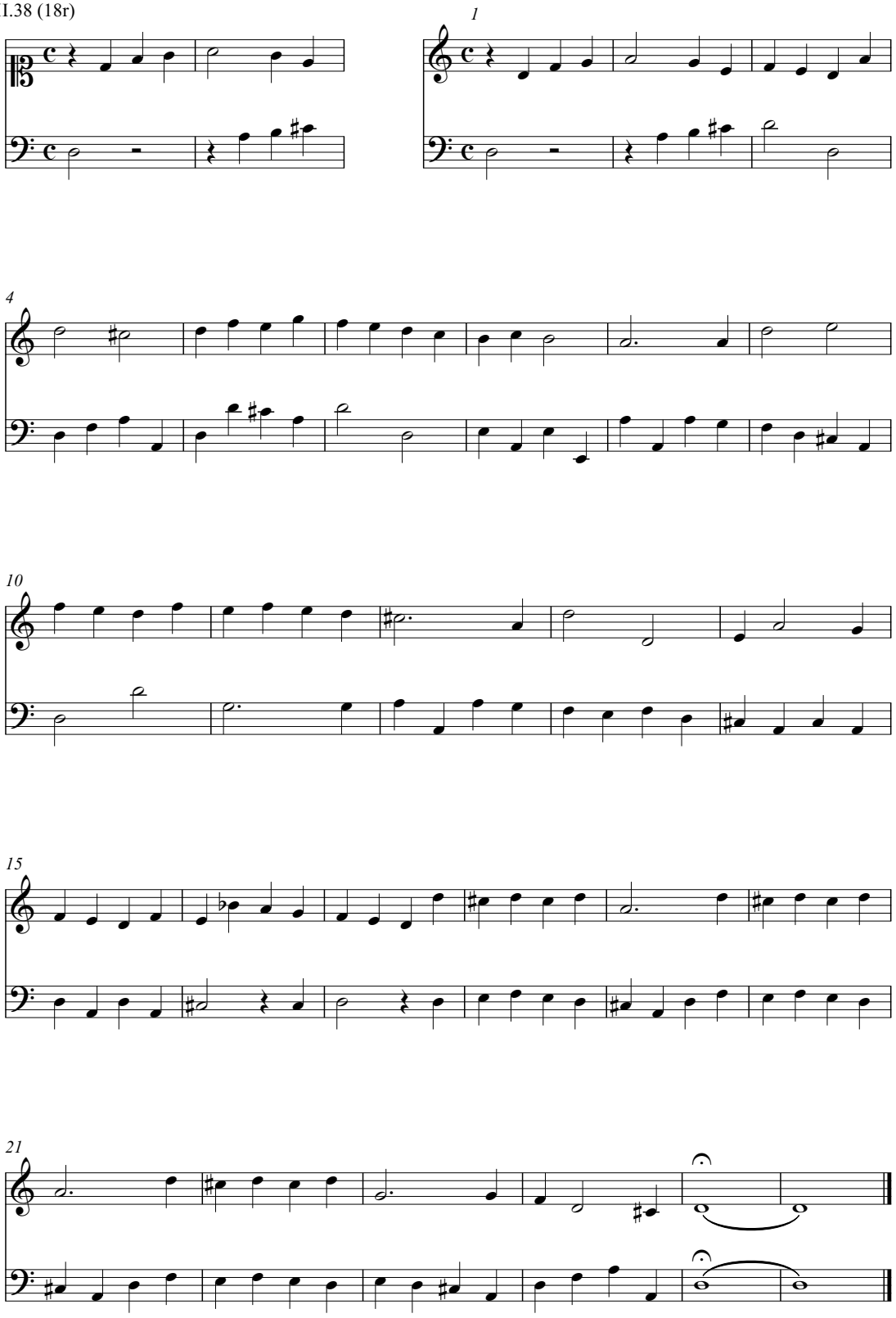
II.36 (17v)



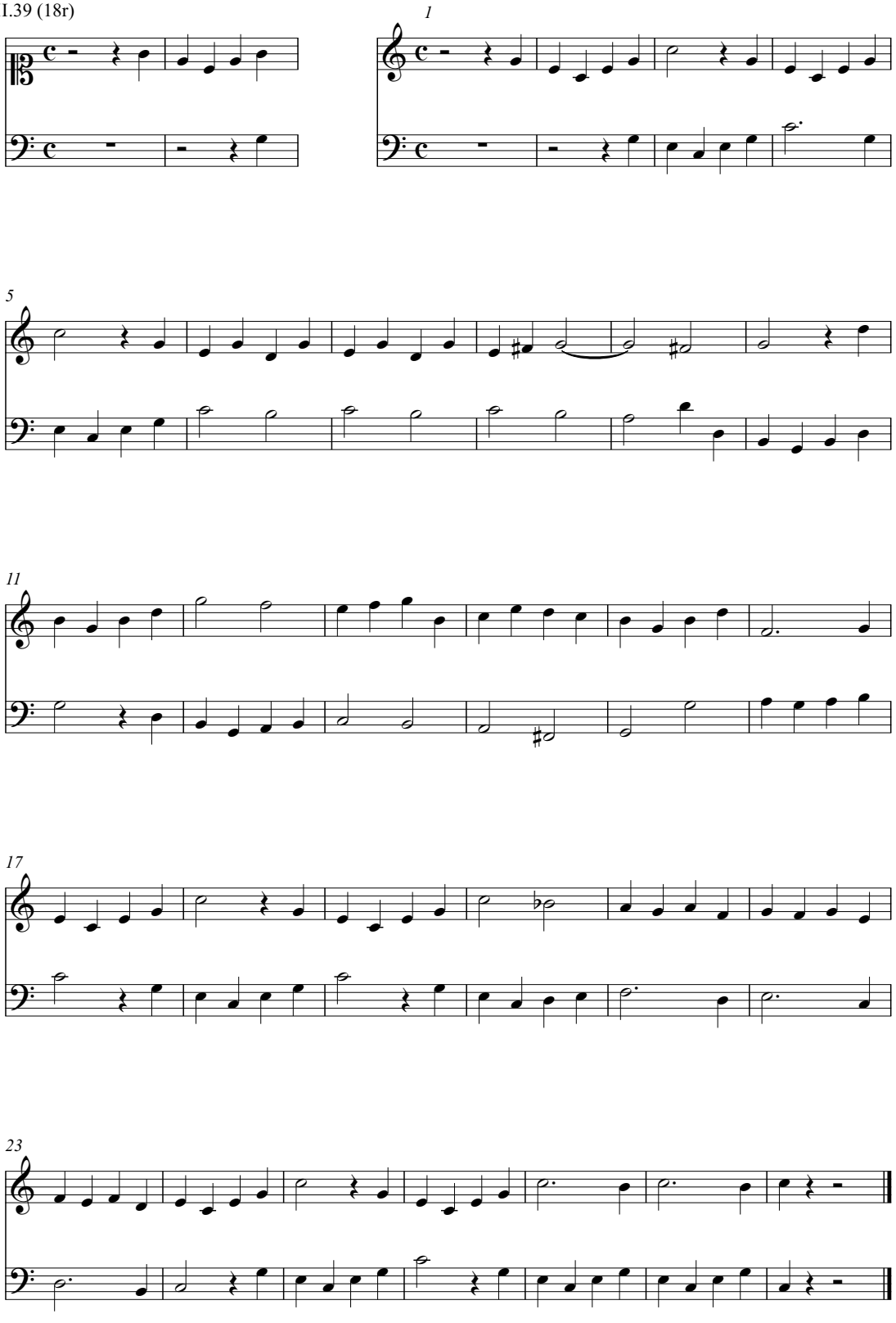
II.37 (17v)



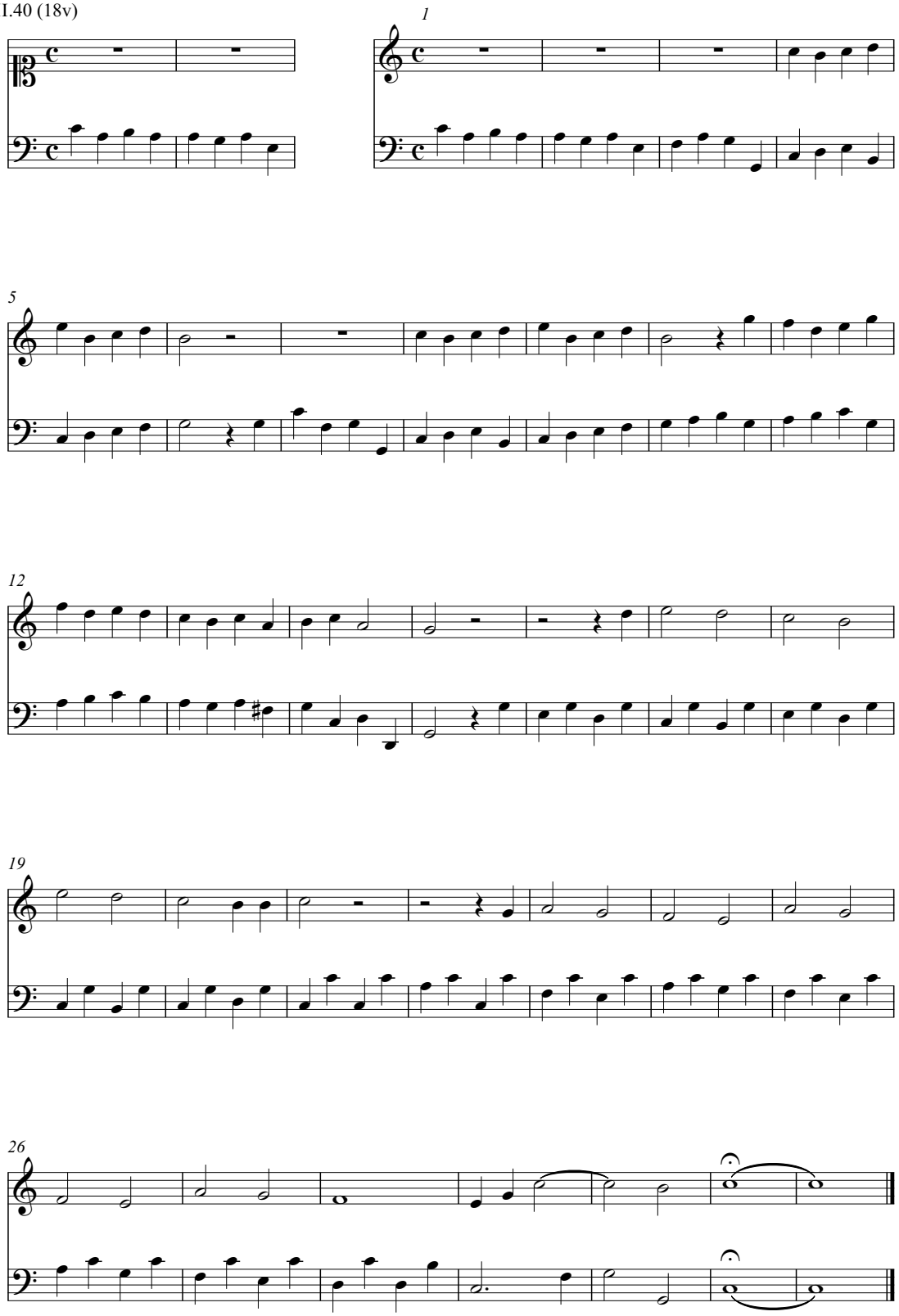
II.38 (18r)



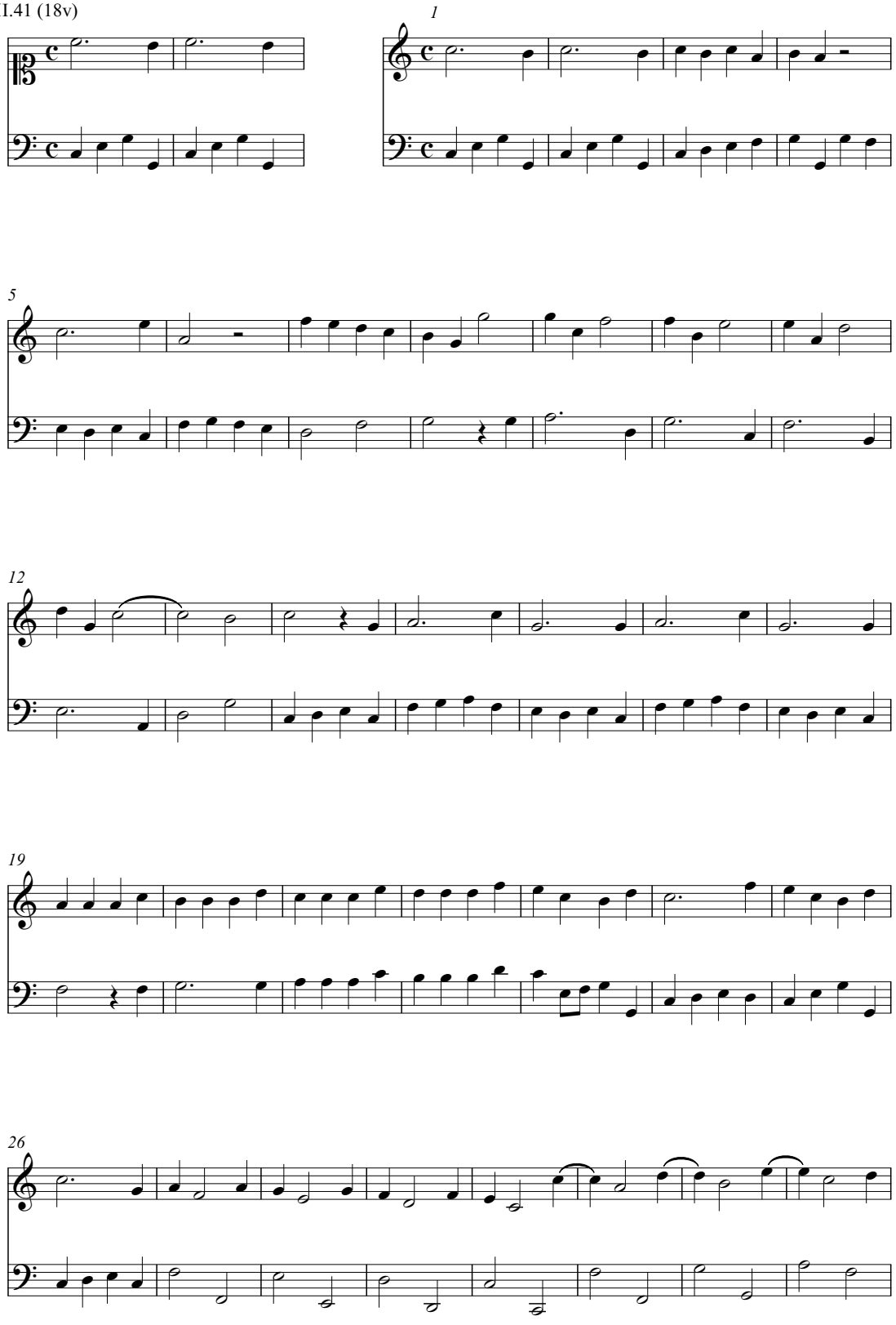
II.39 (18r)

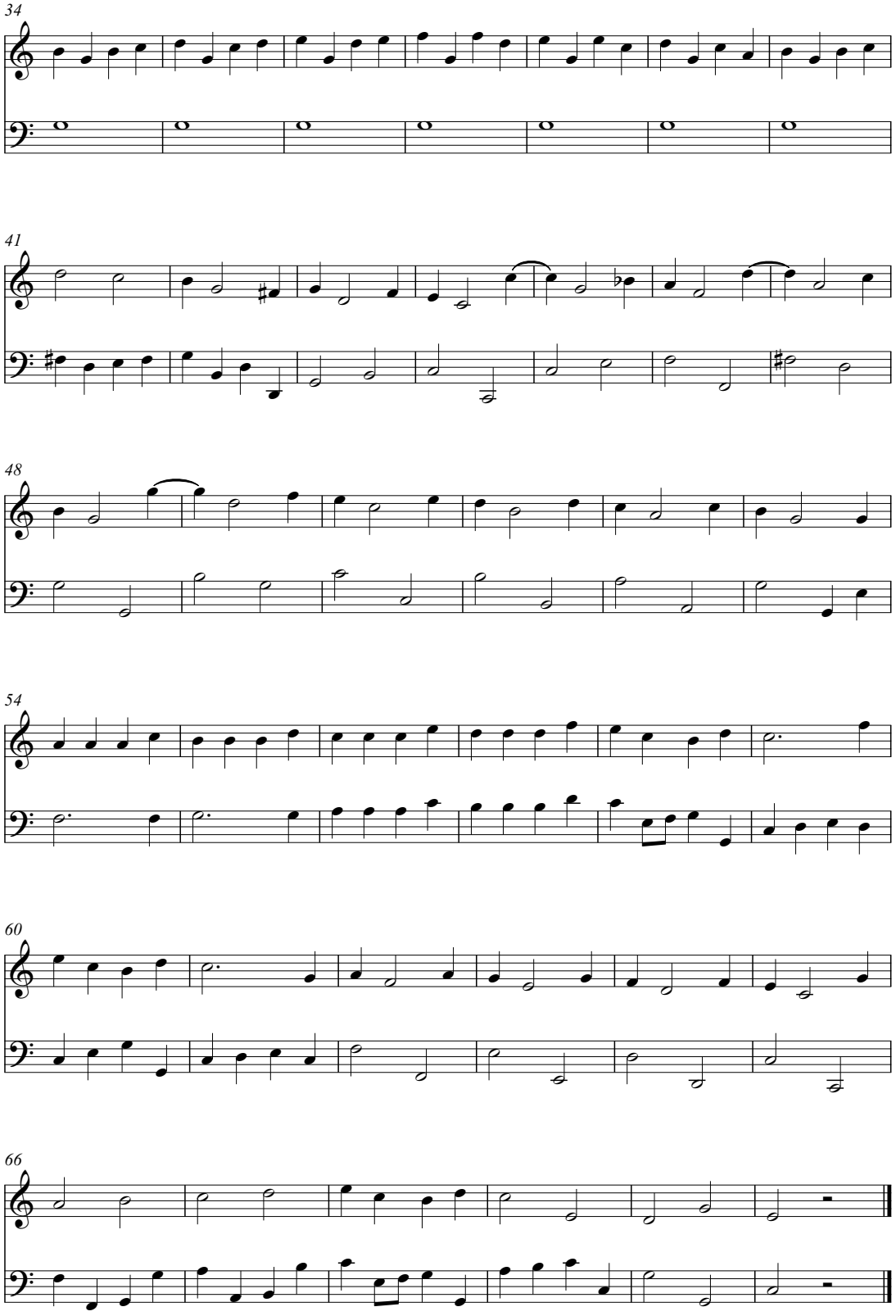


II.40 (18v)

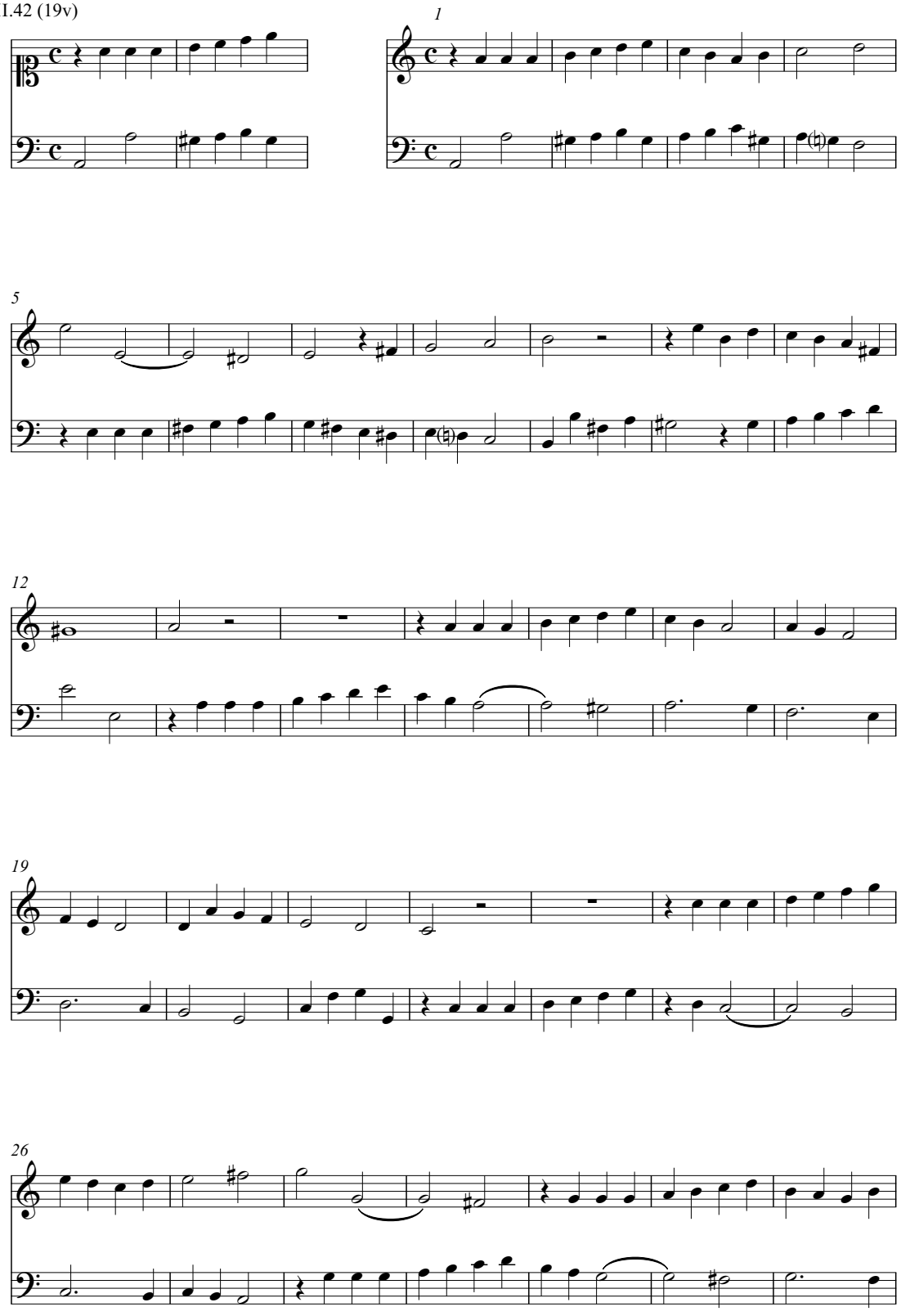


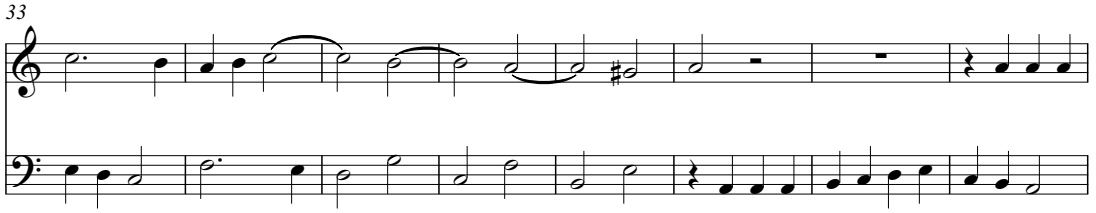
II.41 (18v)

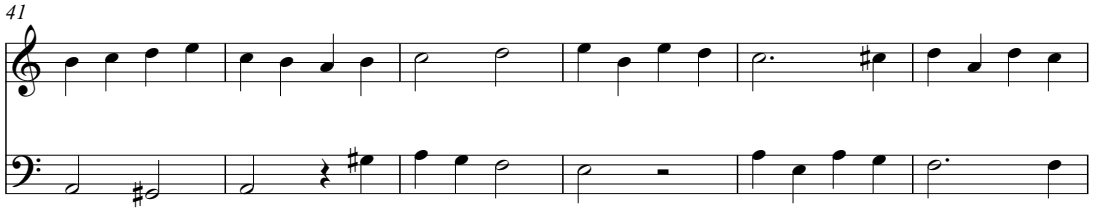


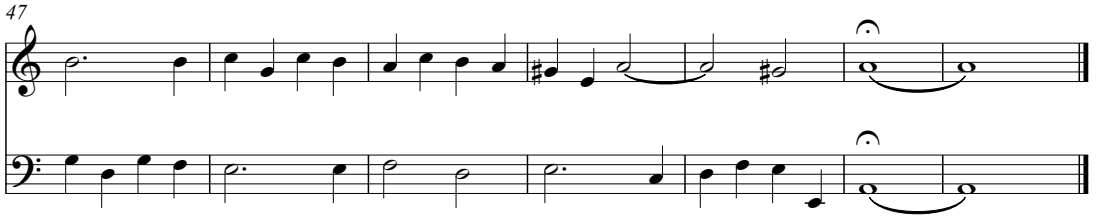

34
41
48
54
60
66

II.42 (19v)

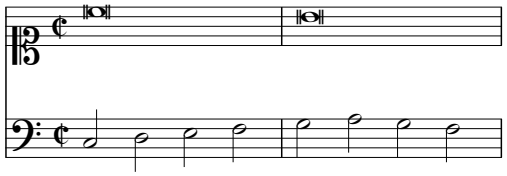


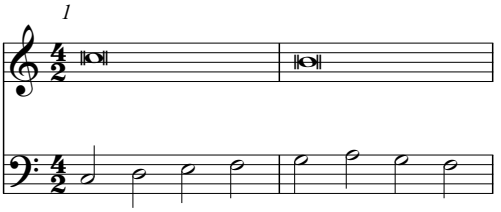


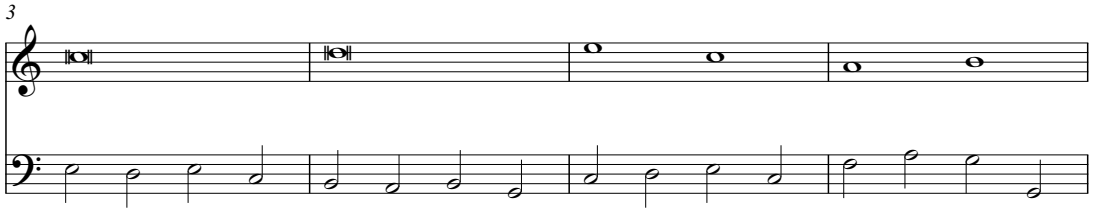


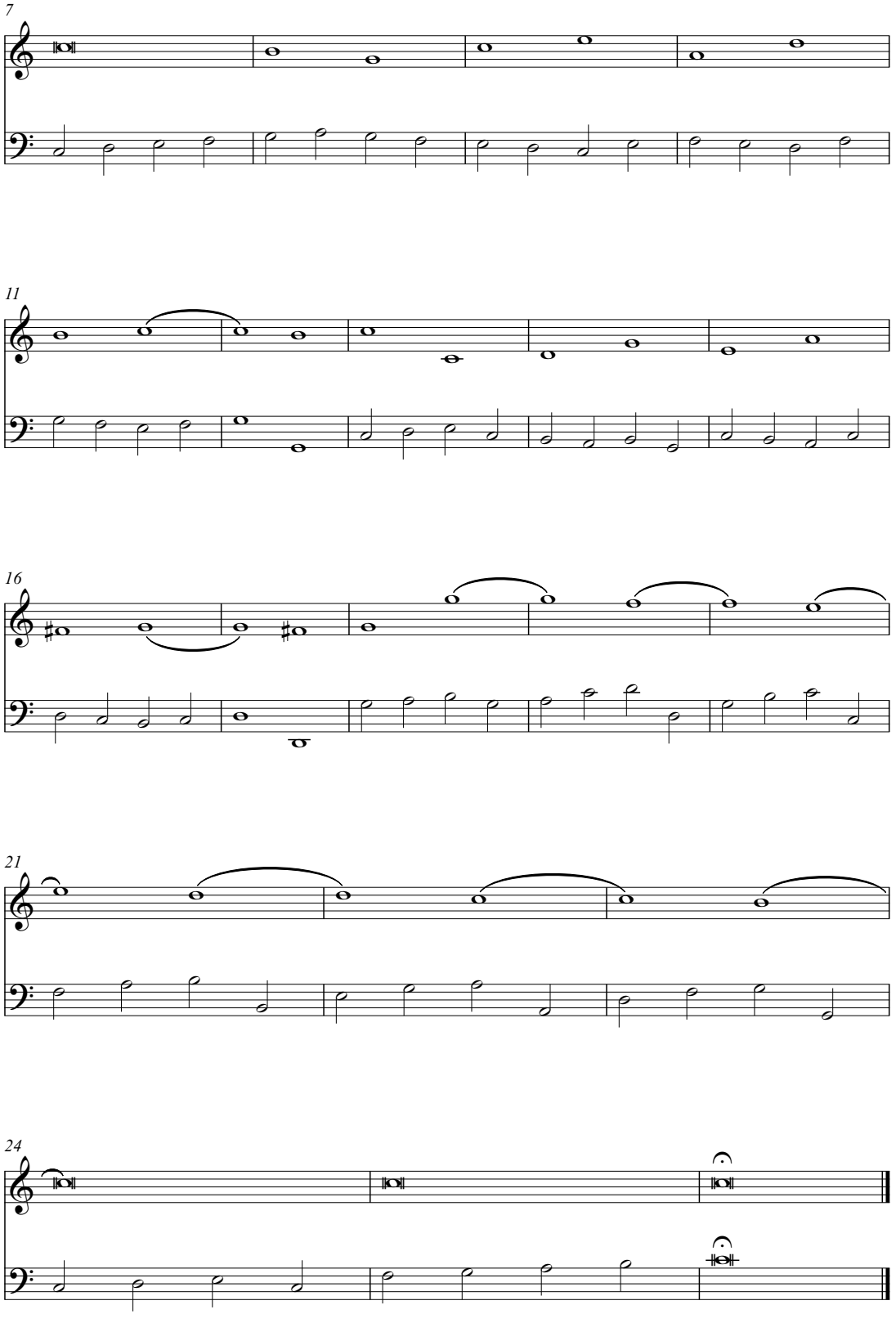


II.43 (20r)








7
11
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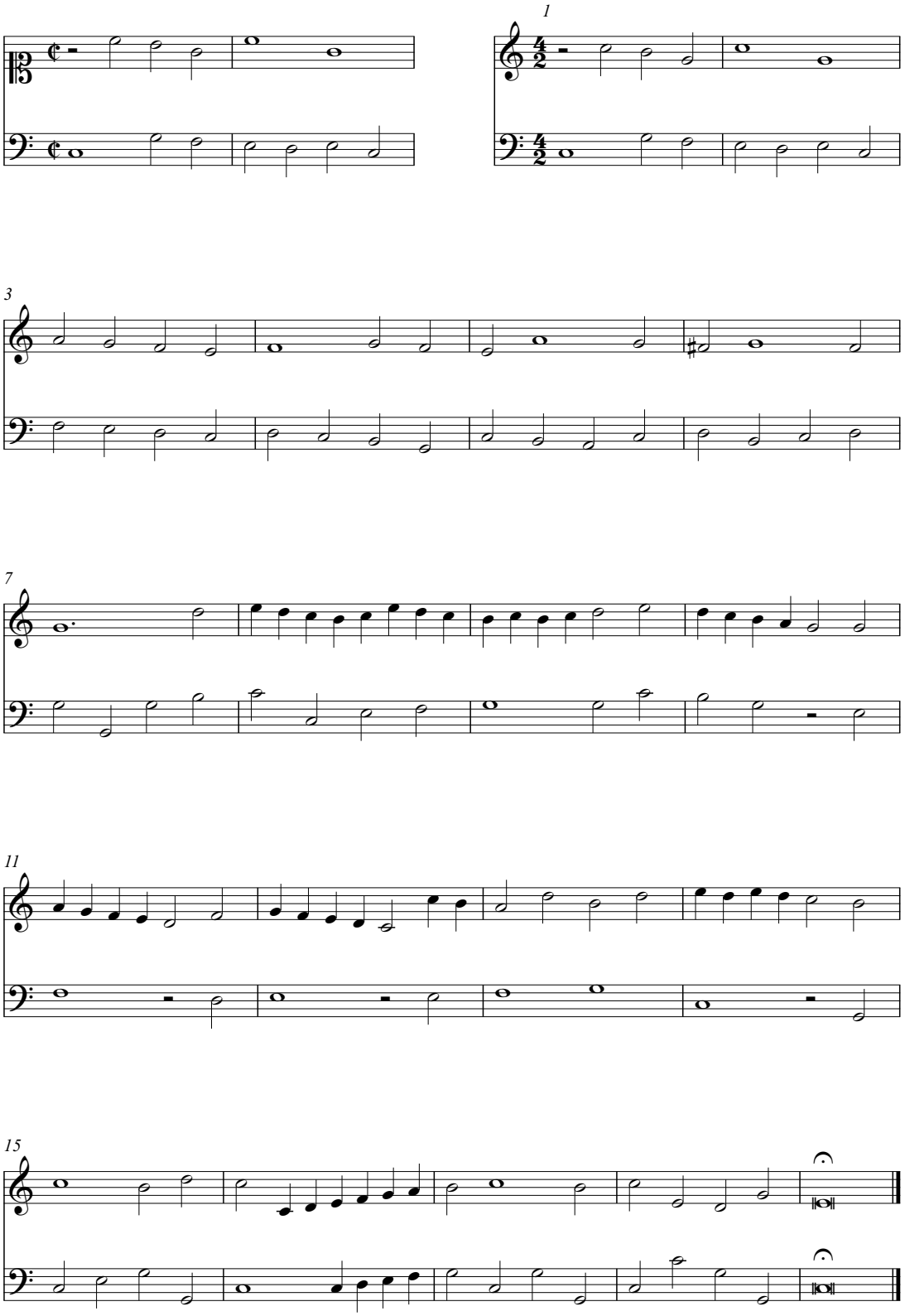
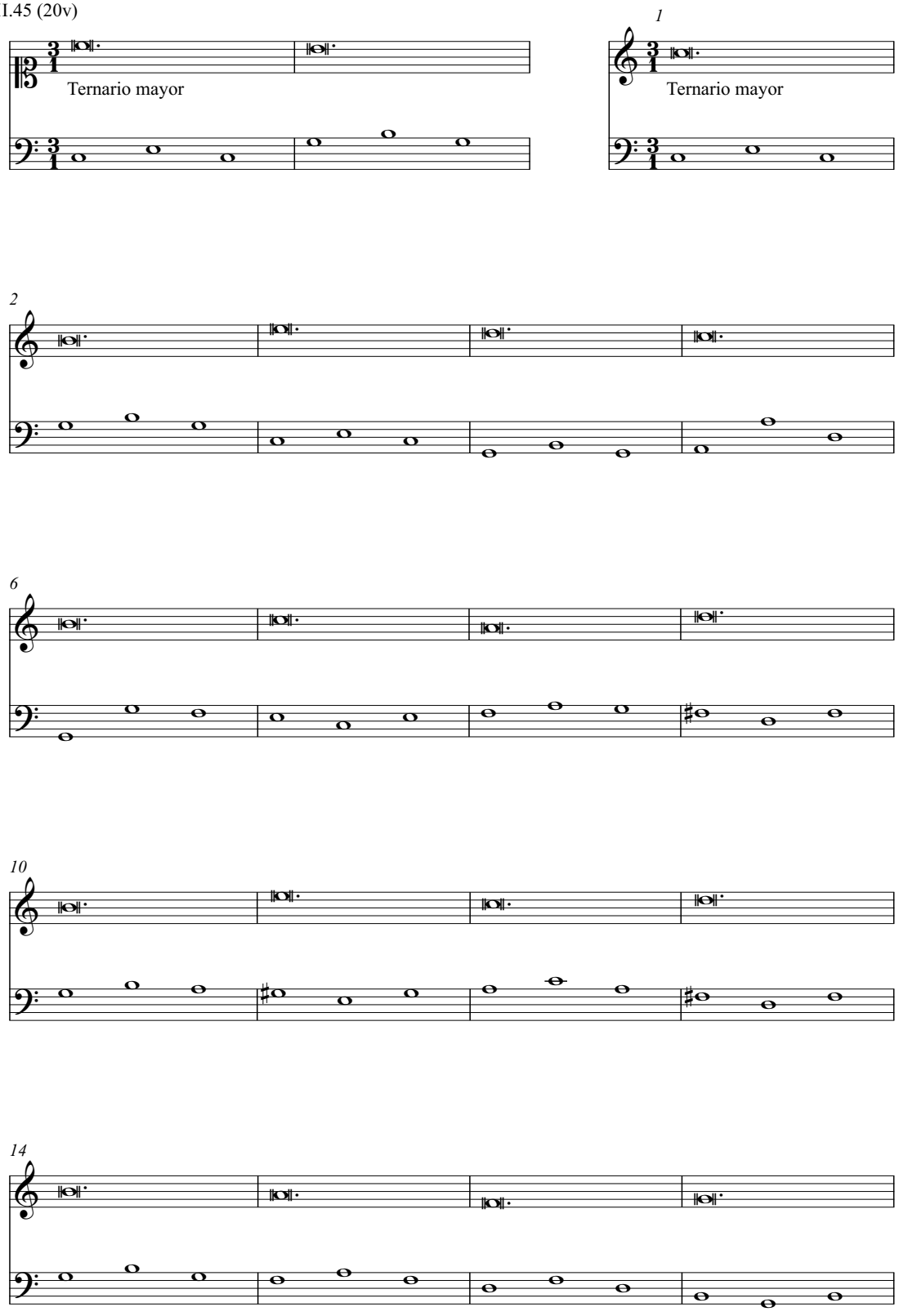
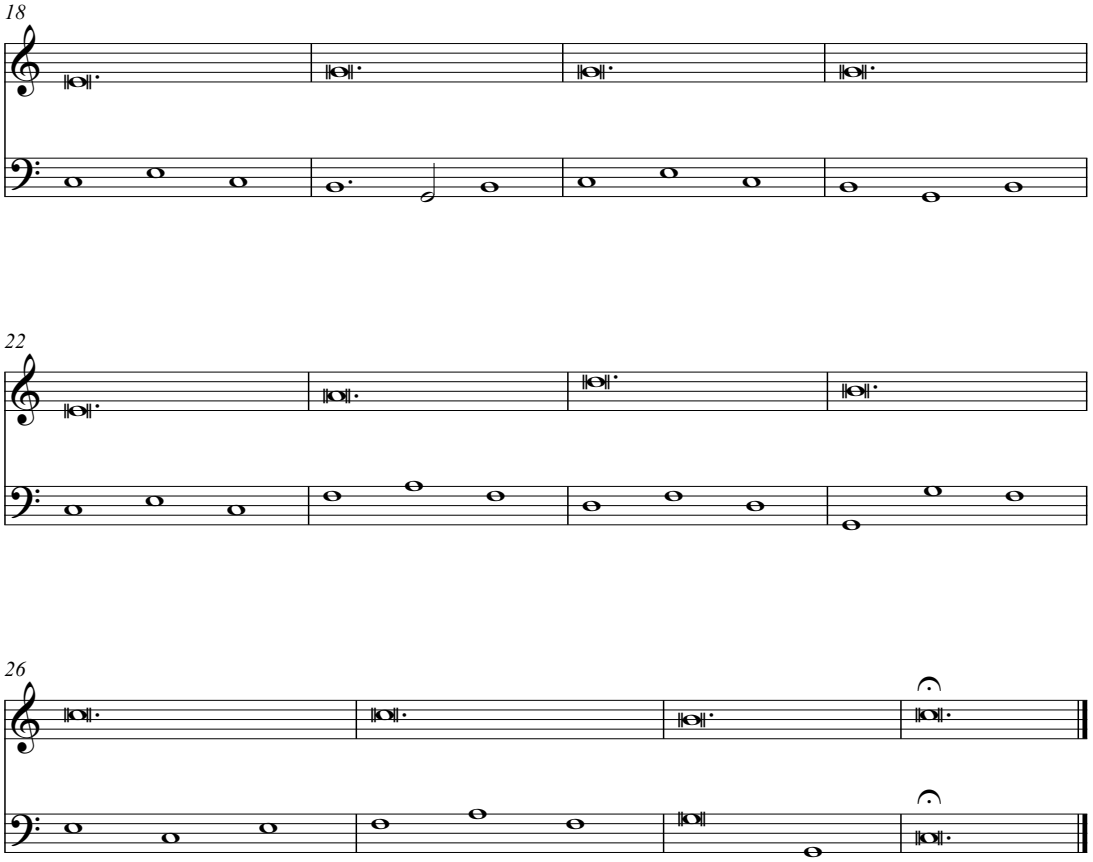
24

II.44 (20r)



II.45 (20v)




18
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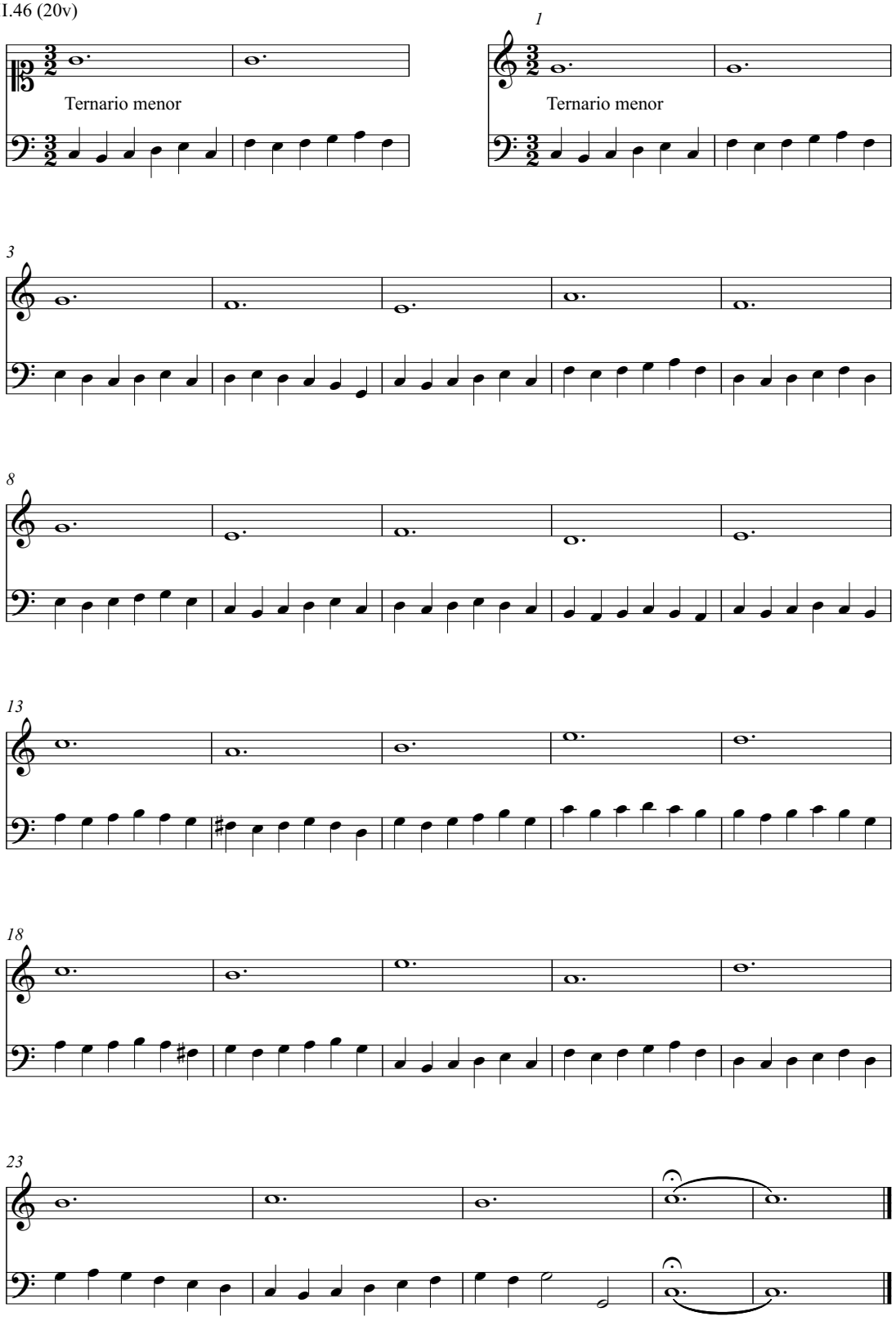
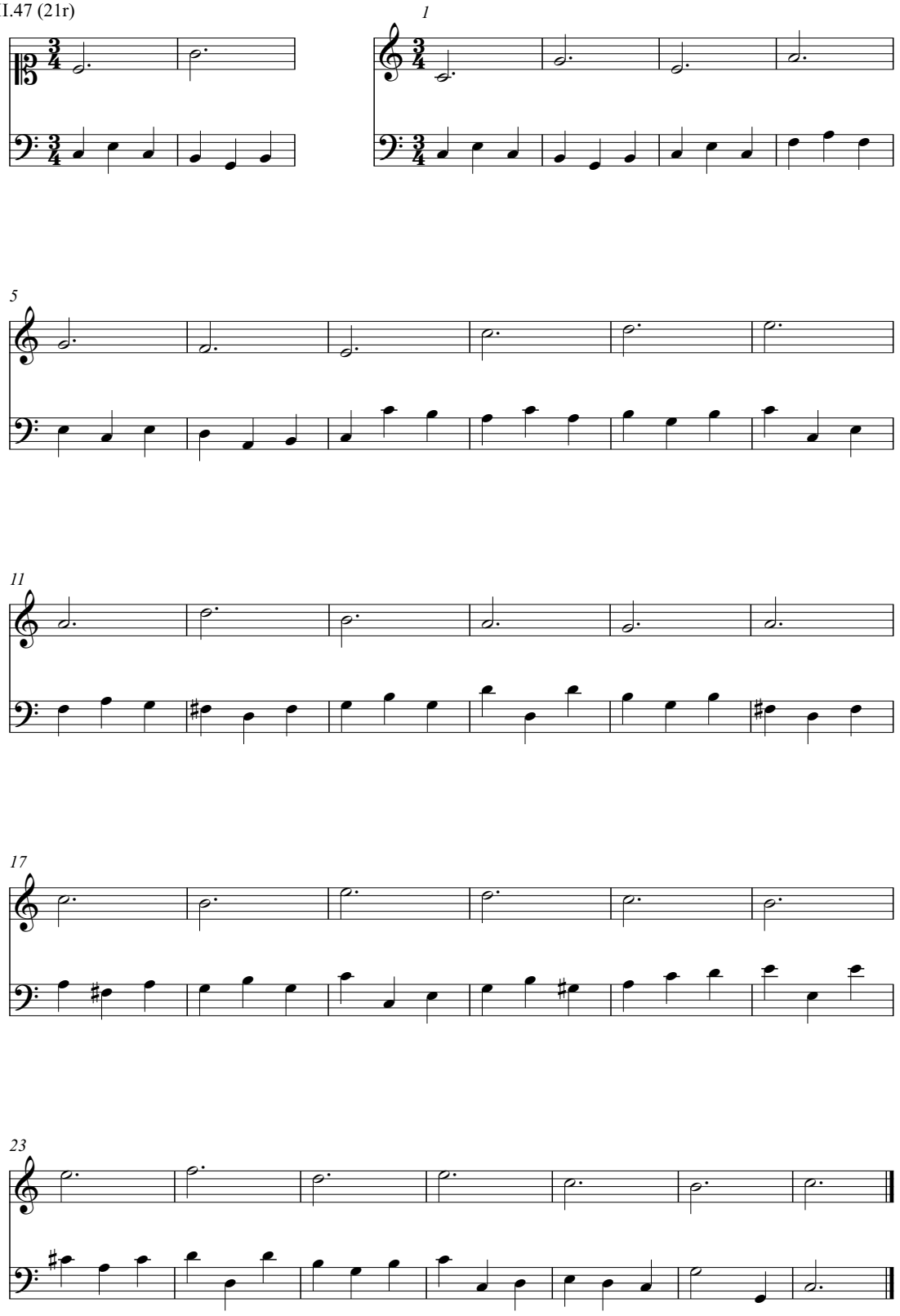
26

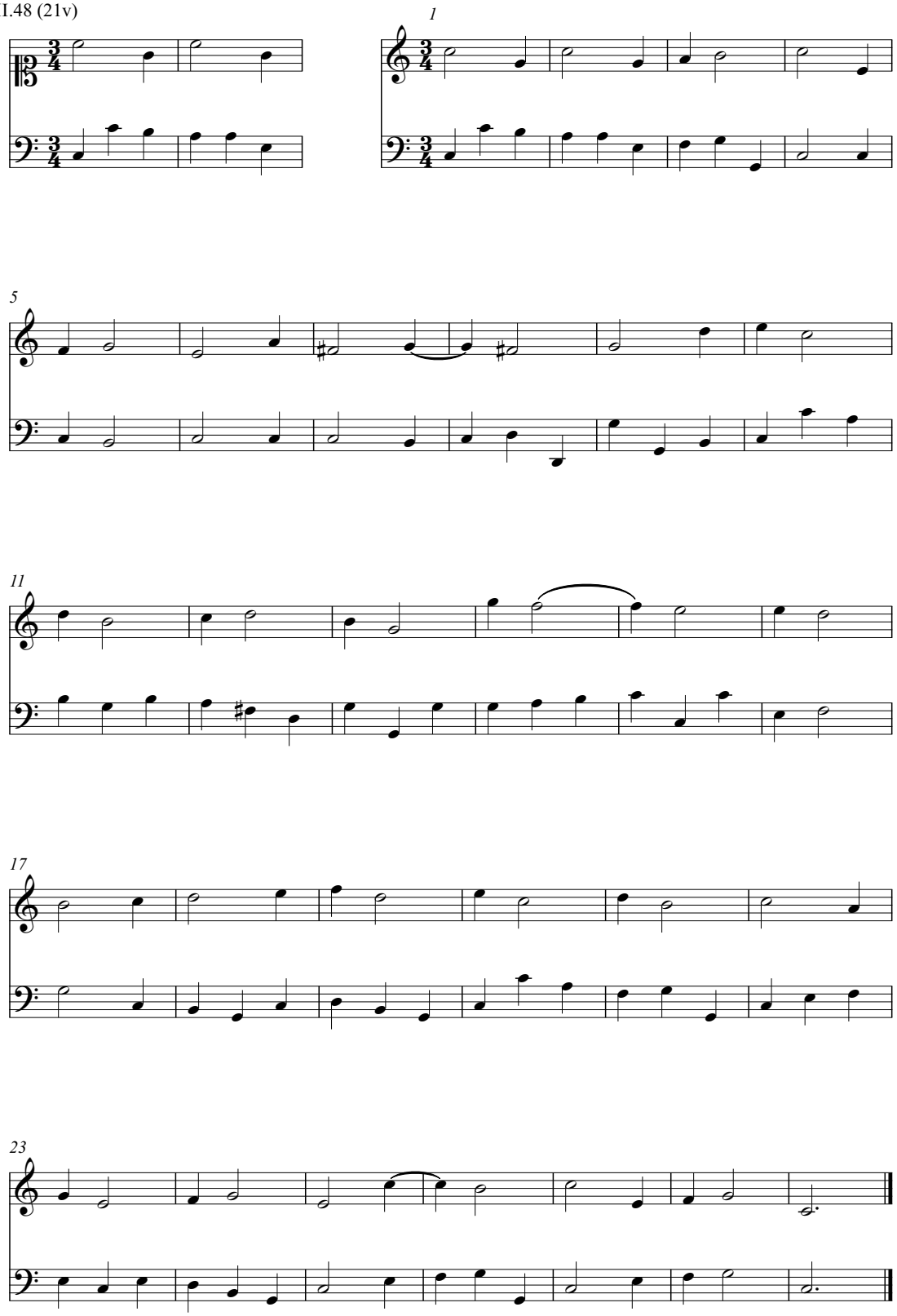
II.46 (20v)



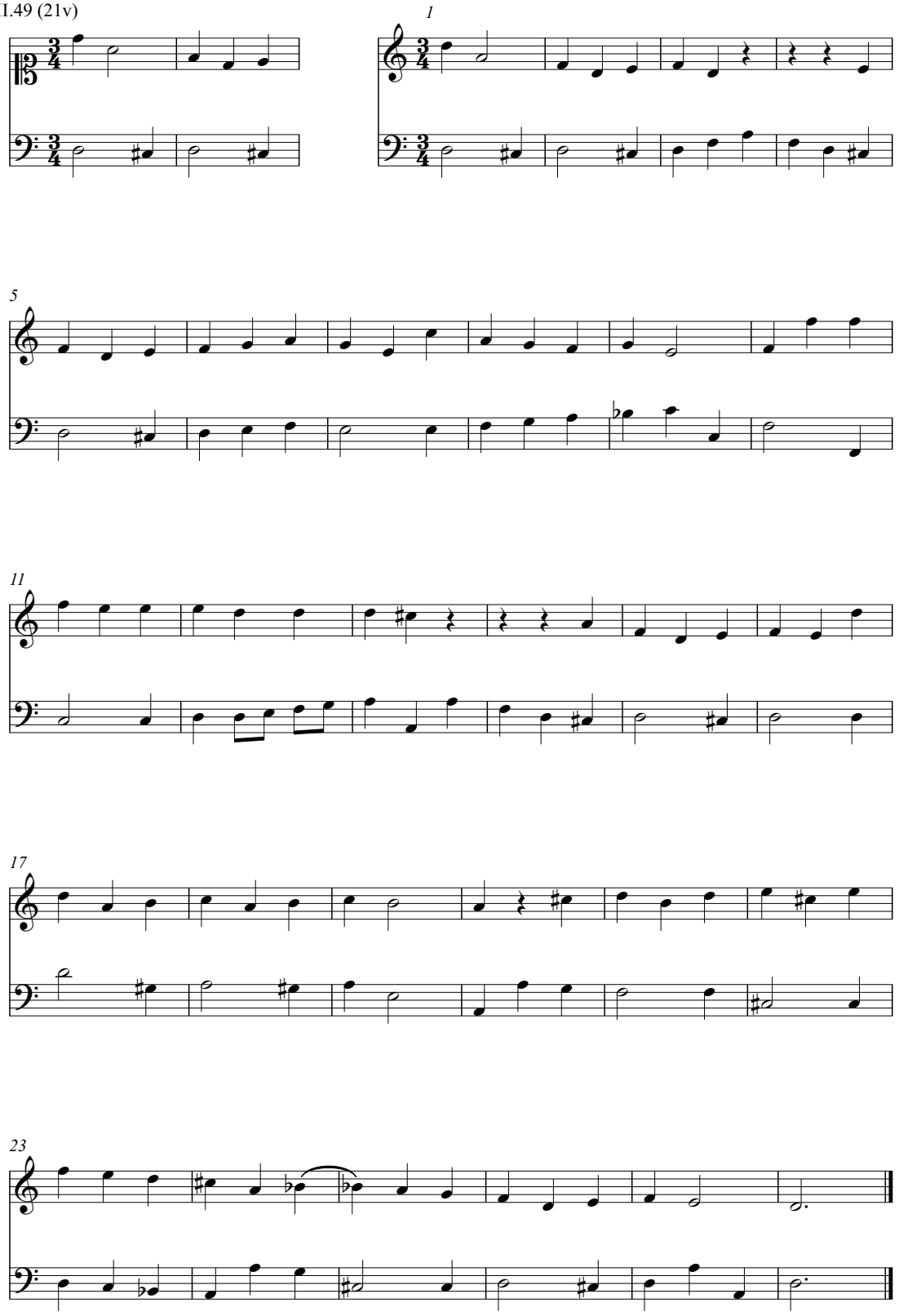
II.47 (21r)



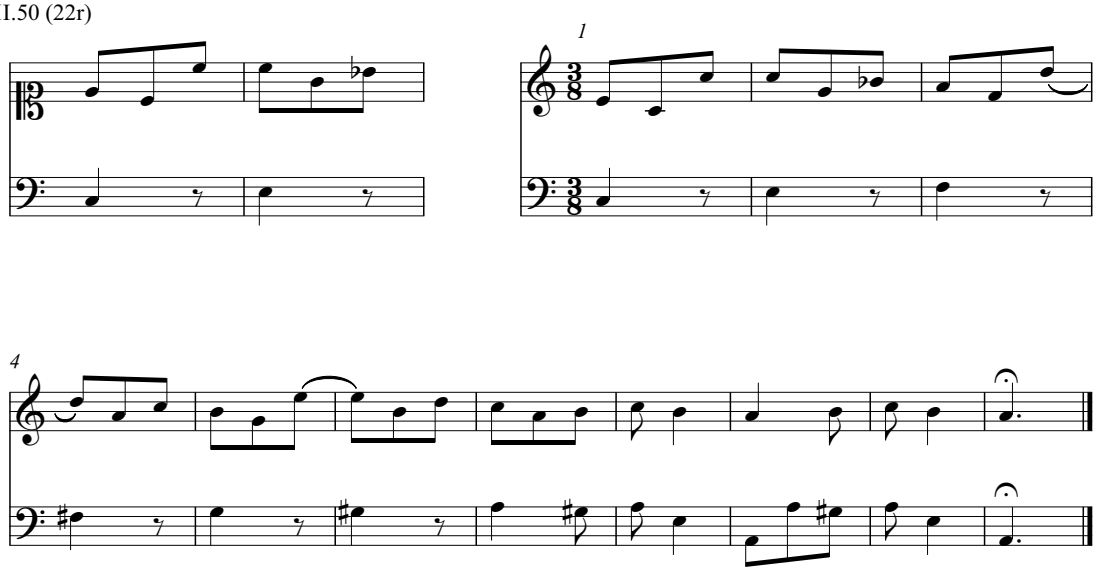
II.48 (21v)



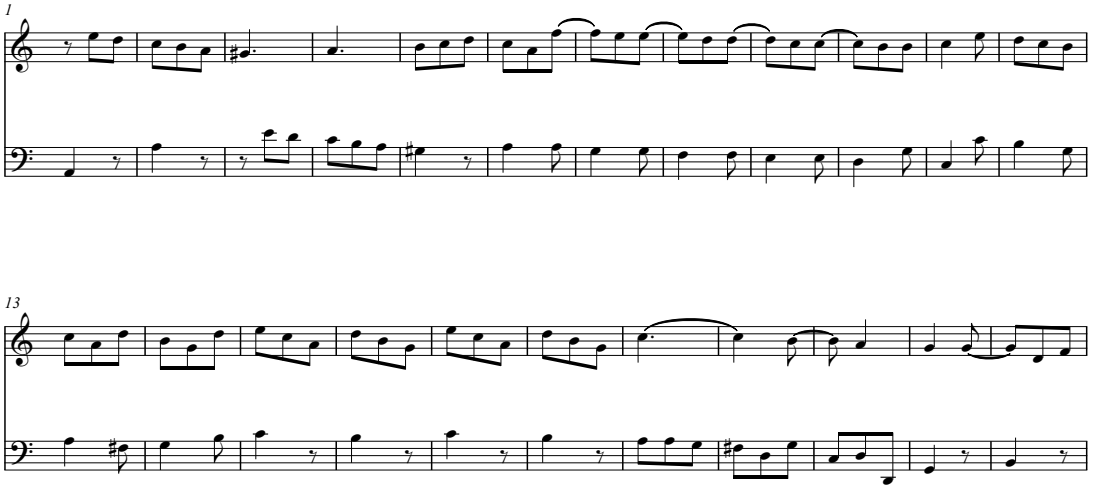
II.49 (21v)



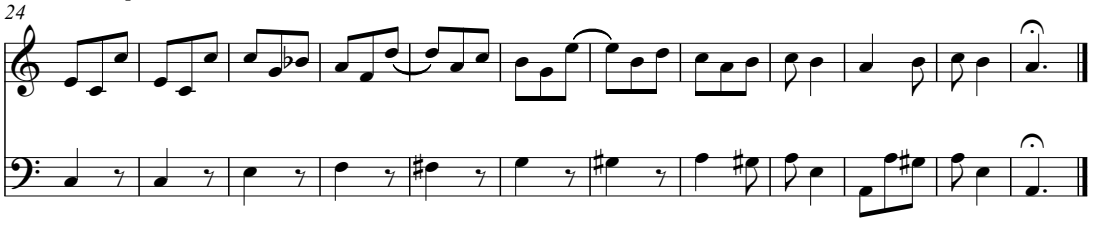
II.50 (22r)



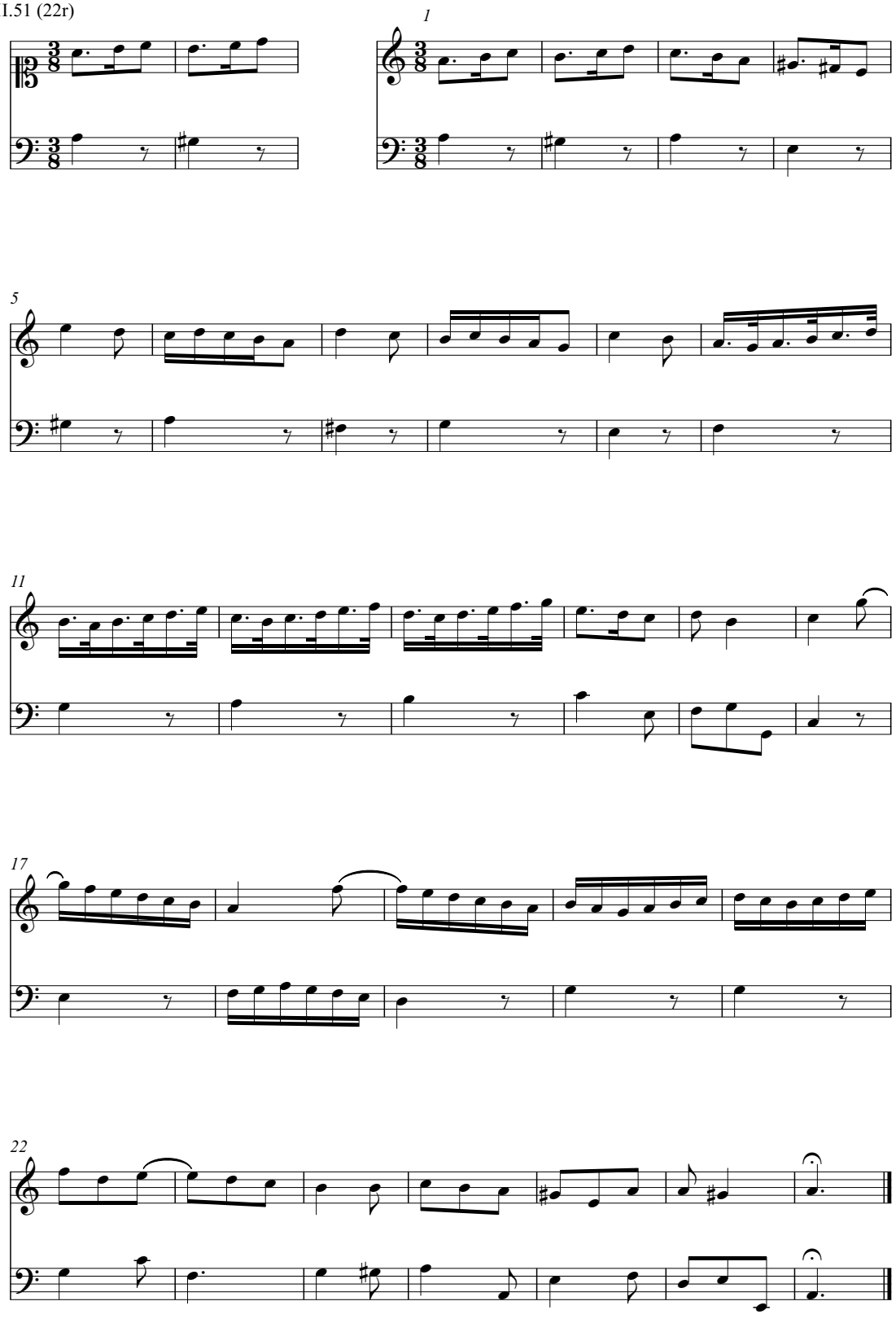
[First half of III.3 from 24v]



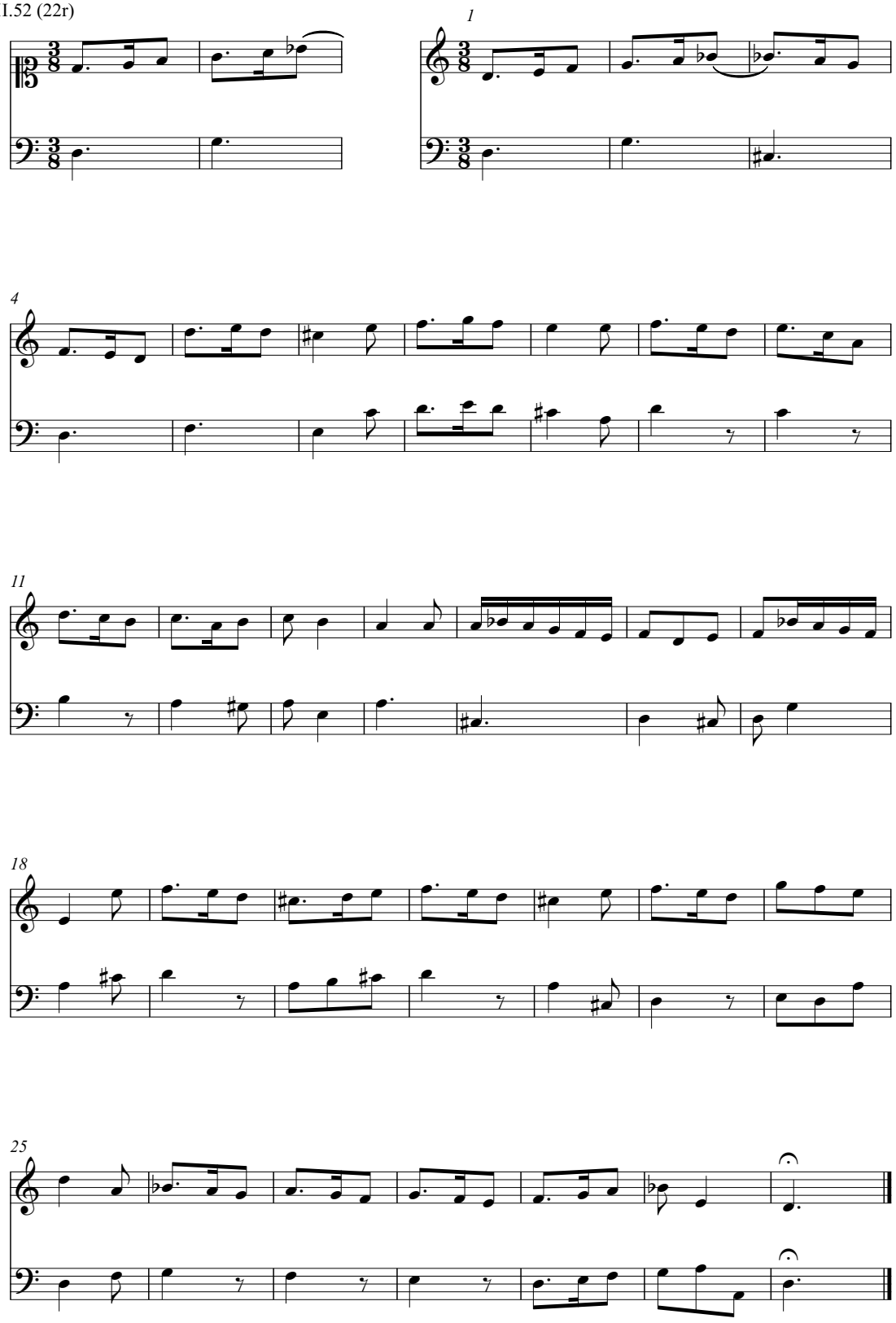
[II.50 from 22r]



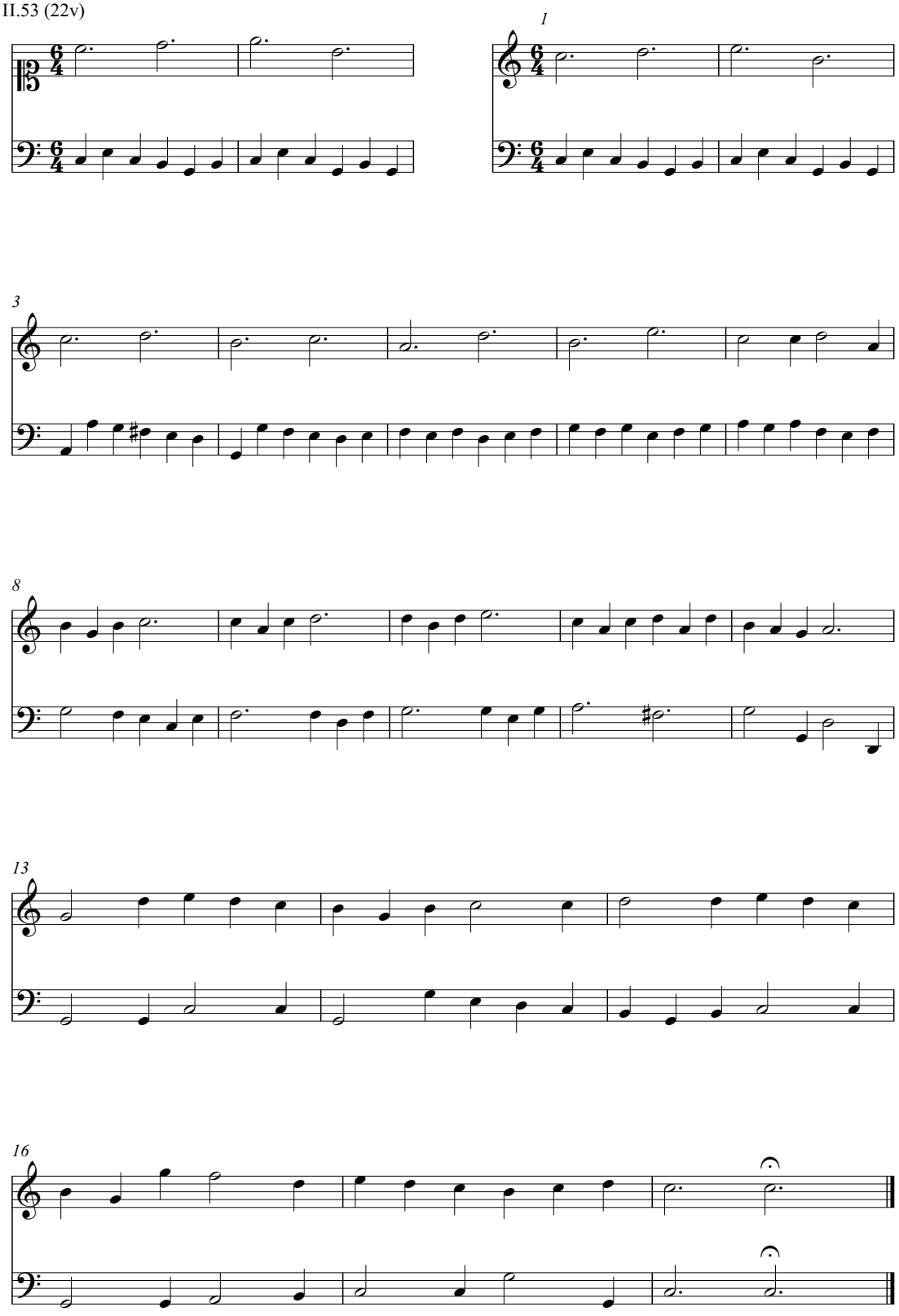
II.51 (22r)



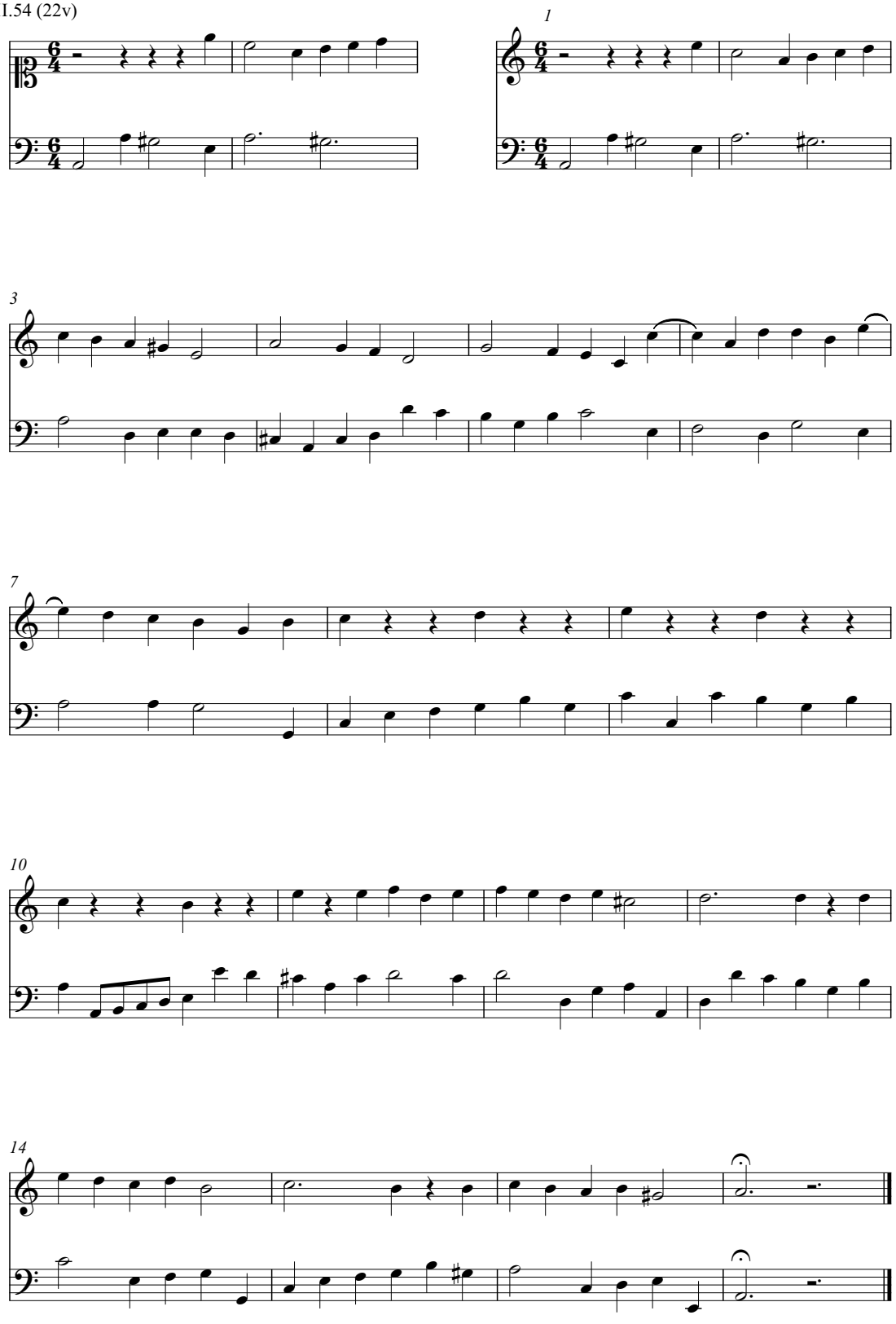
II.52 (22r)



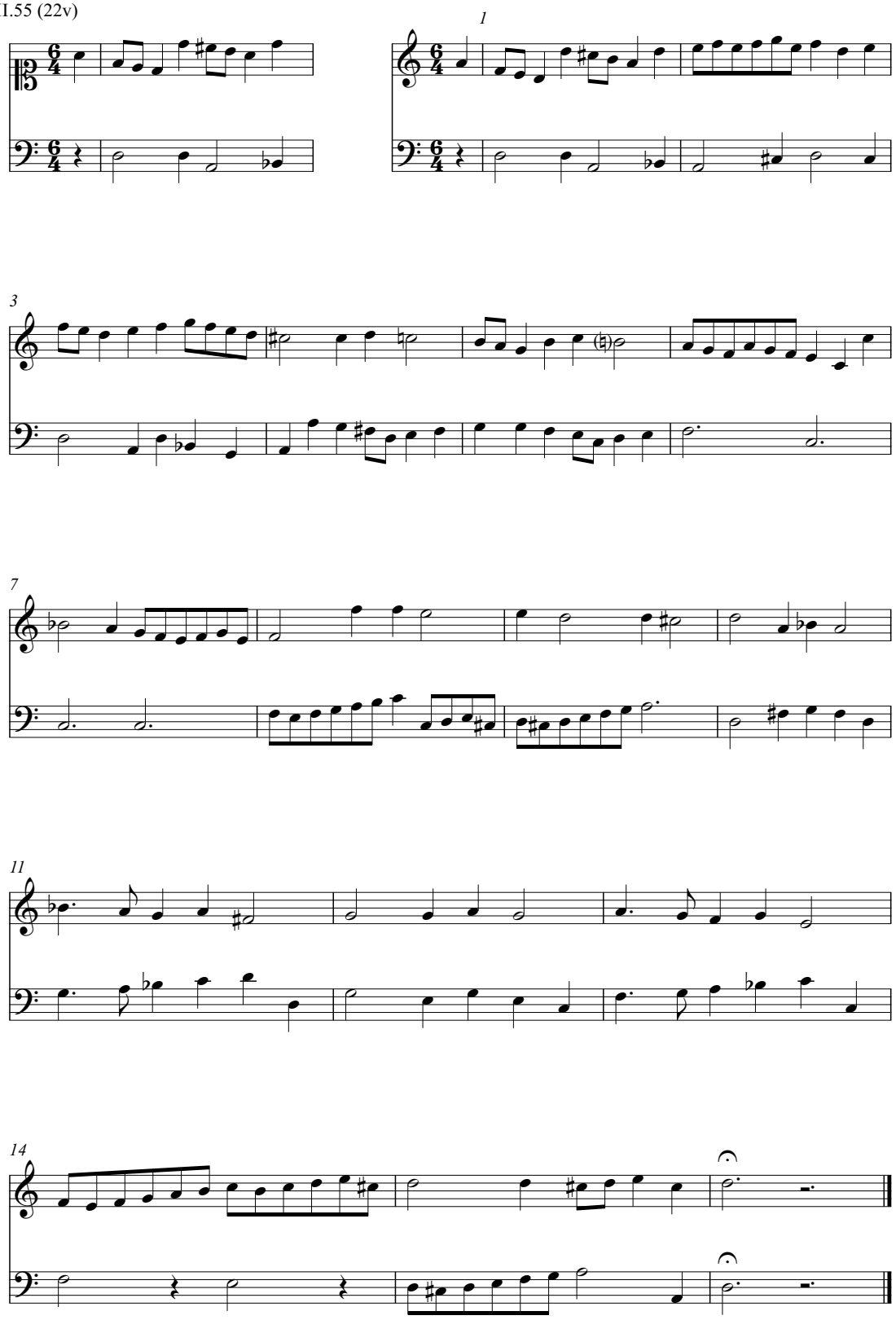
II.53 (22v)



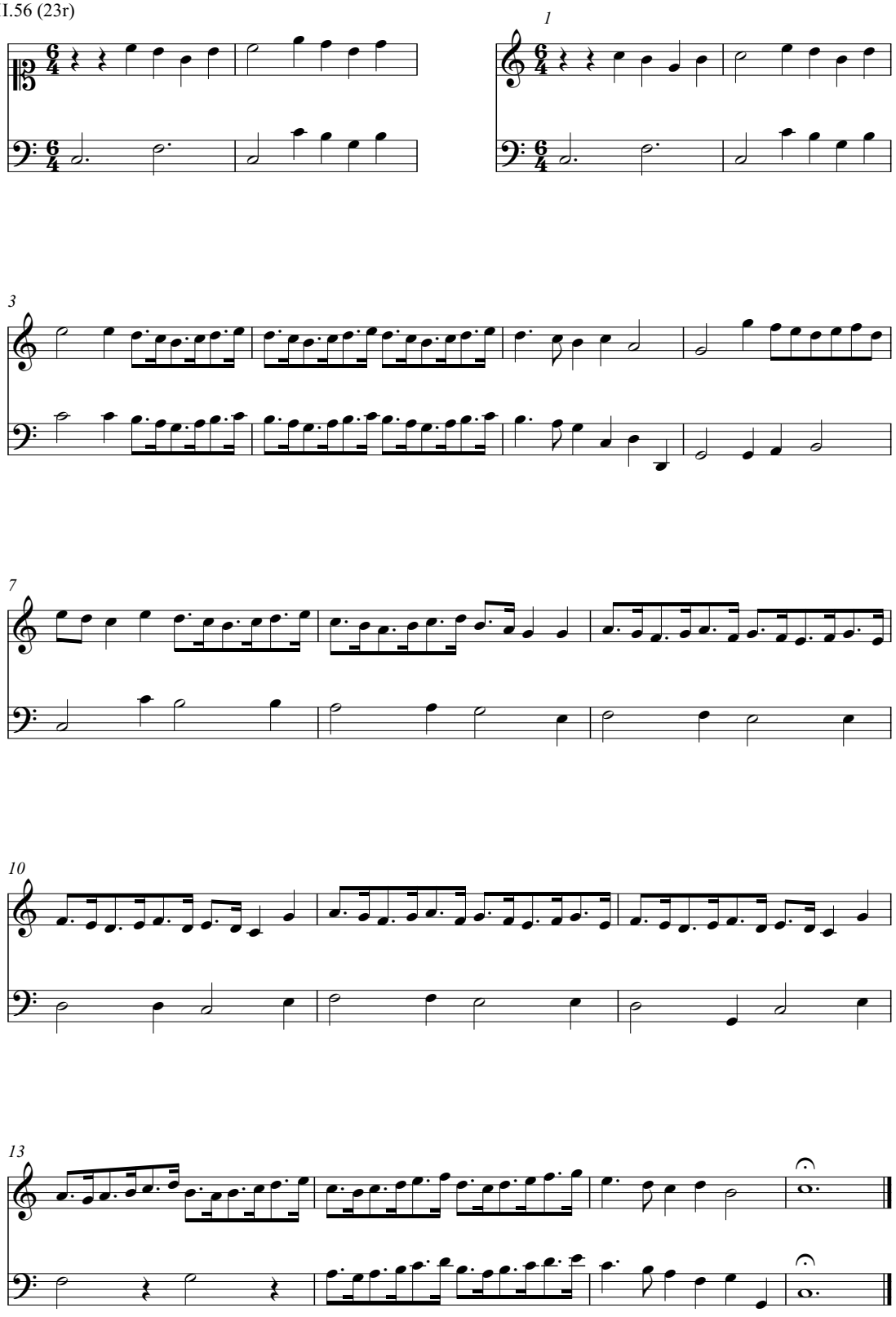
II.54 (22v)



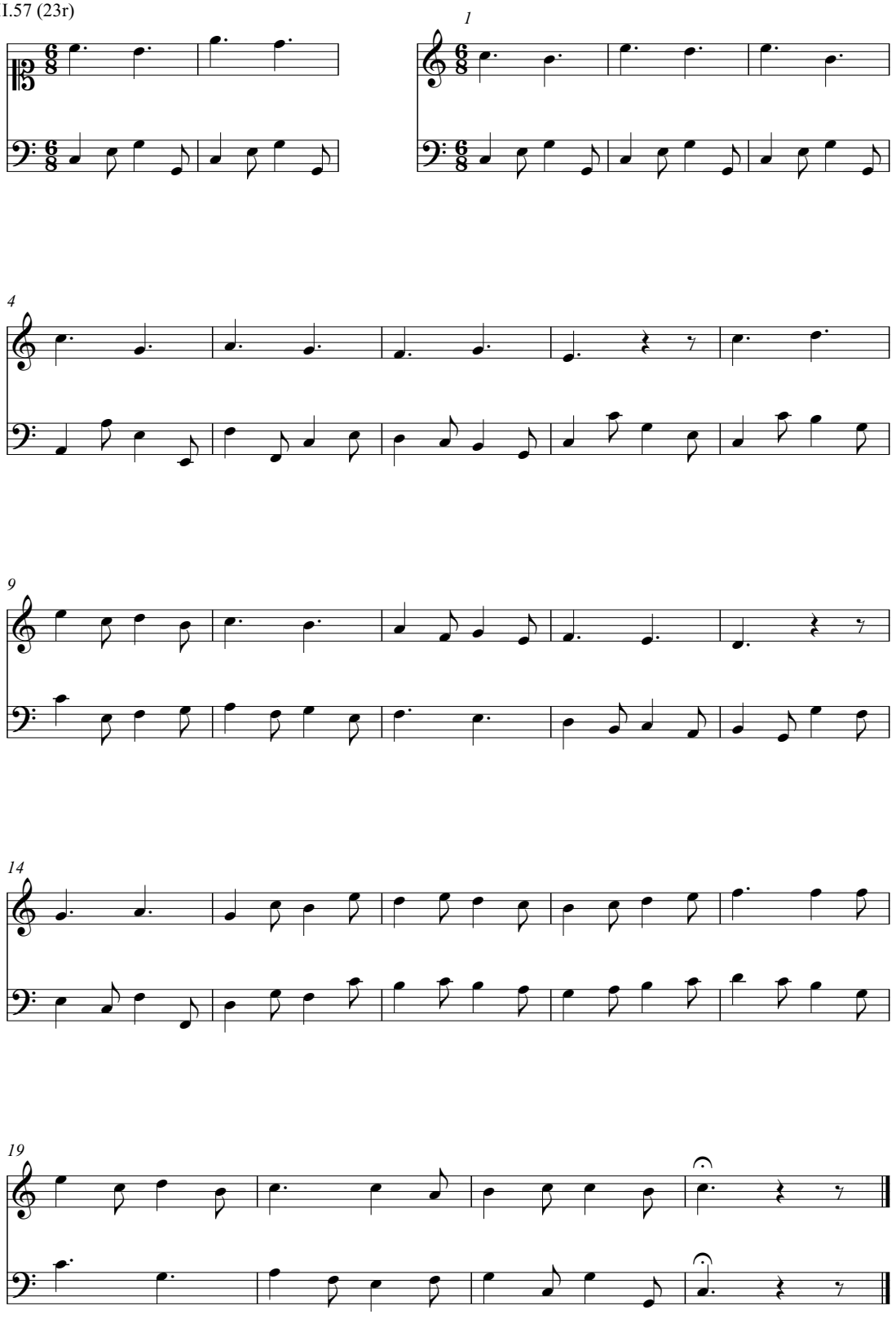
II.55 (22v)



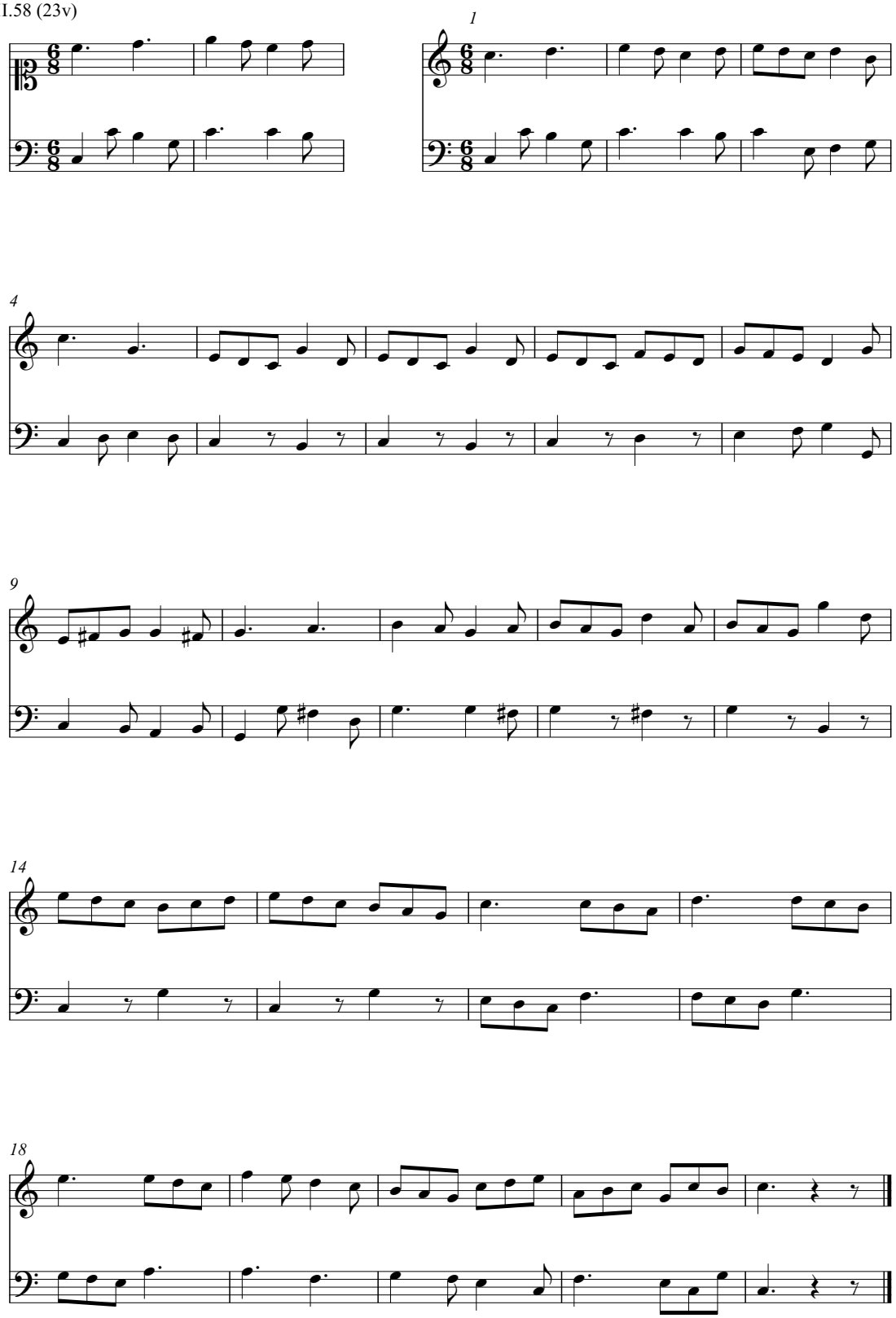
II.56 (23r)



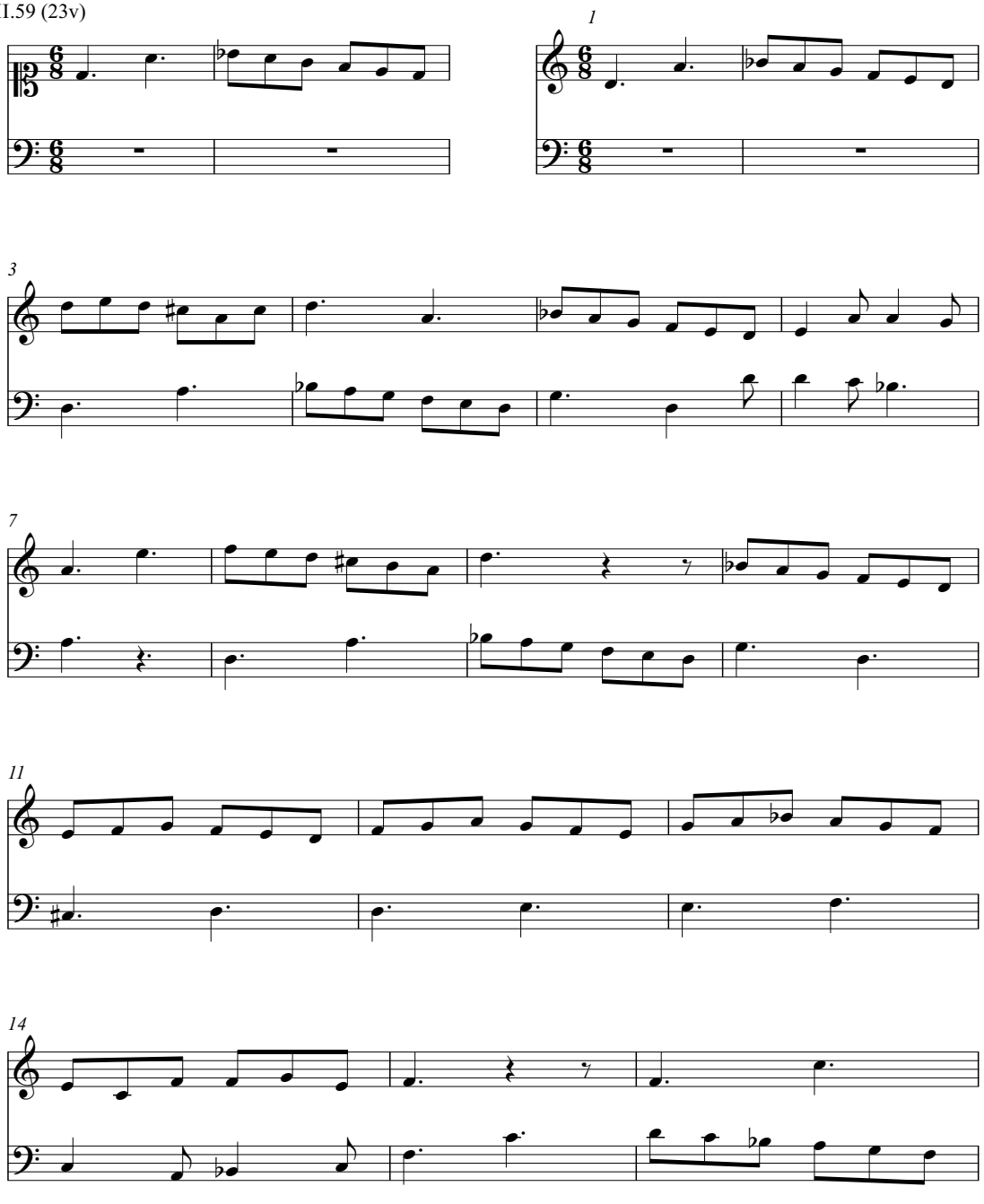
II.57 (23r)



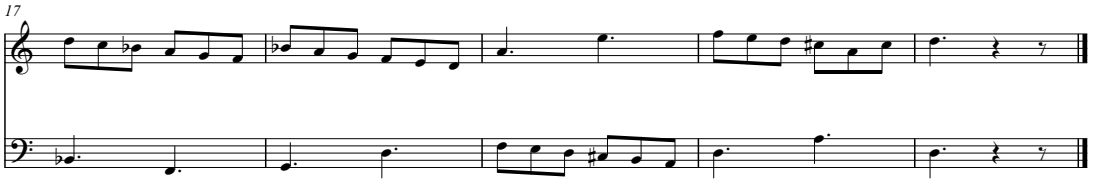
II.58 (23v)



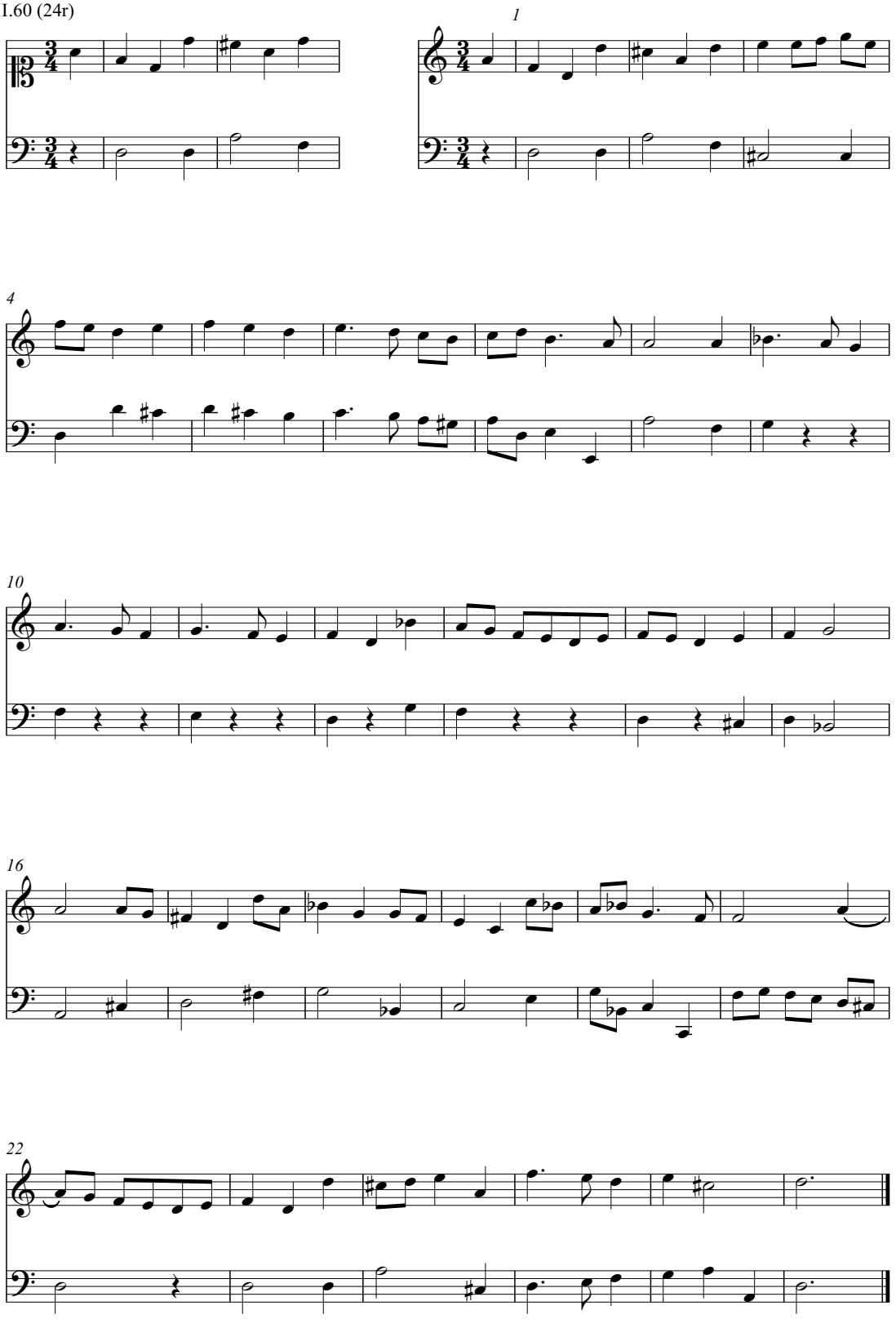
II.59 (23v)



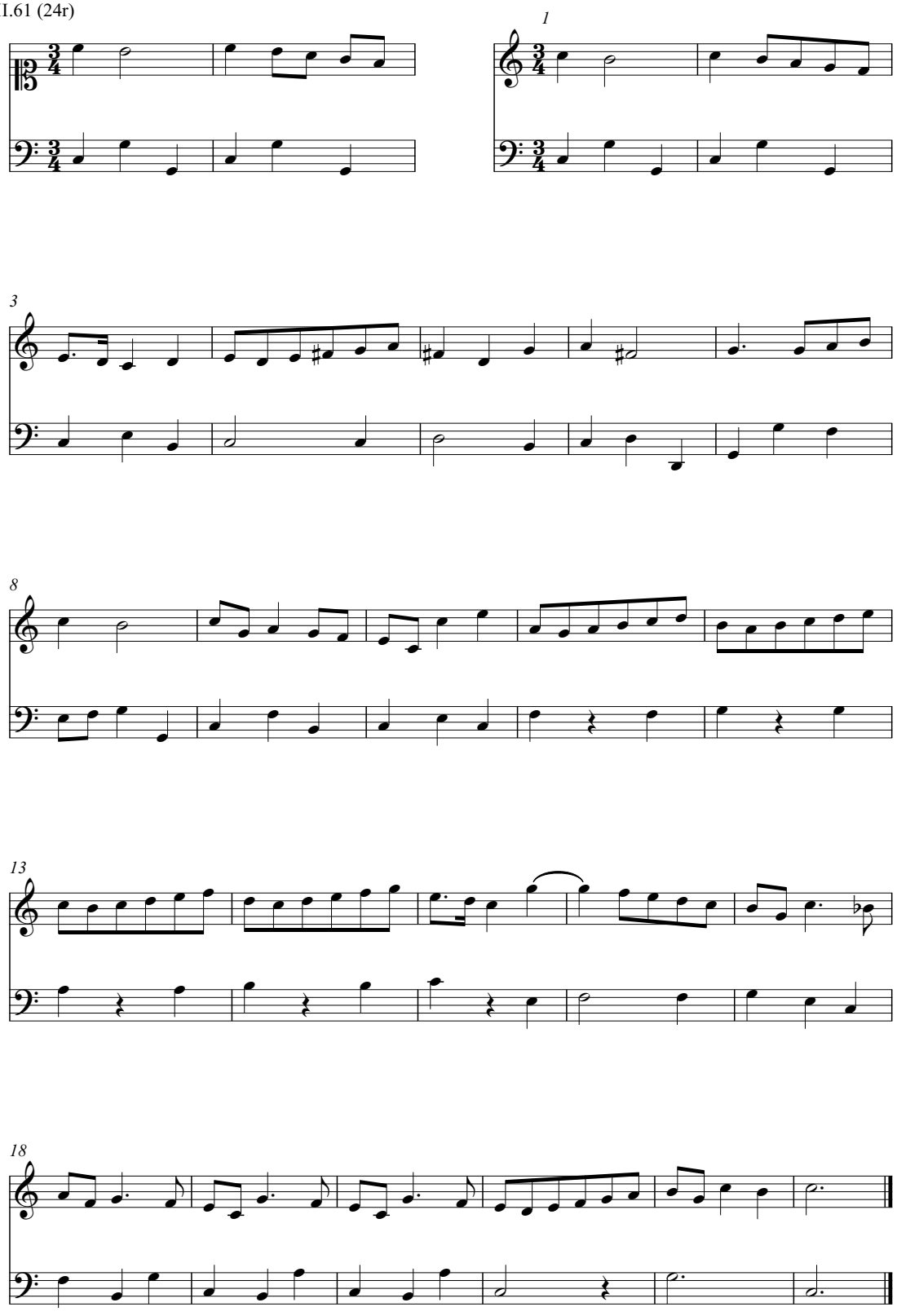
[Second half of III.3 from 25r]



II.60 (24r)

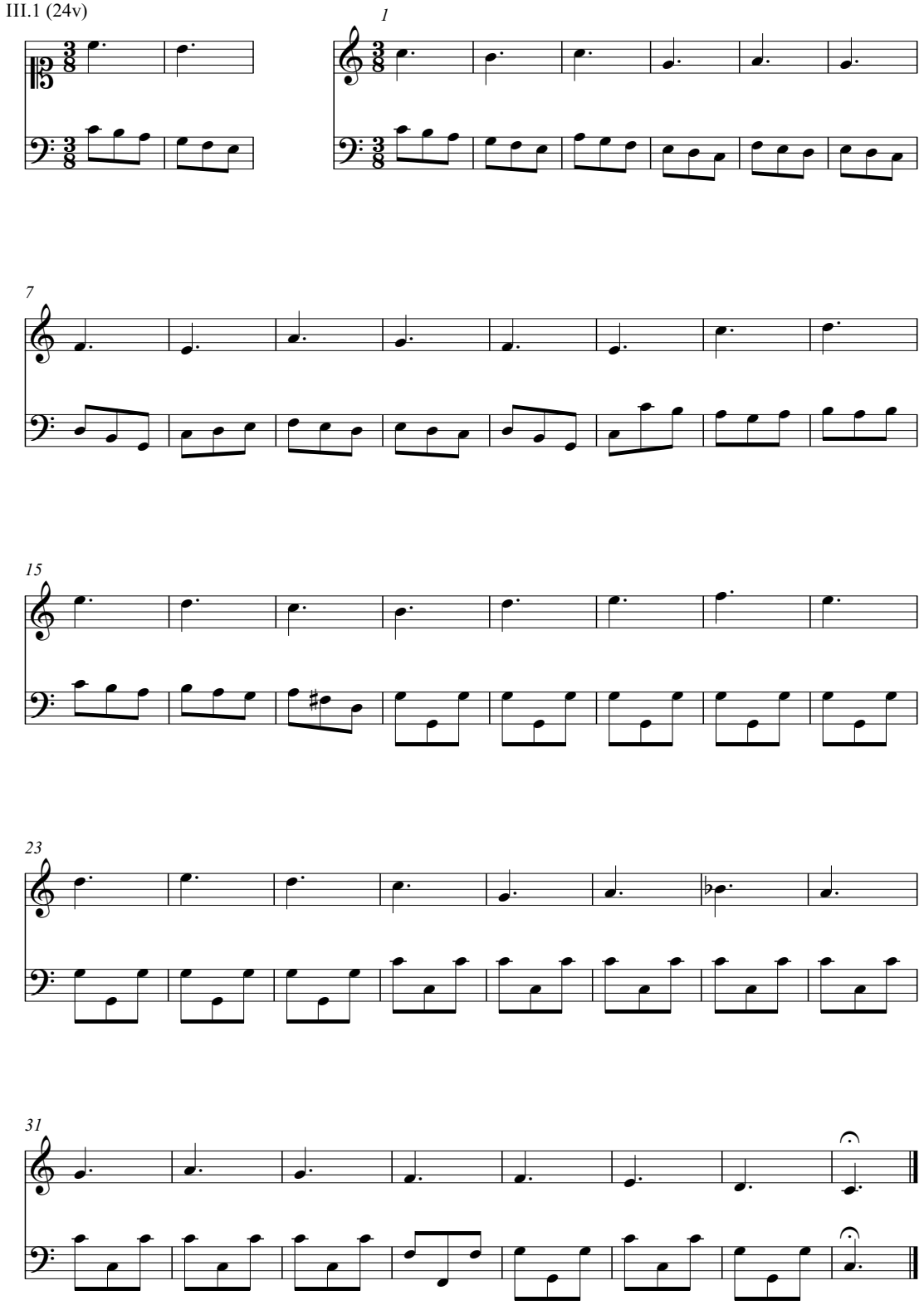


II.61 (24r)

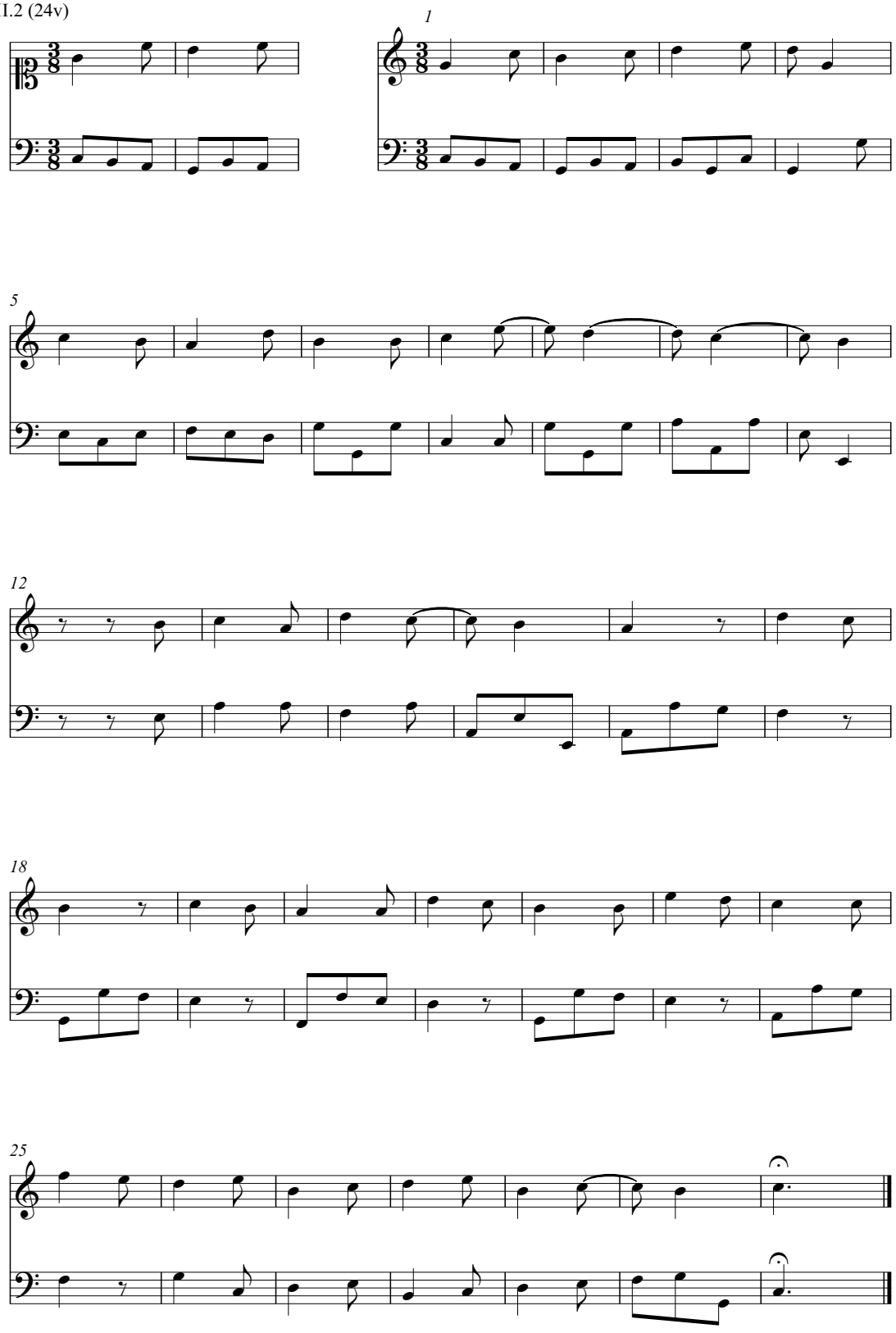


III. Partidas de el Sr. Maestro Feo

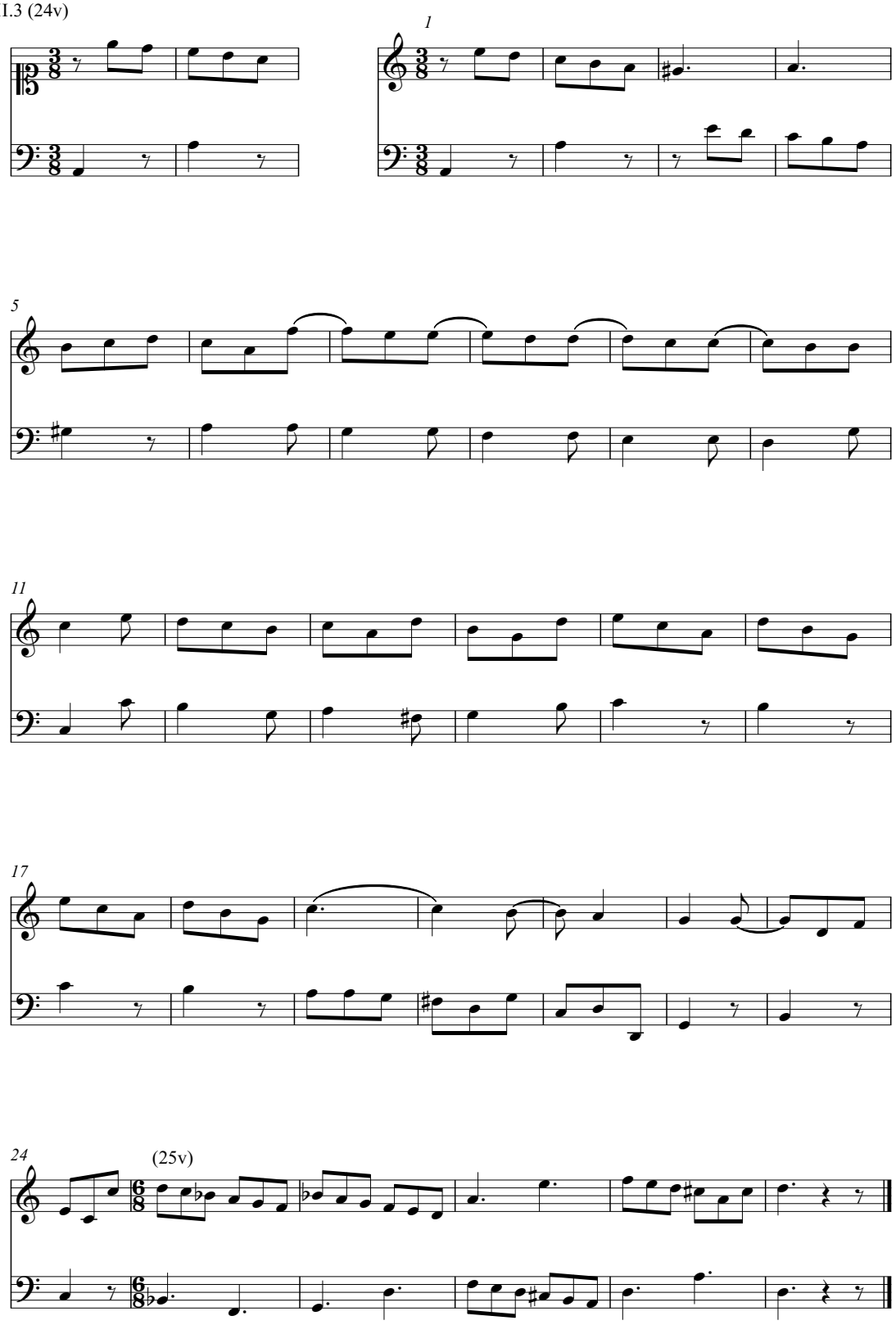
III.1 (24v)



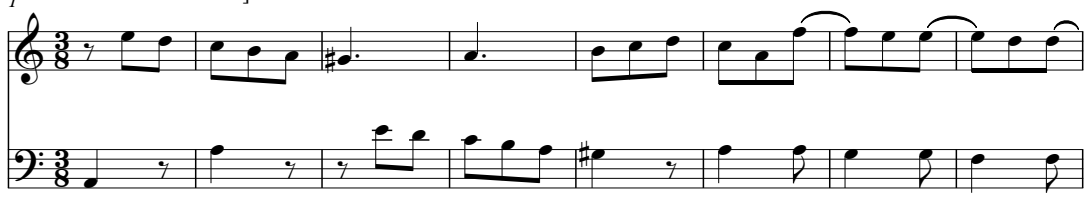
III.2 (24v)

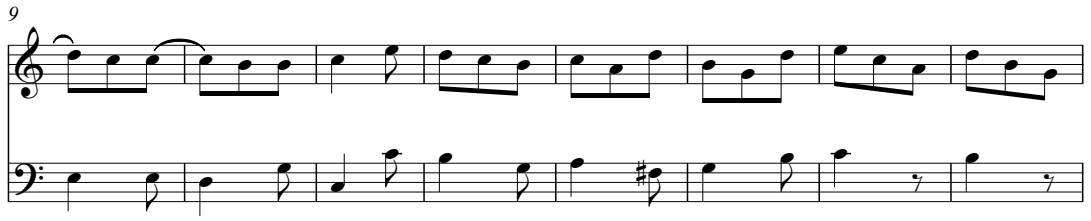


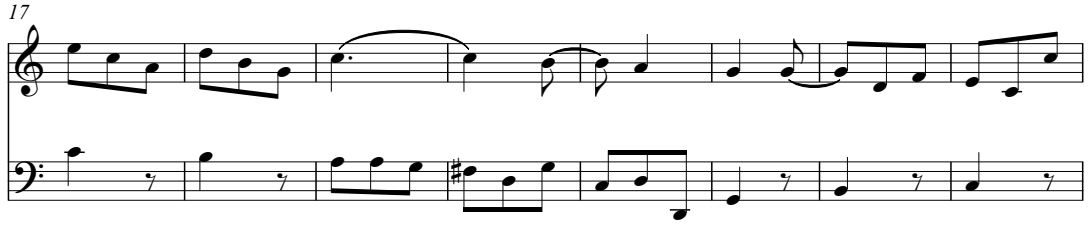
III.3 (24v)



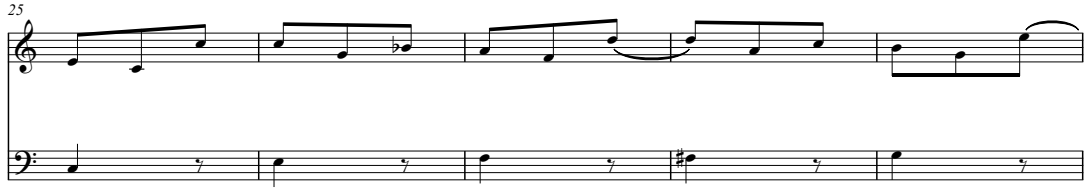
[First half of III.3 from 24v]

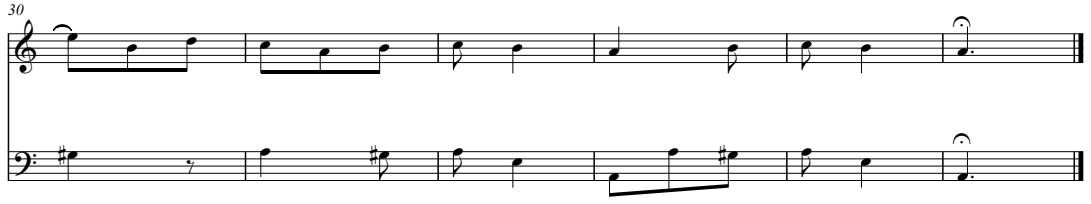




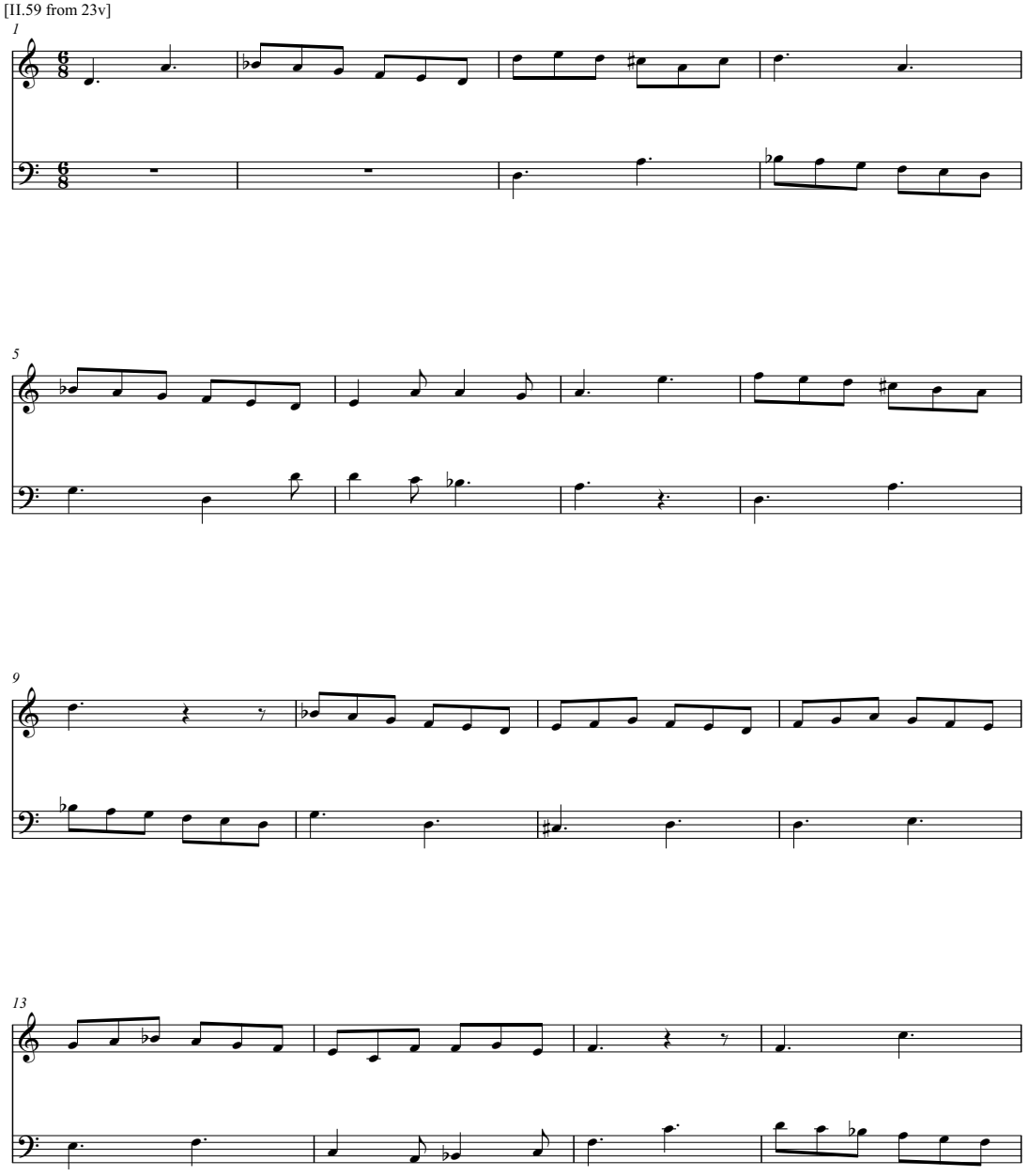


[II.50 from 22r]

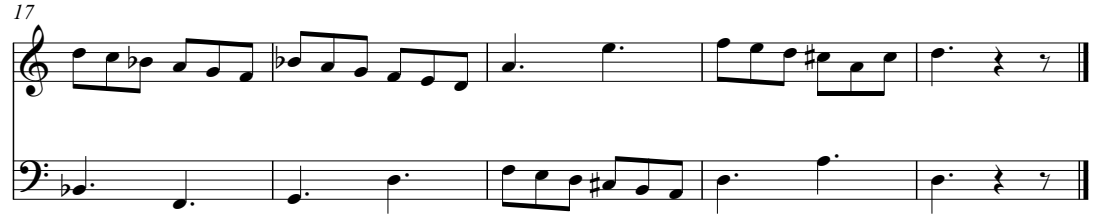




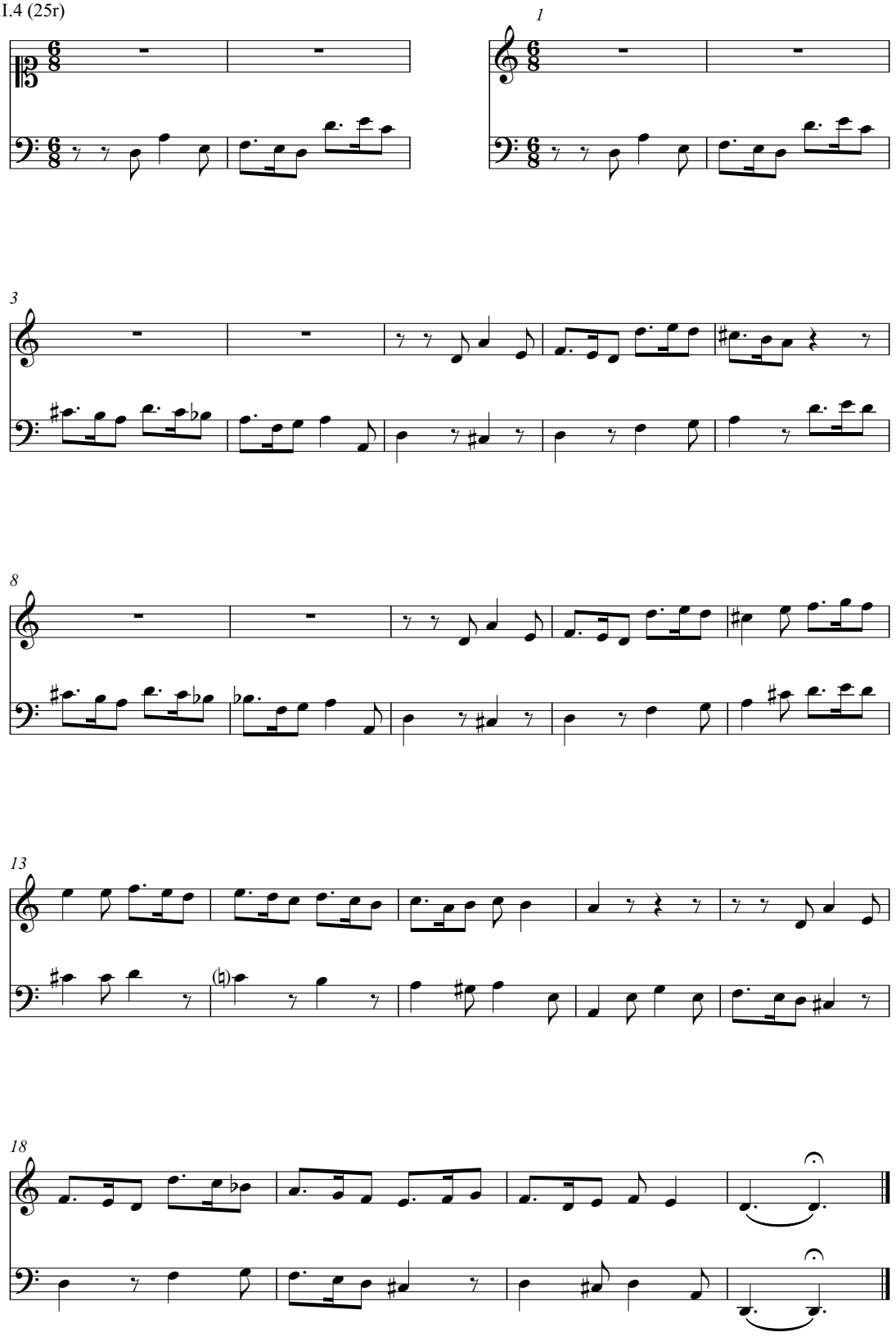
[II.59 from 23v]



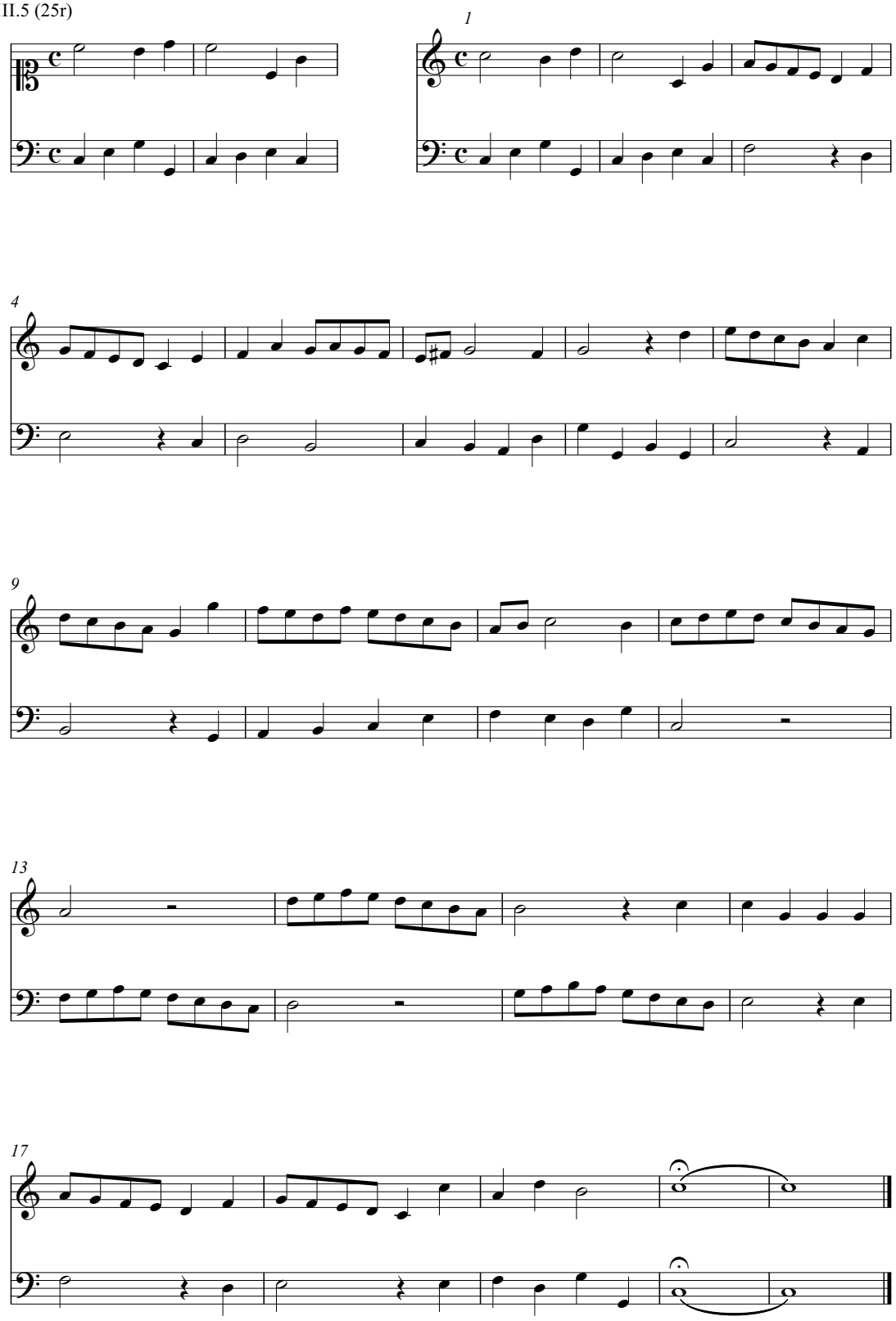
[Second half of III.3 from 25r]



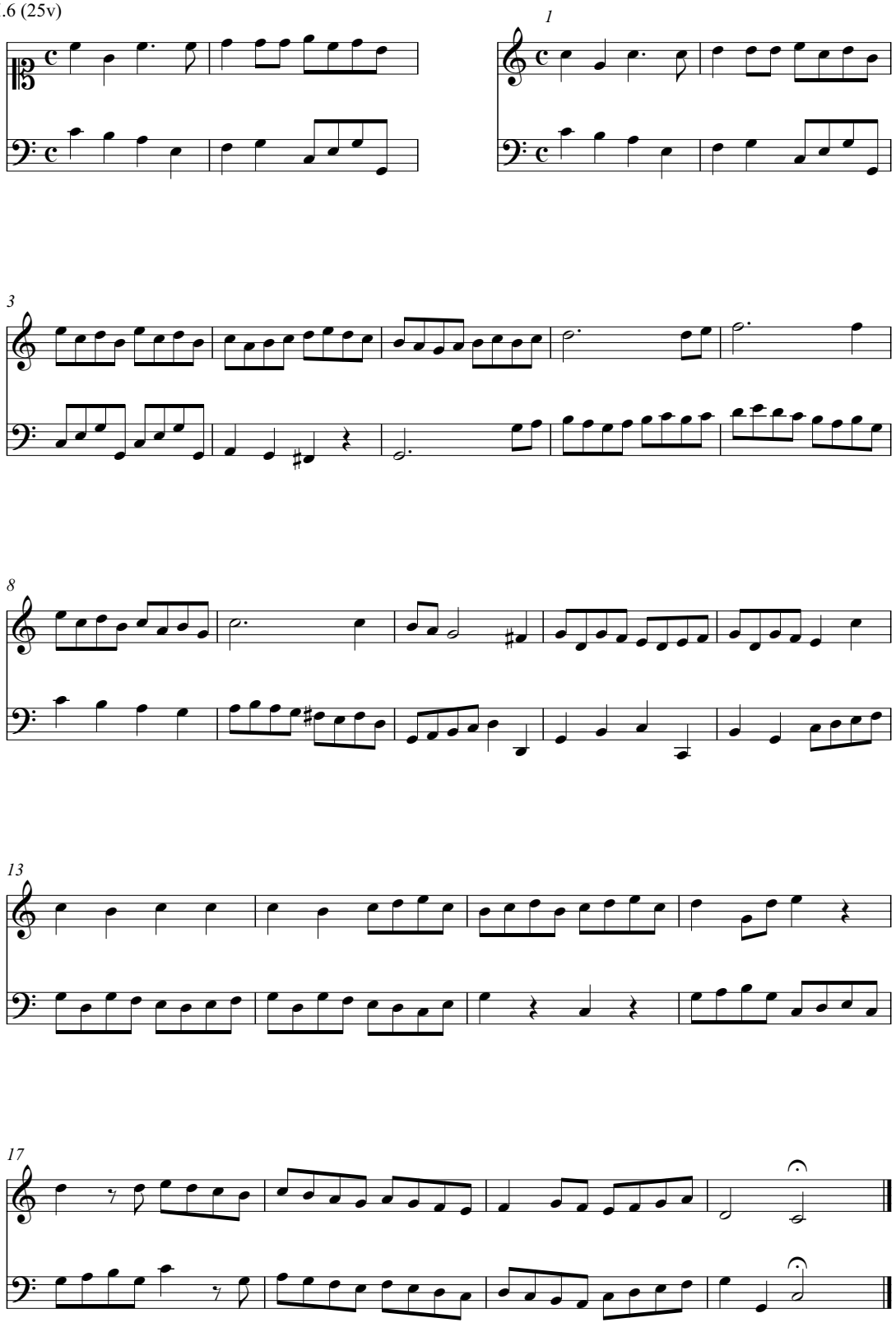
III.4 (25r)



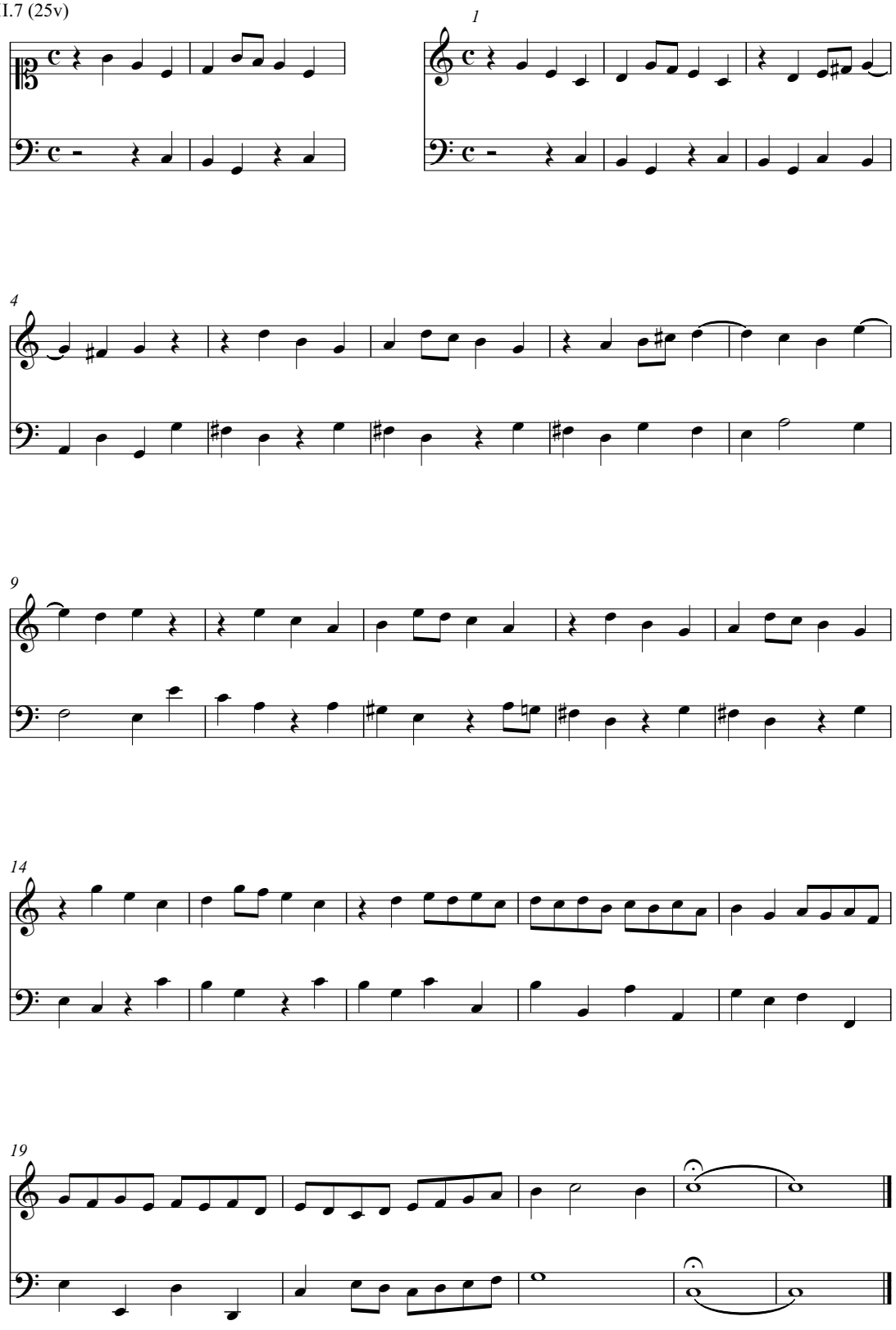
III.5 (25r)



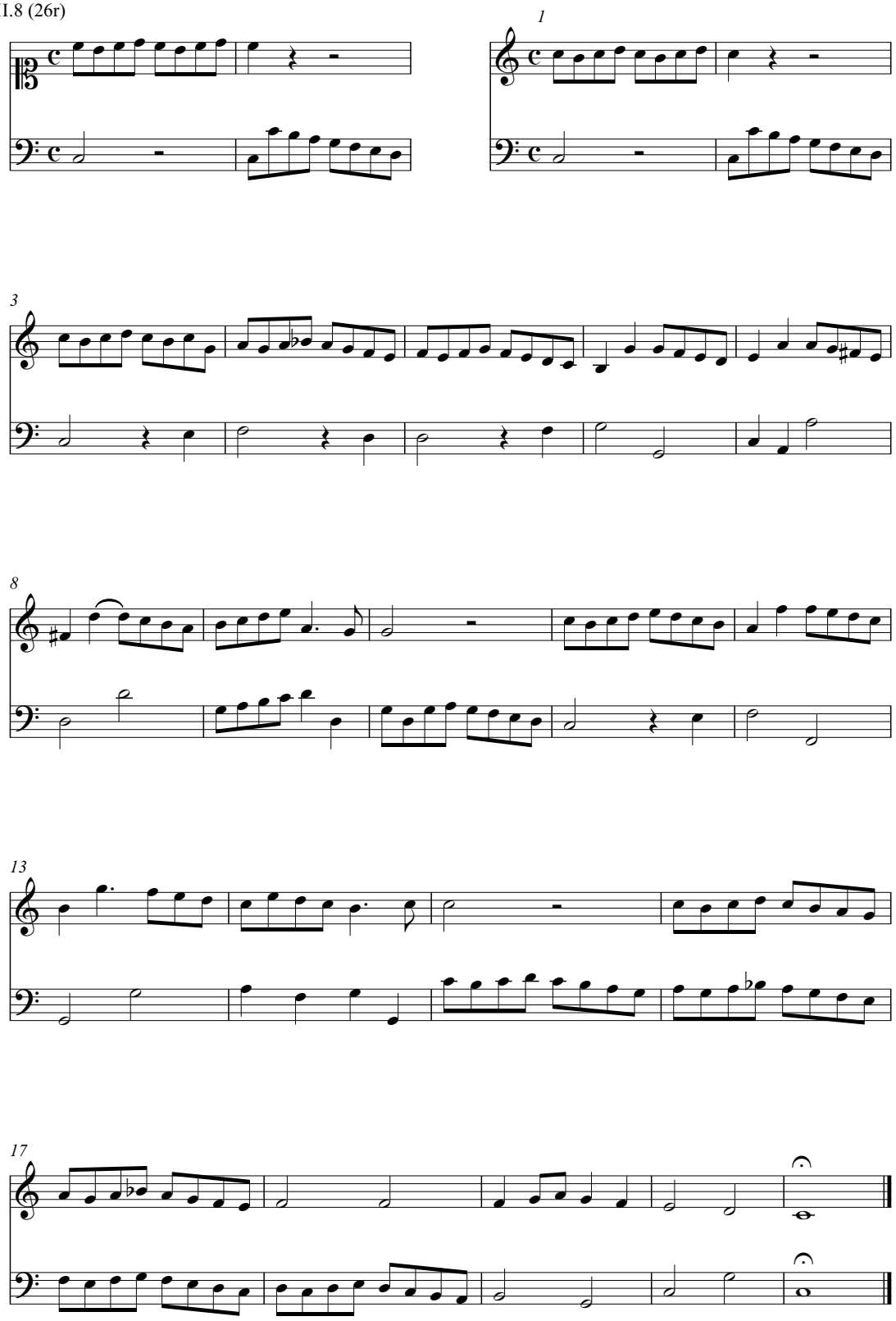
III.6 (25v)



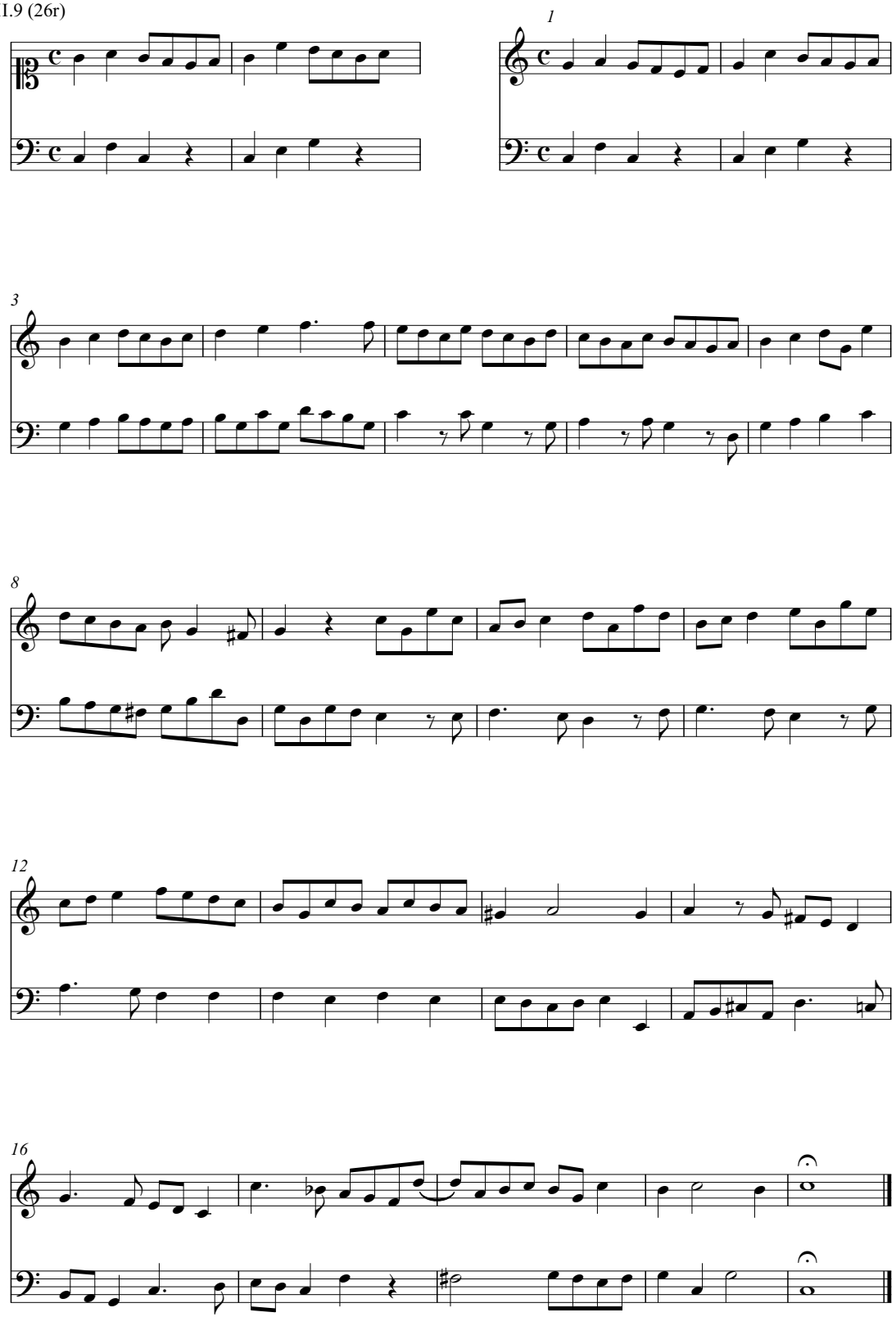
III.7 (25v)



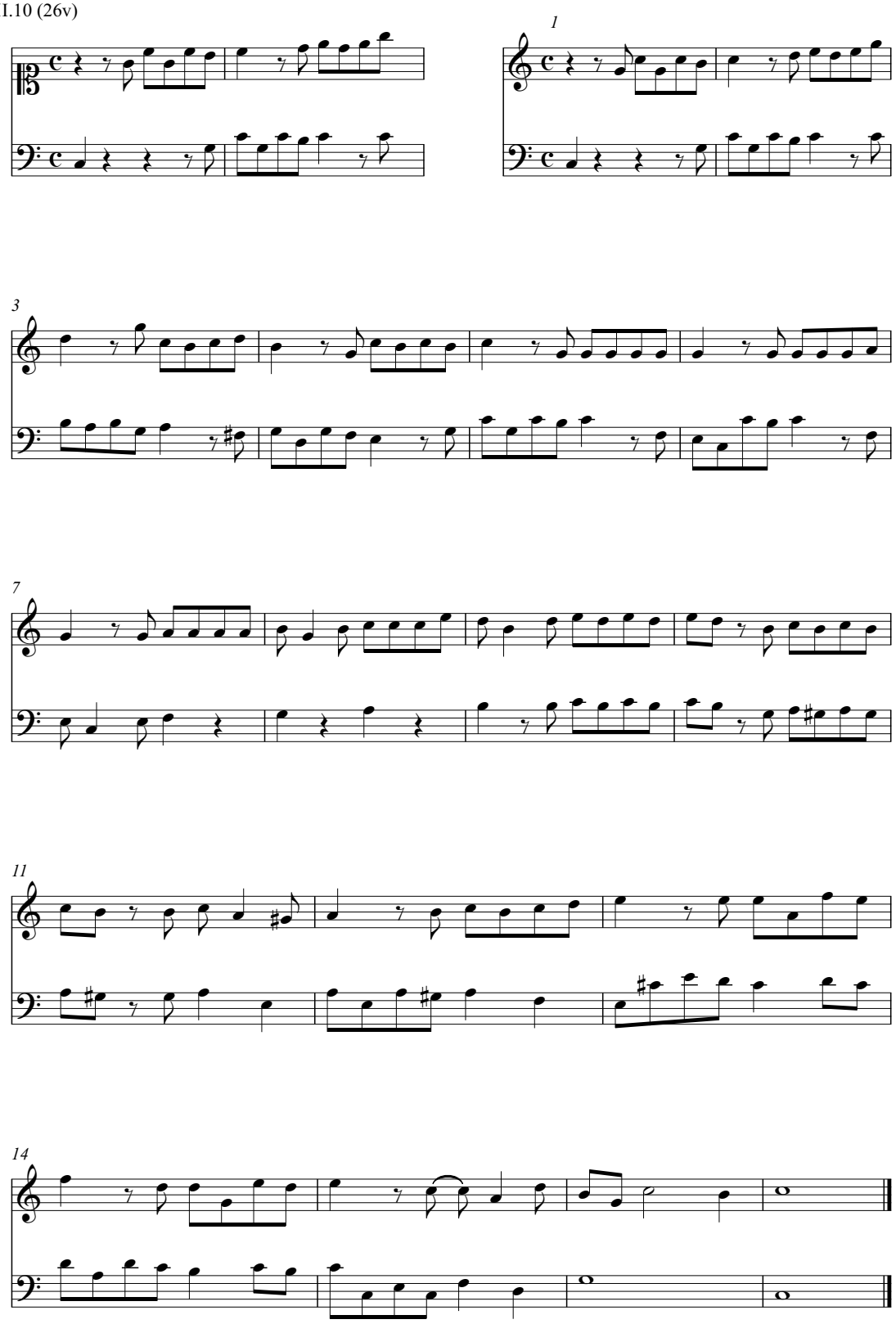
III.8 (26r)



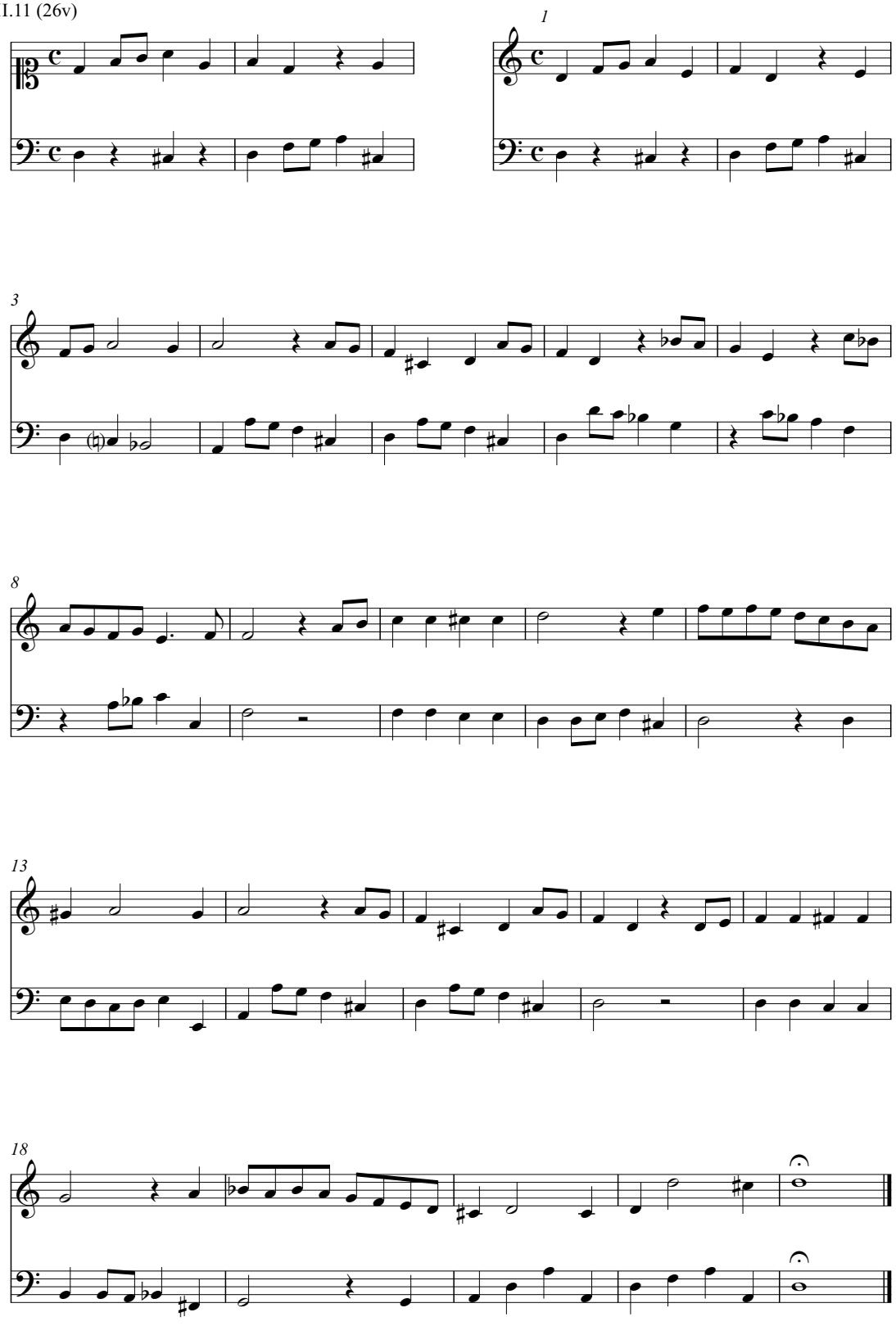
III.9 (26r)



III.10 (26v)

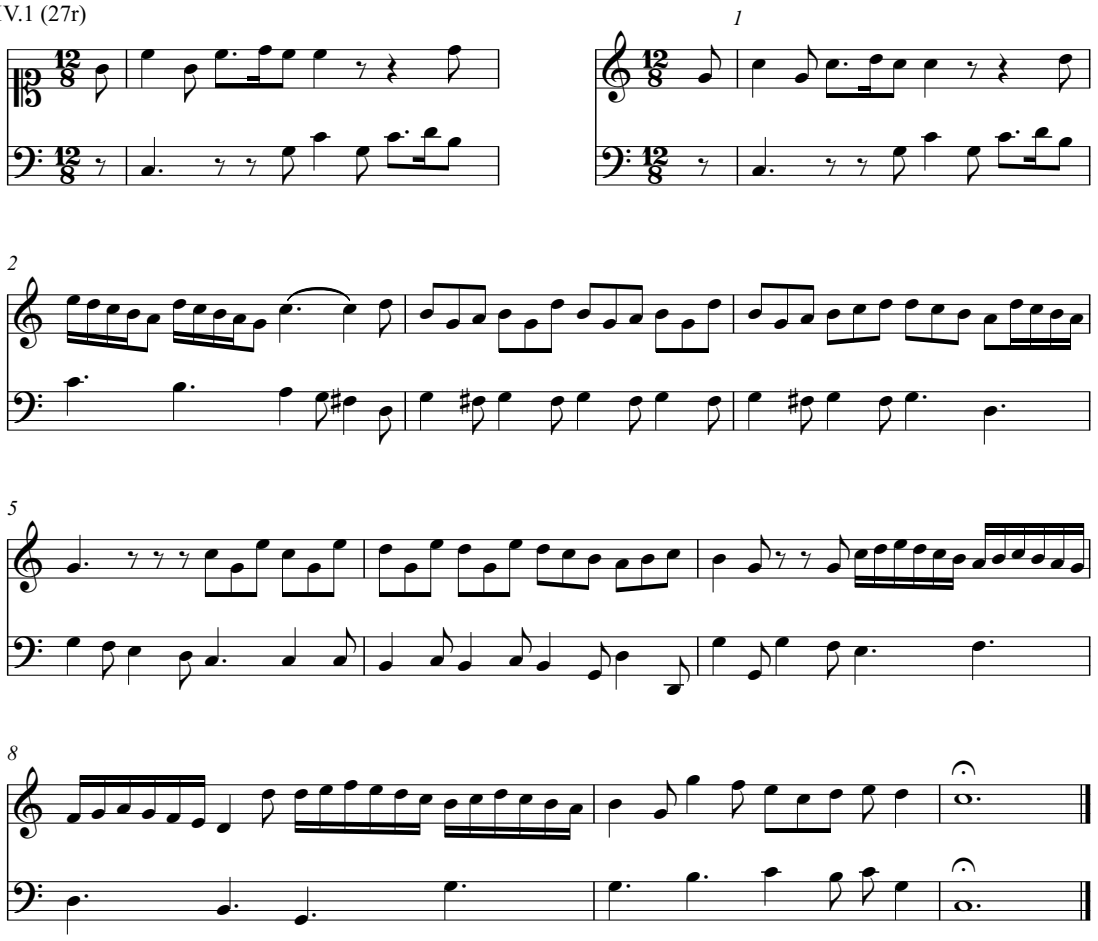


III.11 (26v)

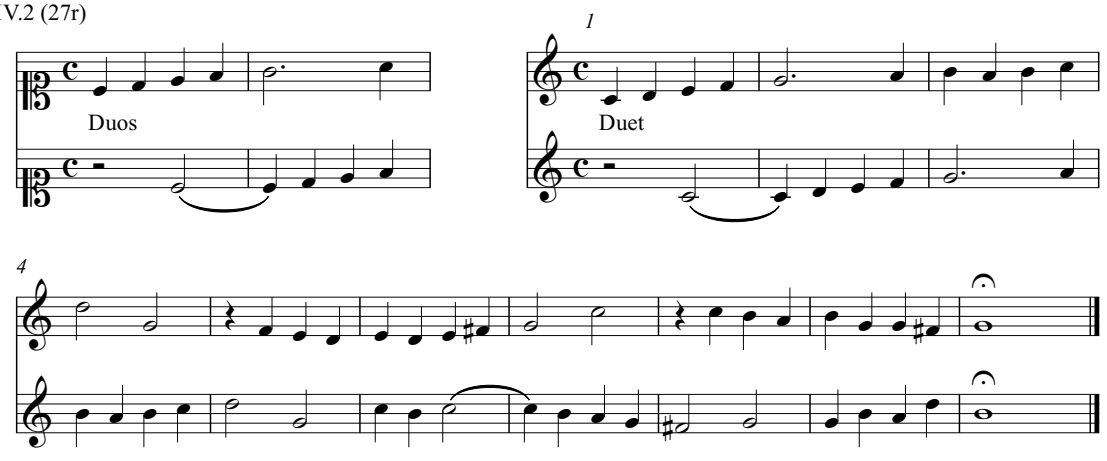


IV. Lecciones Segudas del Sr. Mtro. Jerusalem

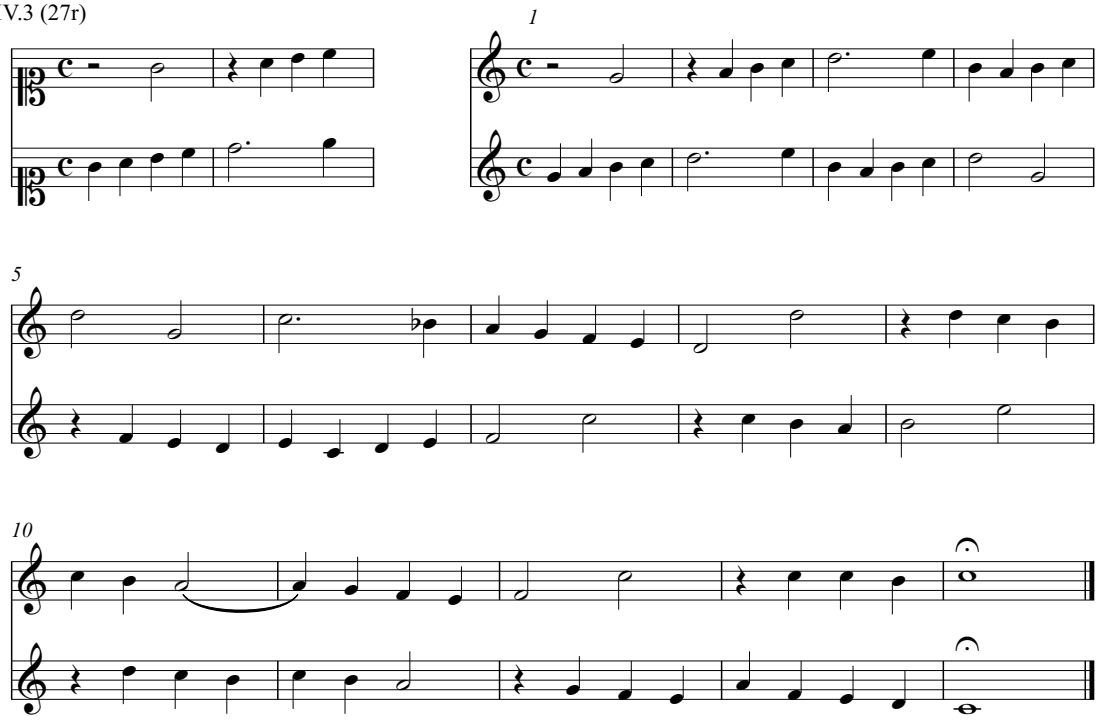
IV.1 (27r)



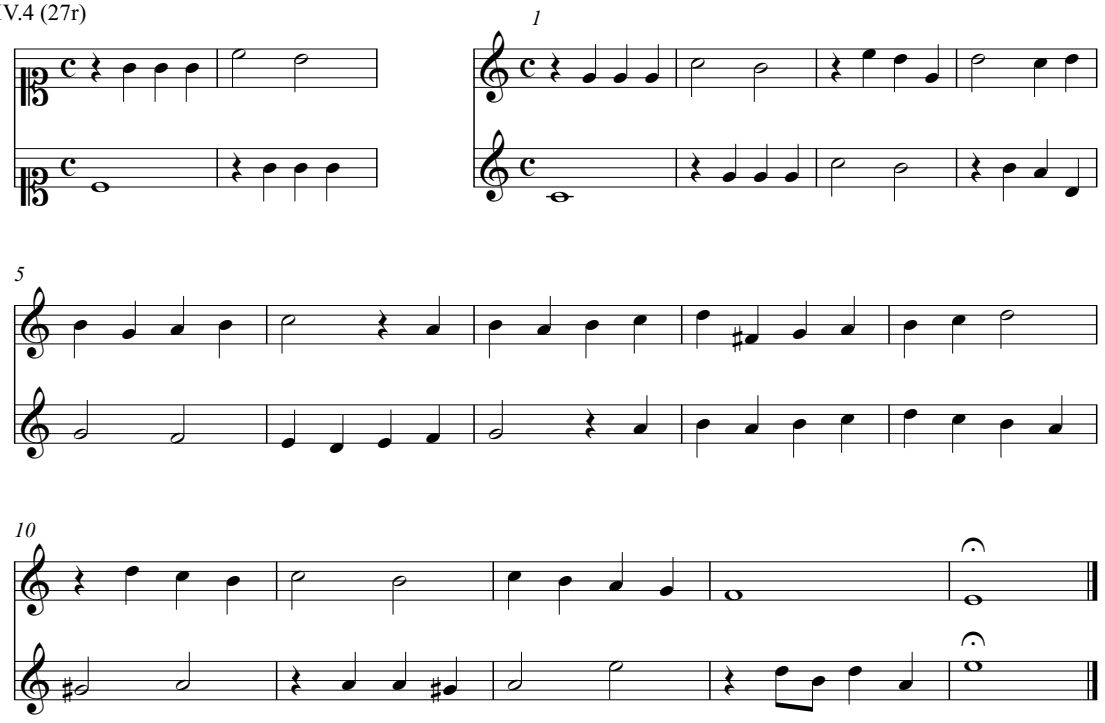
IV.2 (27r)



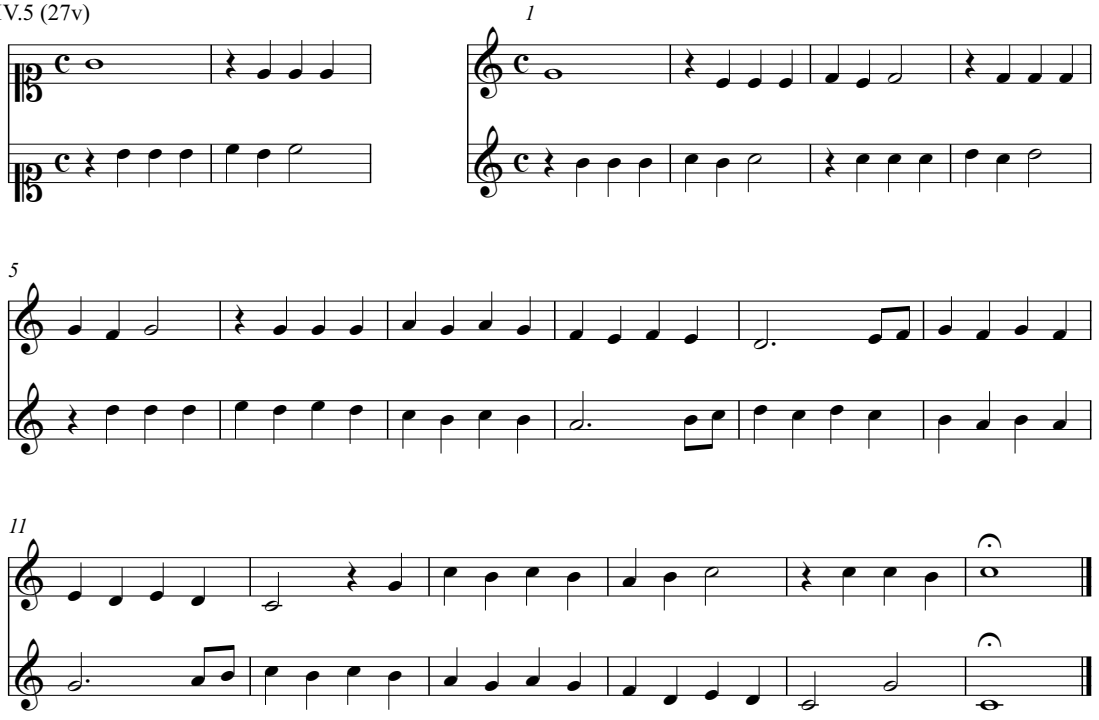
IV.3 (27r)



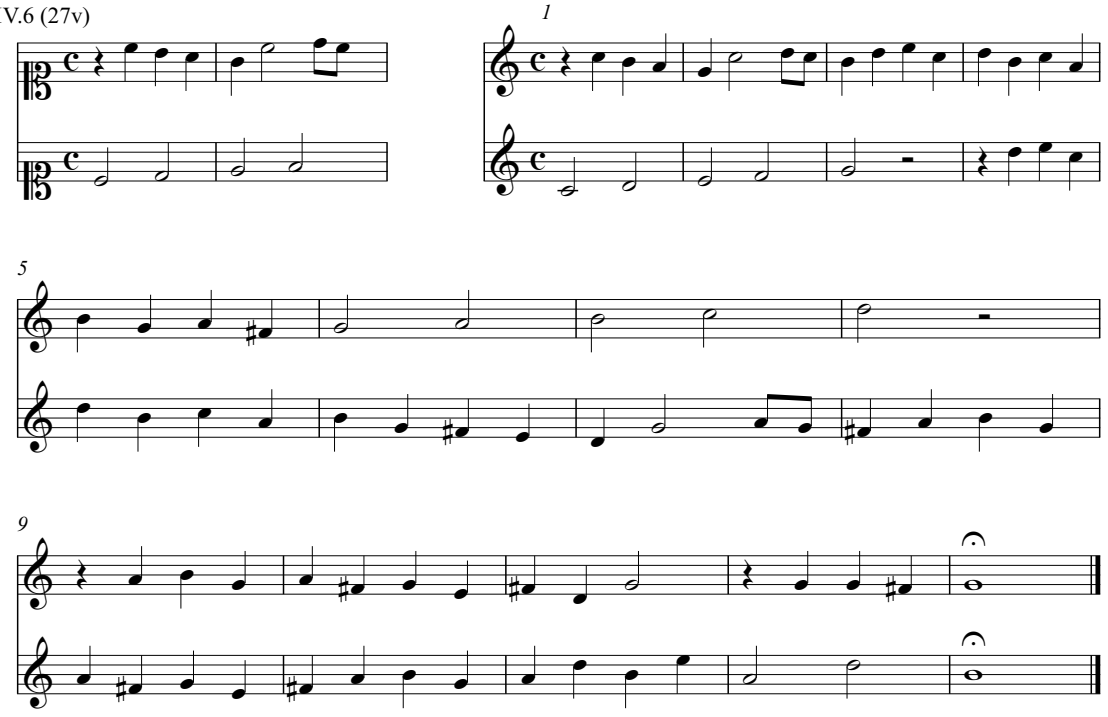
IV.4 (27r)



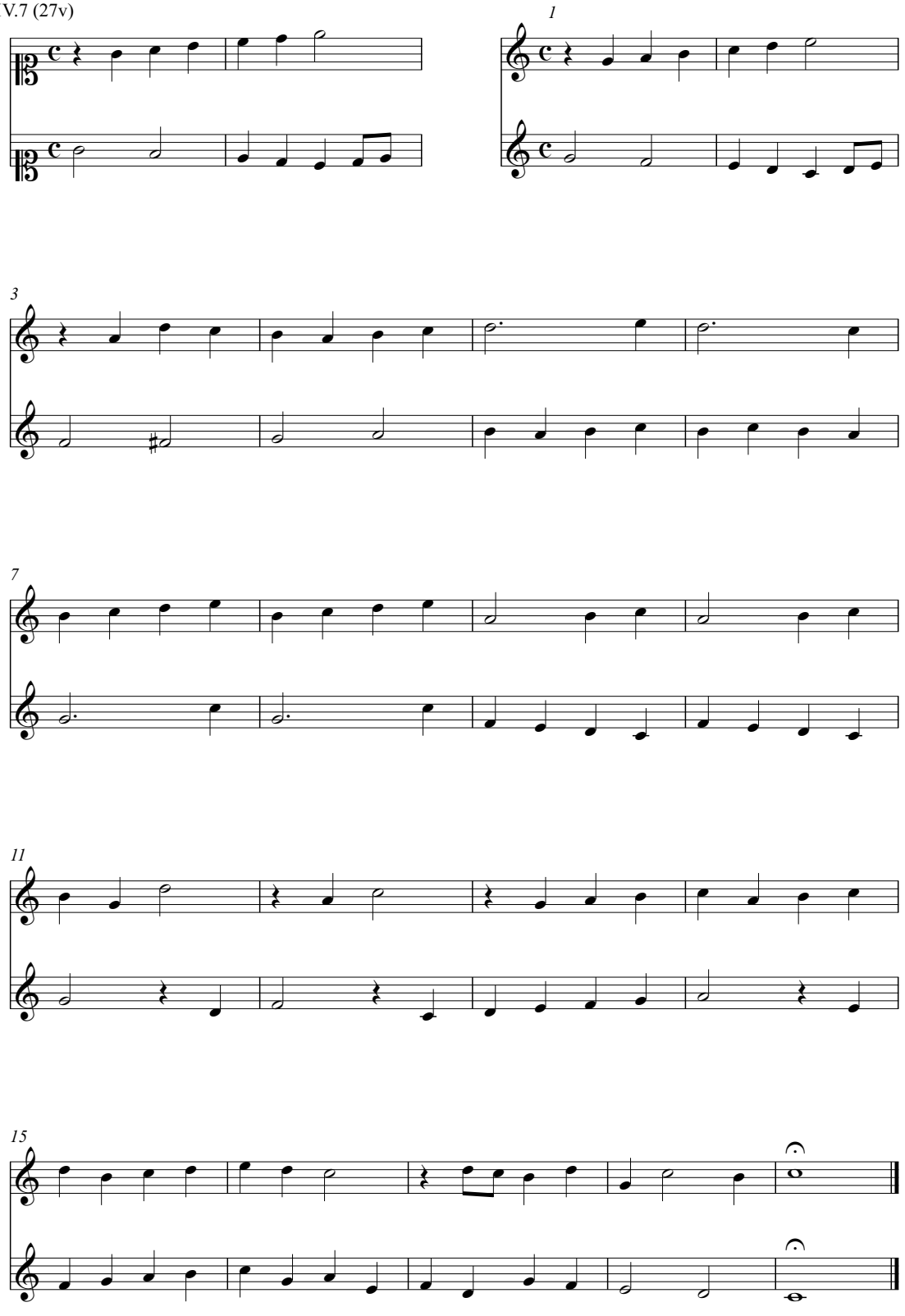
IV.5 (27v)



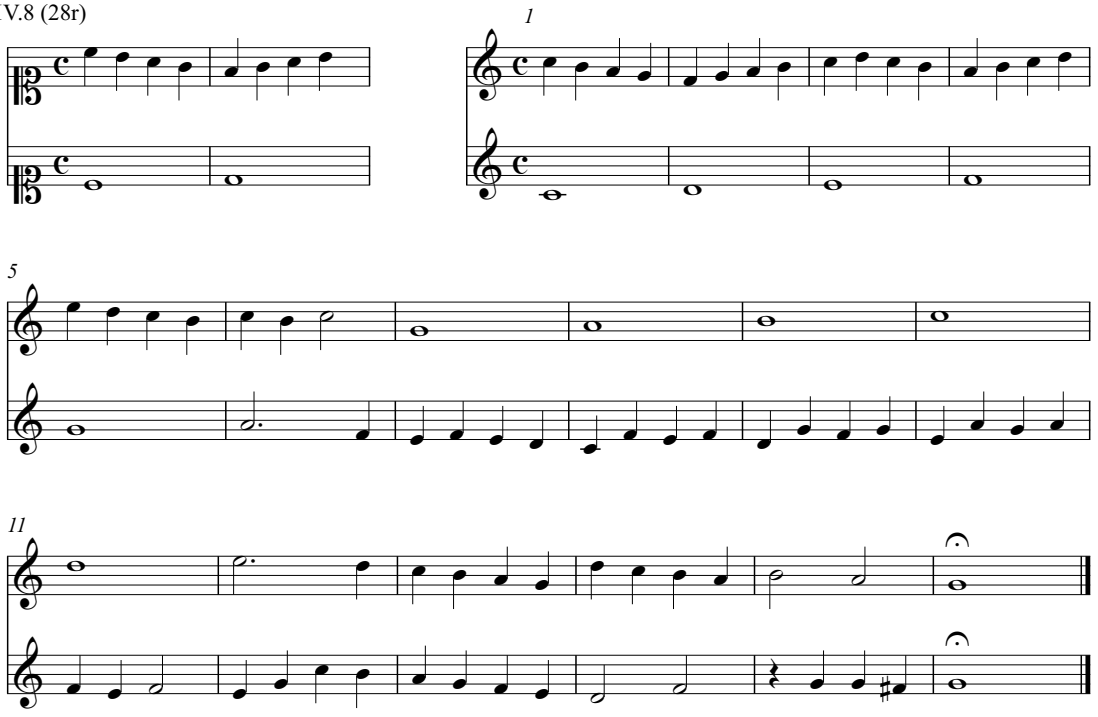
IV.6 (27v)



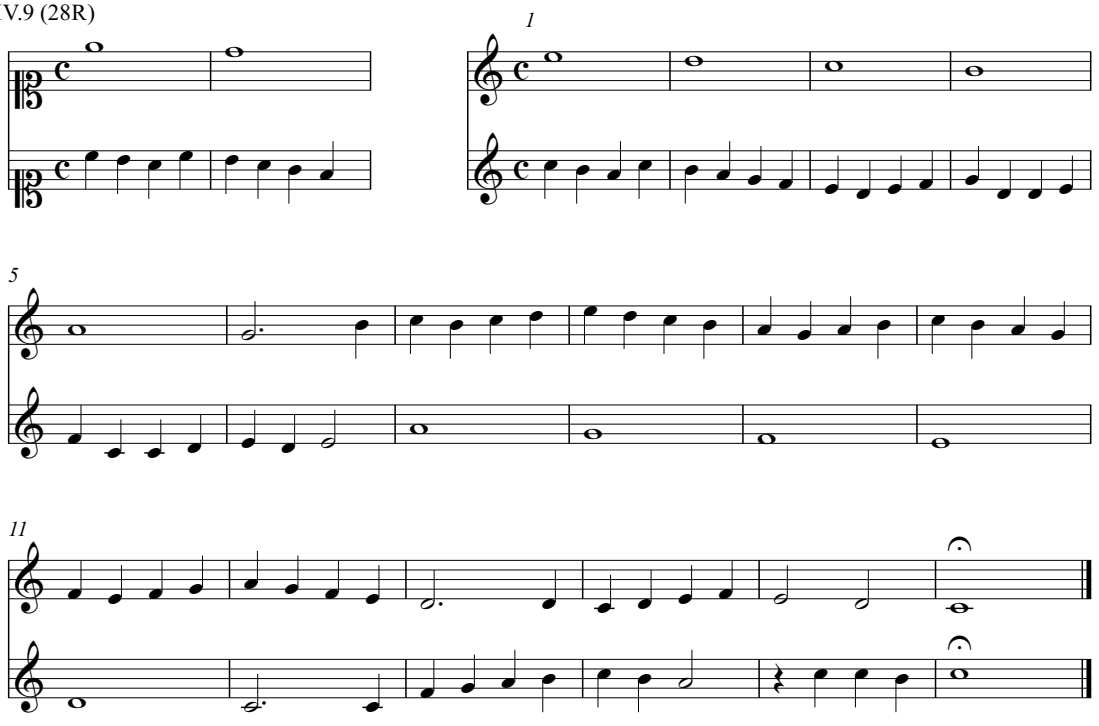
IV.7 (27v)



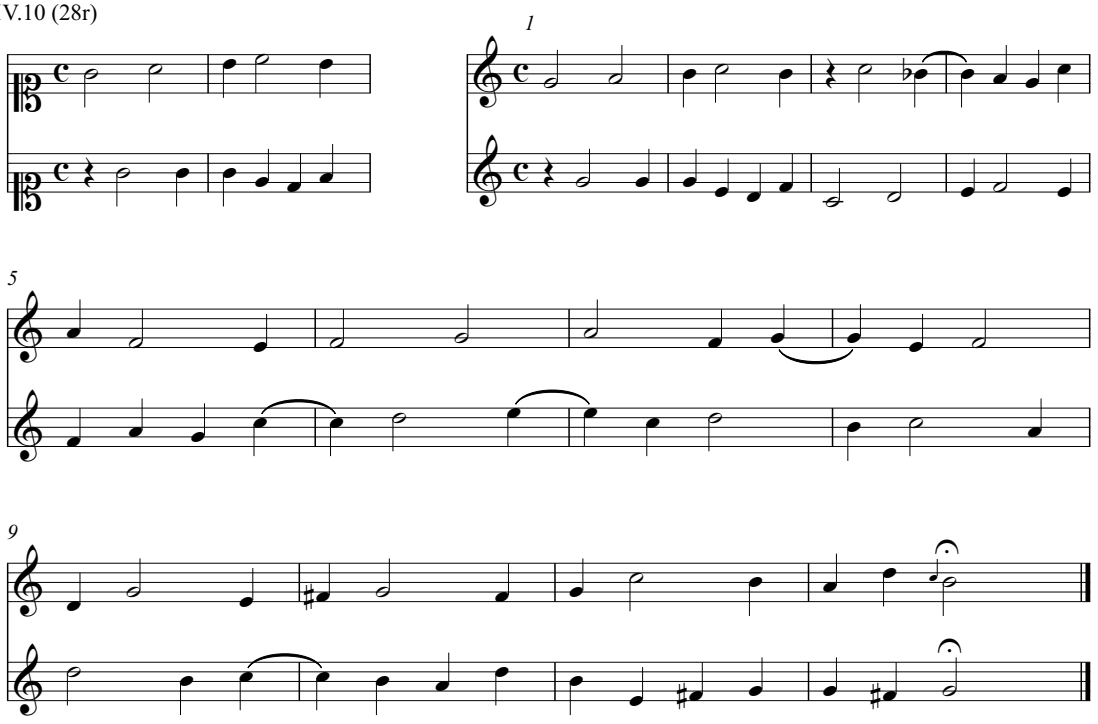
IV.8 (28r)



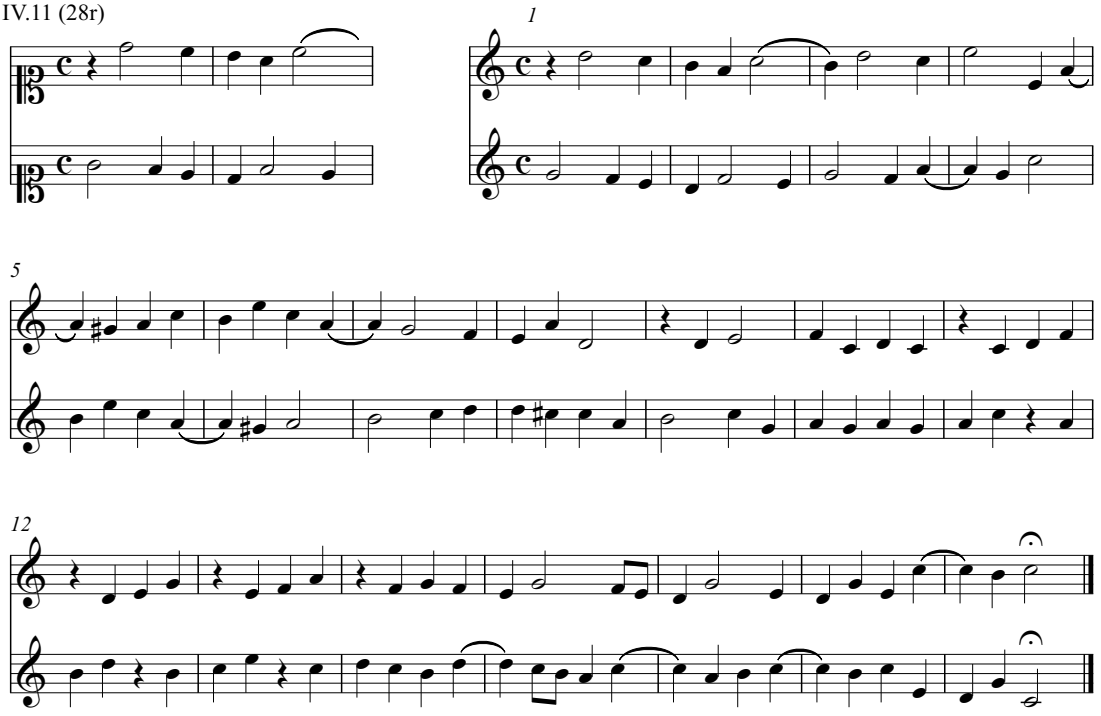
IV.9 (28R)



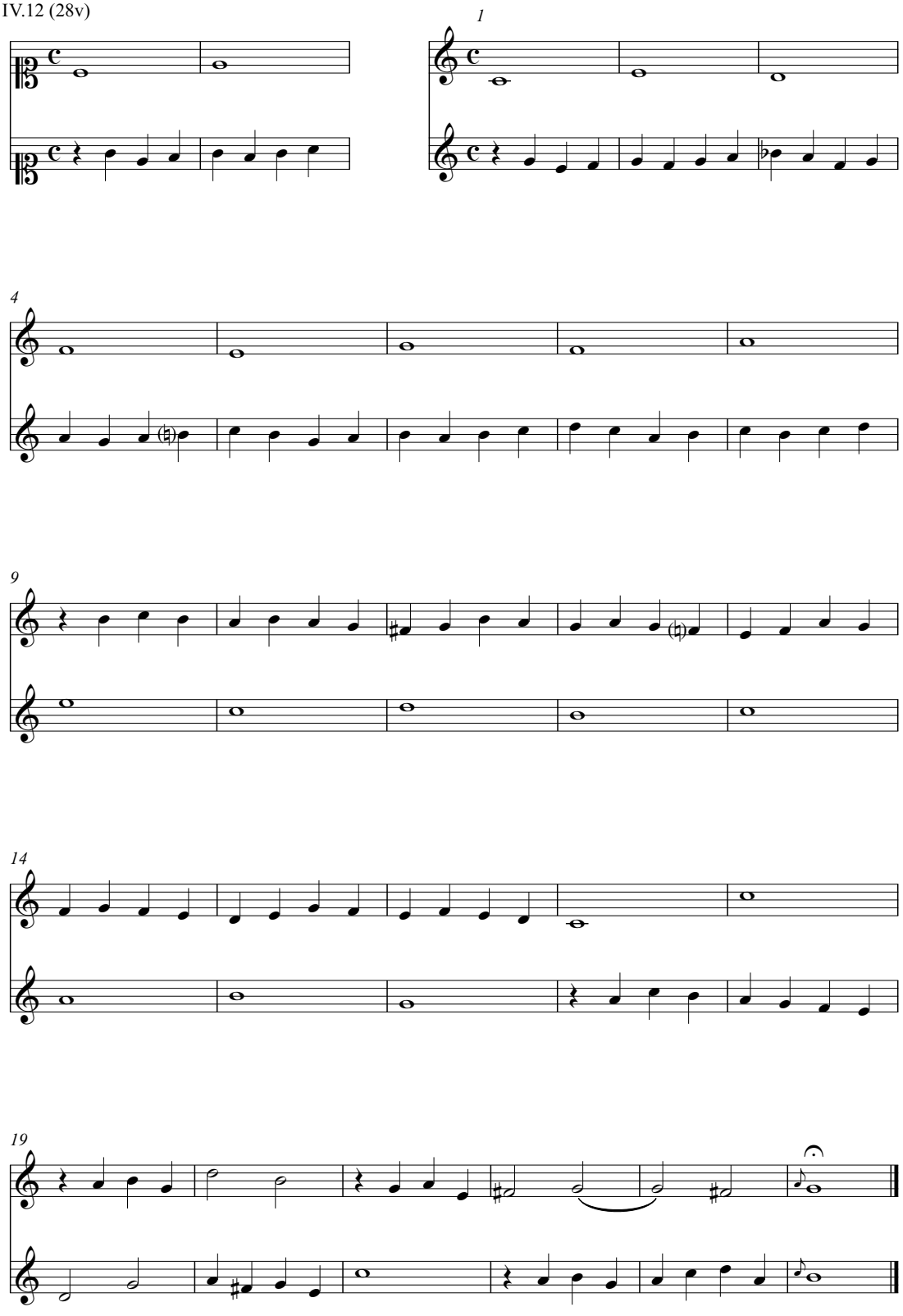
IV.10 (28r)



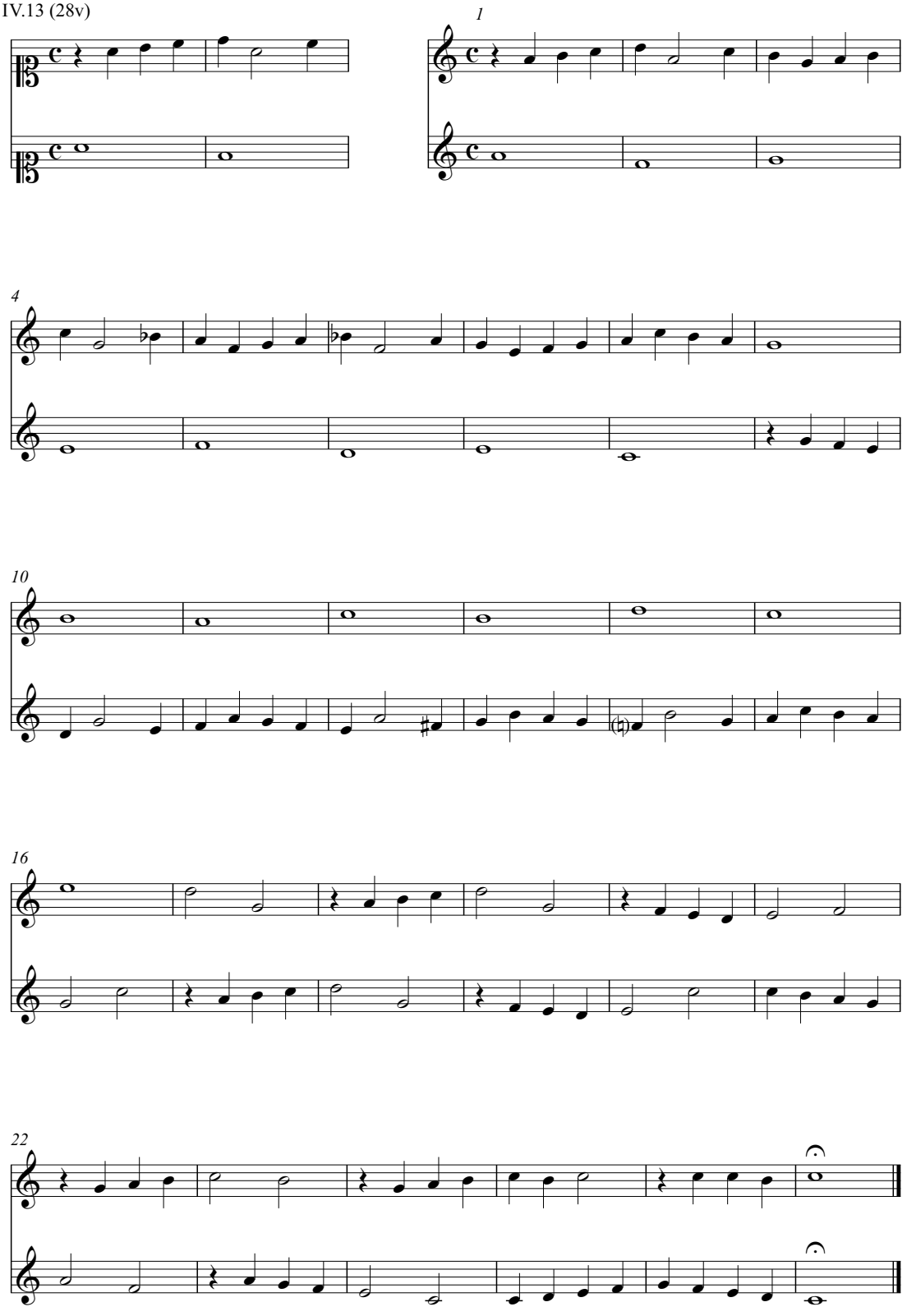
IV.11 (28r)



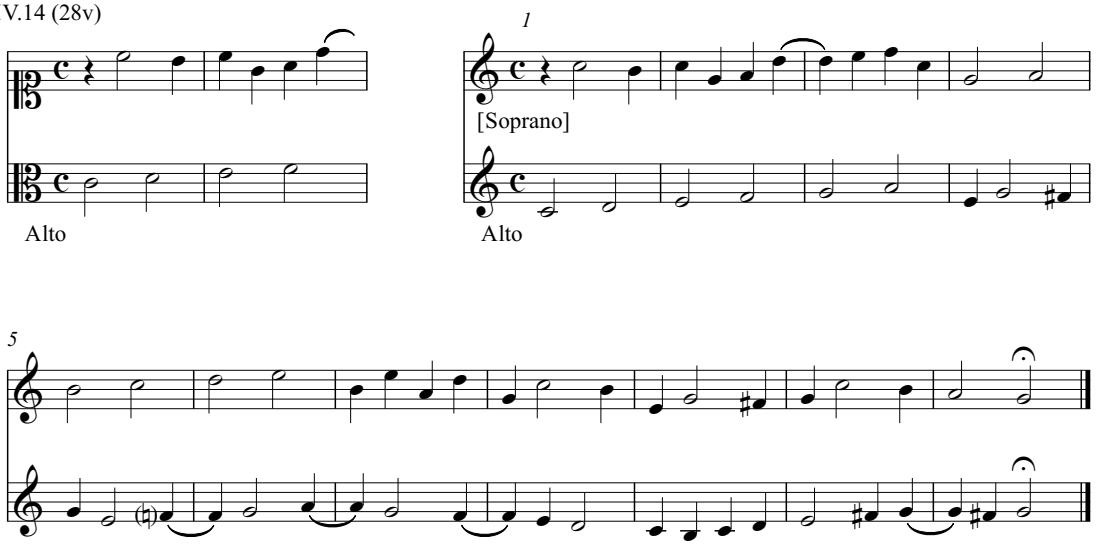
IV.12 (28v)



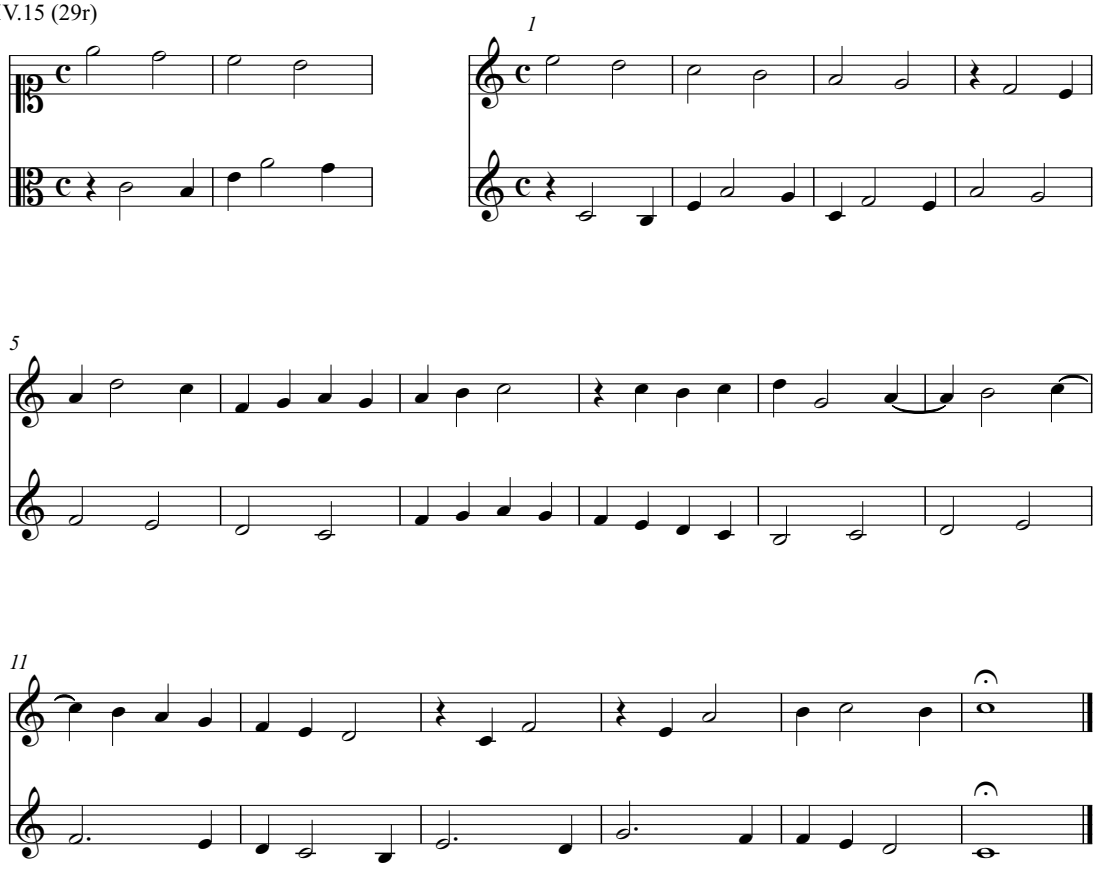
IV.13 (28v)



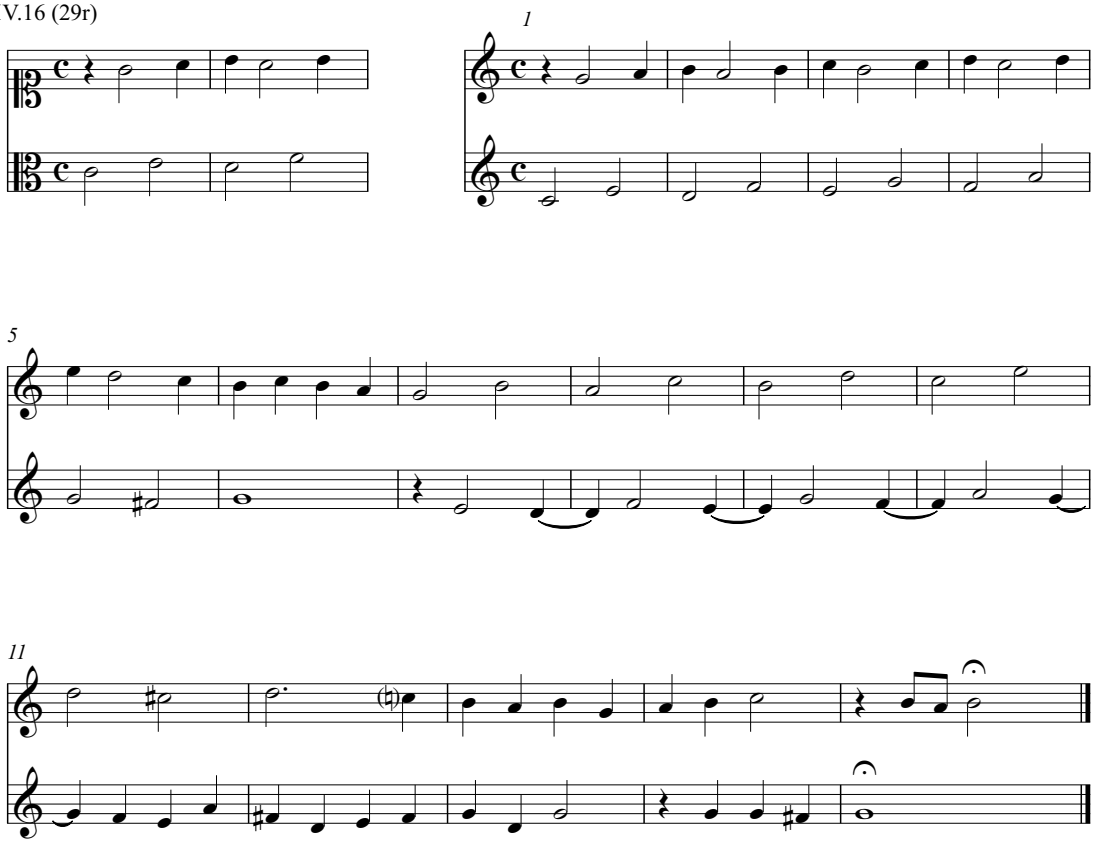
IV.14 (28v)



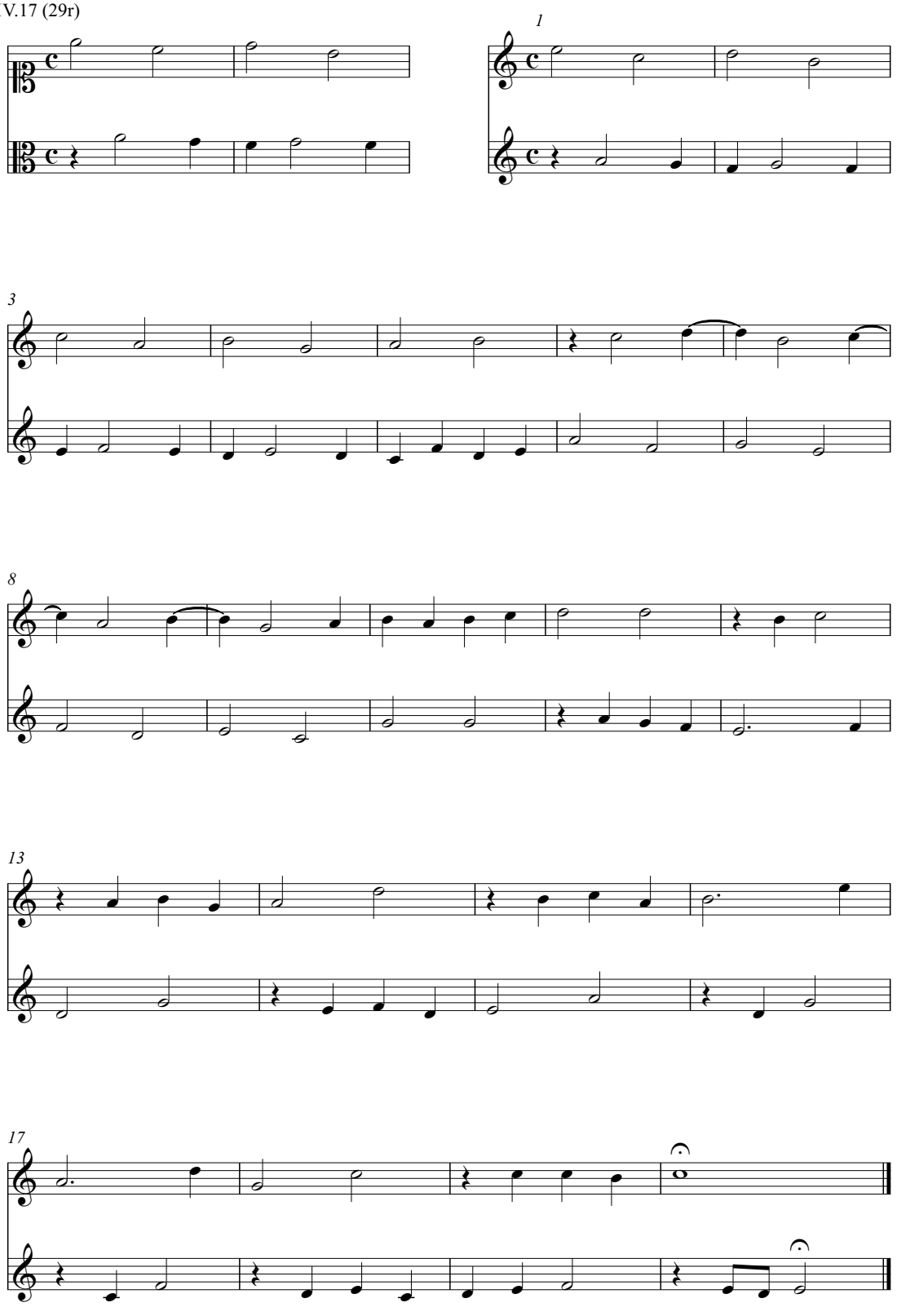
IV.15 (29r)



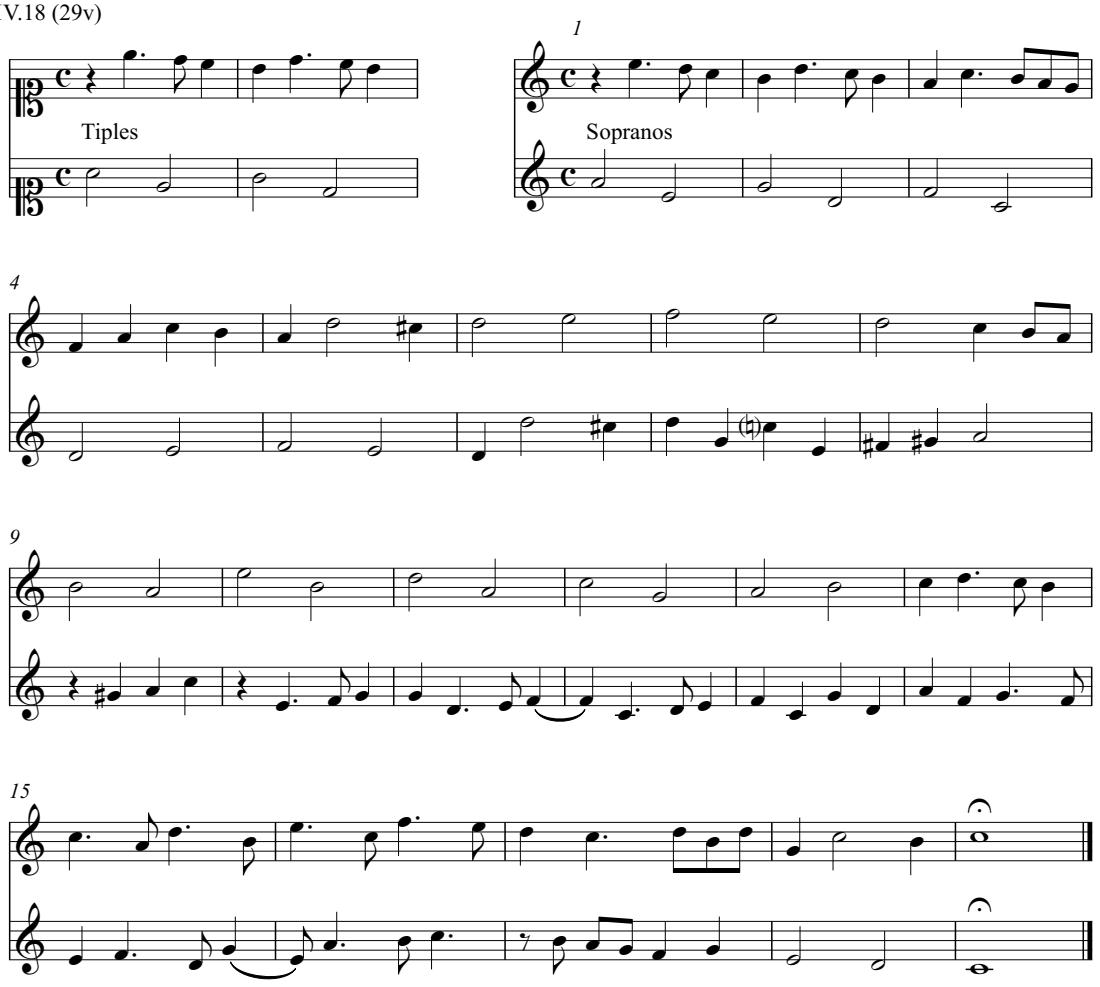
IV.16 (29r)



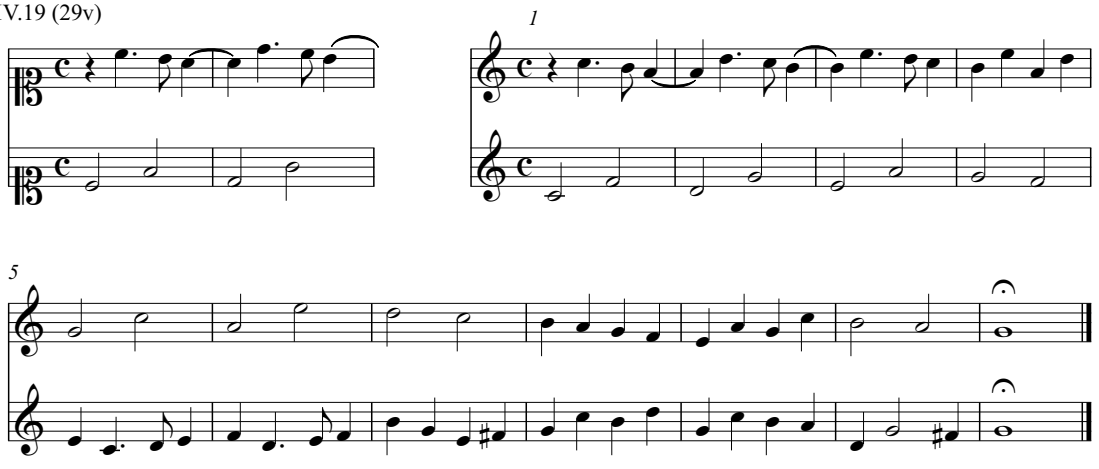
IV.17 (29r)



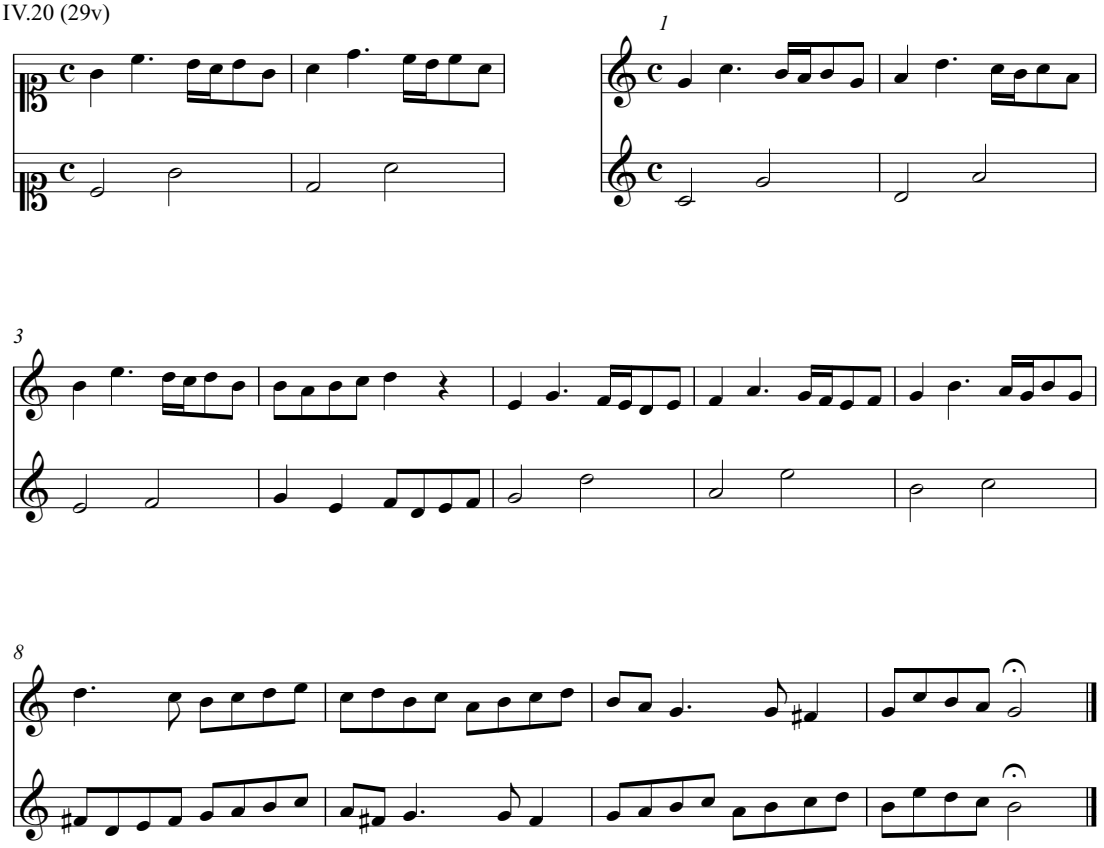
IV.18 (29v)



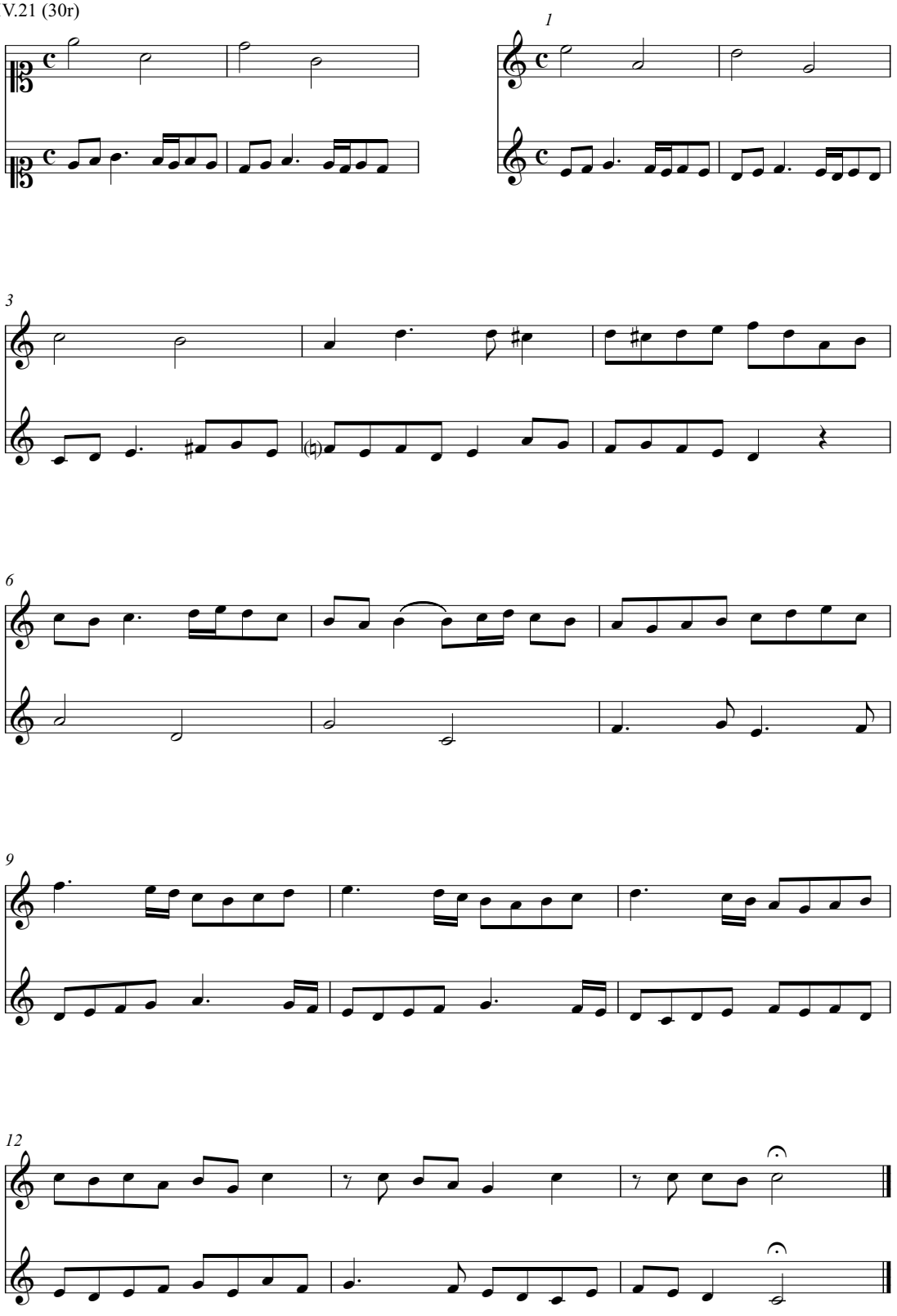
IV.19 (29v)



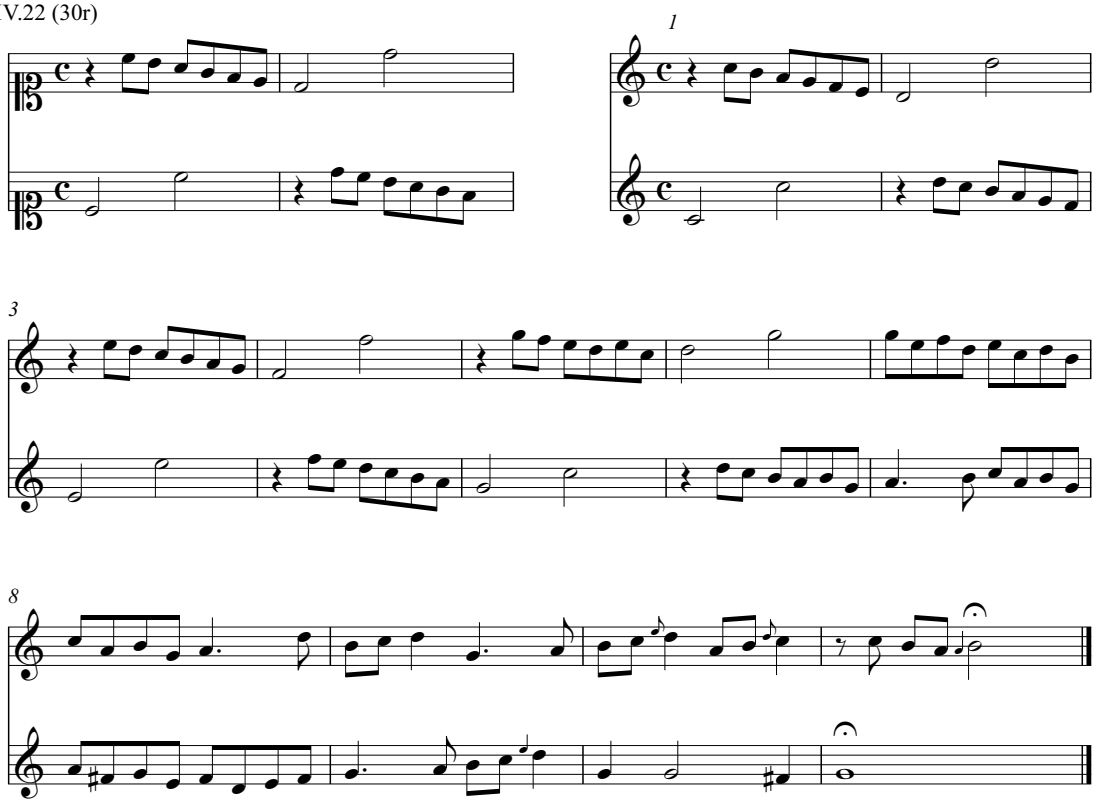
IV.20 (29v)



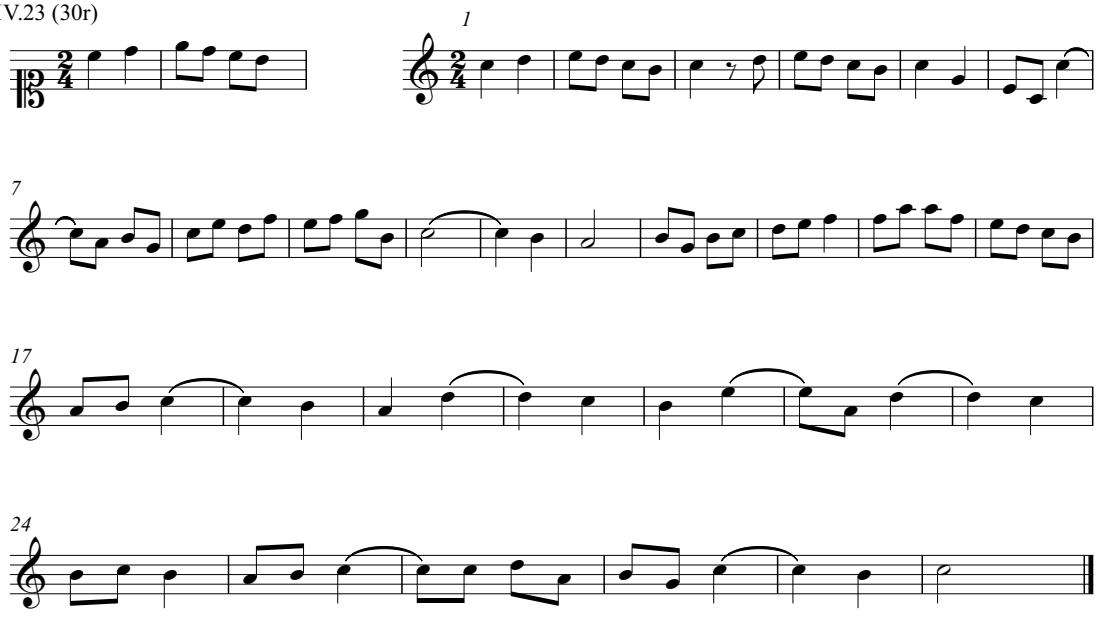
IV.21 (30r)



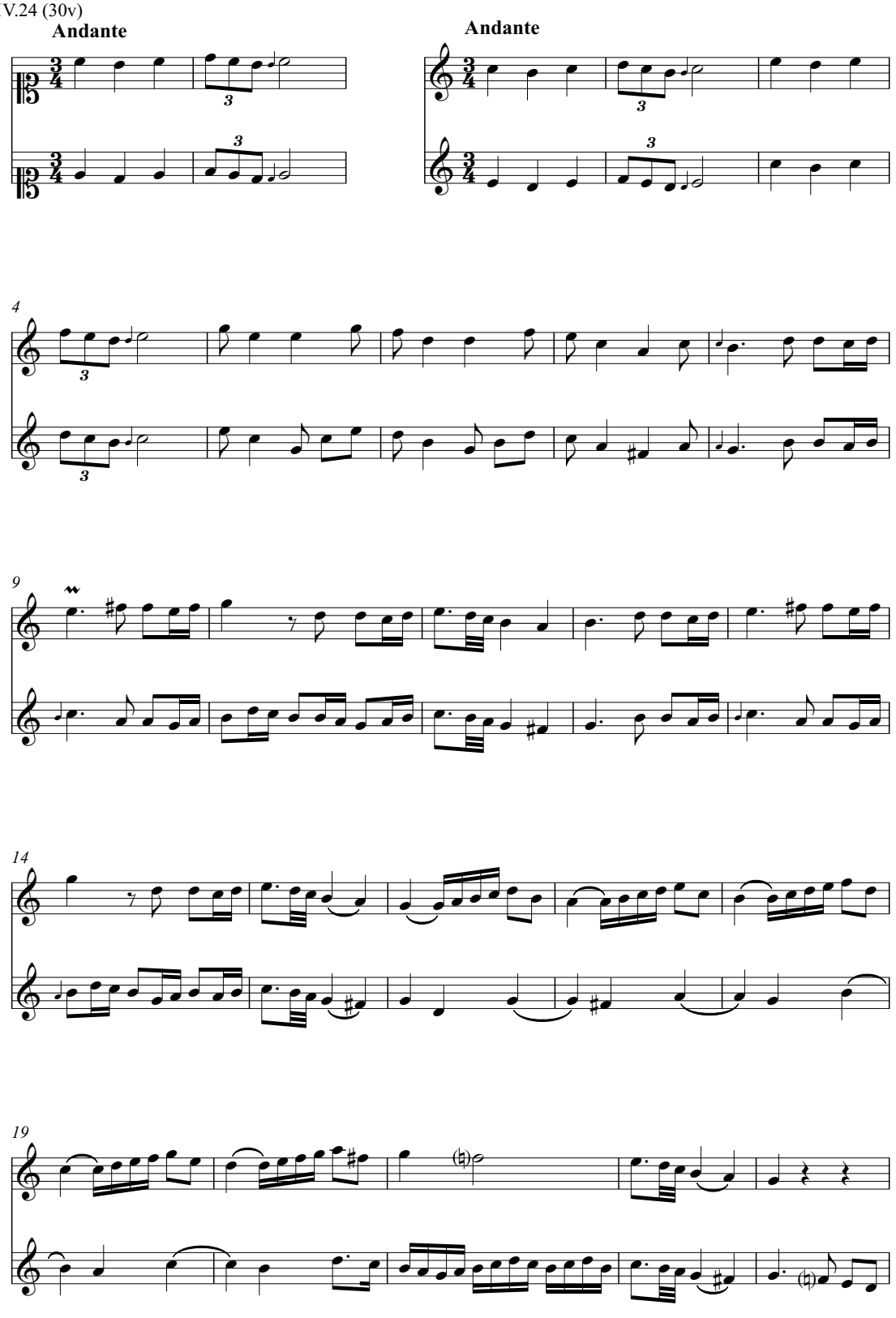
IV.22 (30r)

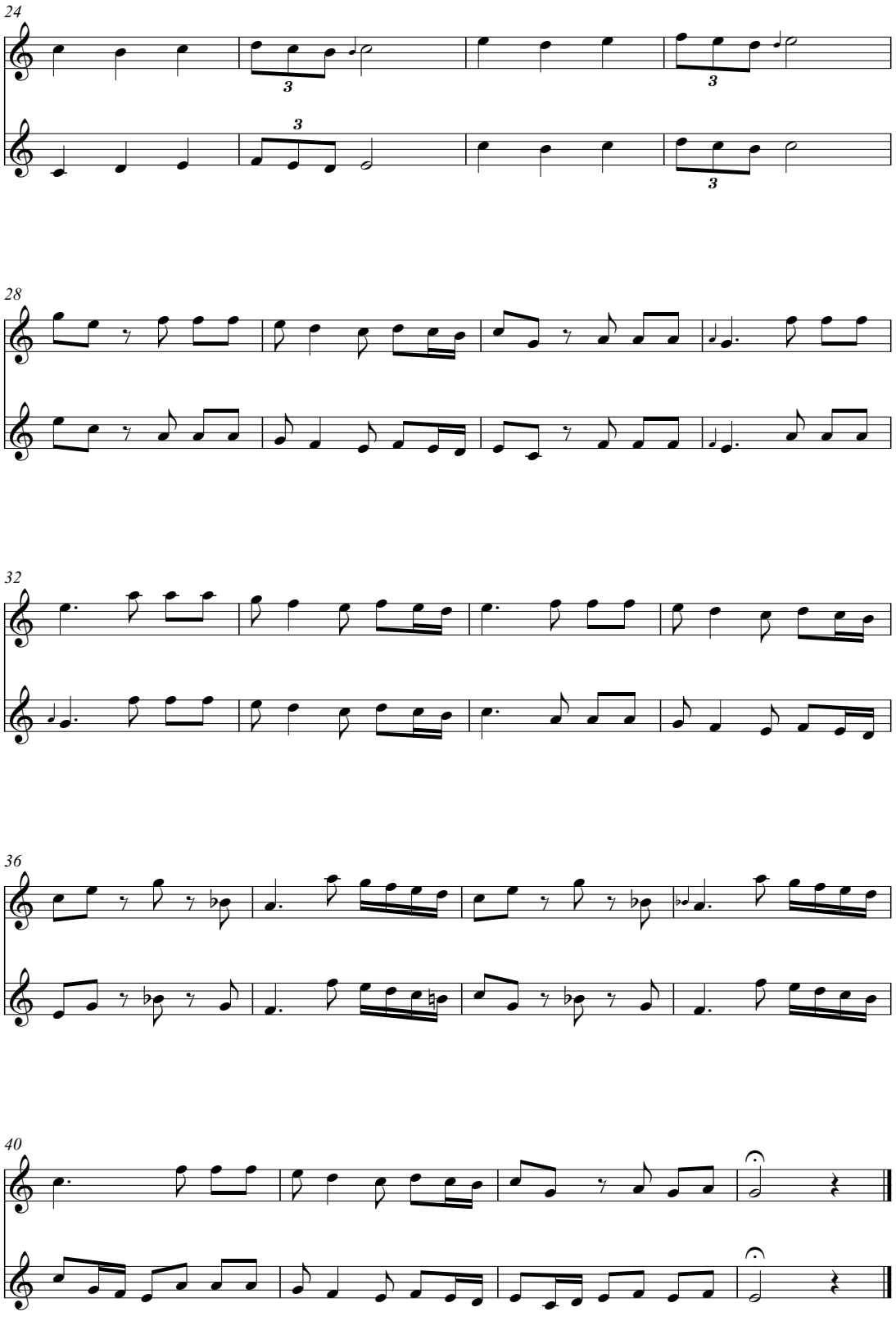


IV.23 (30r)

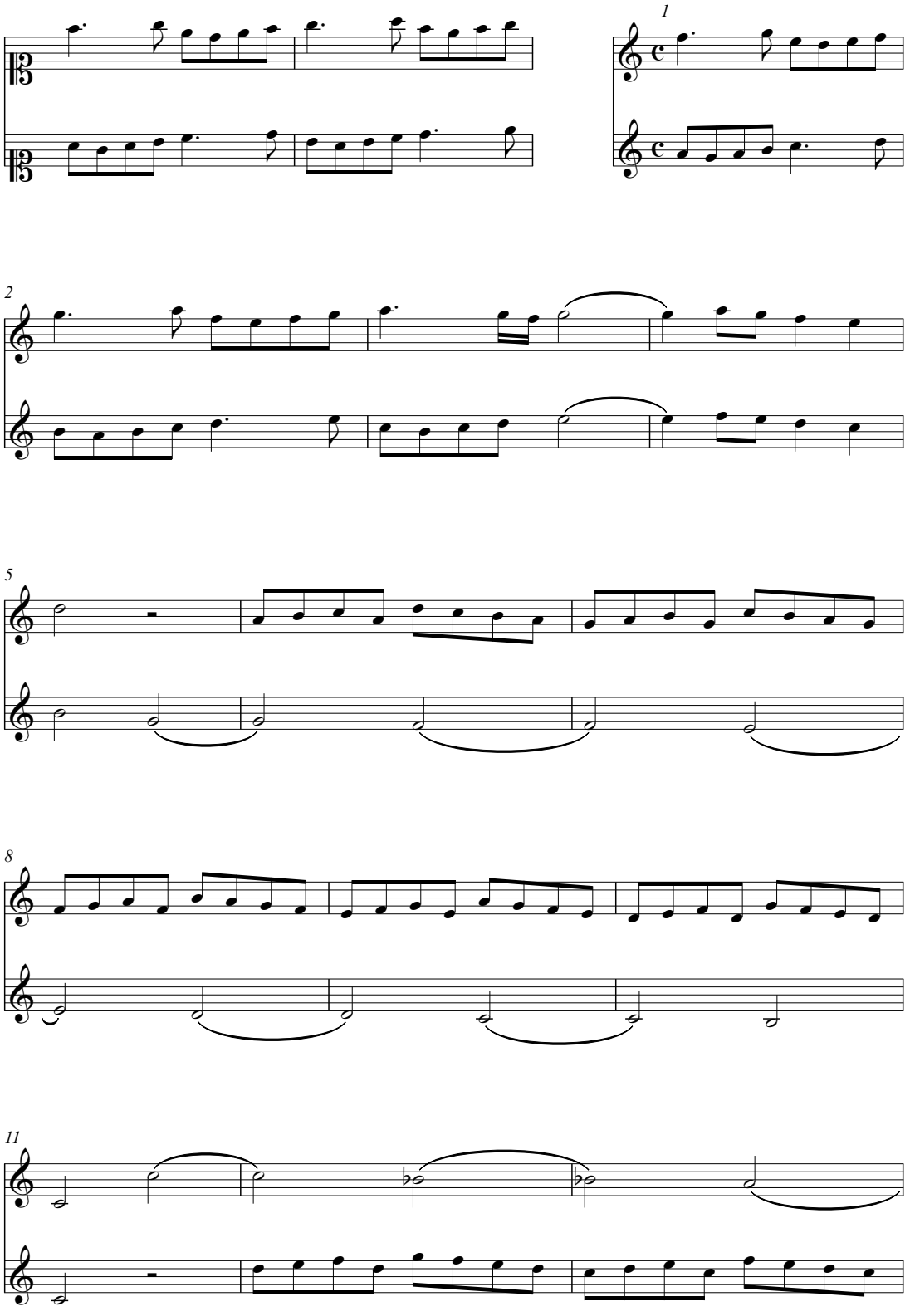


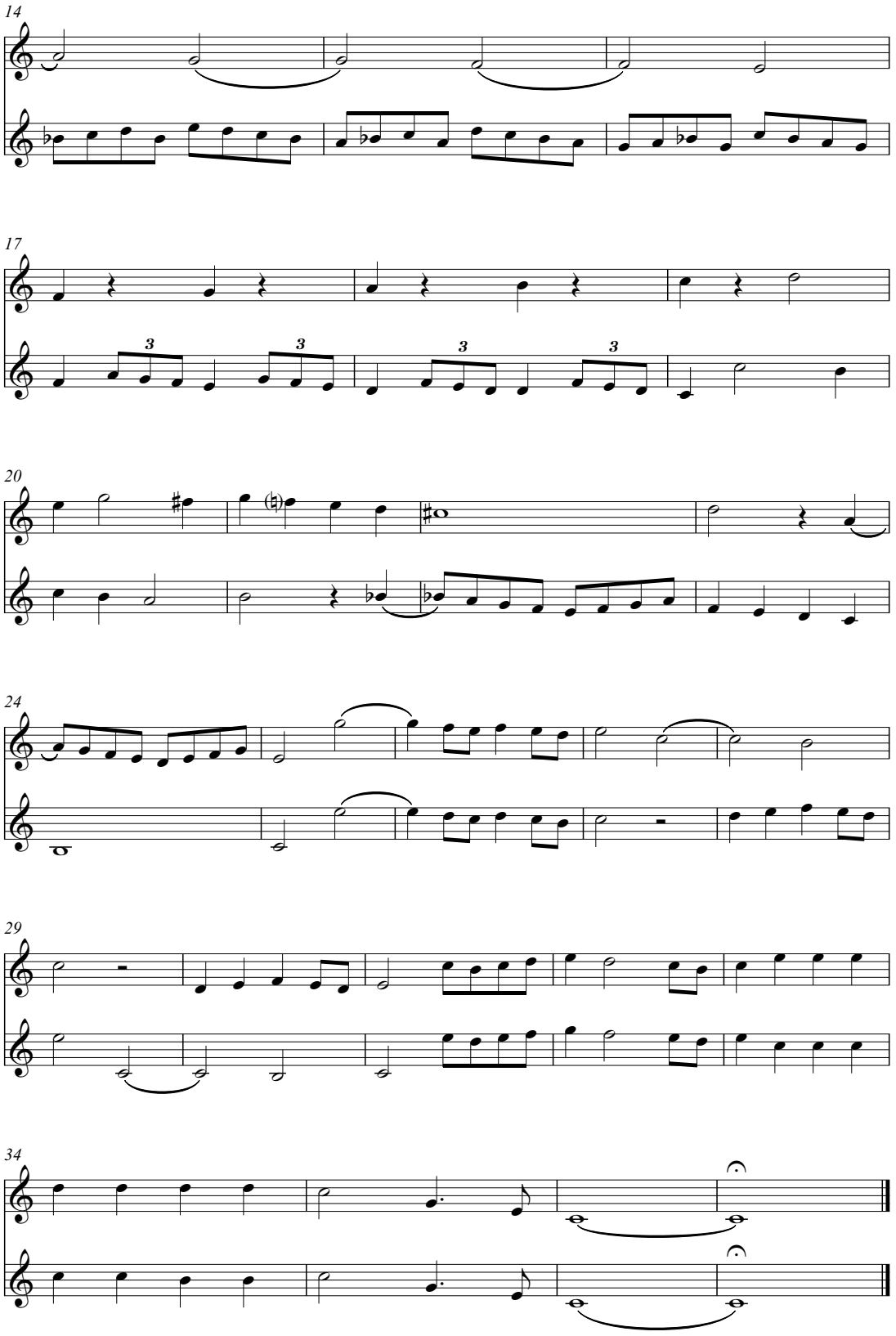
IV.24 (30v)




24
28
32
36
40

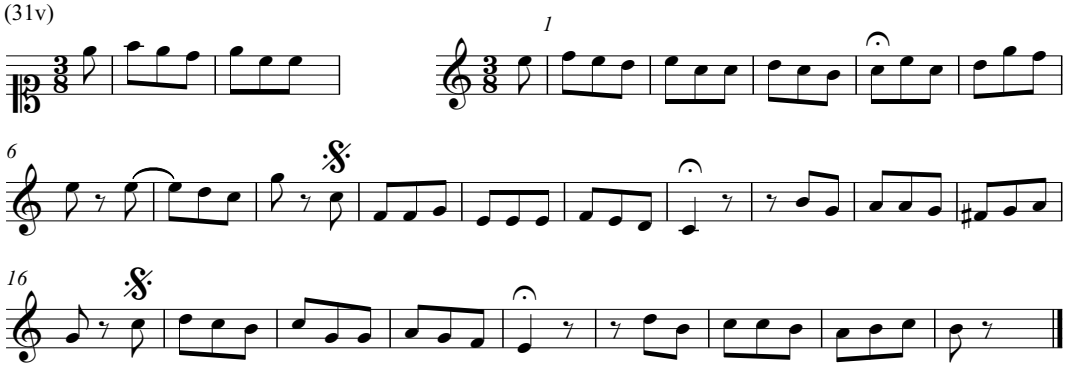
IV.25 (31r)



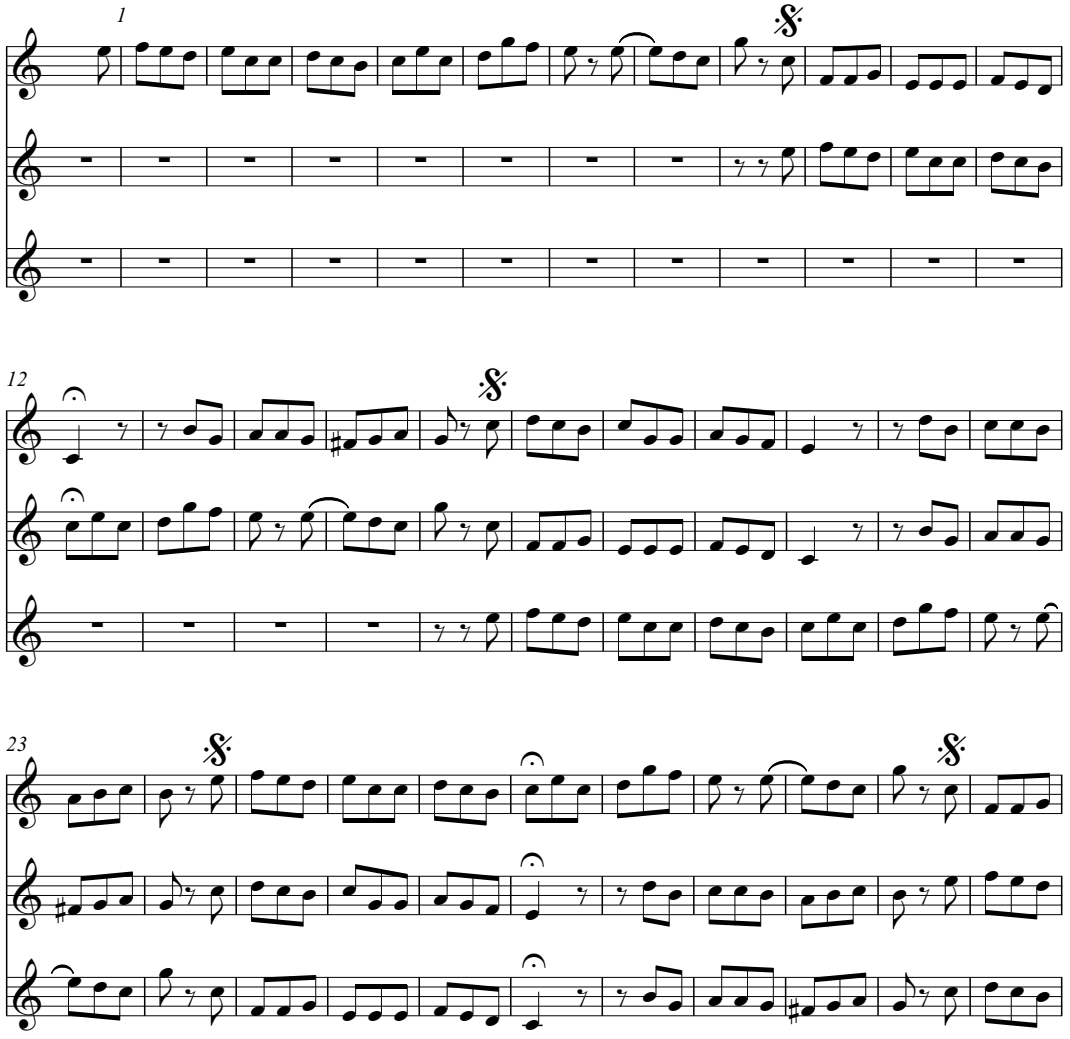

14
17
20
24
29
34

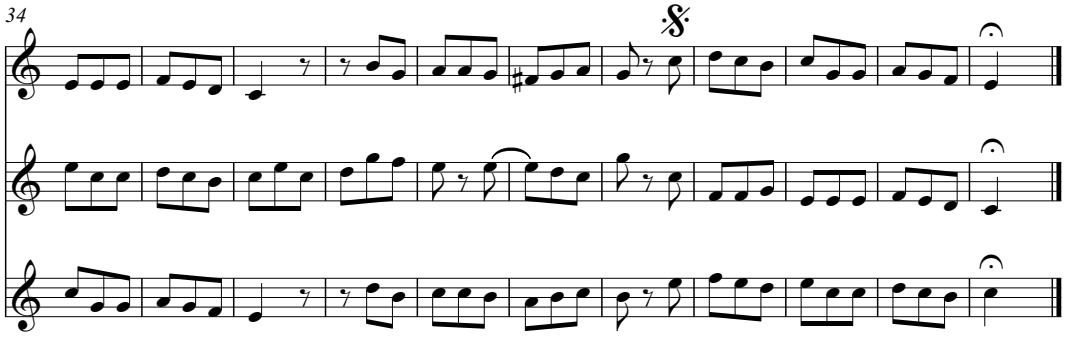
V. Canones à tres à quatro y à sínco

V.1 (31v)

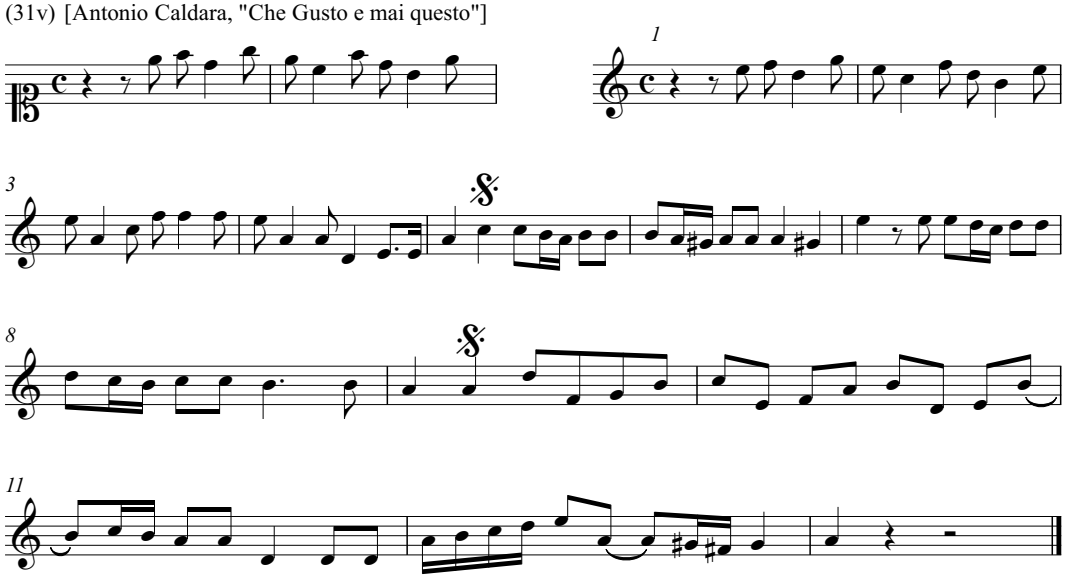


V.1 (31v) (transcribed in score form)

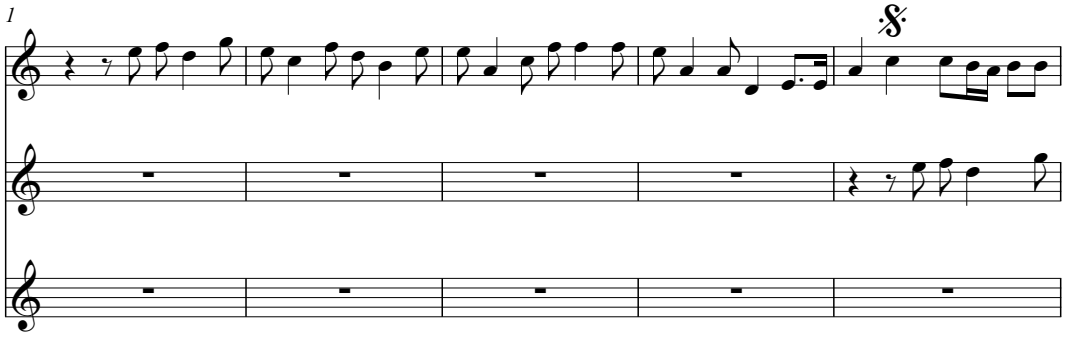


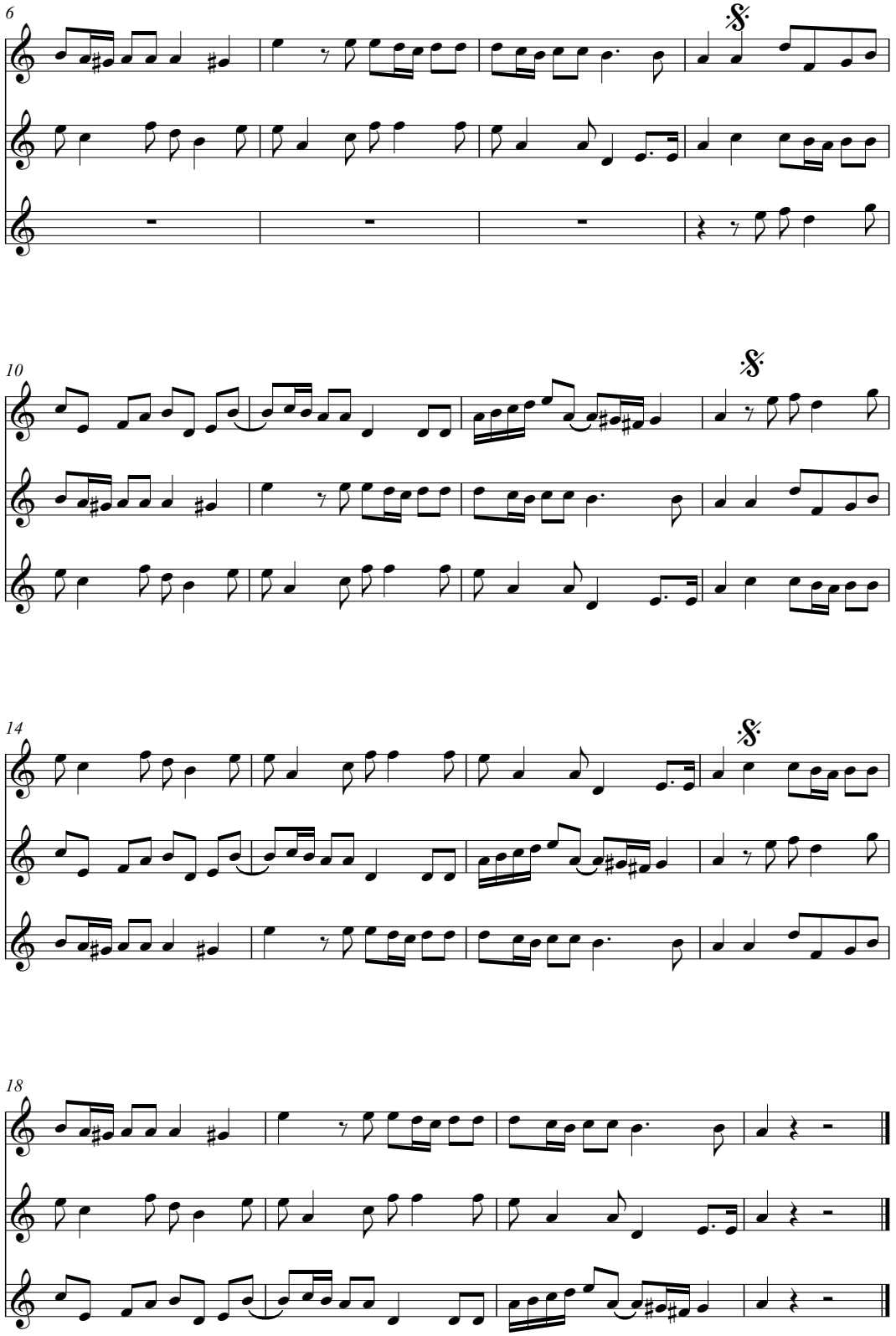


V.2 (31v) [Antonio Caldara, "Che Gusto e mai questo"]

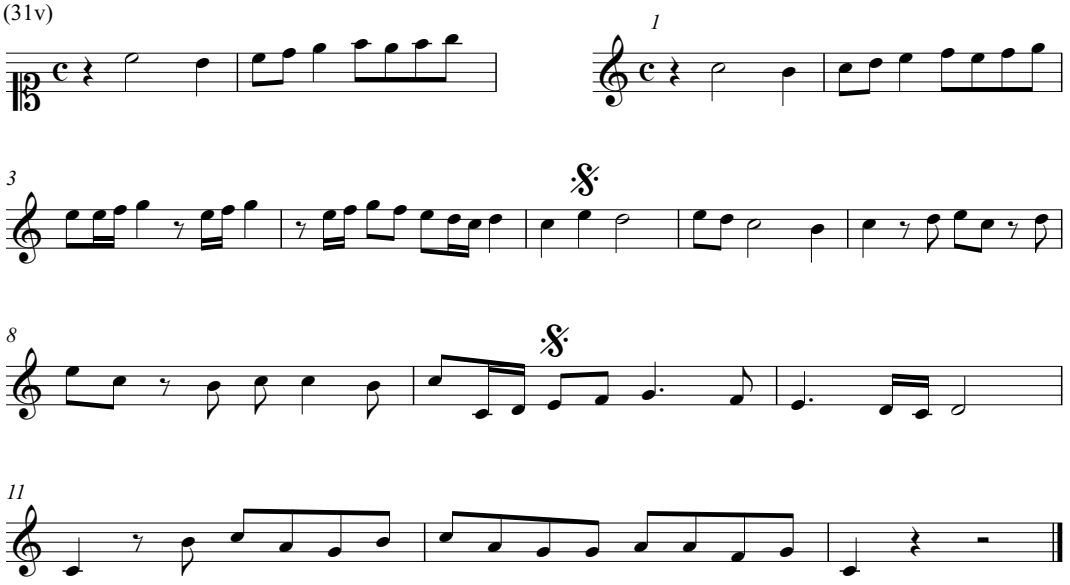


V.2 (31v) (transcribed in score form)

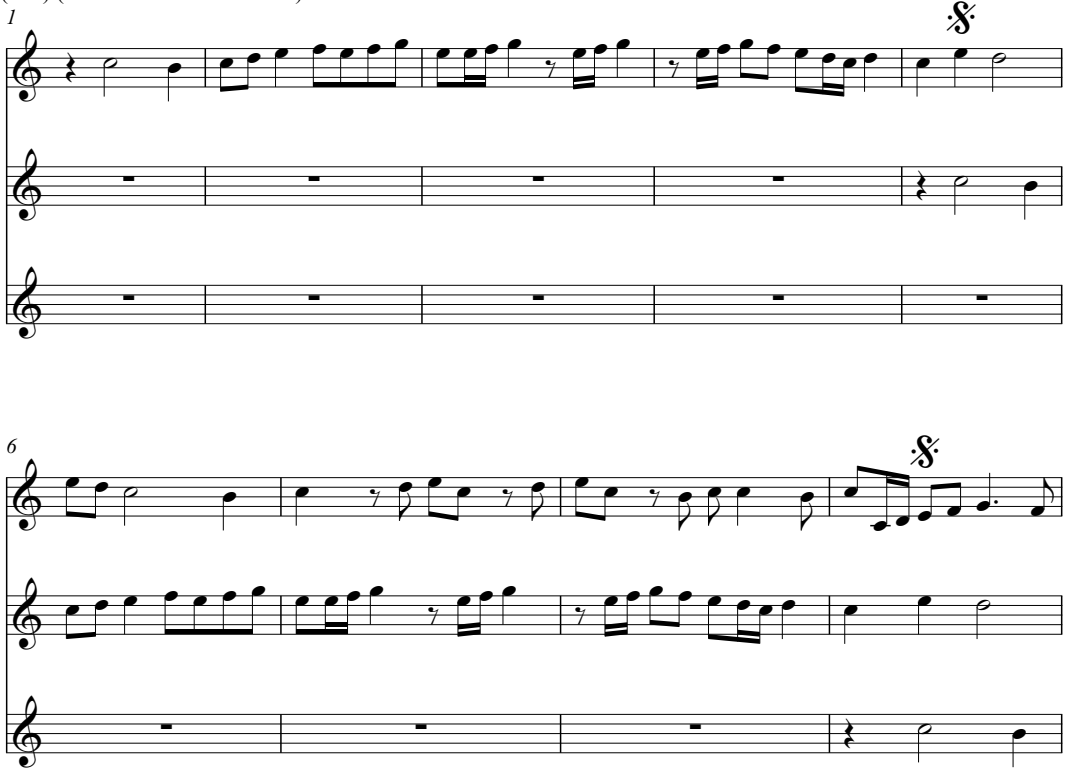


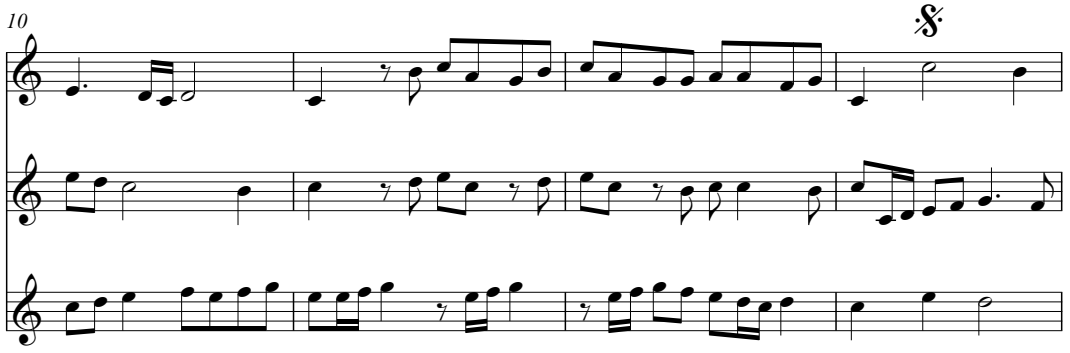

6
10
14
18

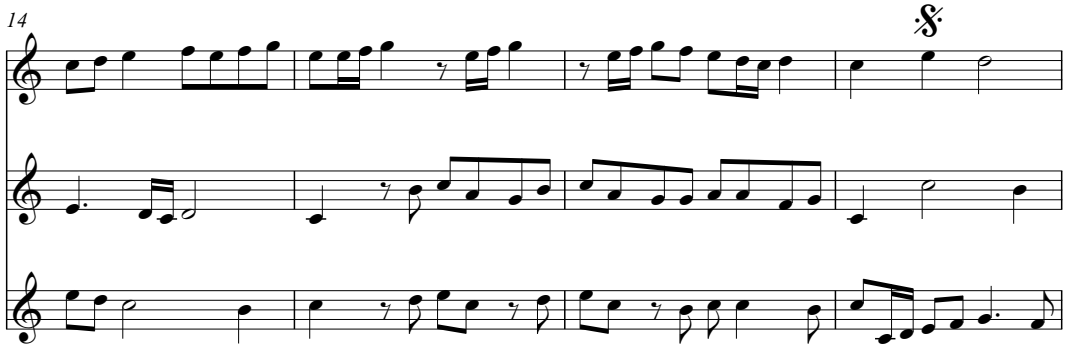
V.3 (31v)

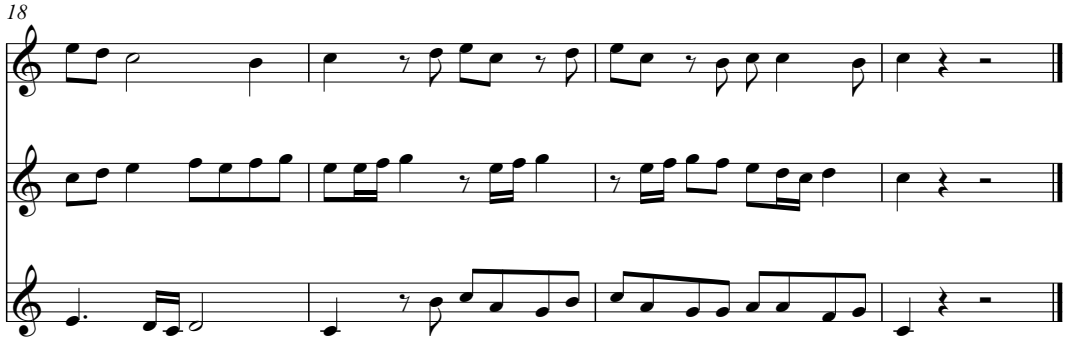


V.3 (31v) (transcribed in score form)

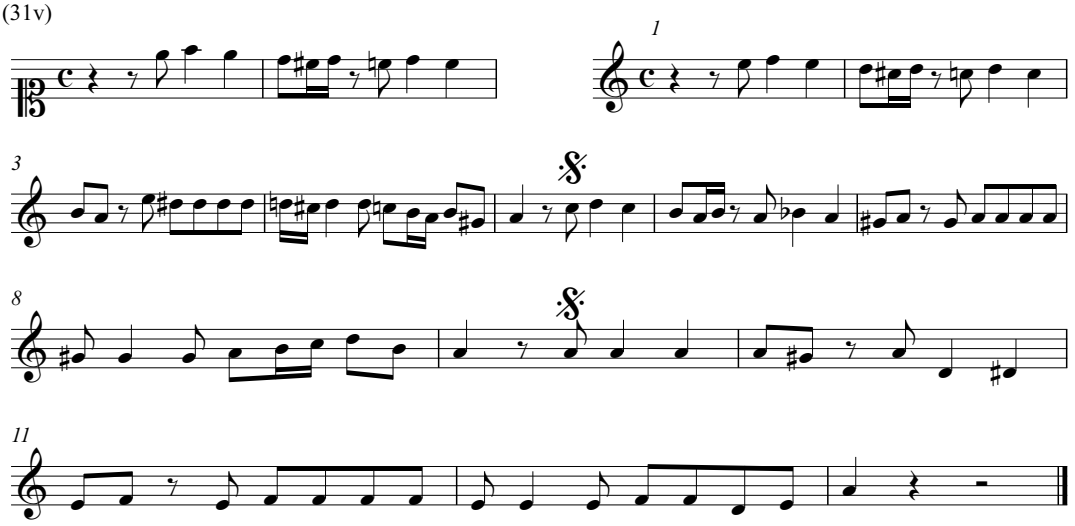



10

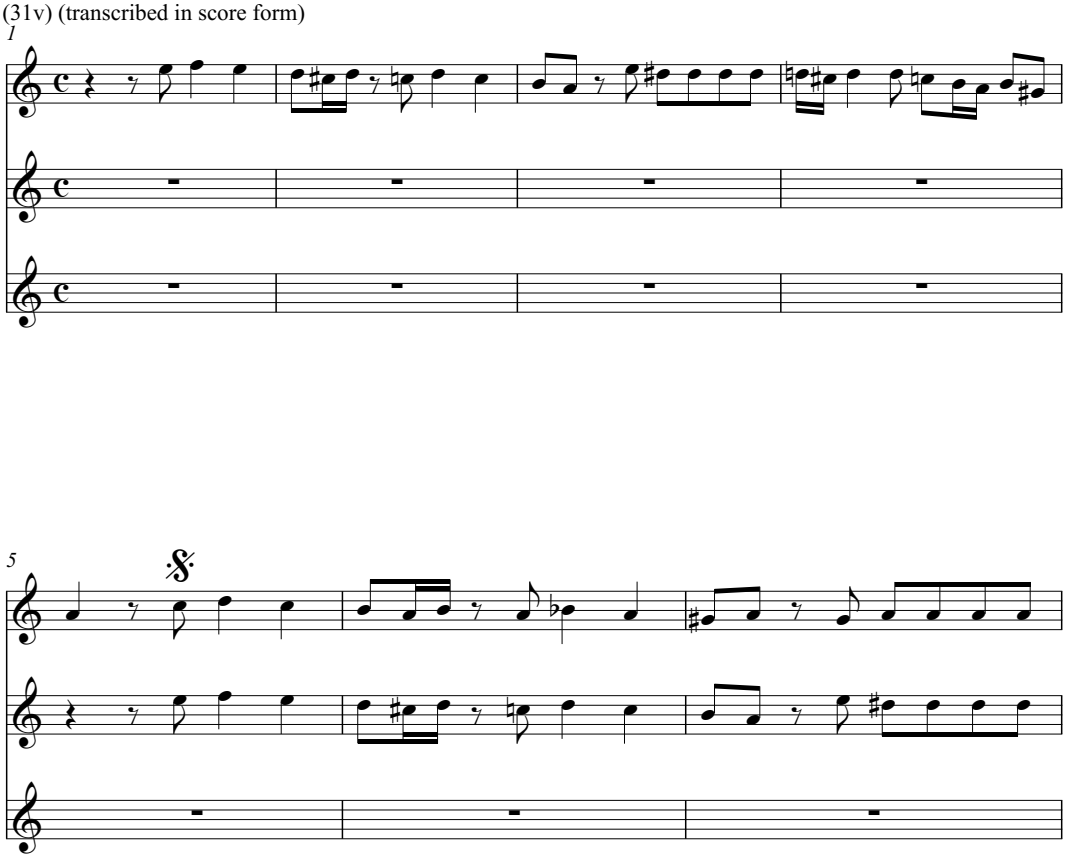

14

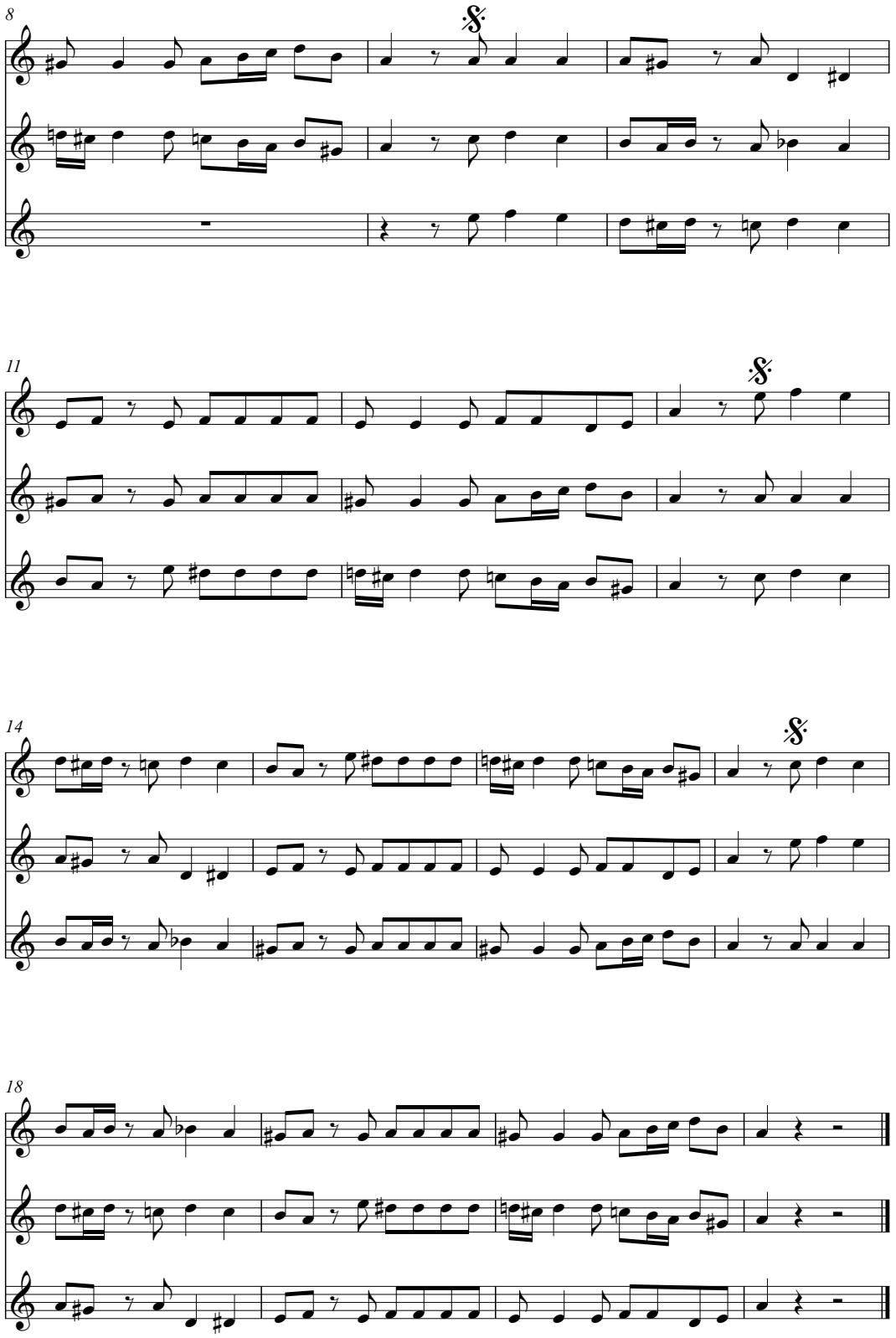

18

V.4 (31v)

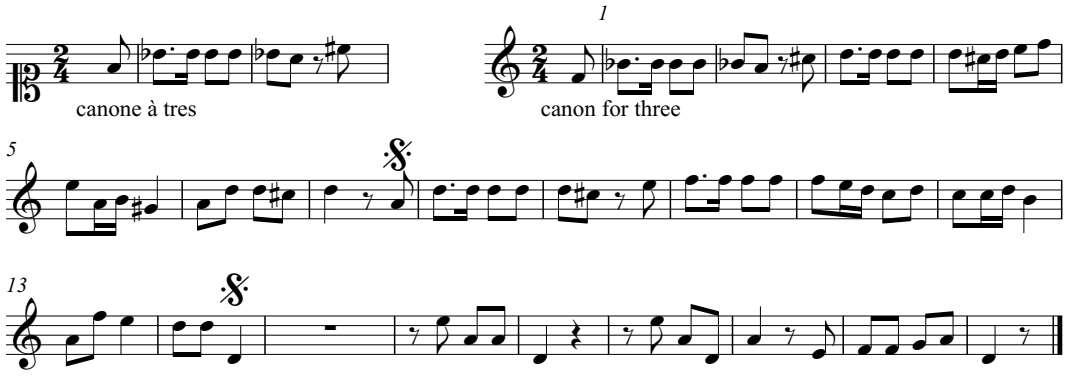


V.4 (31v) (transcribed in score form)

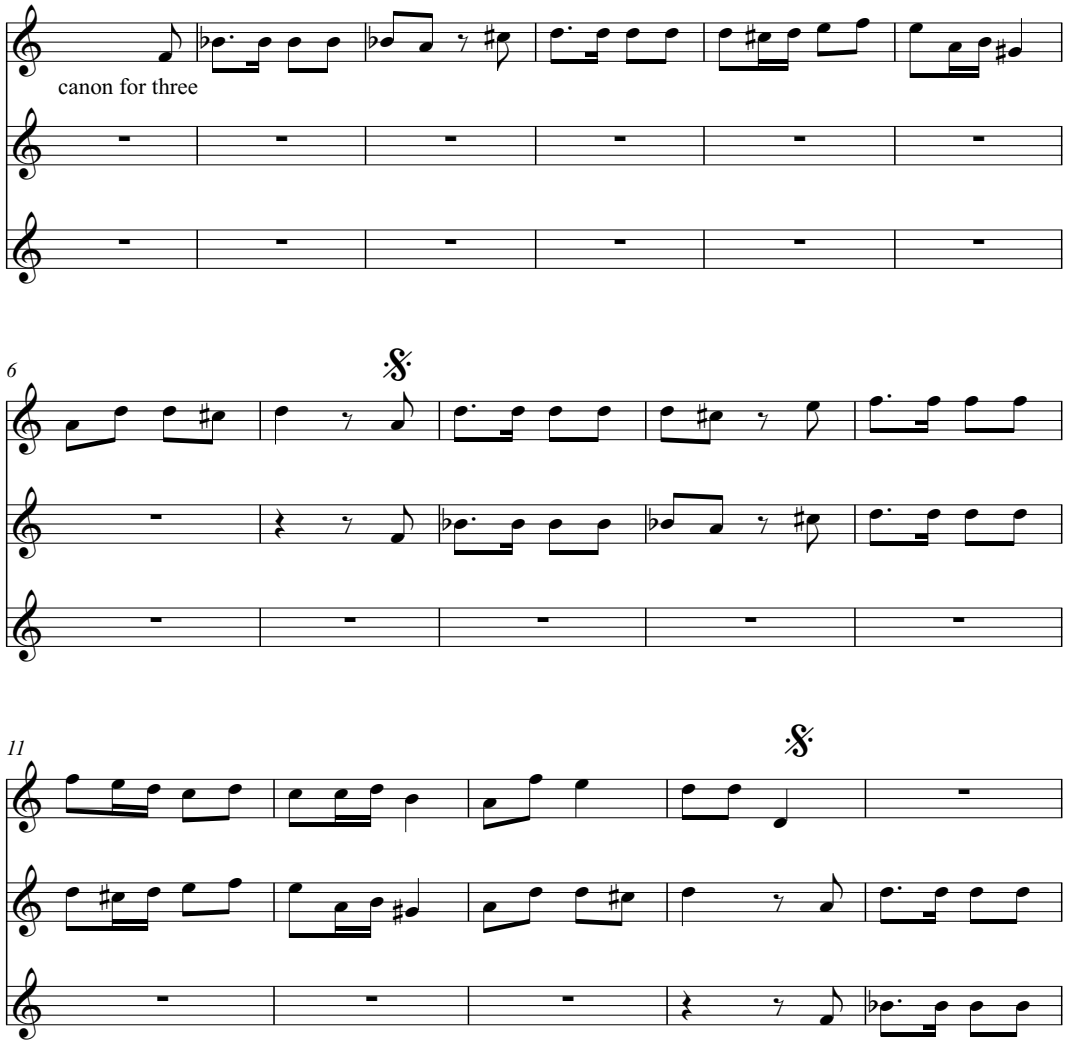


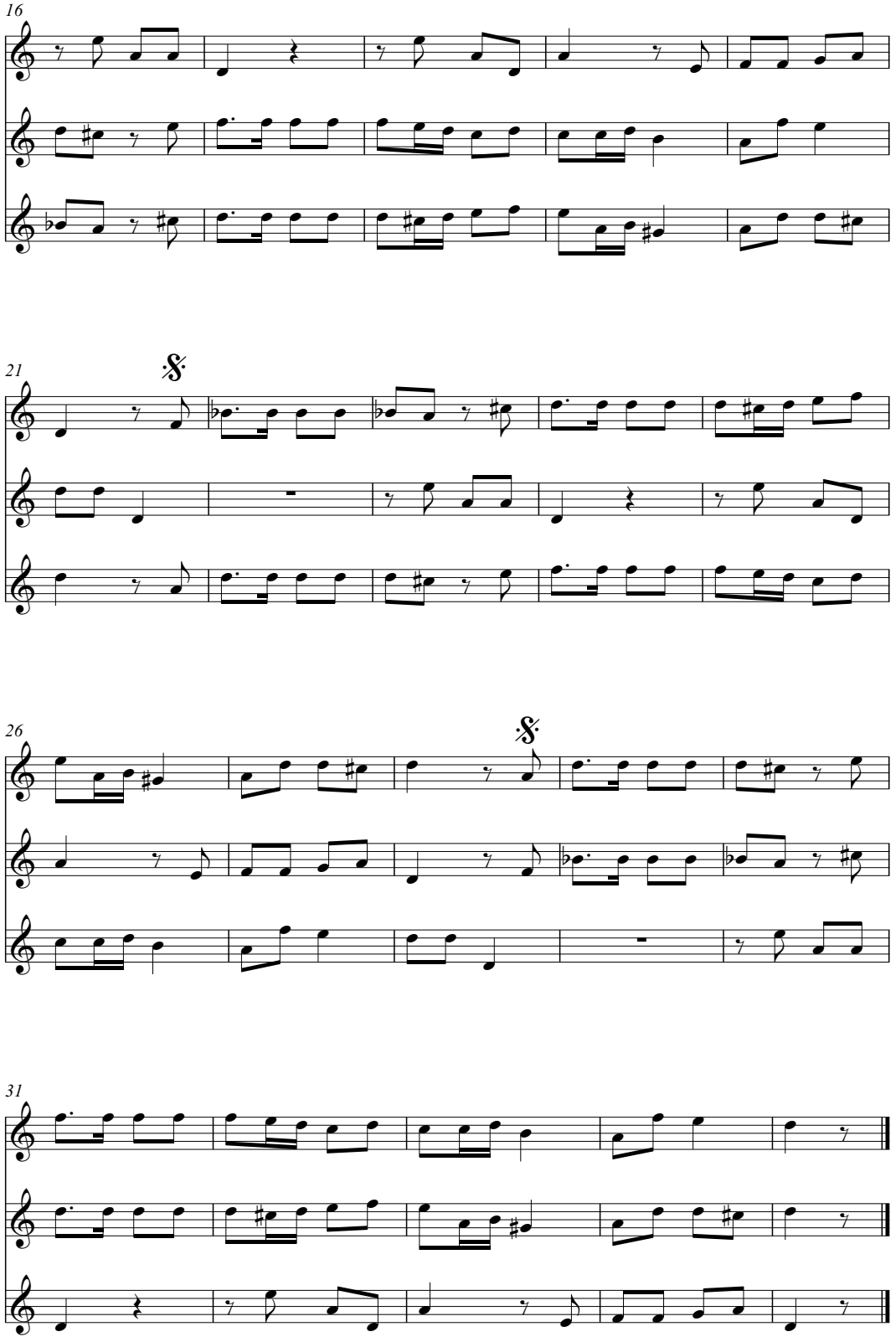

8
11
14
18

V.5 (32r)



V.5 (32r) (transcribed in score form)

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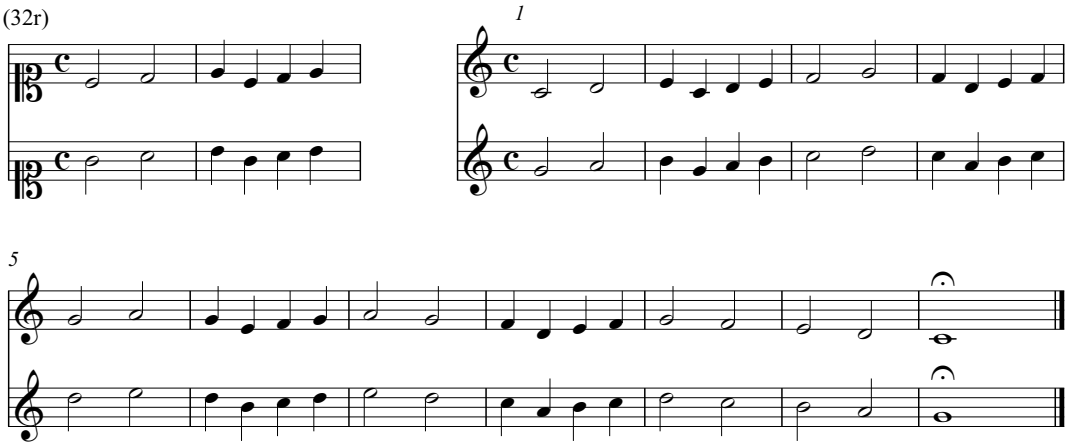
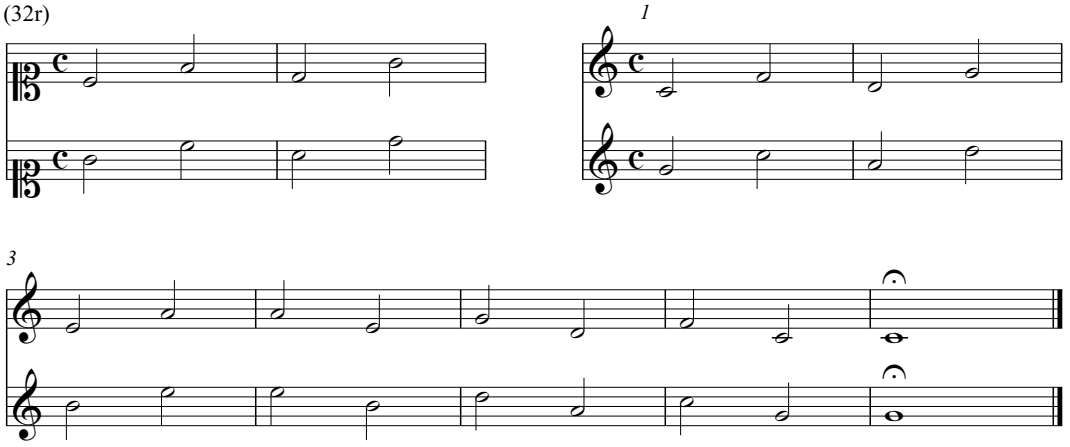
31

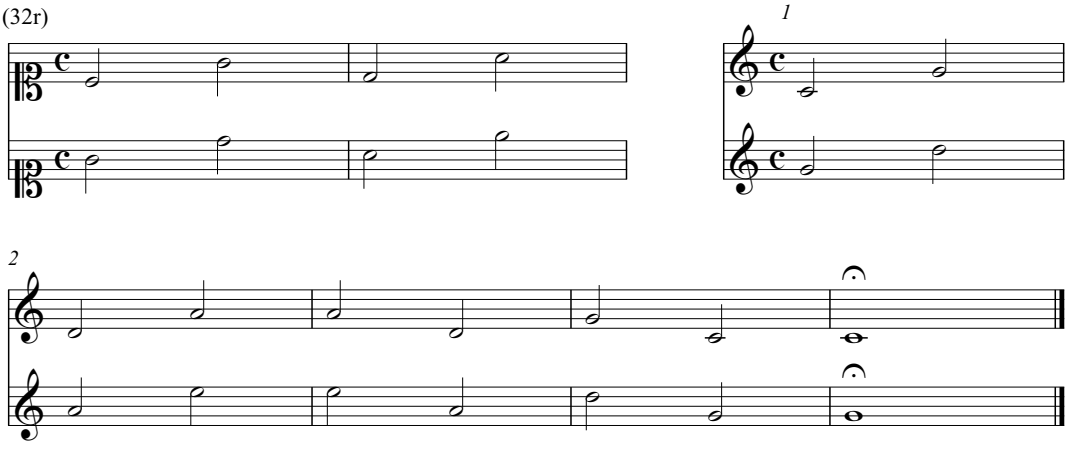
V.6 (32r)

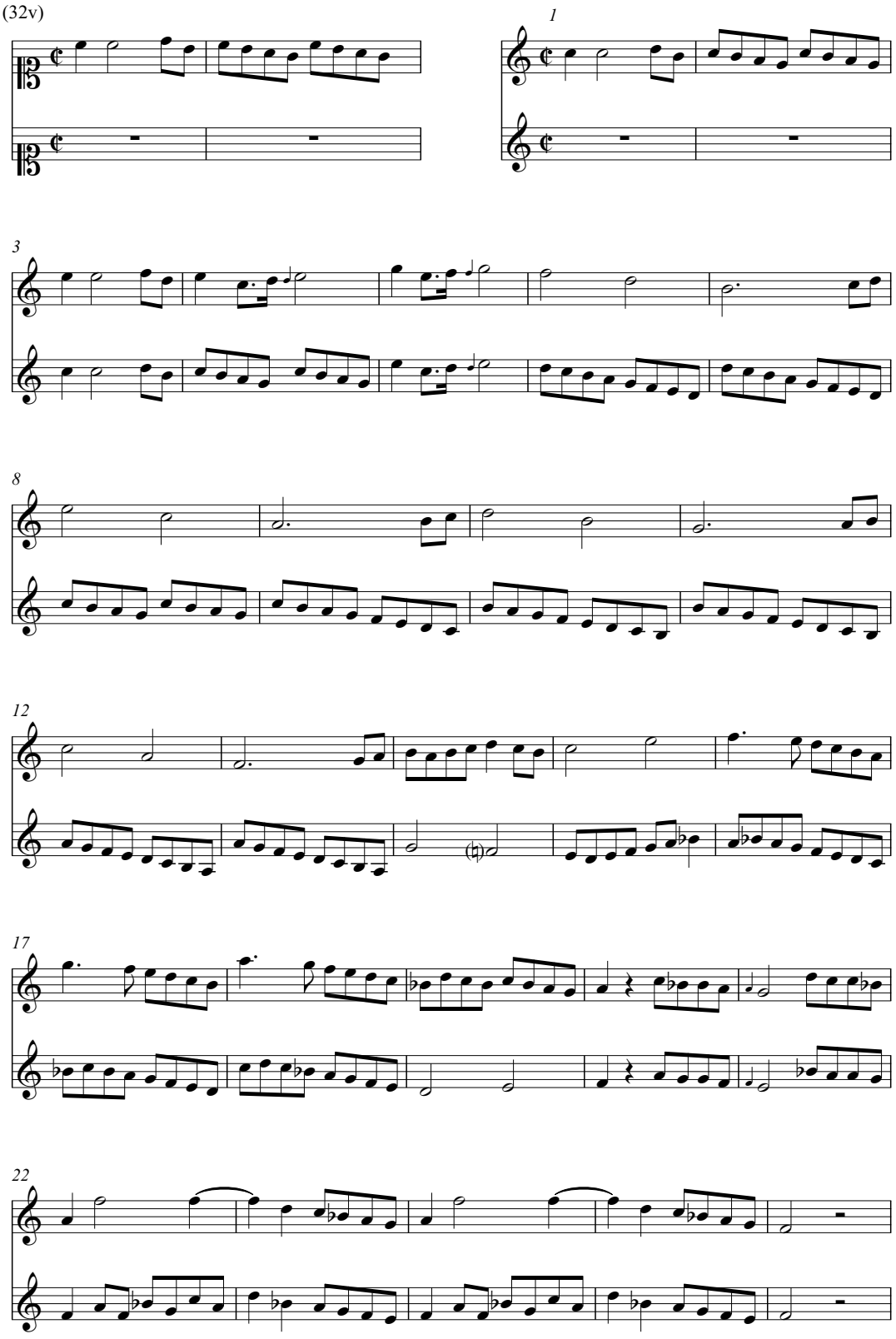


V.7 (32r)



V.8 (32r)




V.9 (32v)
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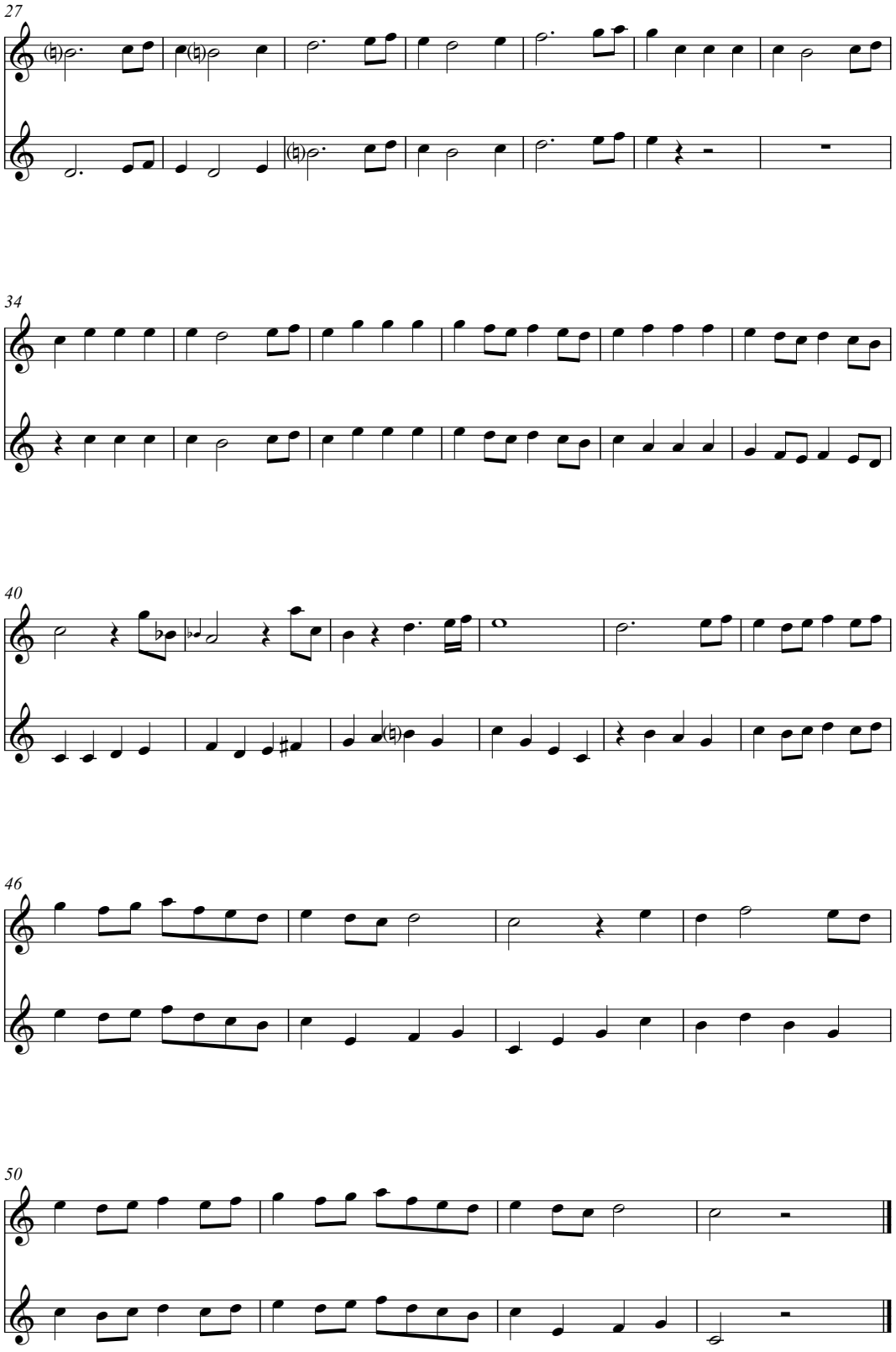
22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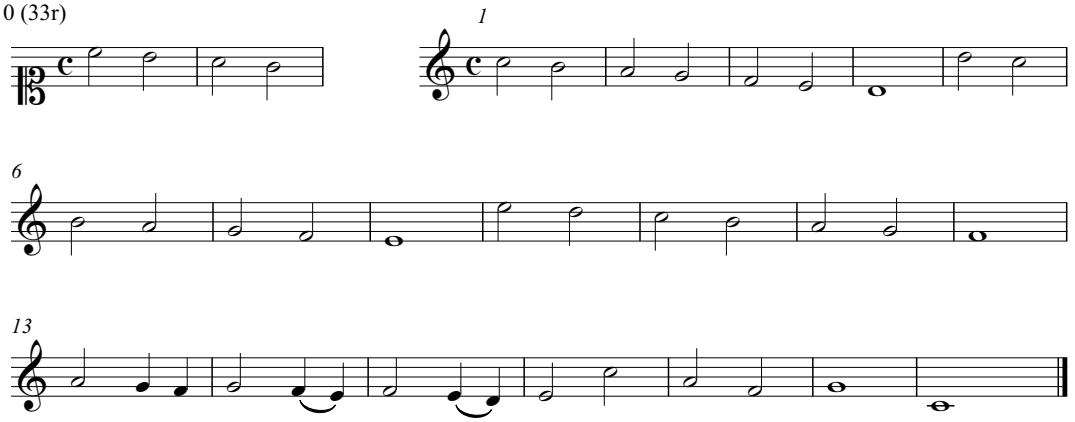
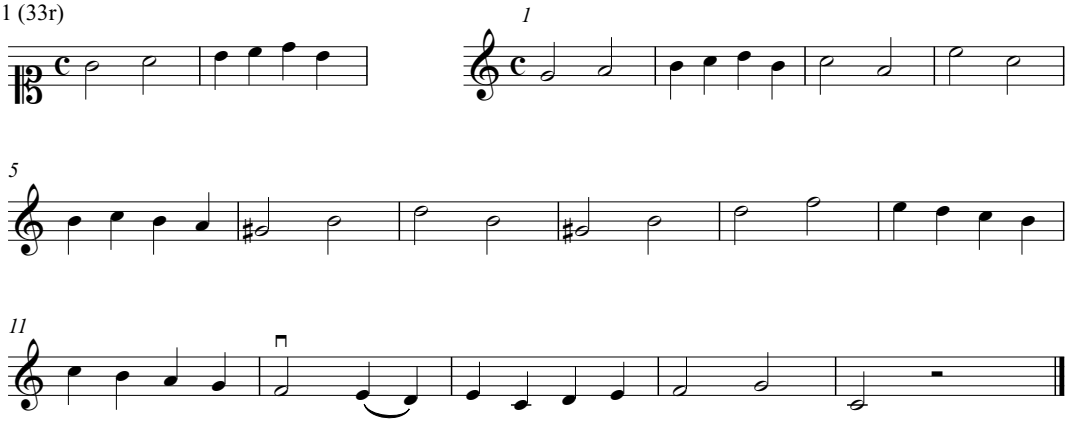
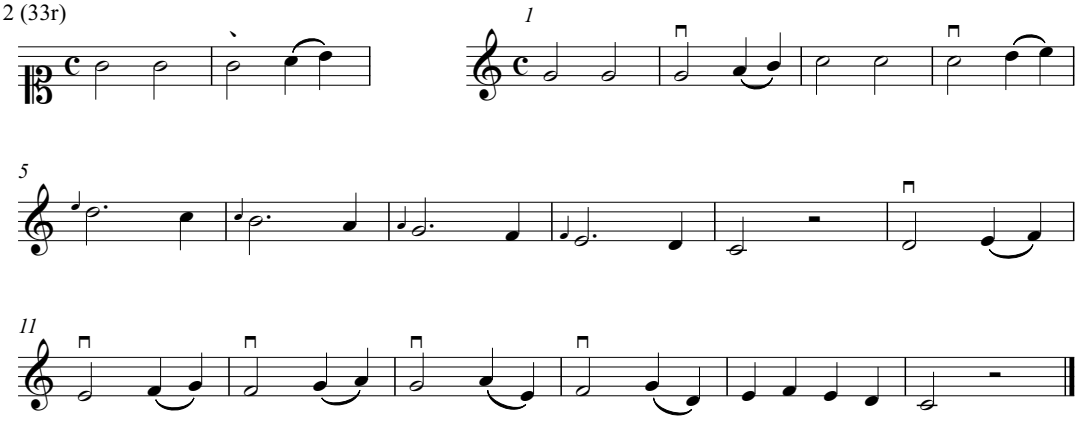
V.10 (33r)



V.11 (33r)

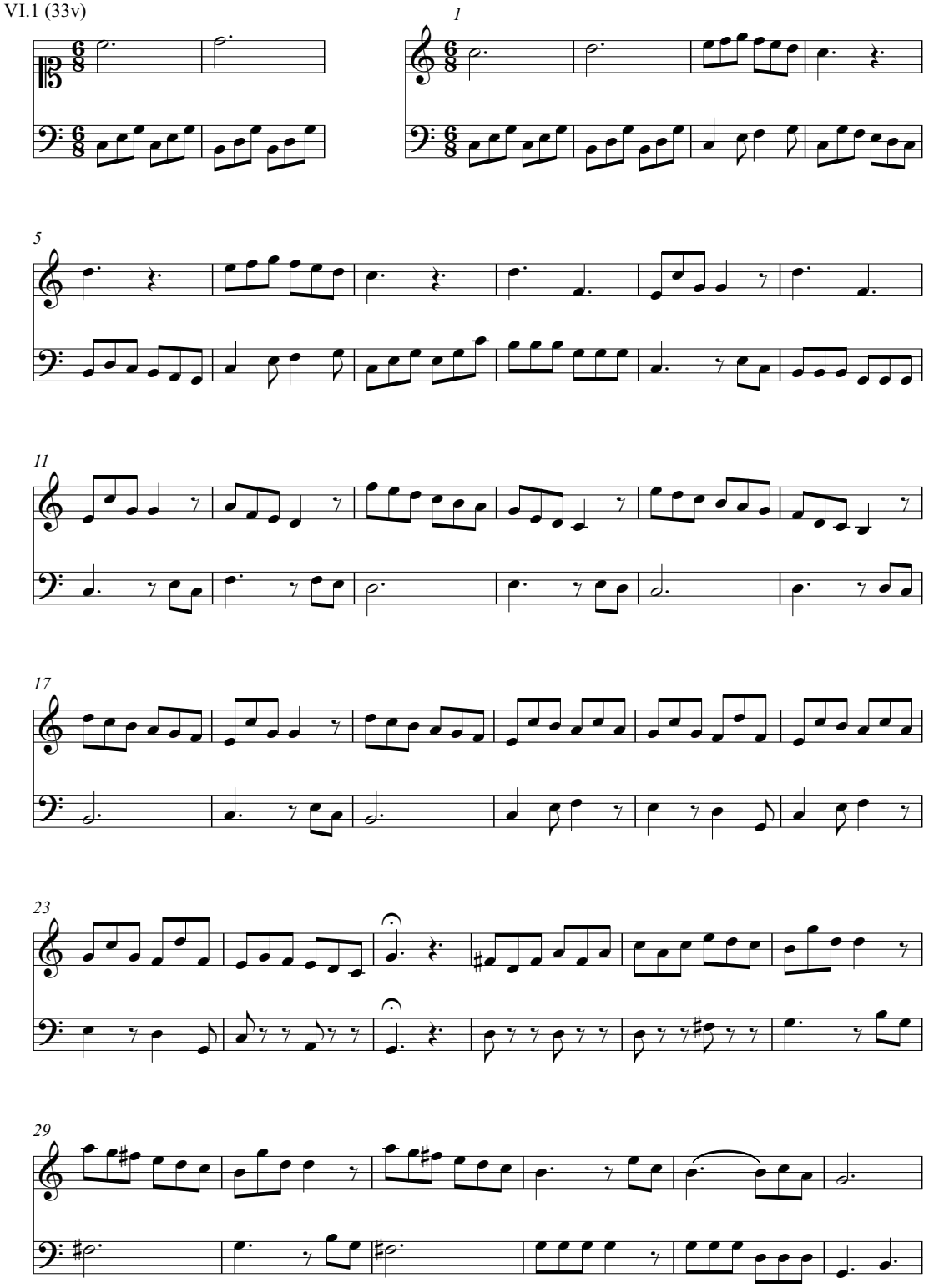


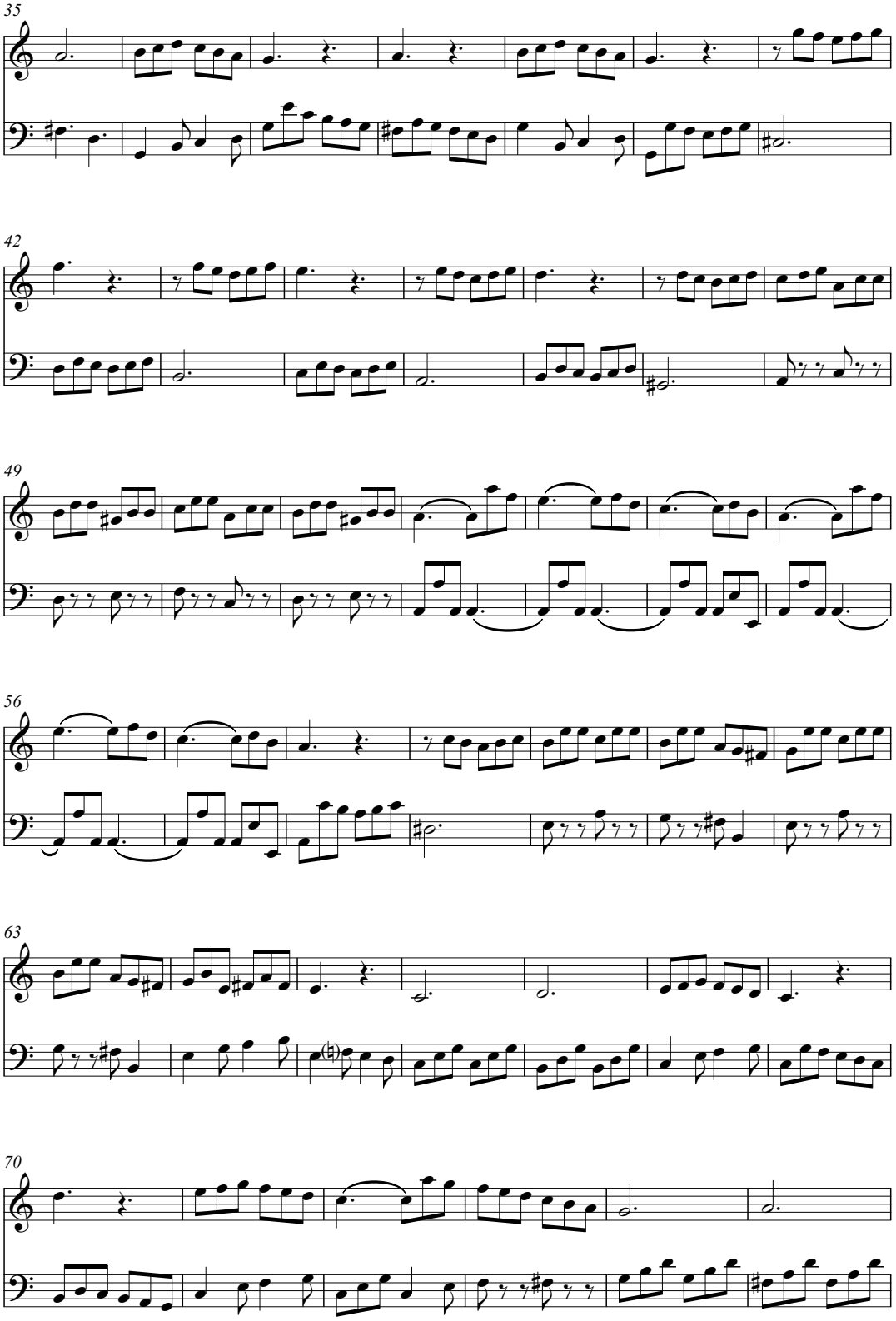
V.12 (33r)



VI. Partidas de el Sr. Jerusalem

VI.1 (33v)

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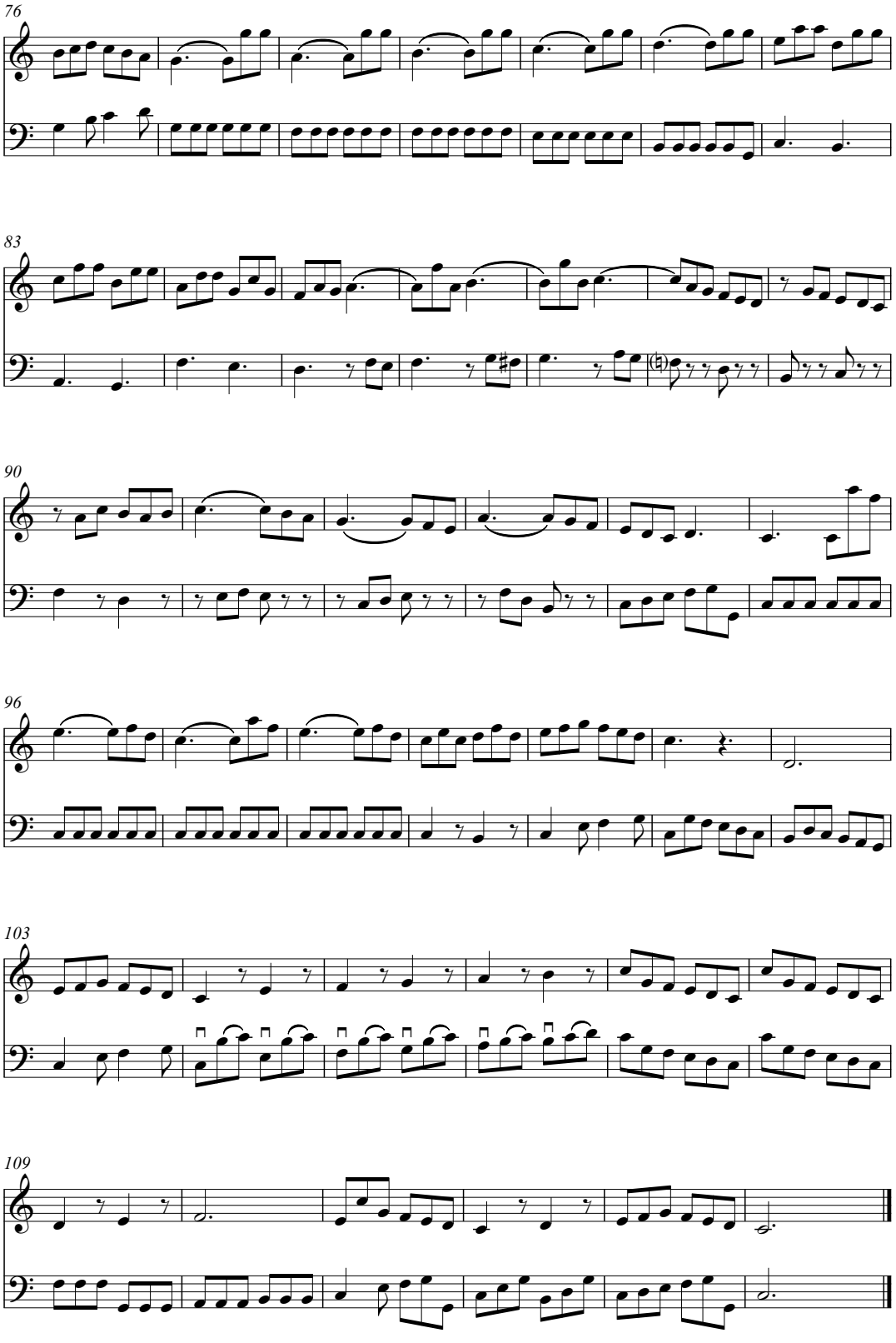
76
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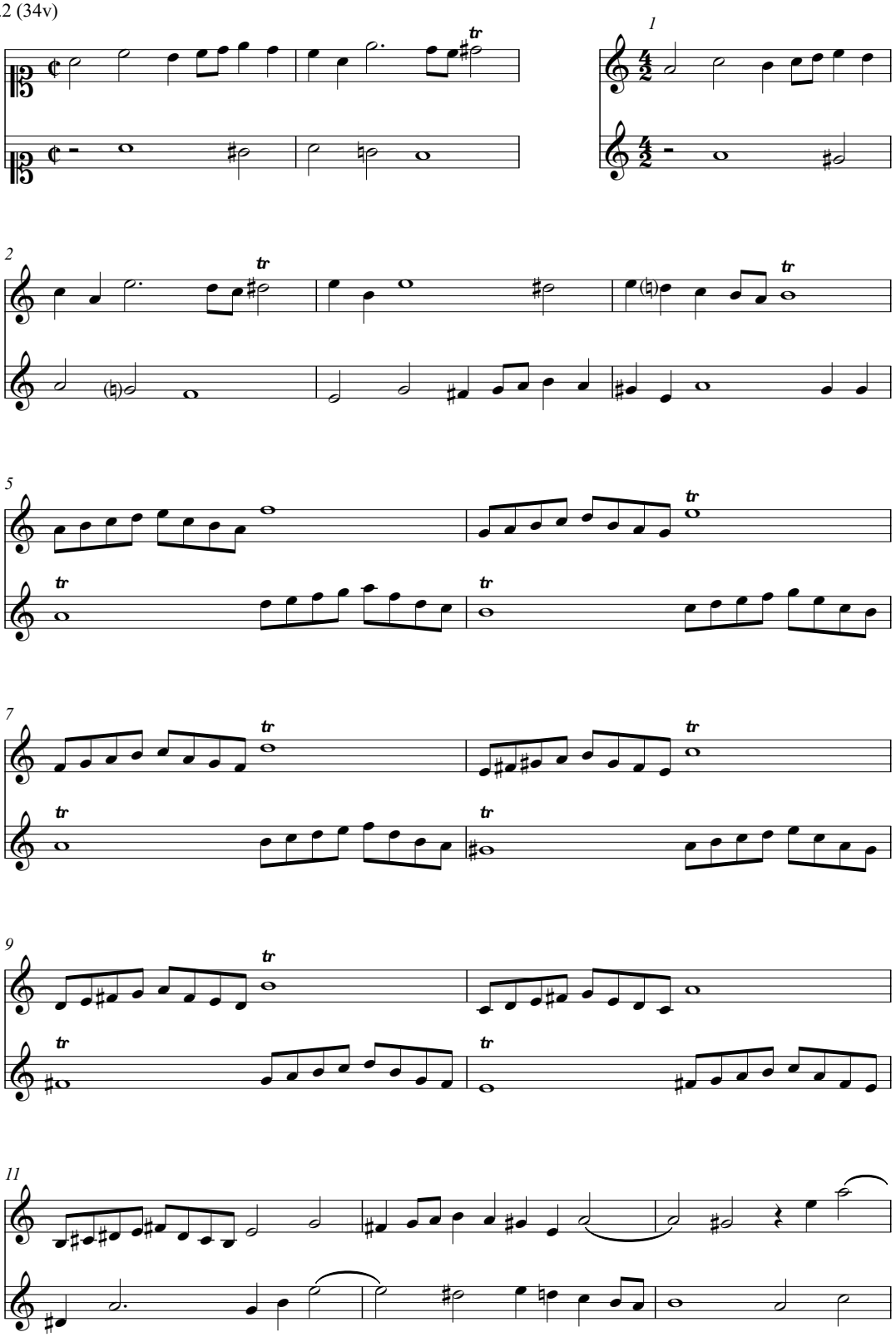
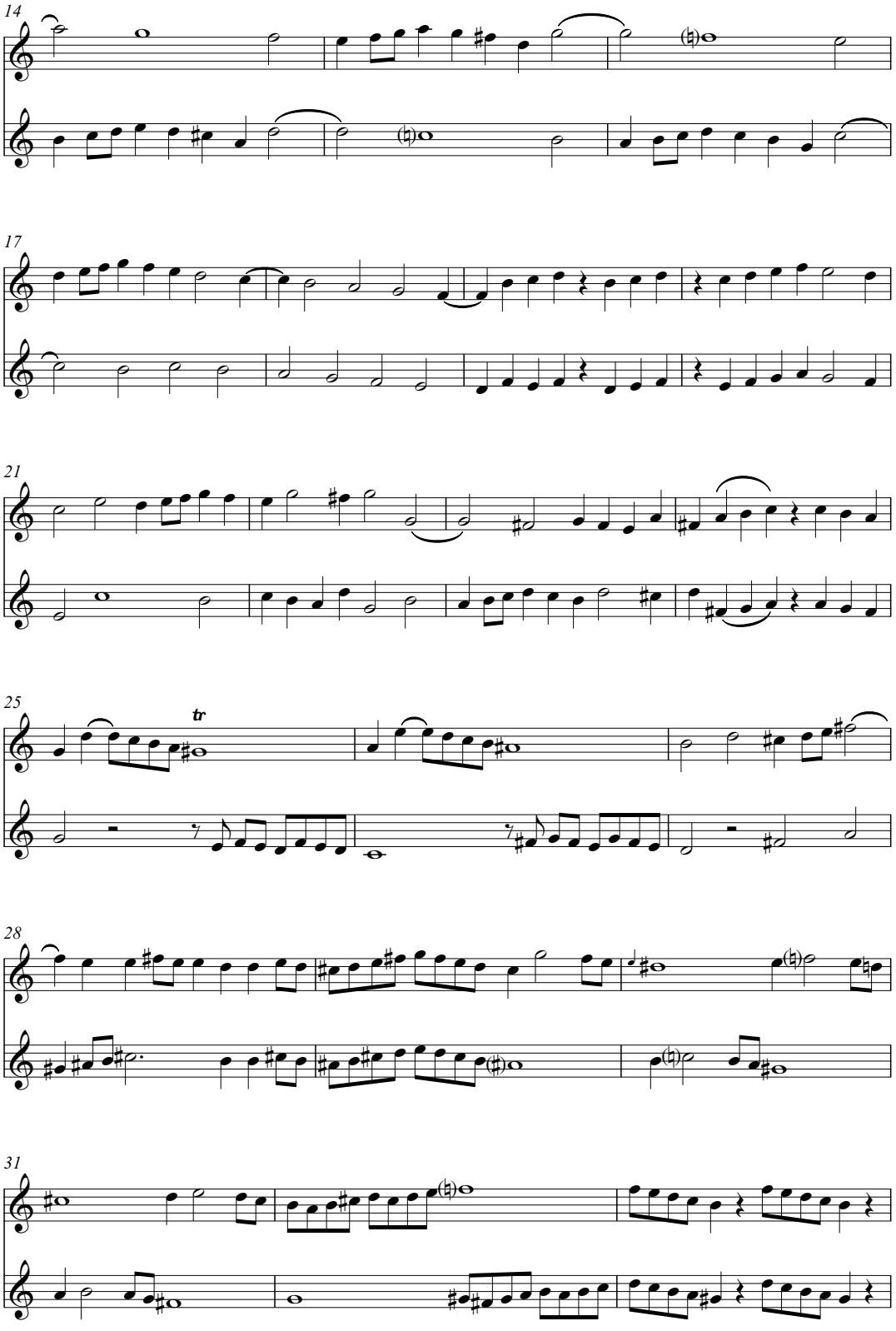
103
109

VI.2 (34v)

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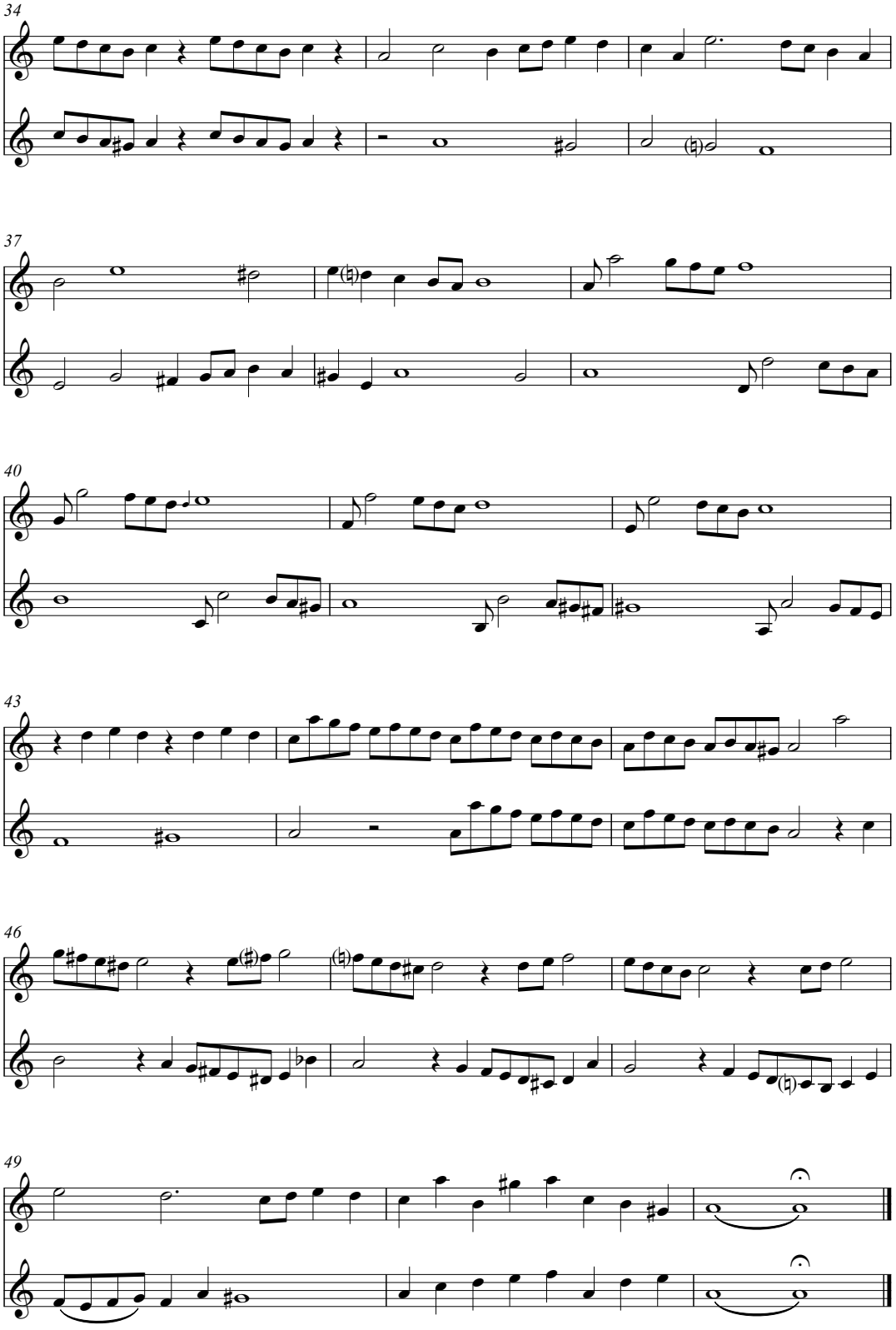
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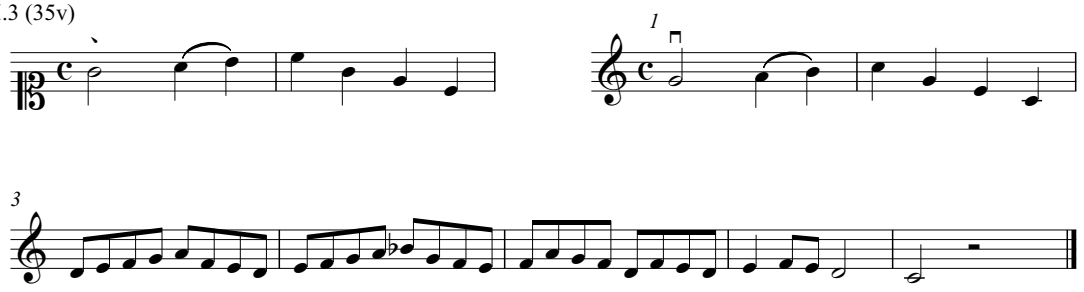
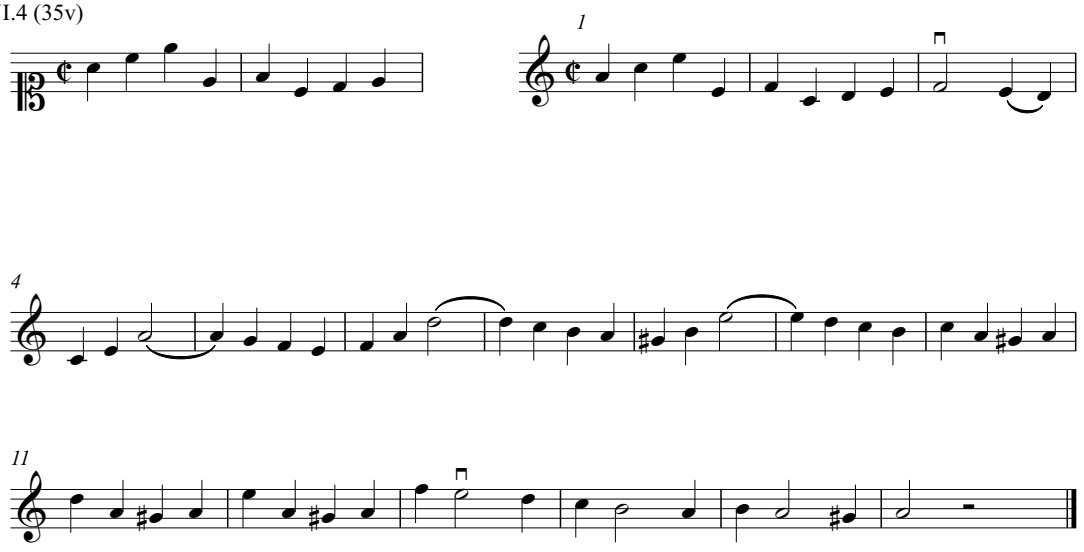
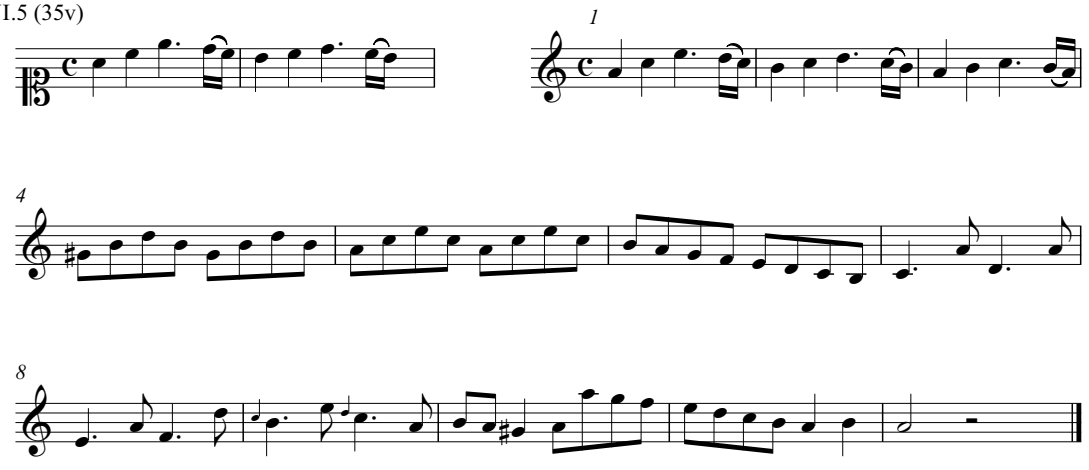
VI.3 (35v)



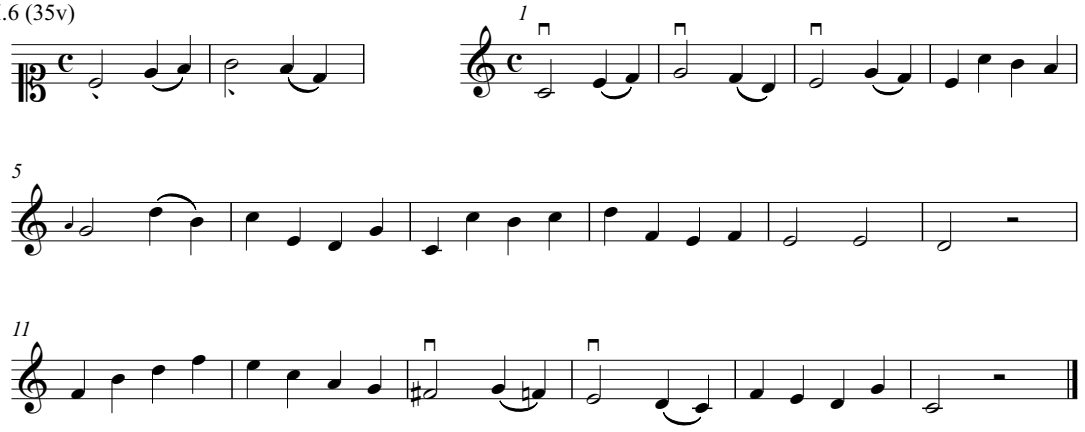
VI.4 (35v)



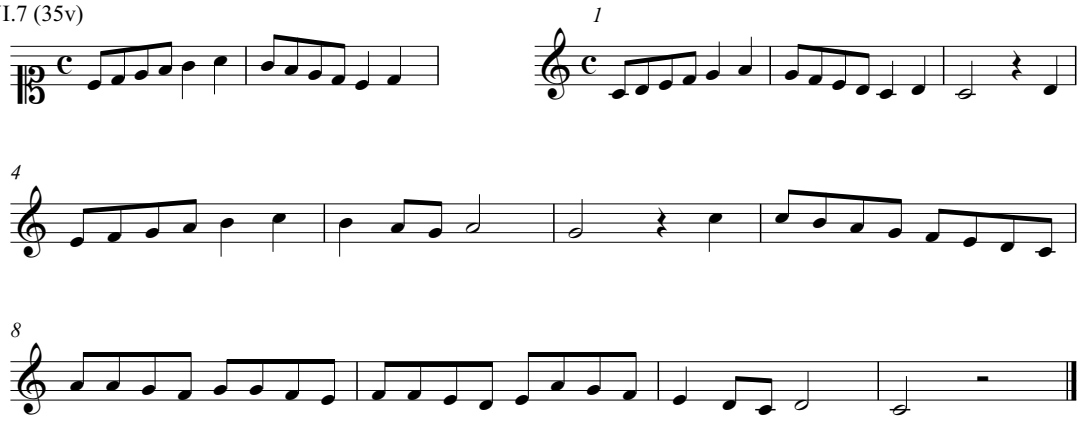
VI.5 (35v)



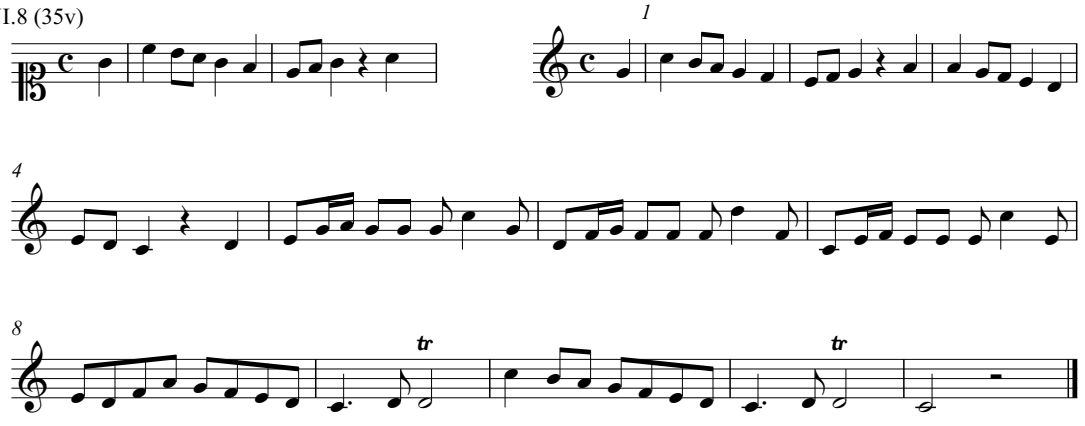
VI.6 (35v)



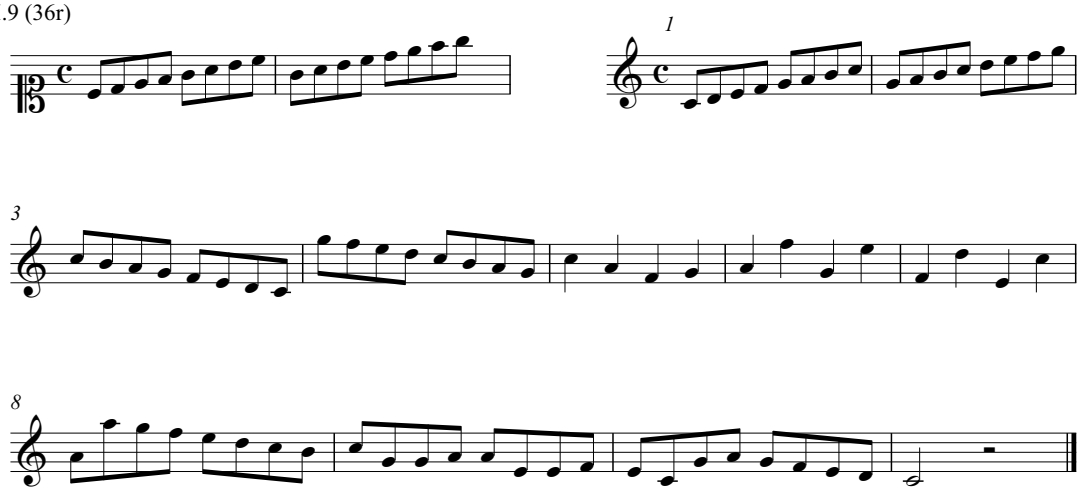
VI.7 (35v)



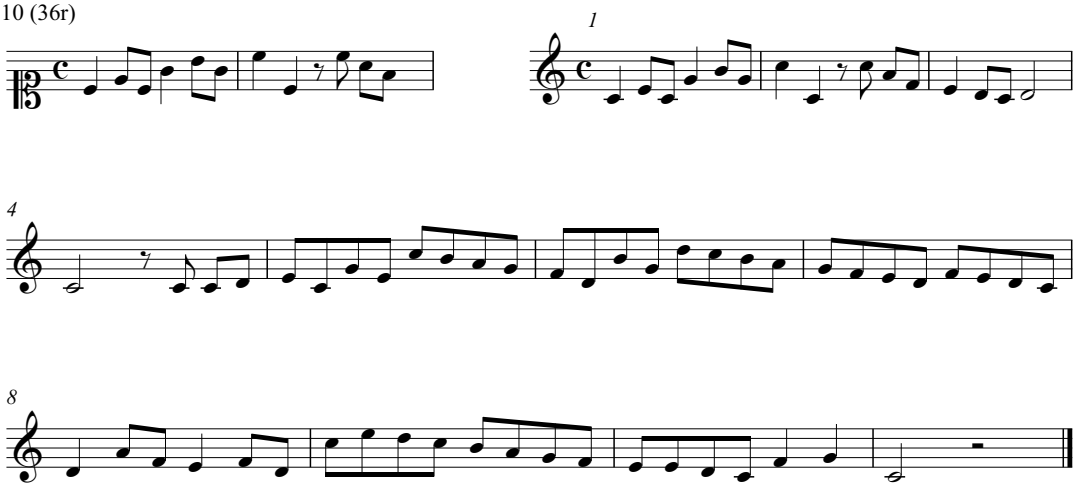
VI.8 (35v)



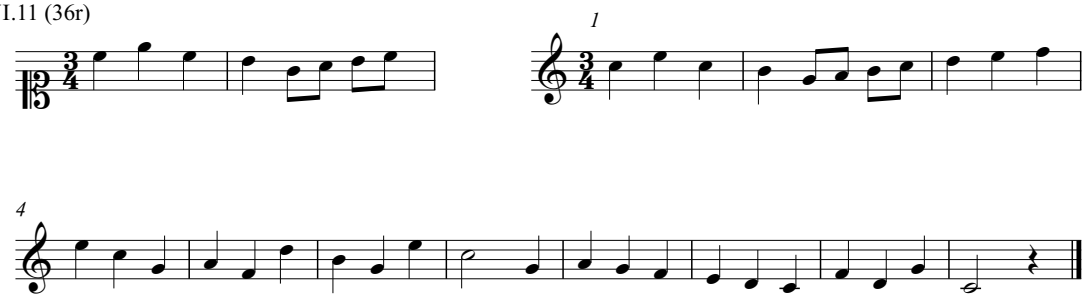
VI.9 (36r)



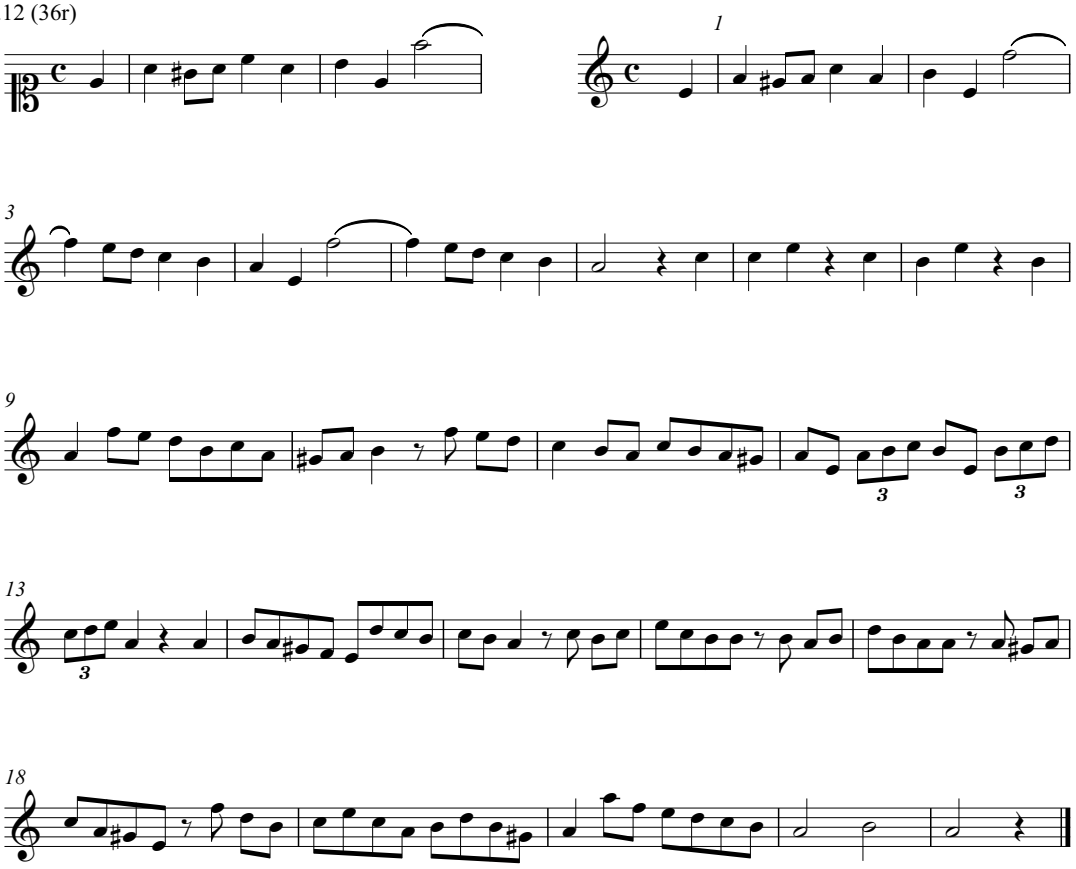
VI.10 (36r)



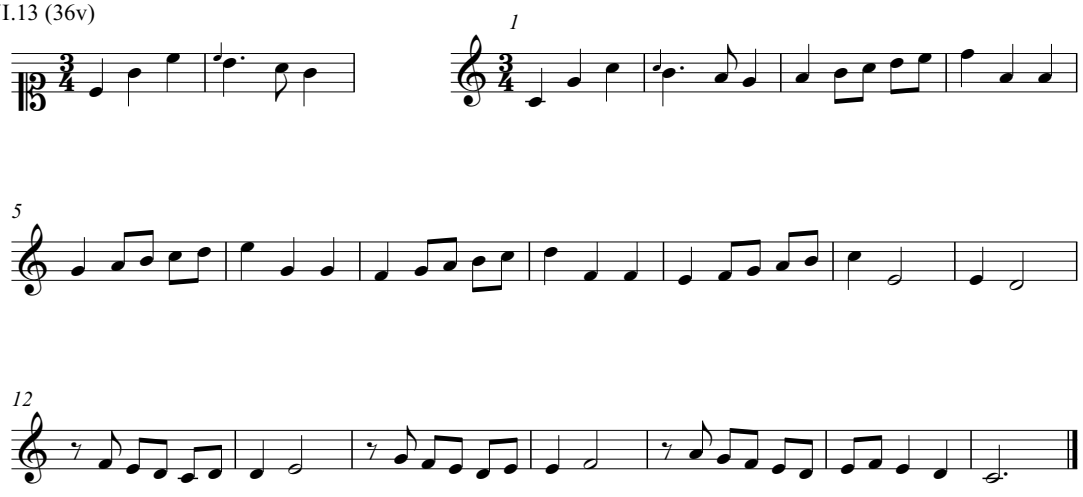
VI.11 (36r)



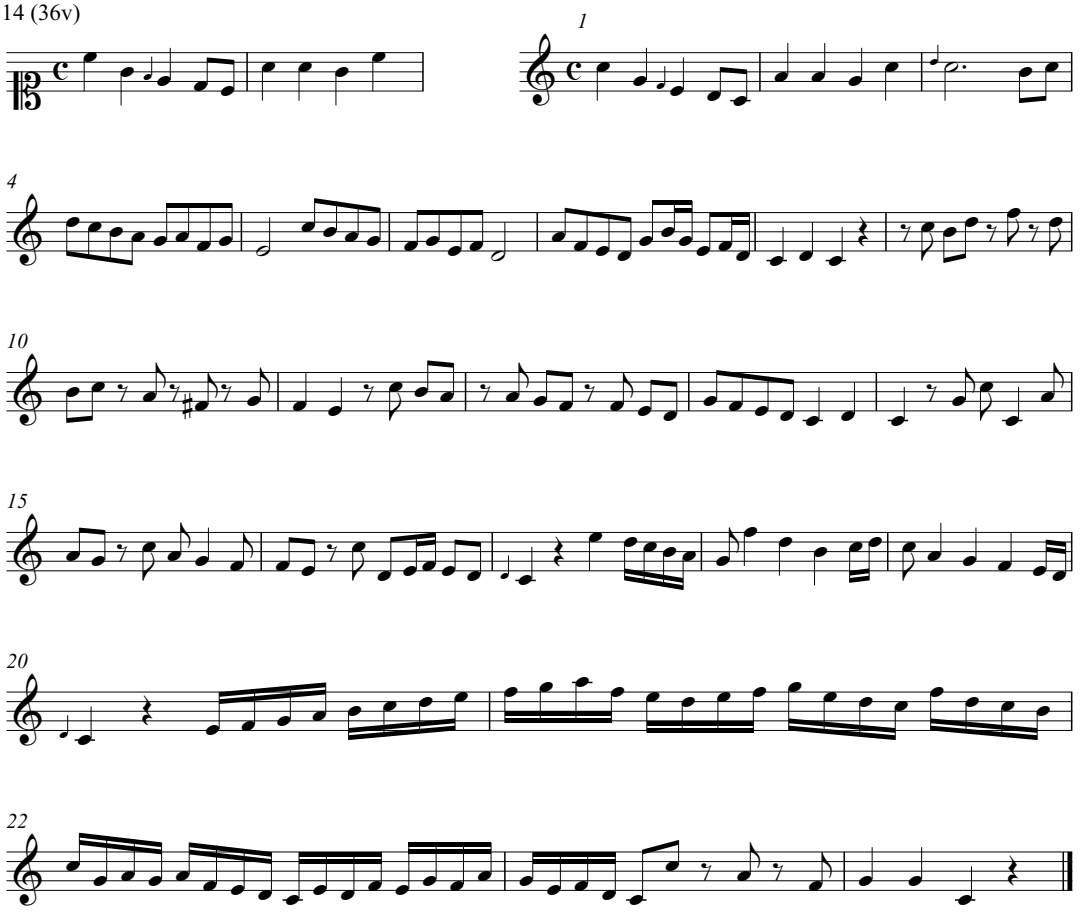
VI.12 (36r)



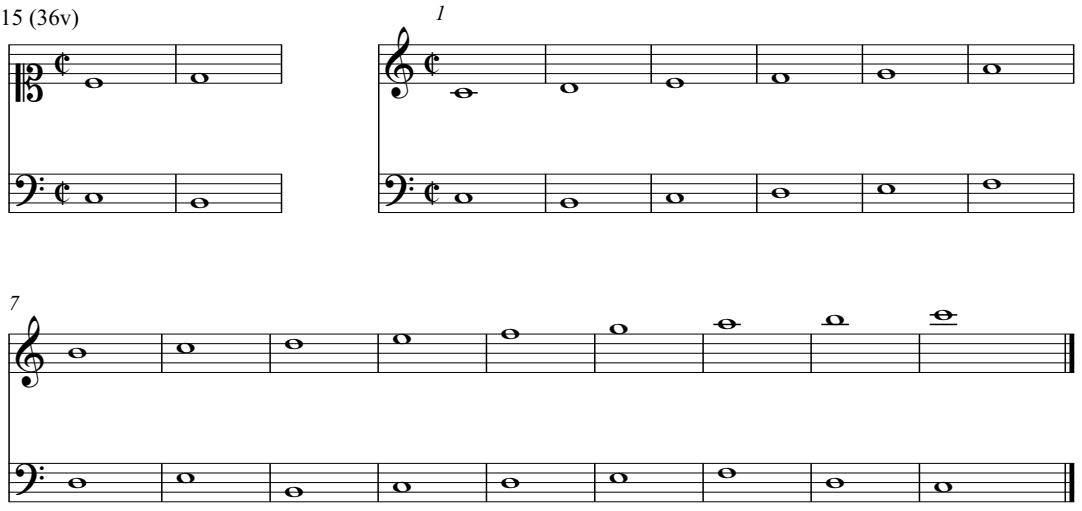
VI.13 (36v)



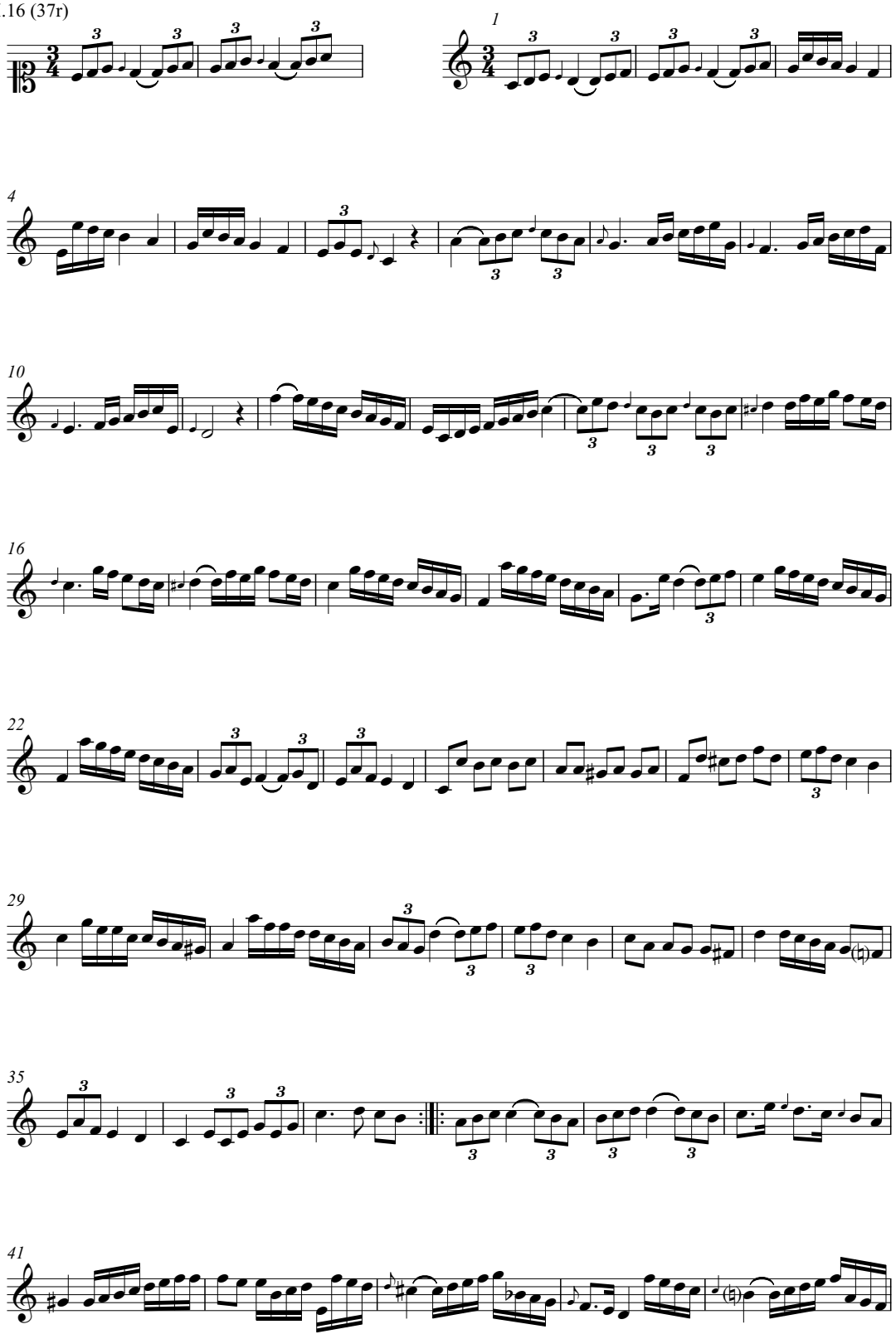
VI.14 (36v)

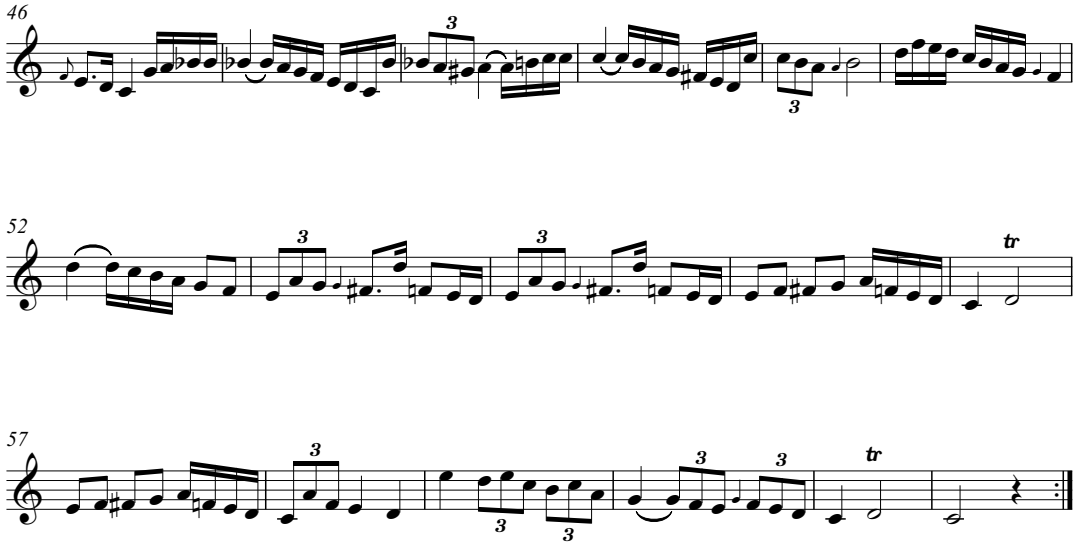


VI.15 (36v)

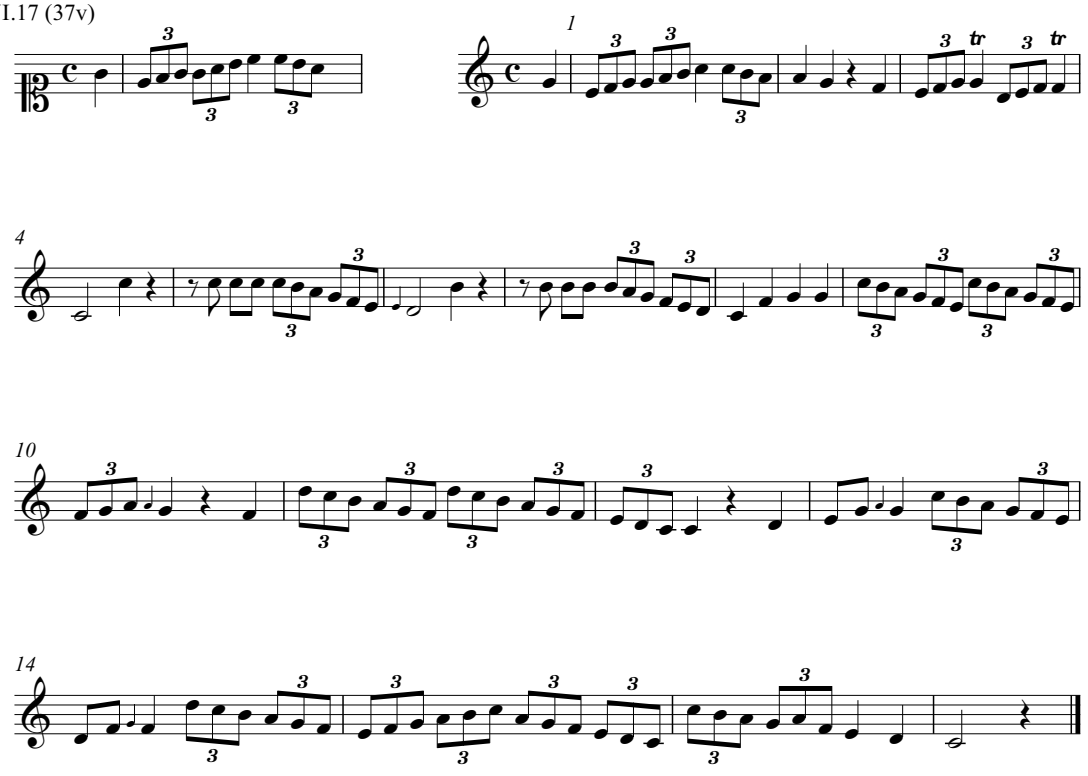


VI.16 (37r)

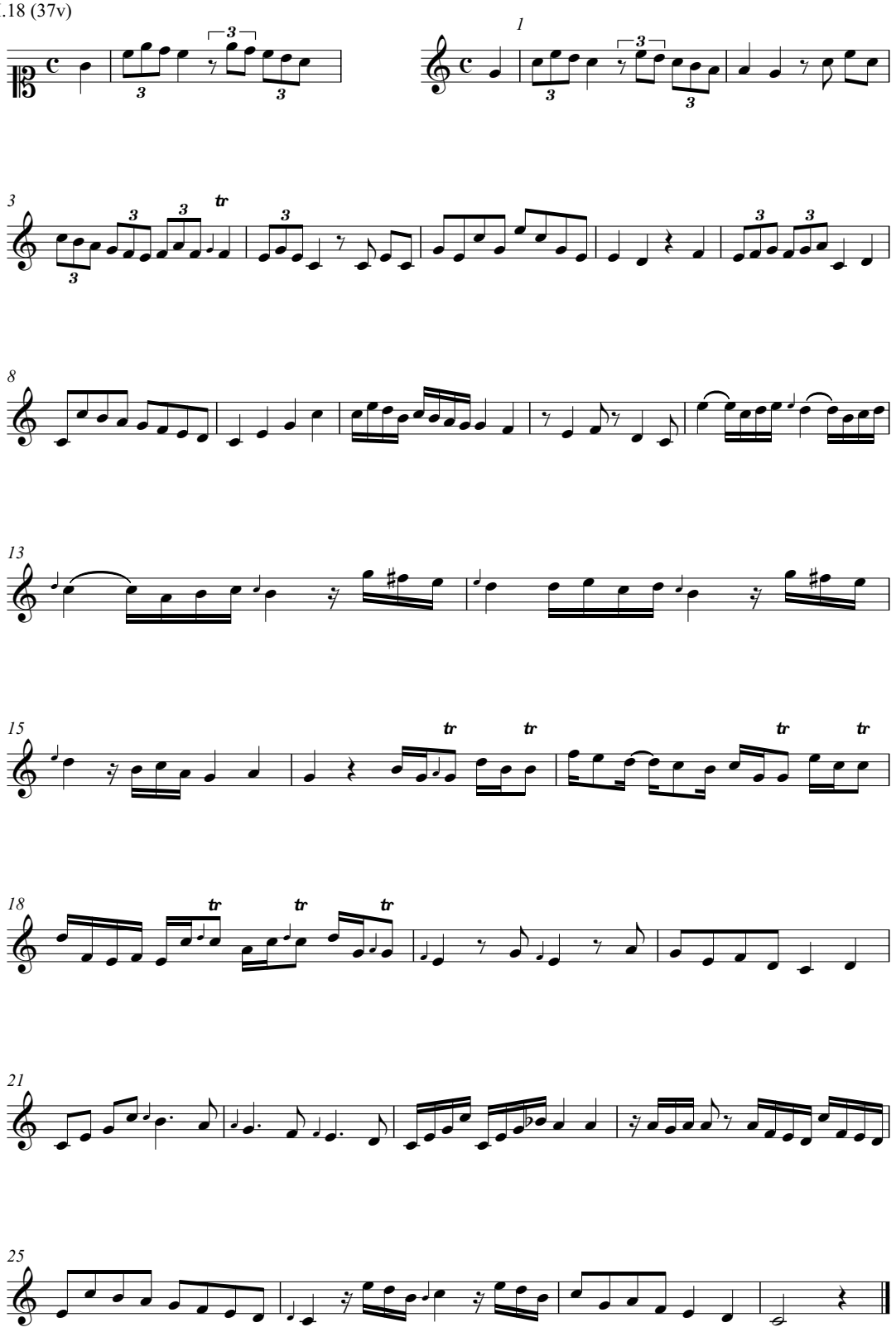




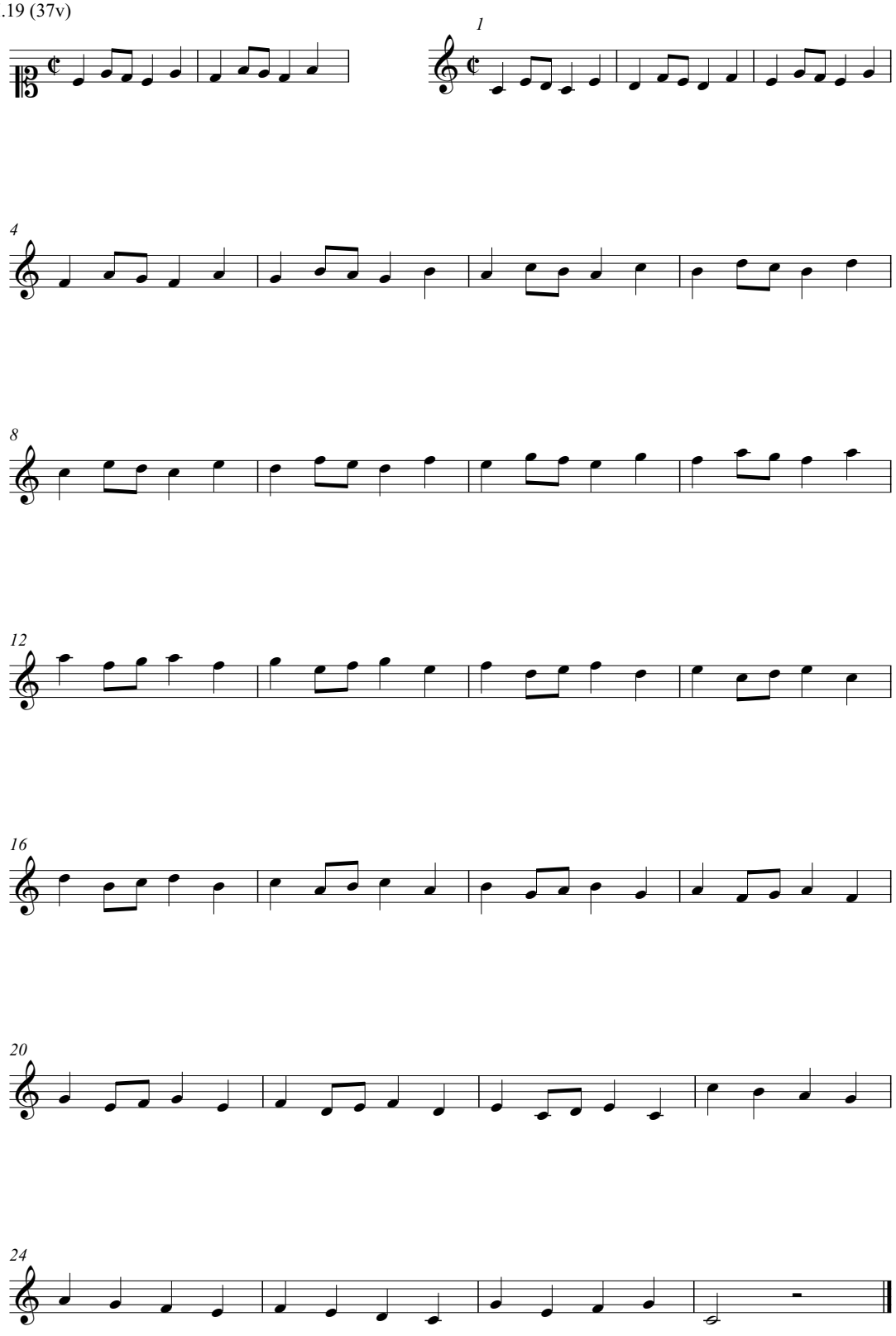
VI.17 (37v)



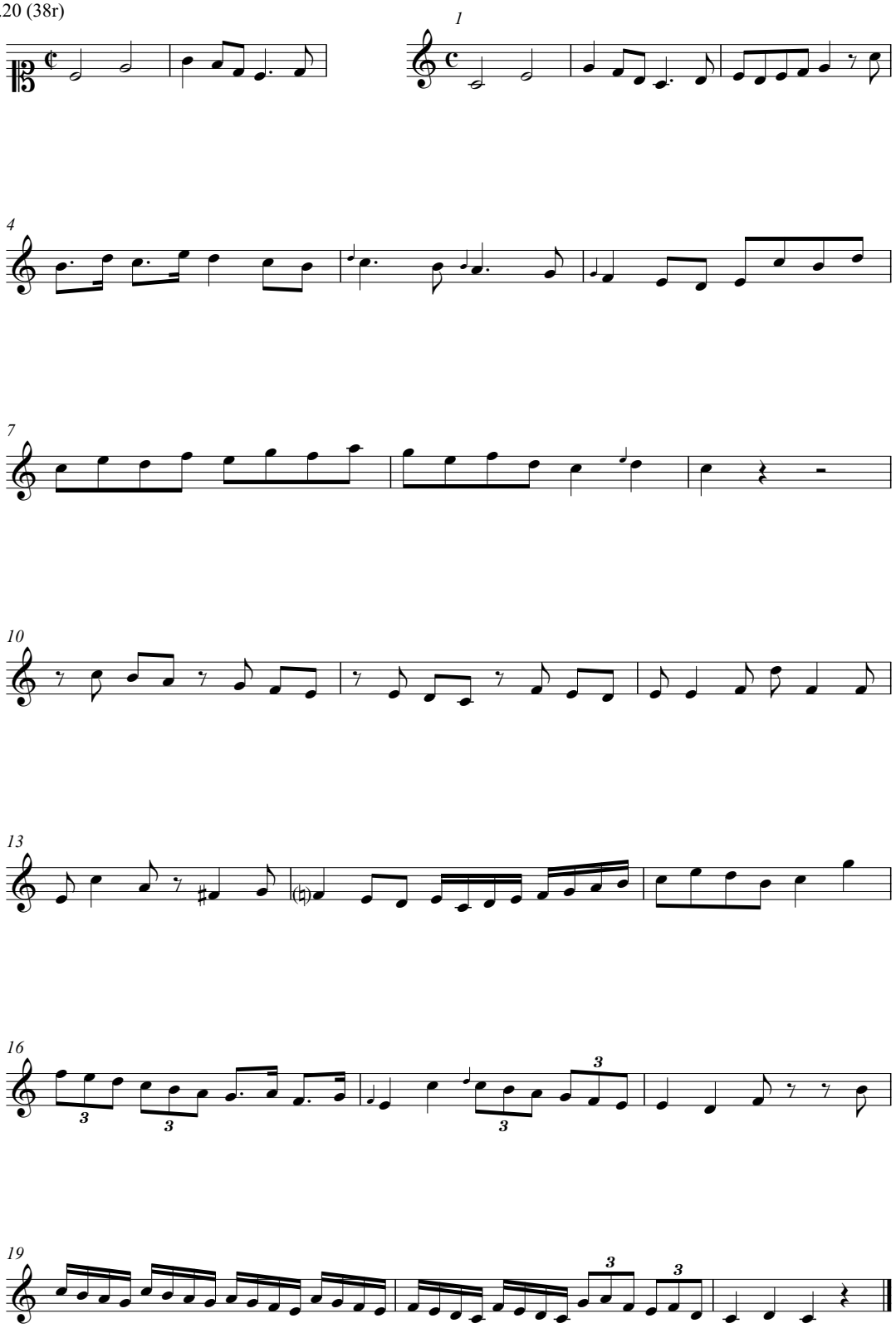
VI.18 (37v)



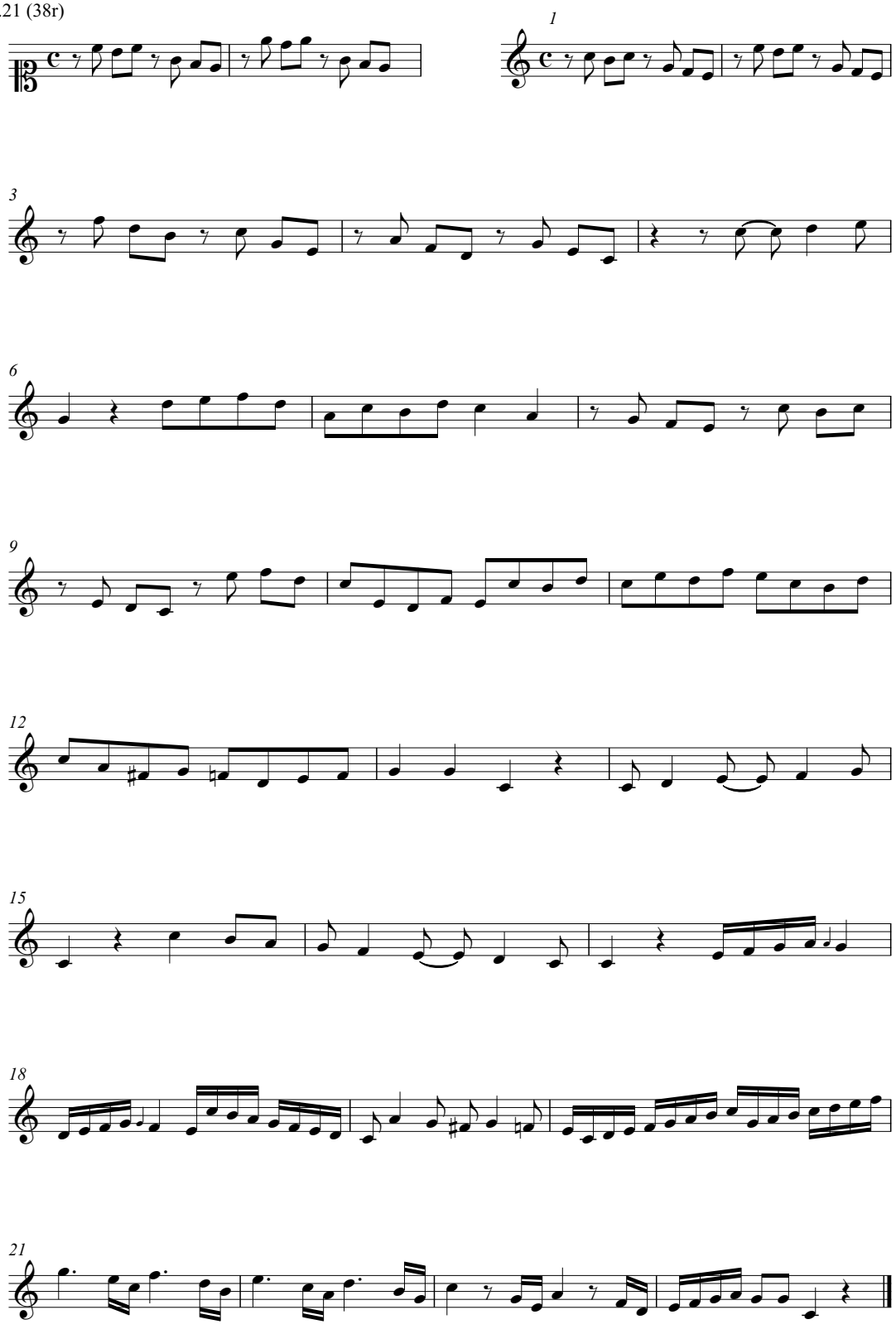
VI.19 (37v)



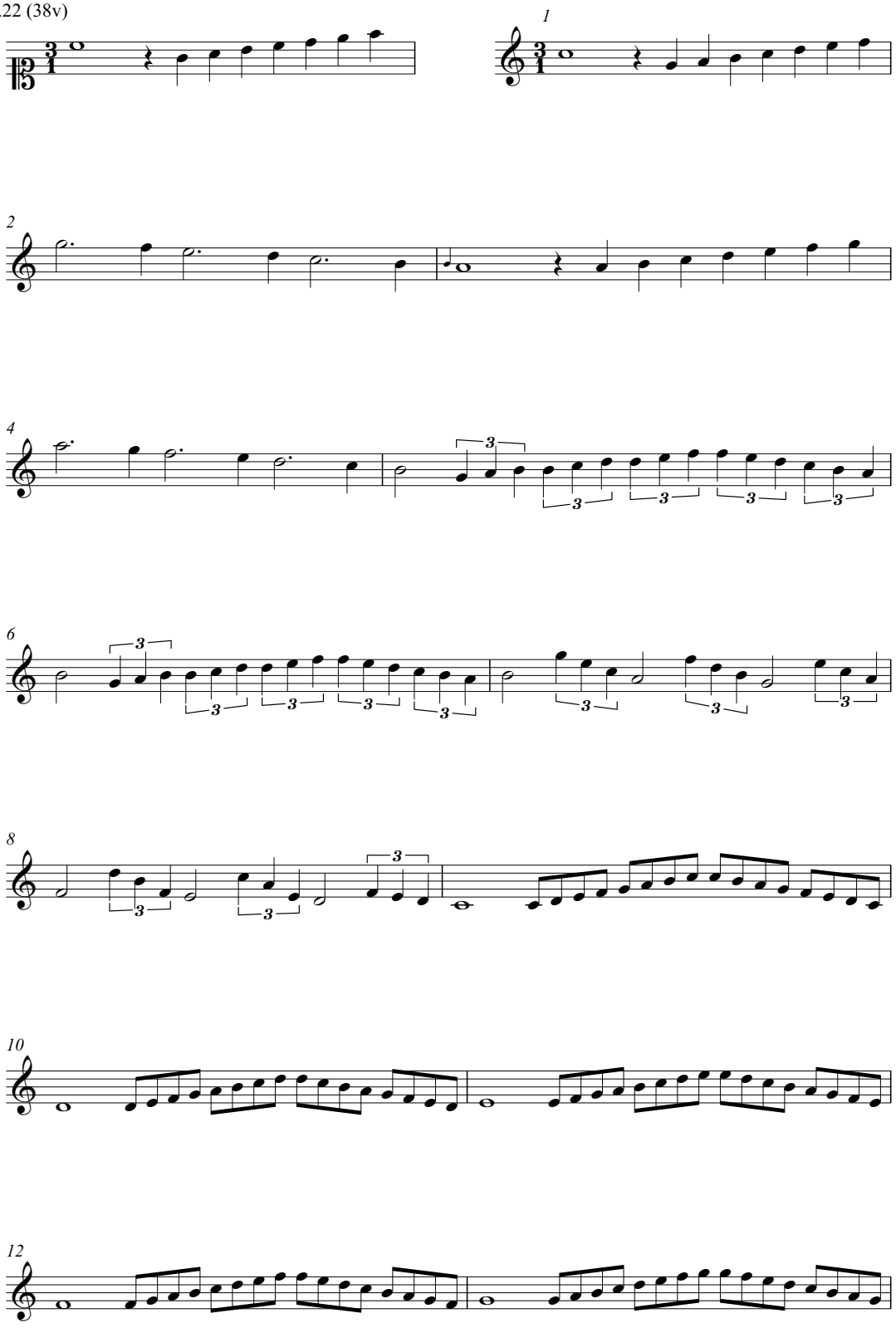
VI.20 (38r)

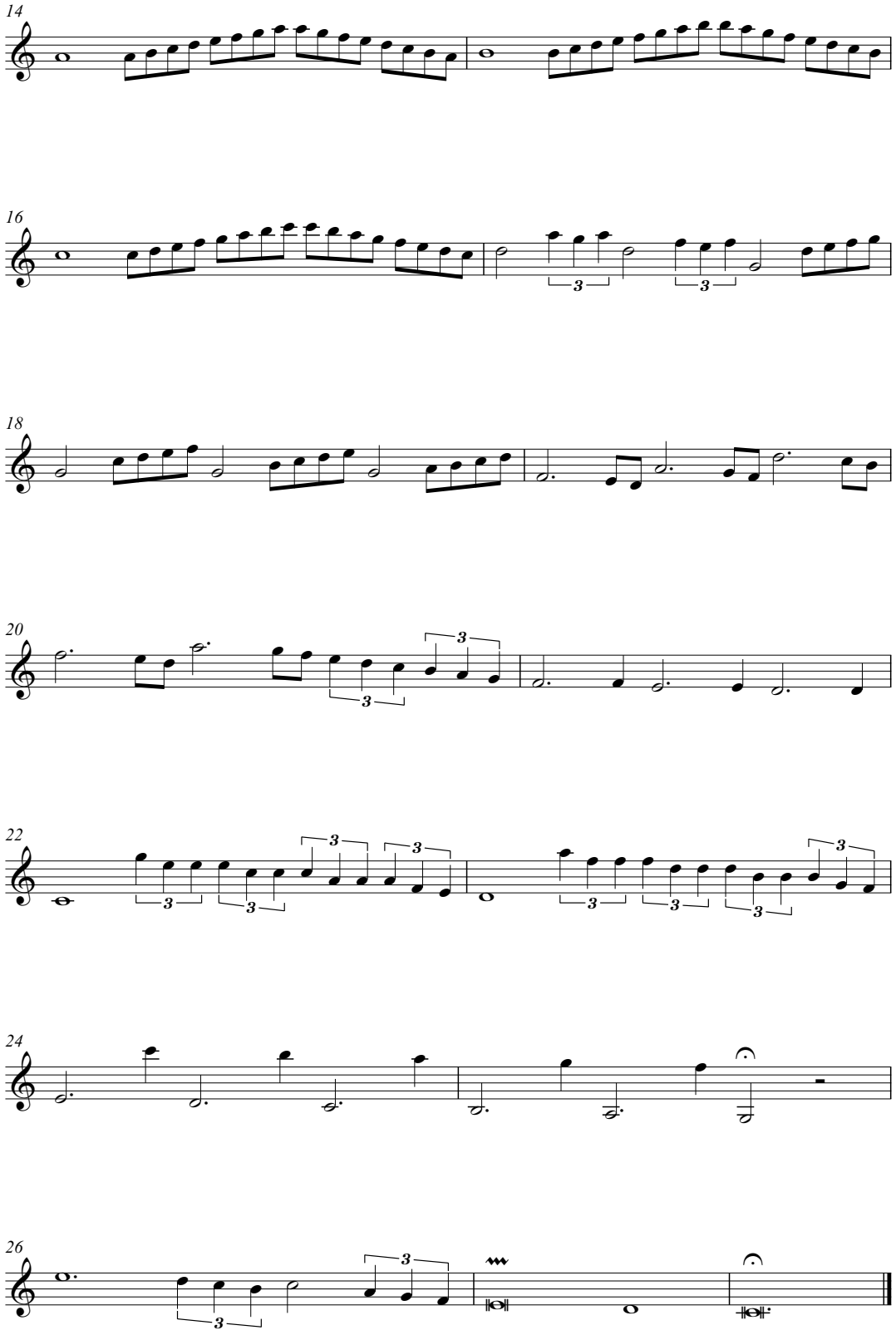


VI.21 (38r)



VI.22 (38v)

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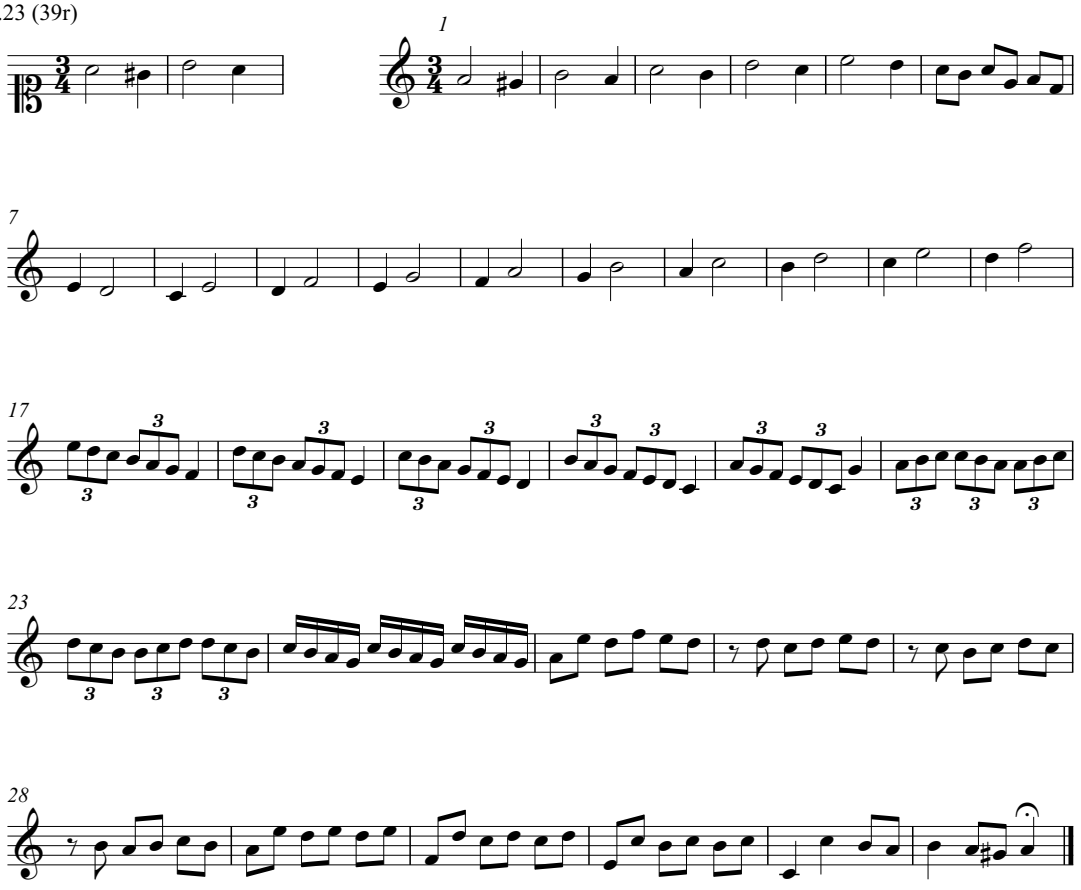
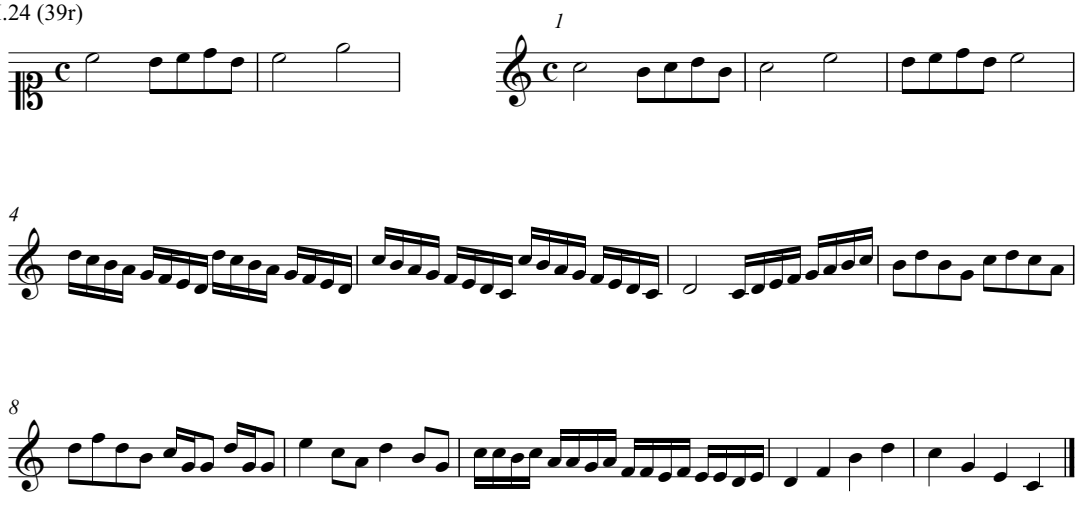
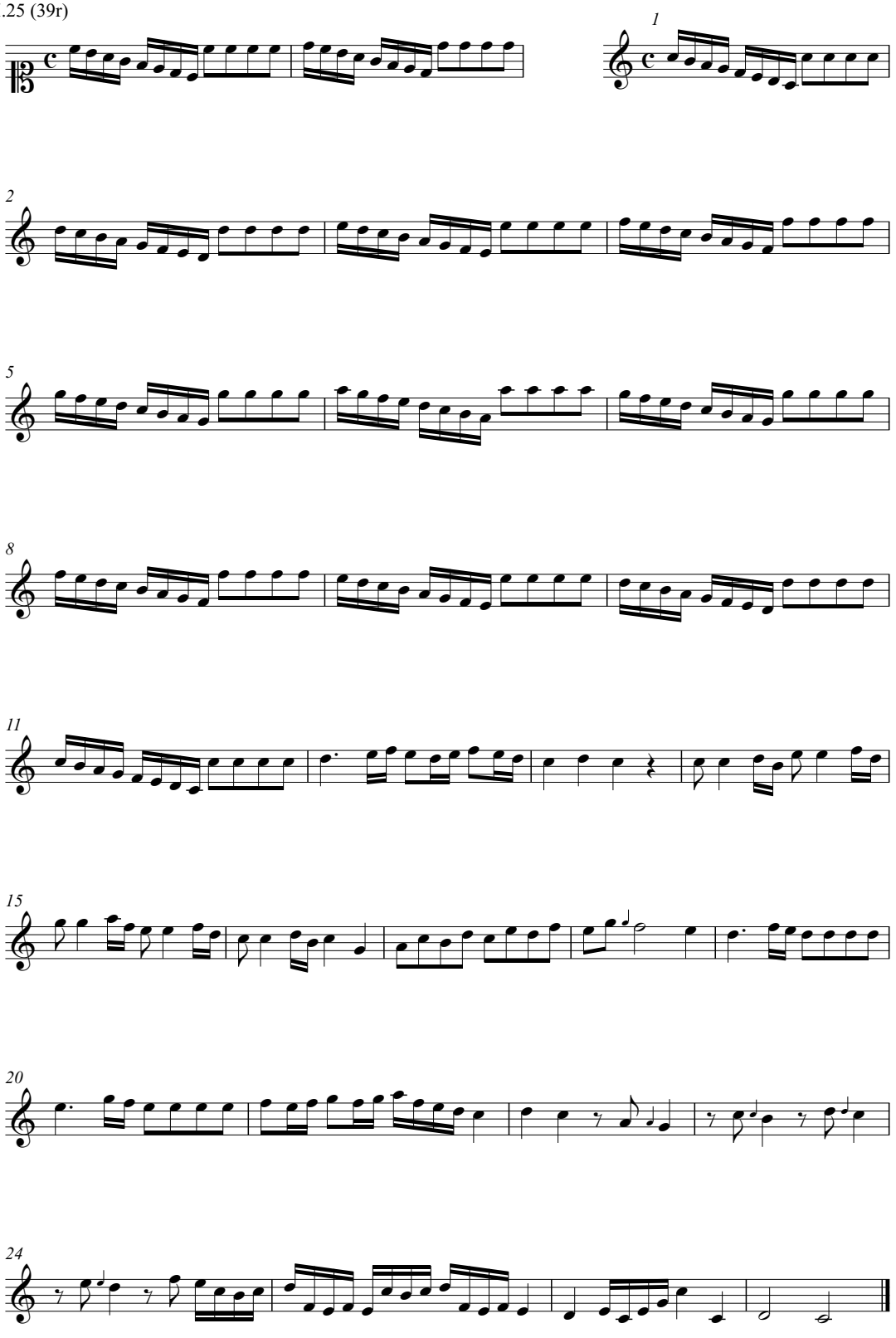
VI.23 (39r)



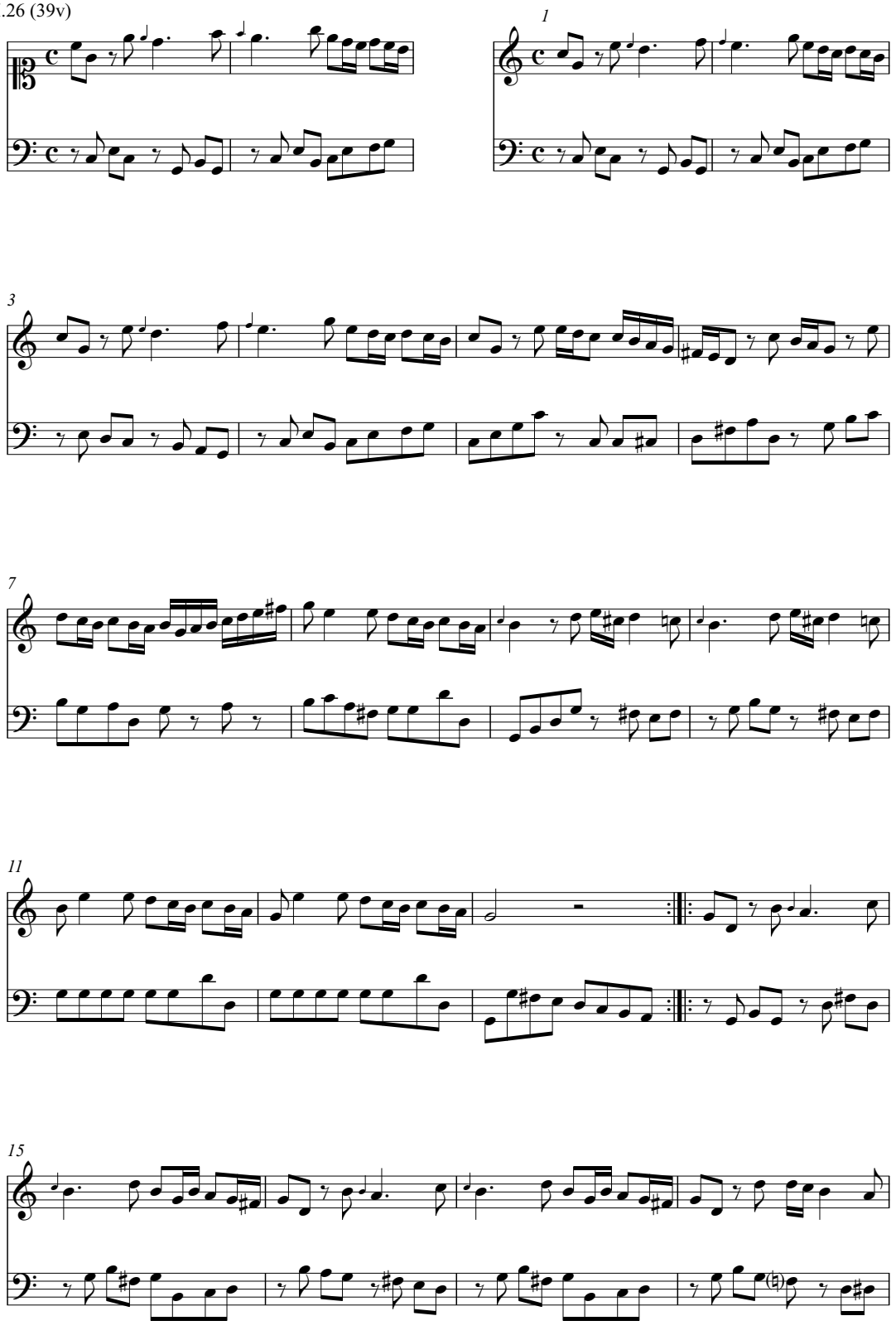
VI.24 (39r)

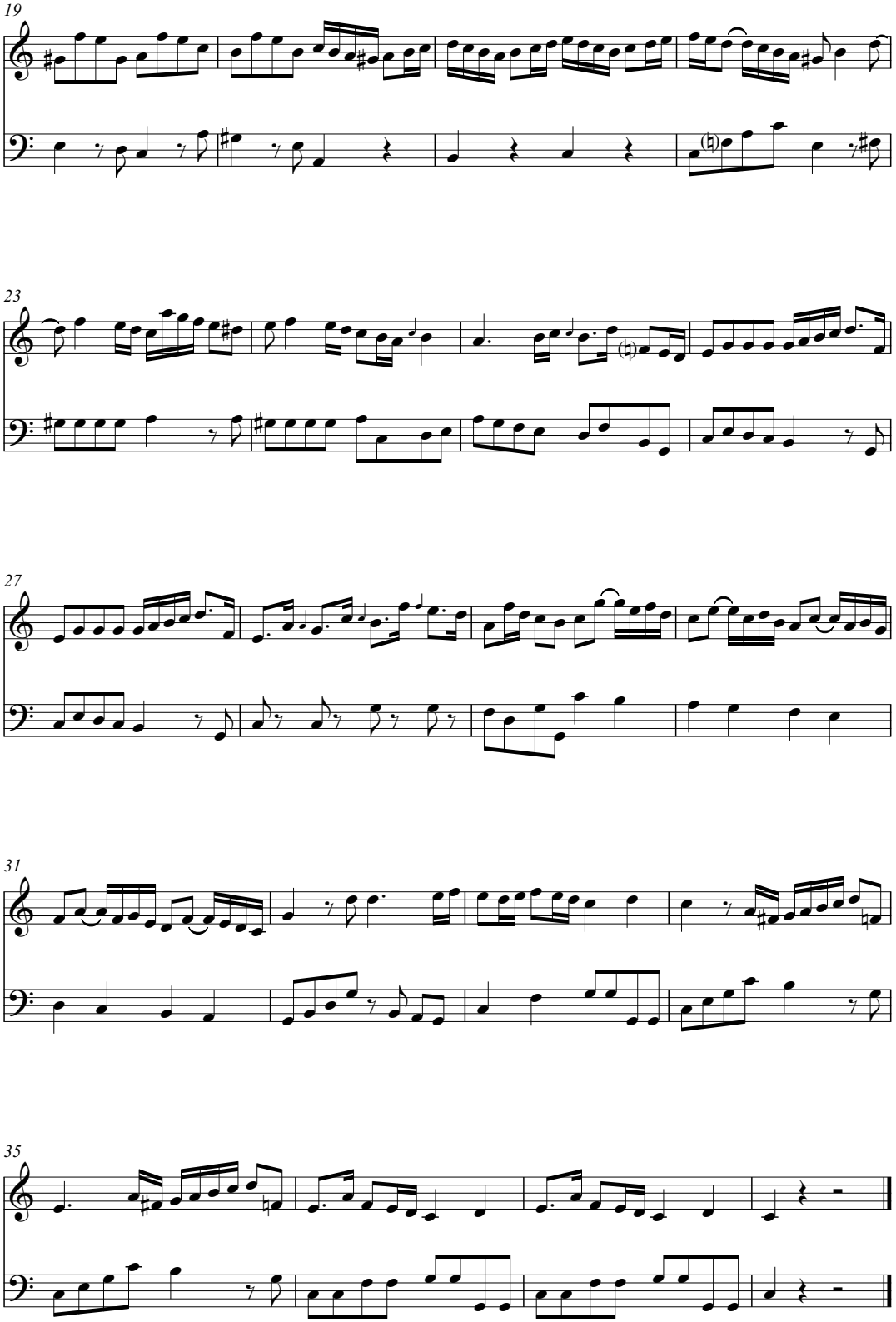


VI.25 (39r)



VI.26 (39v)

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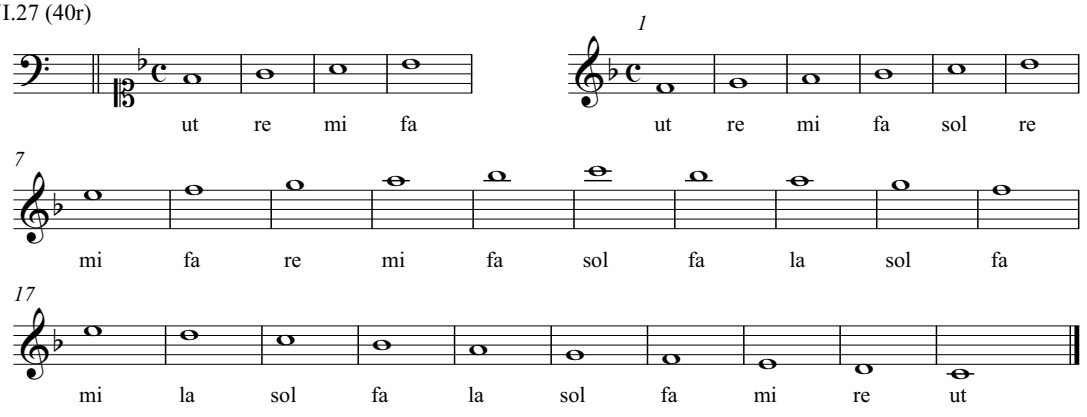
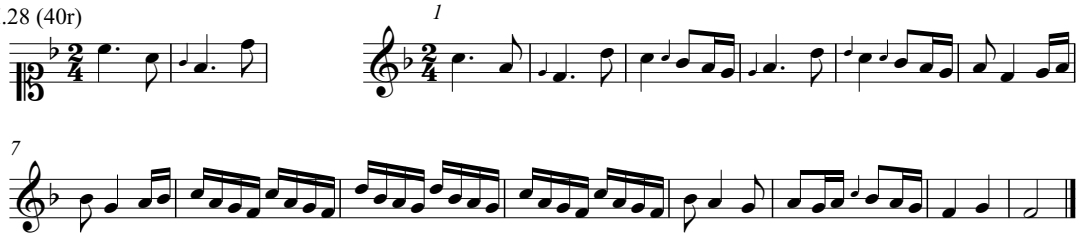
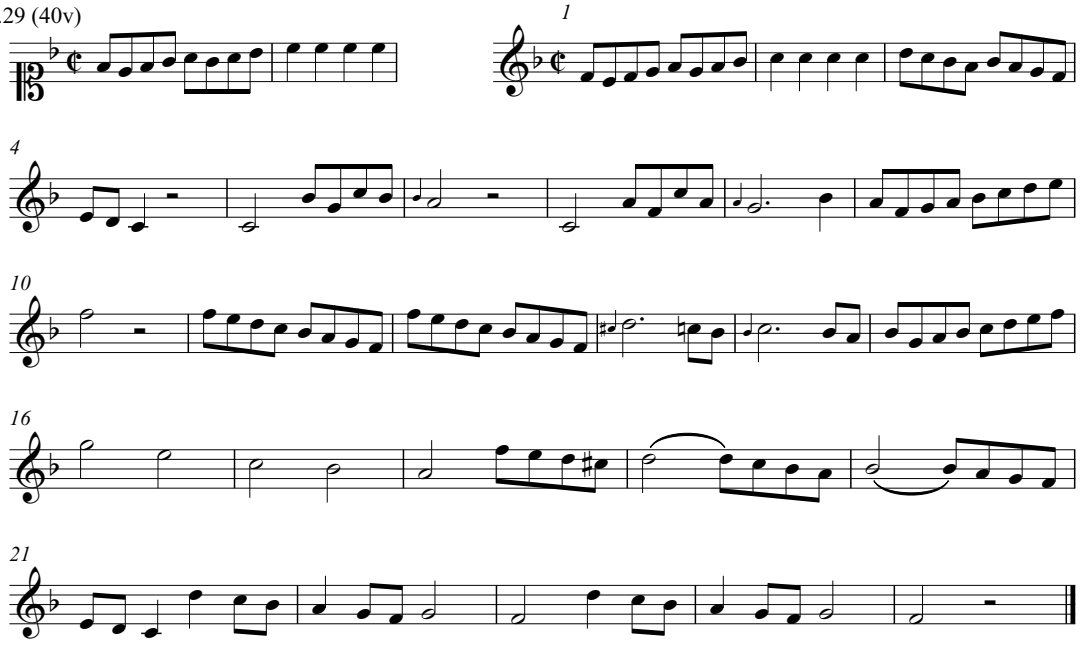
VI.27 (40r)



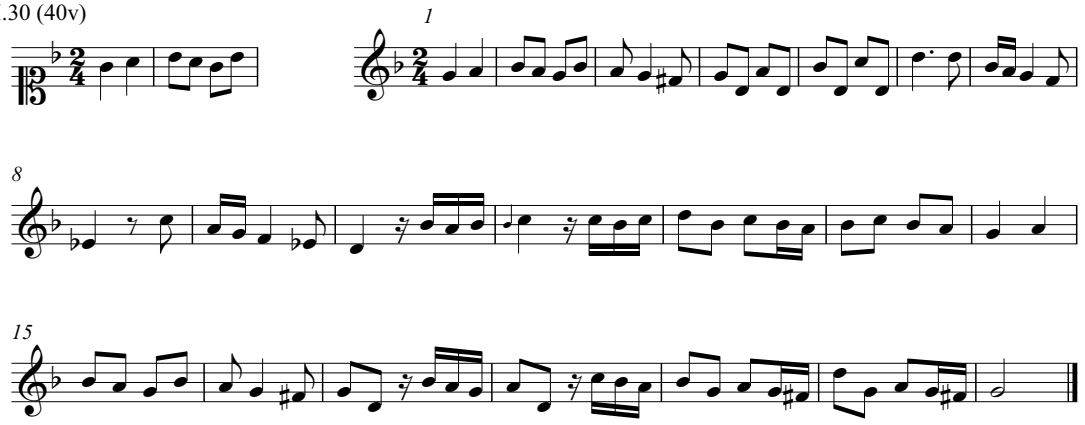
VI.28 (40r)



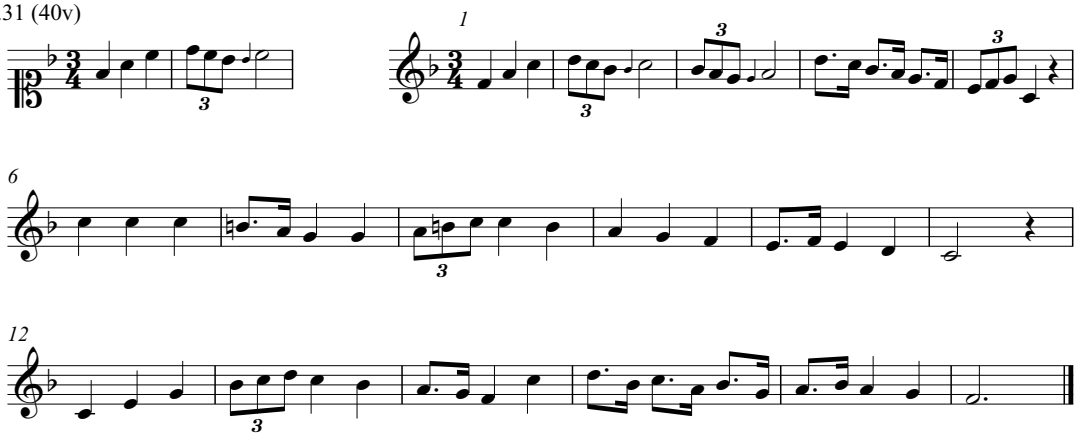
VI.29 (40v)



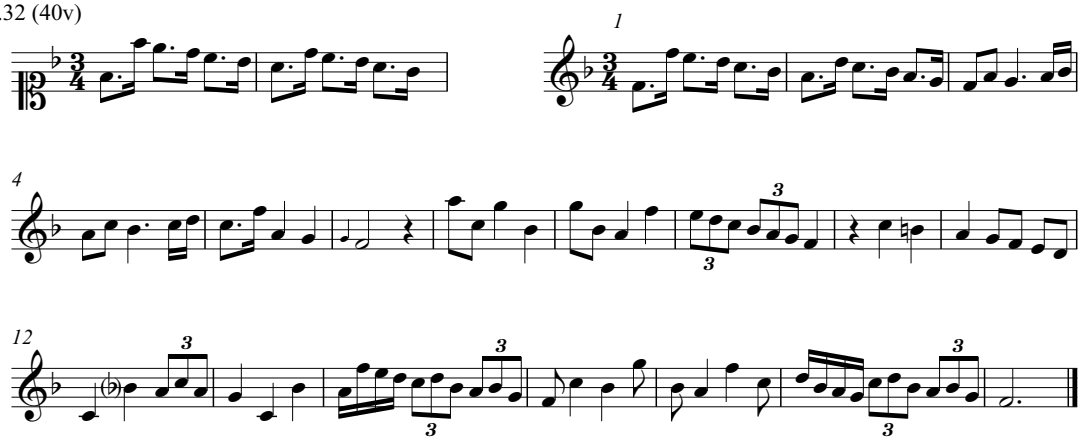
VI.30 (40v)



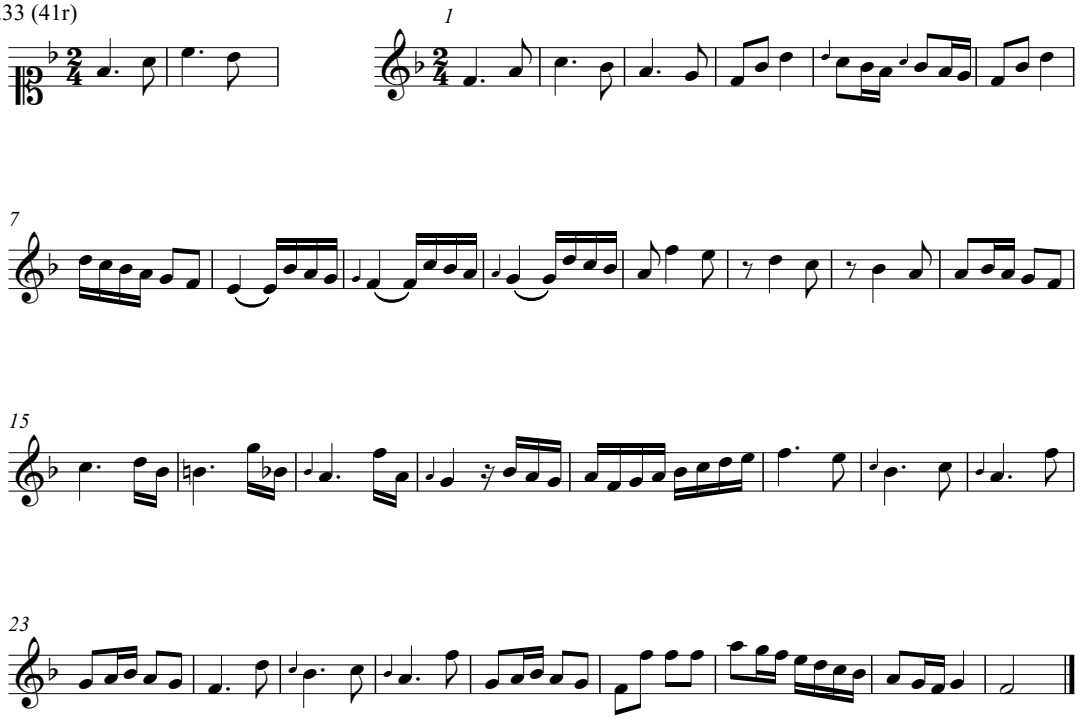
VI.31 (40v)



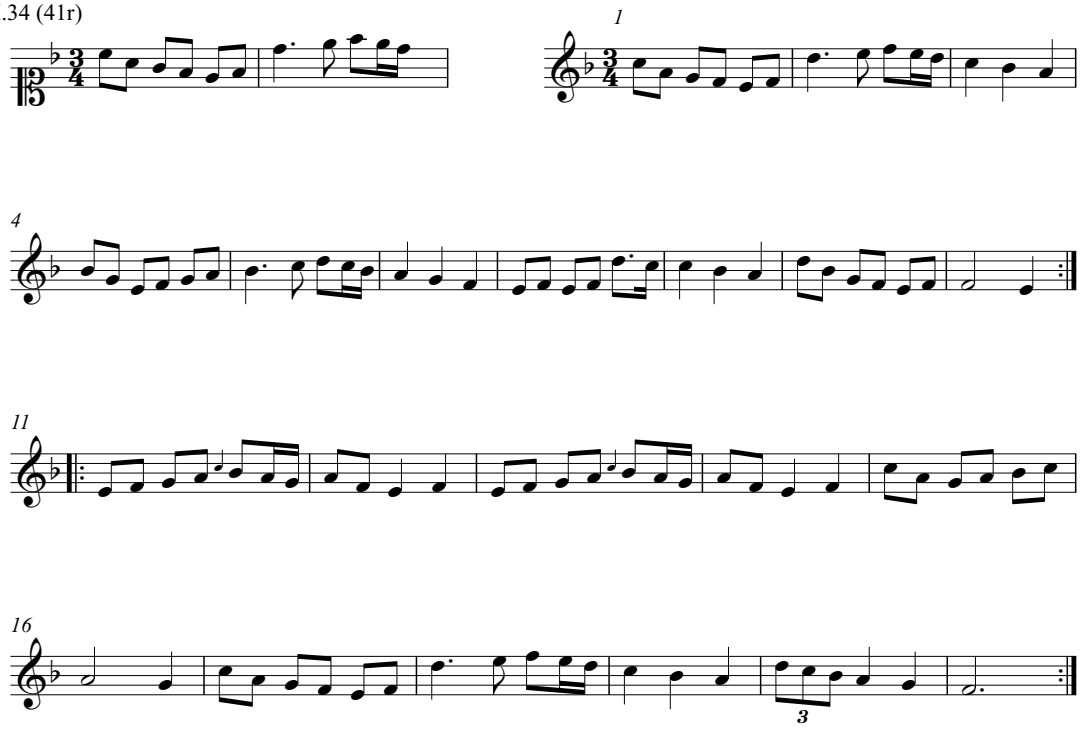
VI.32 (40v)



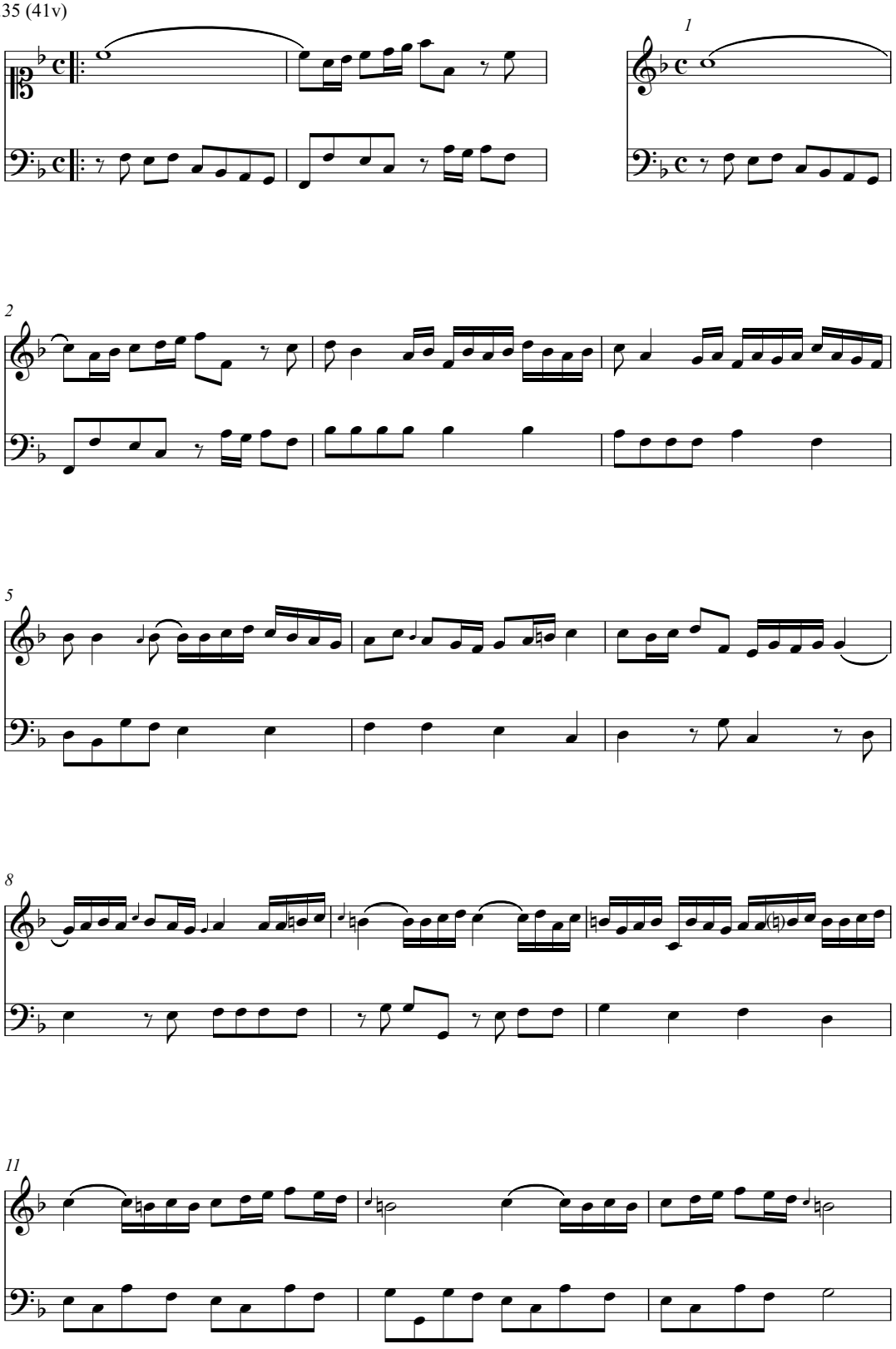
VI.33 (41r)

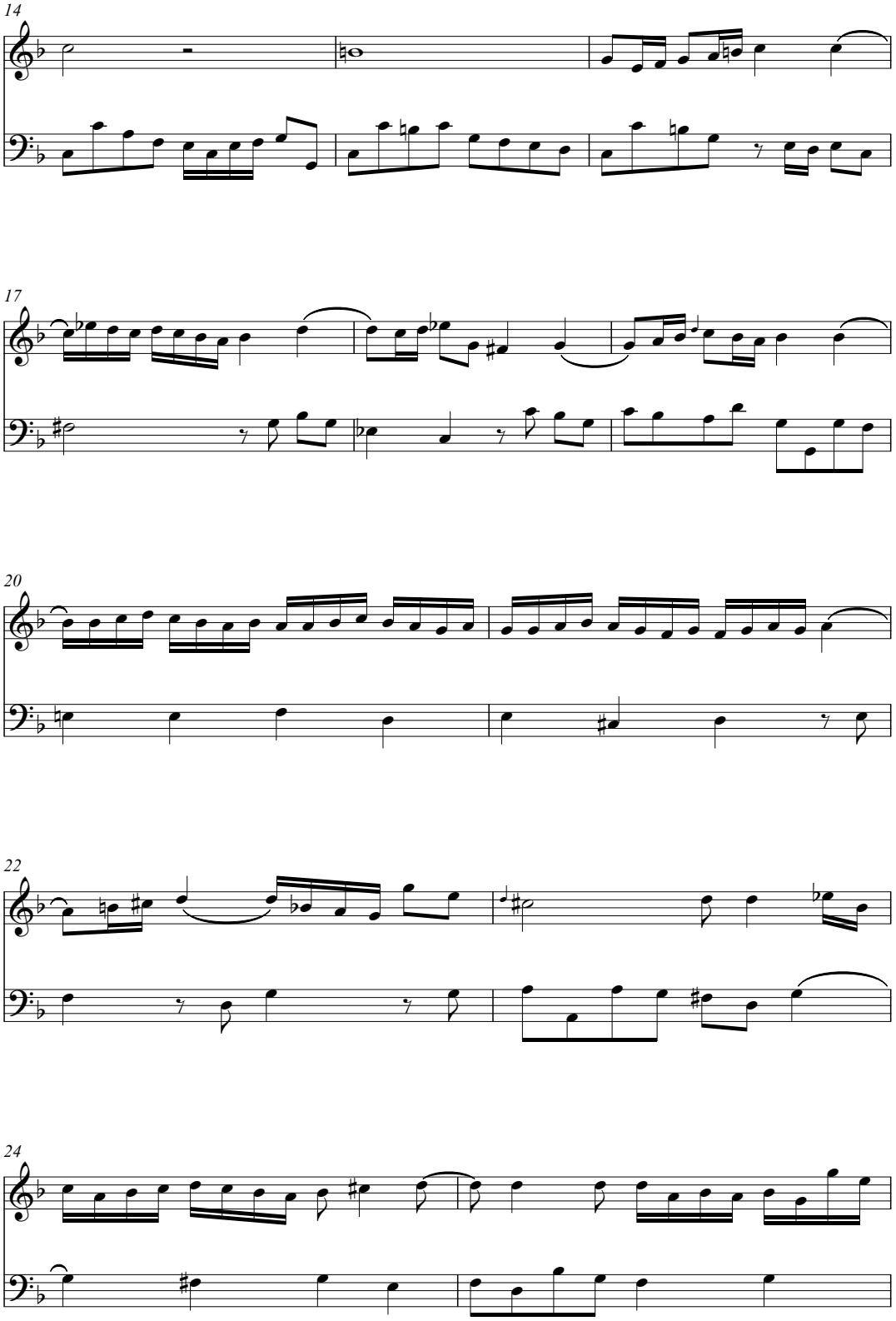


VI.34 (41r)



VI.35 (41v)

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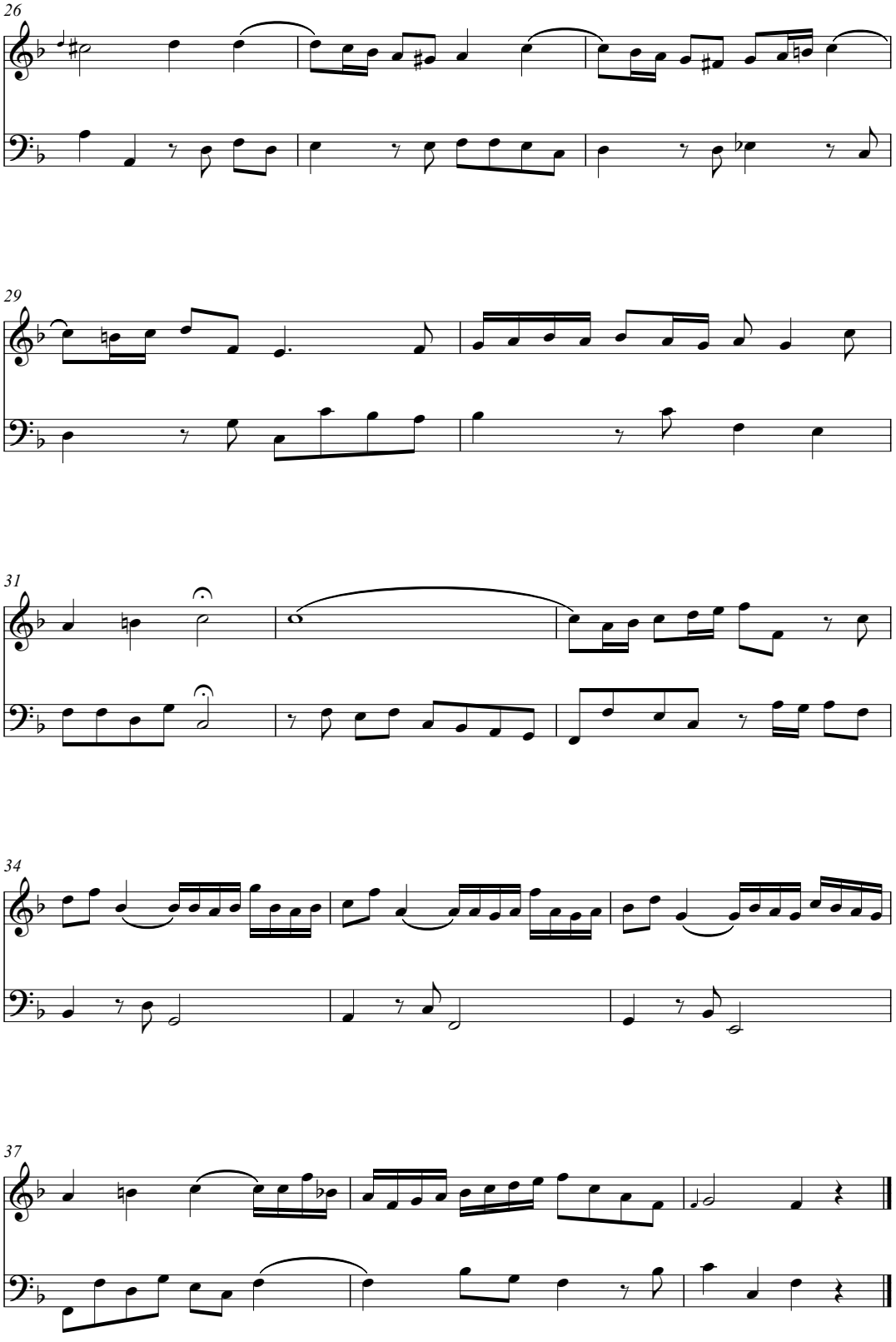
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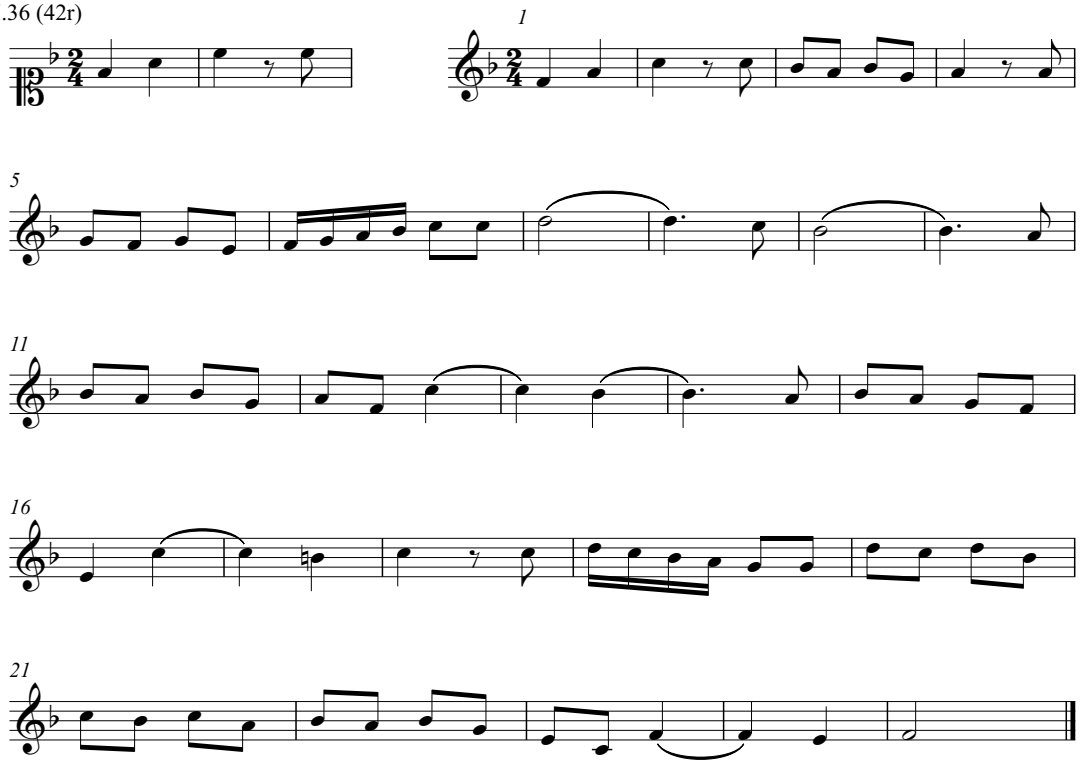
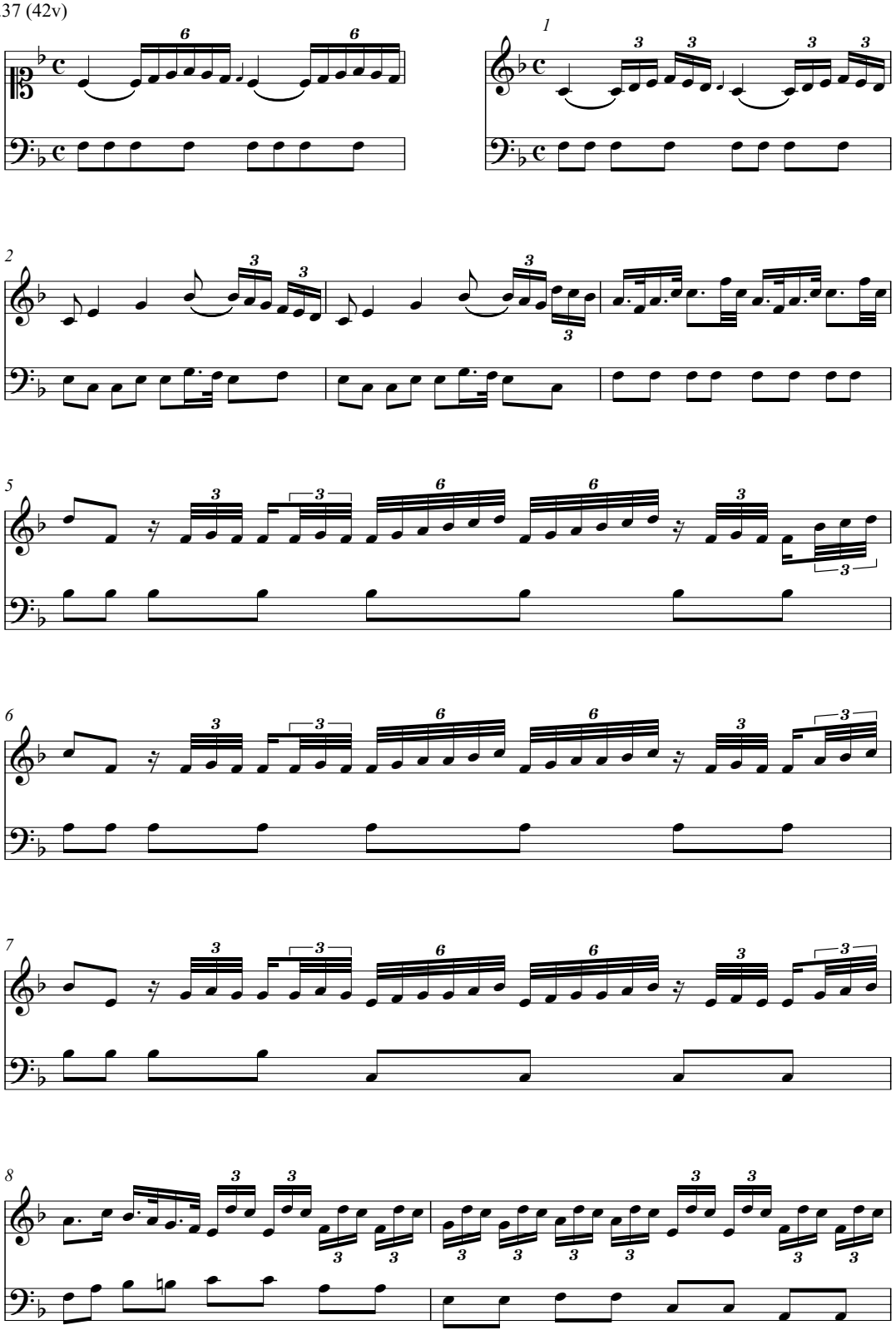
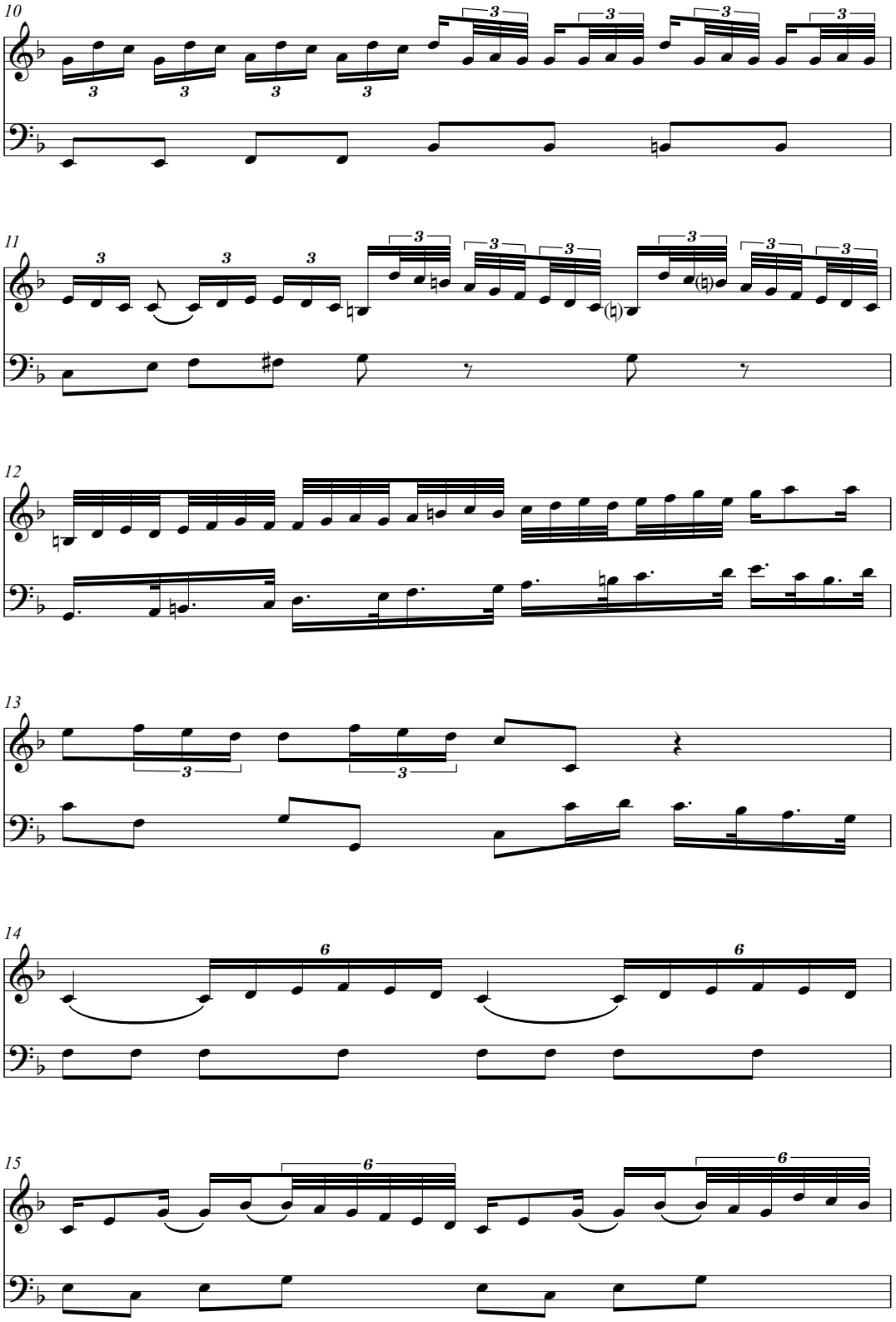
VI.36 (42r)



VI.37 (42v)

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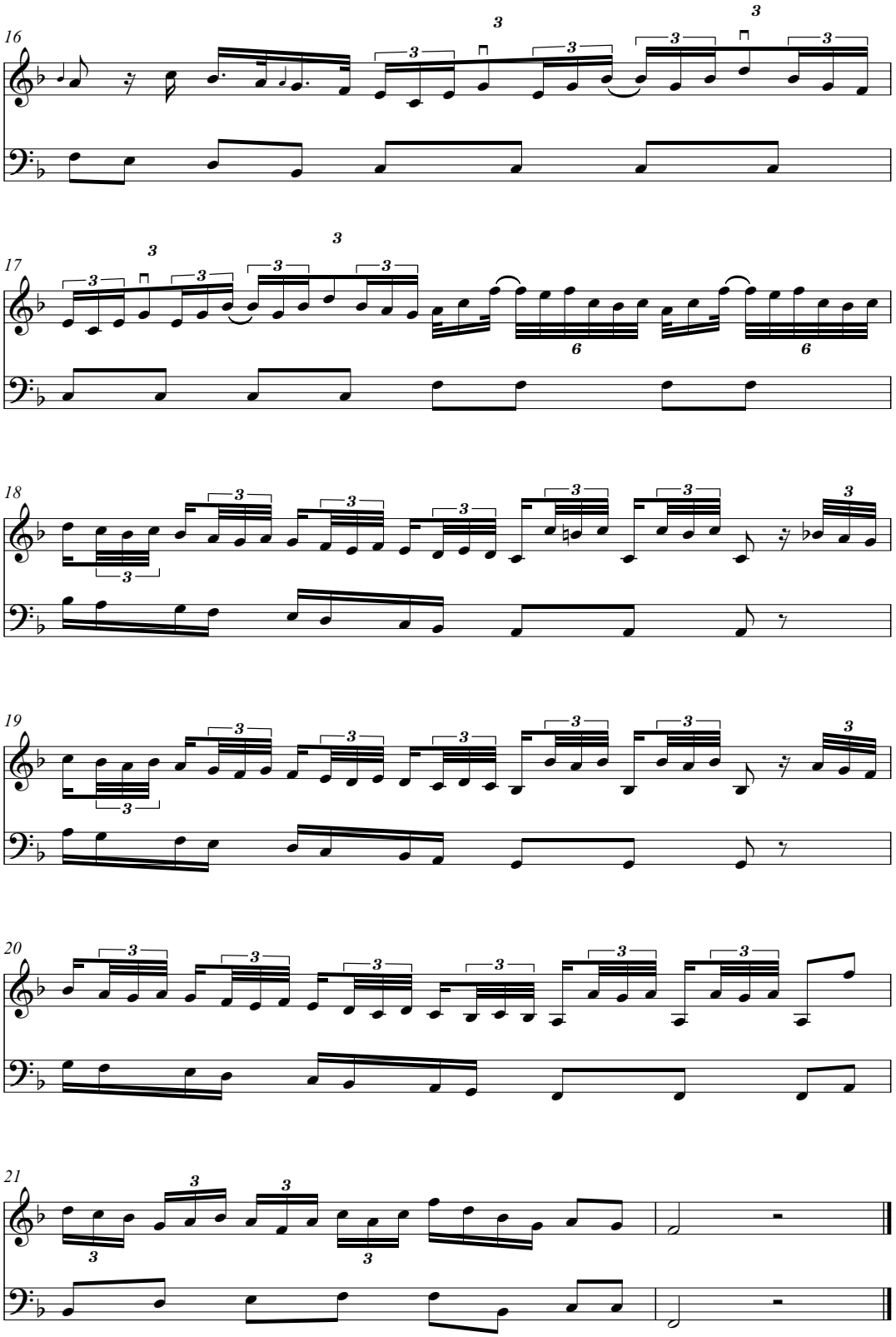
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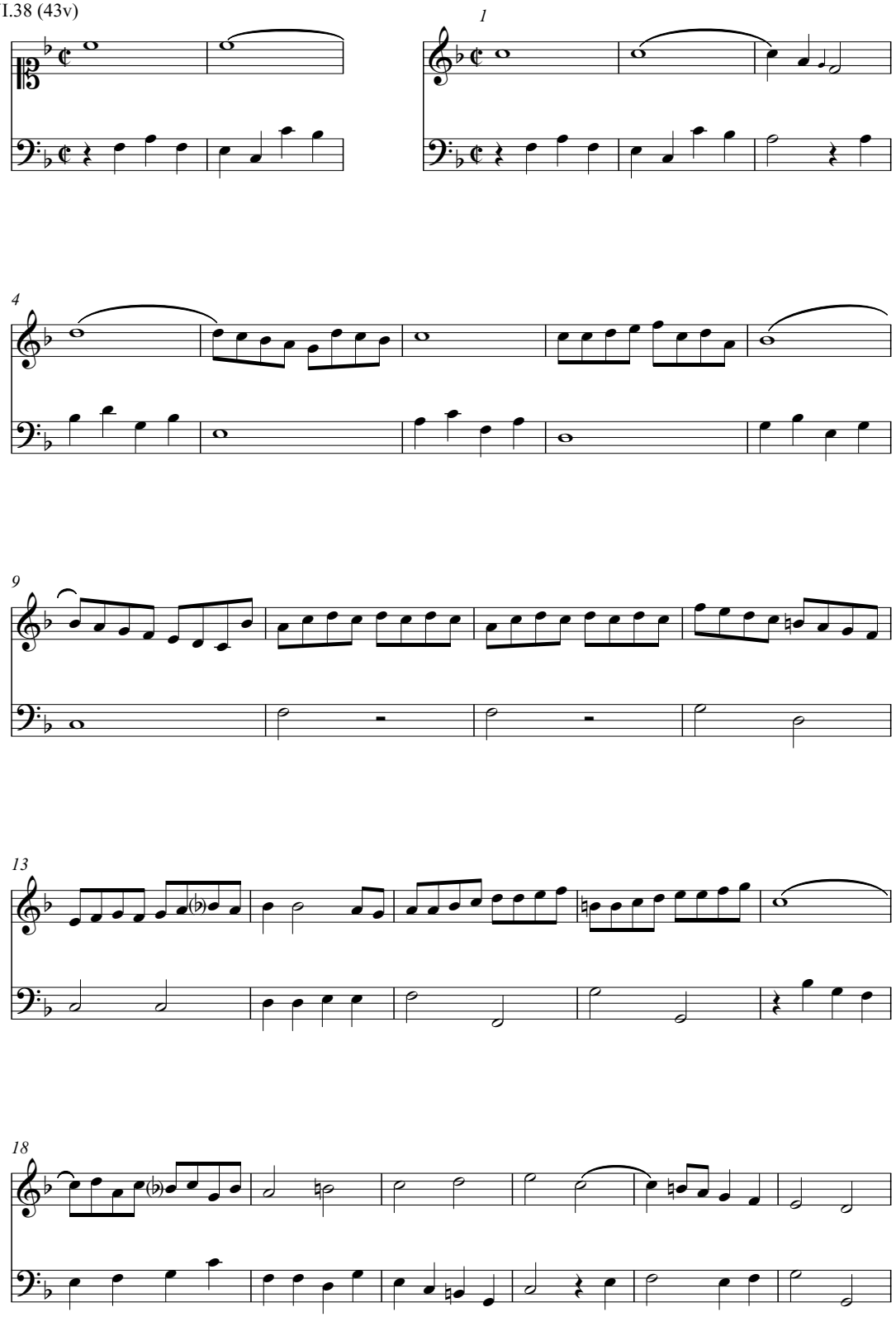
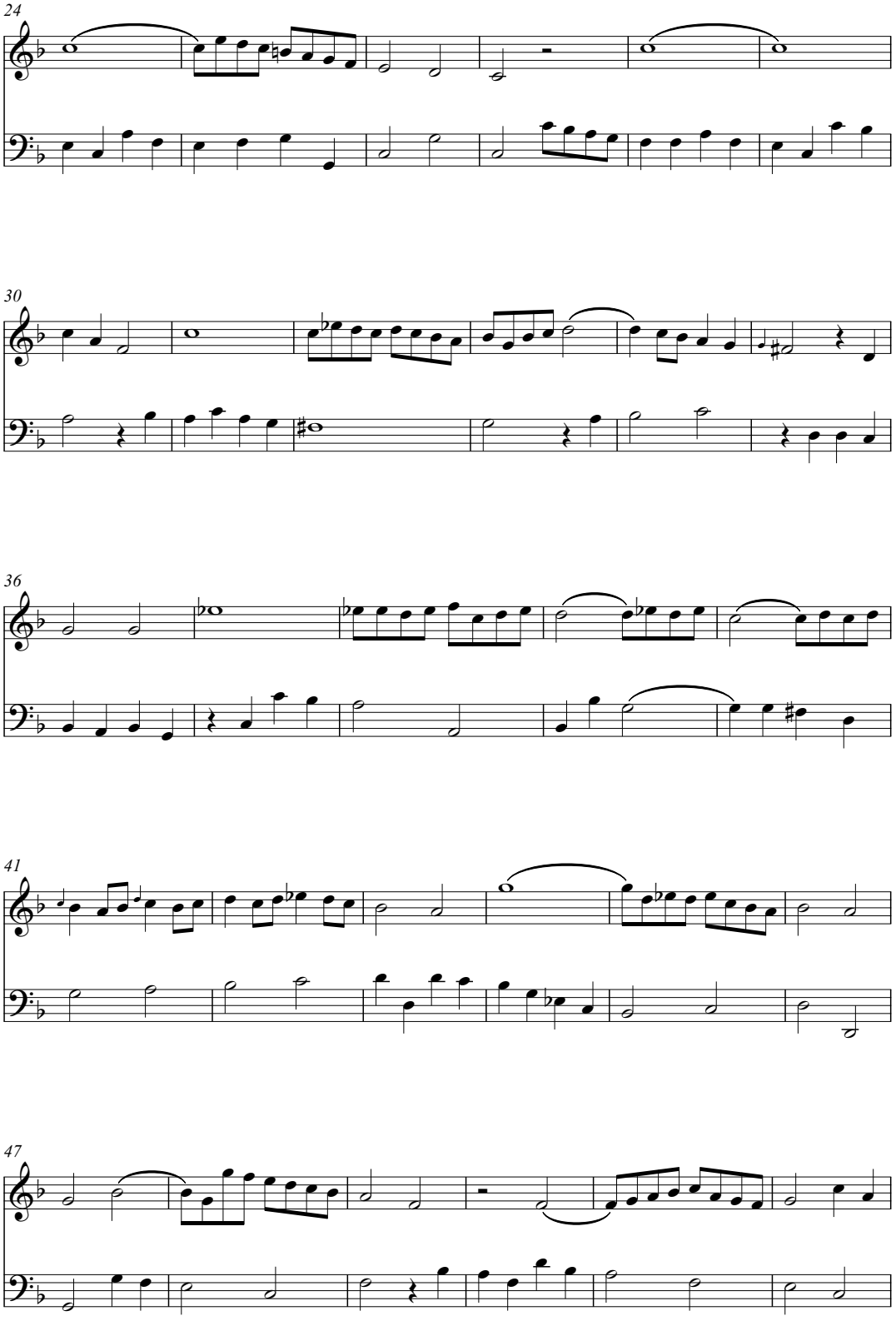
VI.38 (43v)

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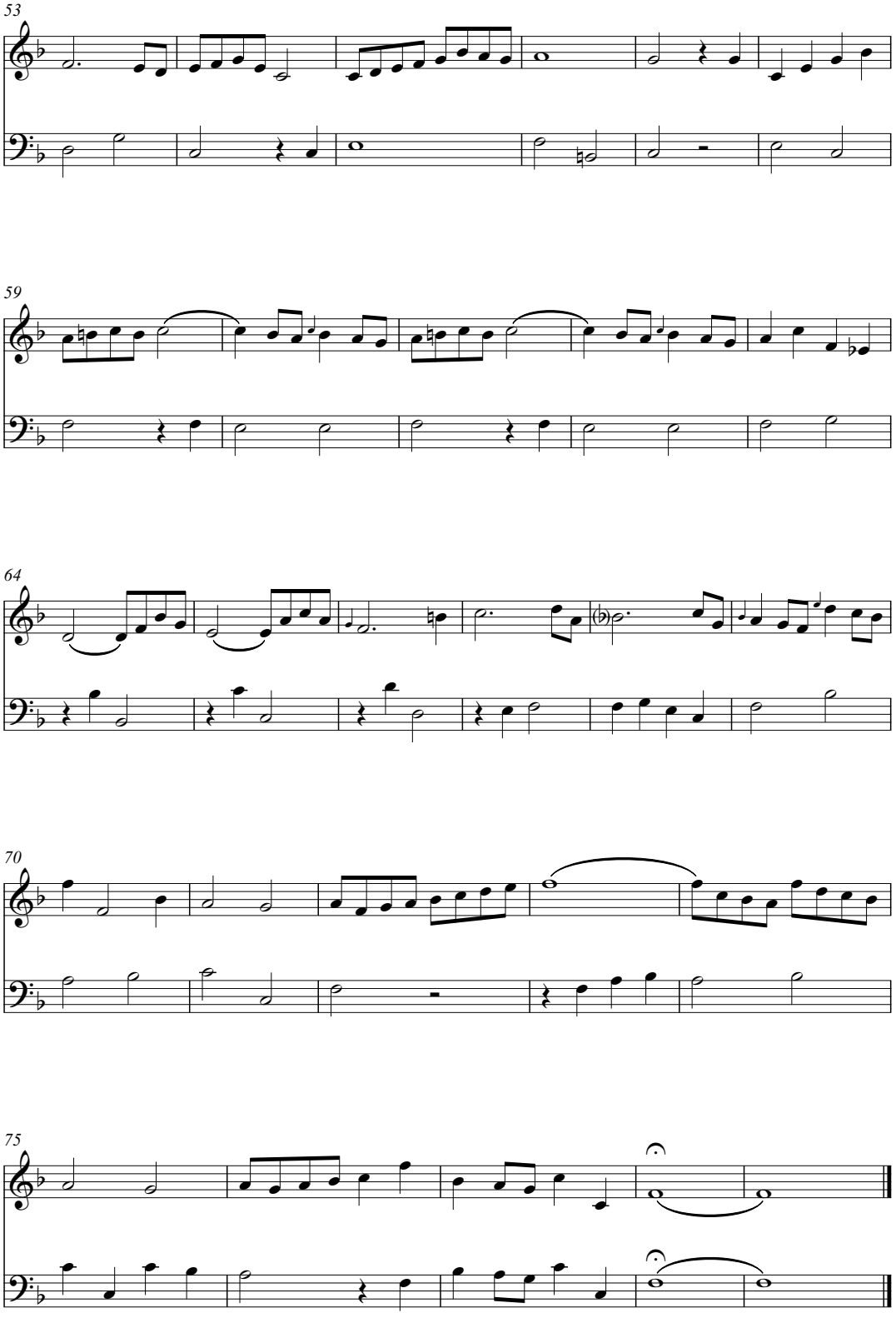
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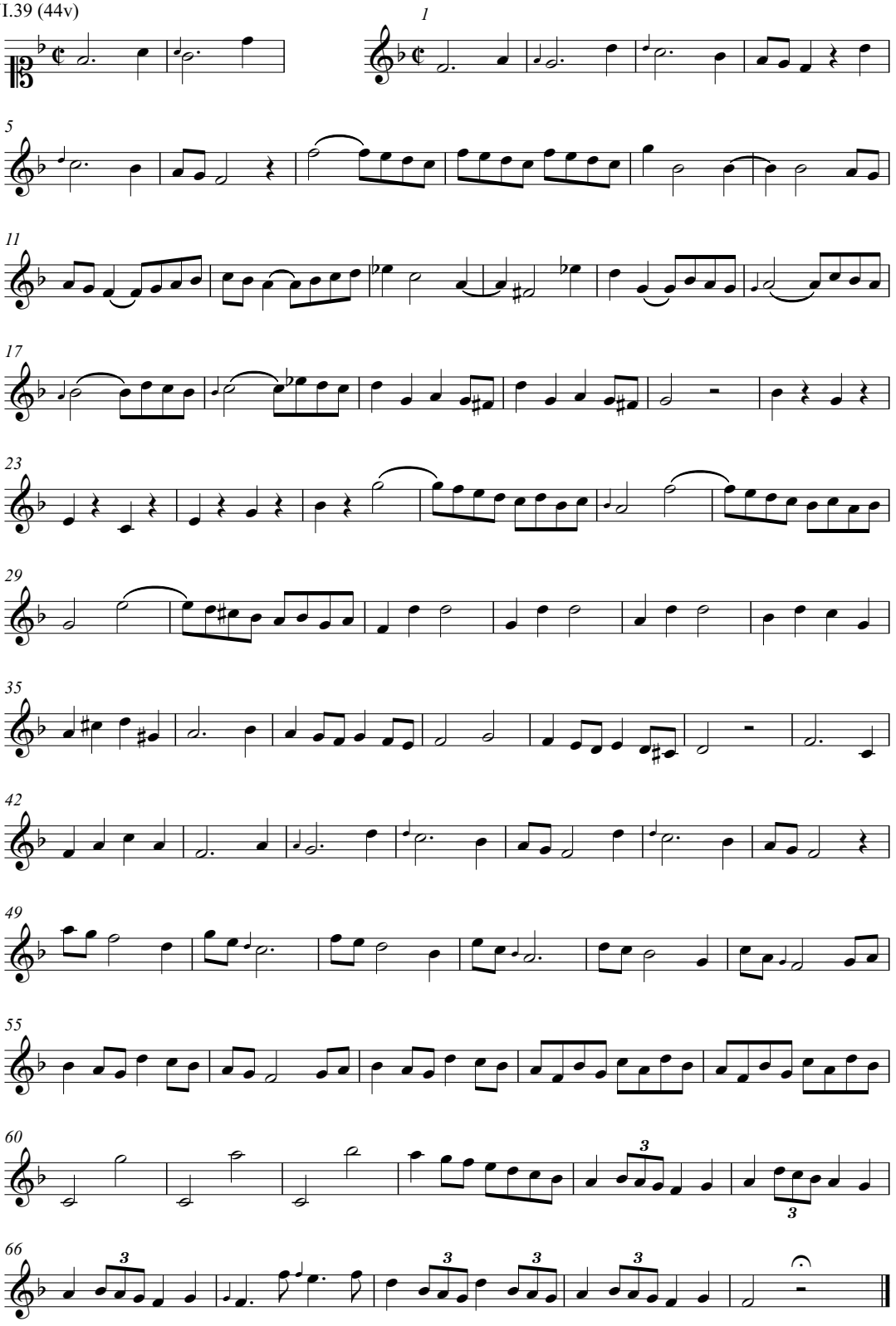
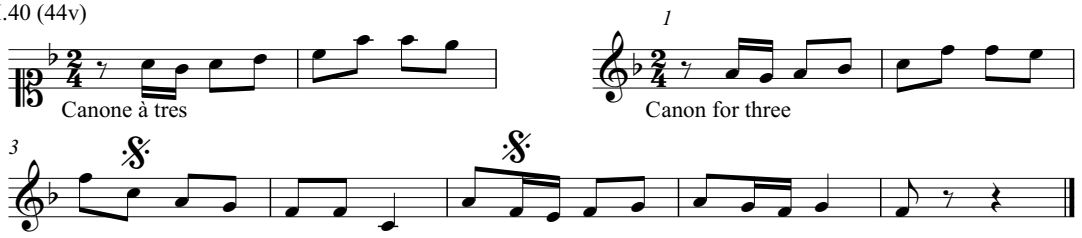
75

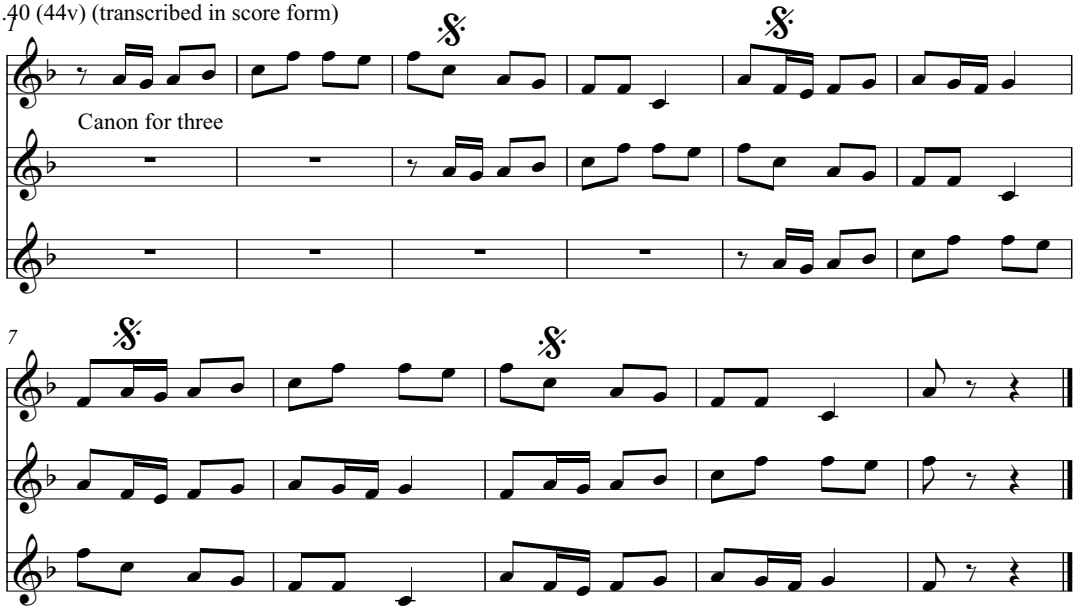
VI.39 (44v)



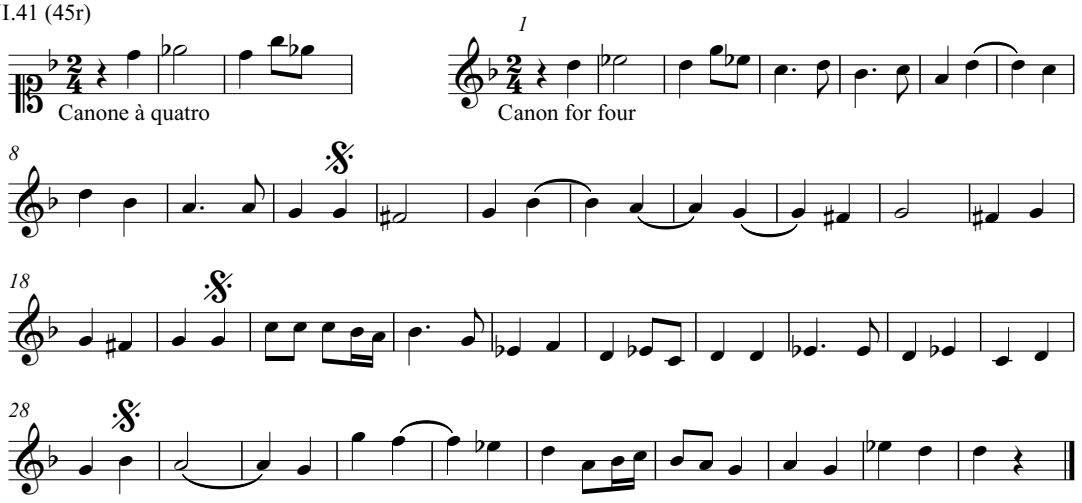
VI.40 (44v)



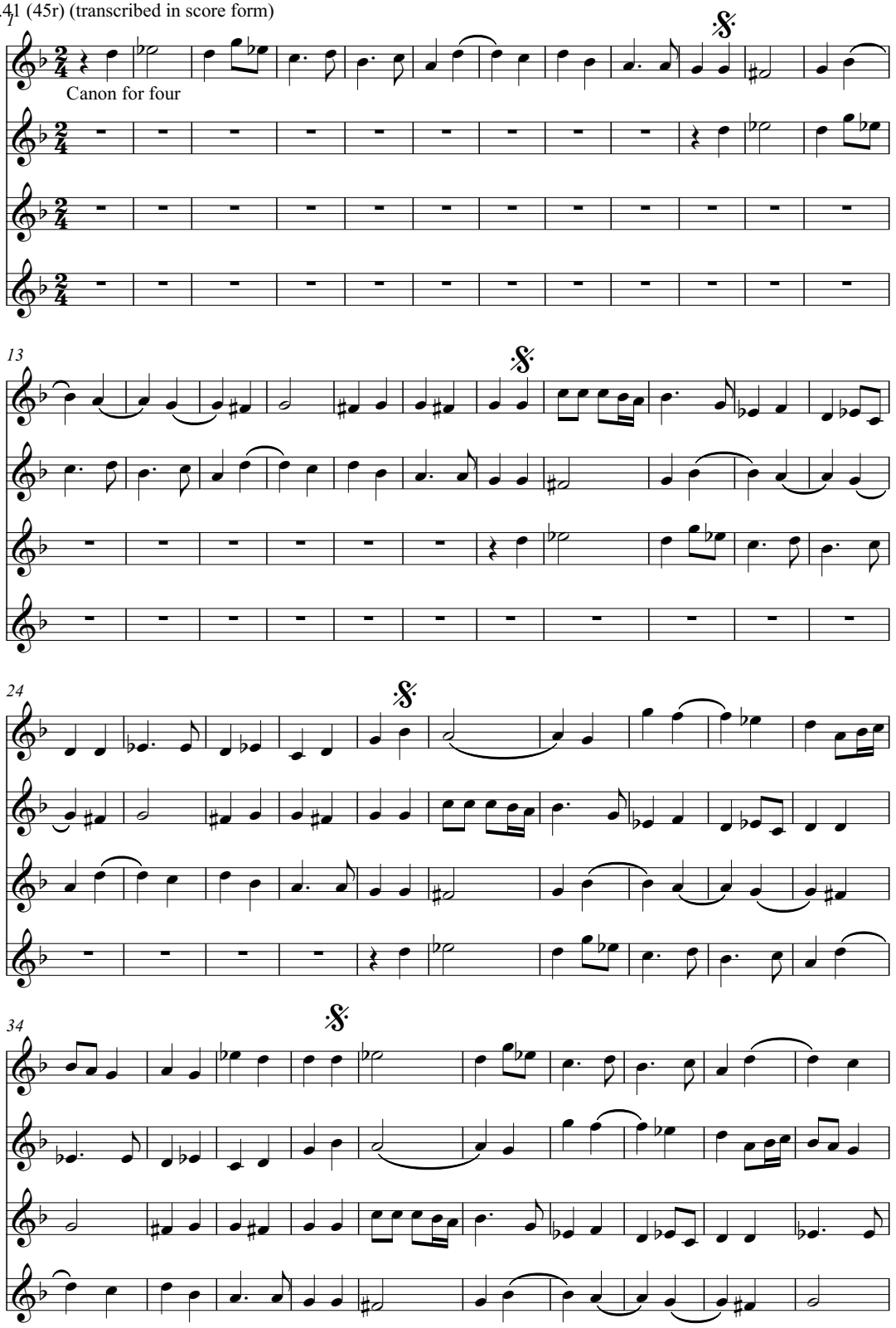
VI.40 (44v) (transcribed in score form)

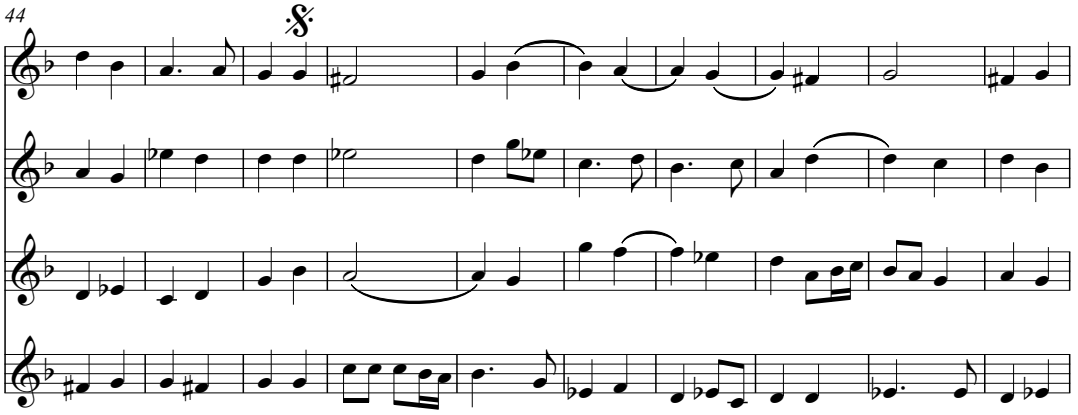


VI.41 (45r)



VI.41 (45r) (transcribed in score form)

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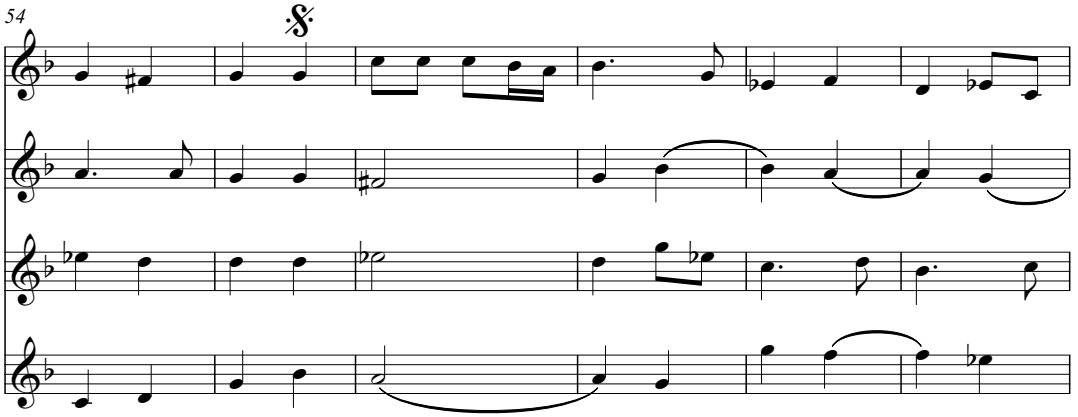
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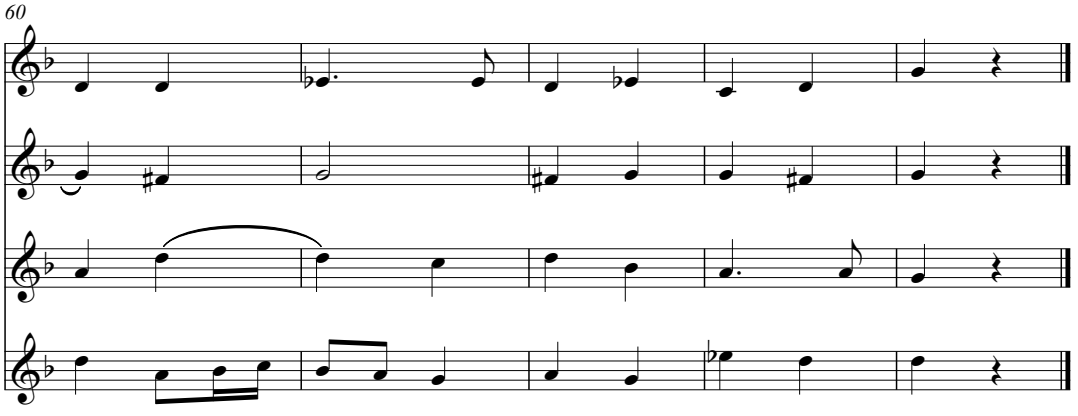
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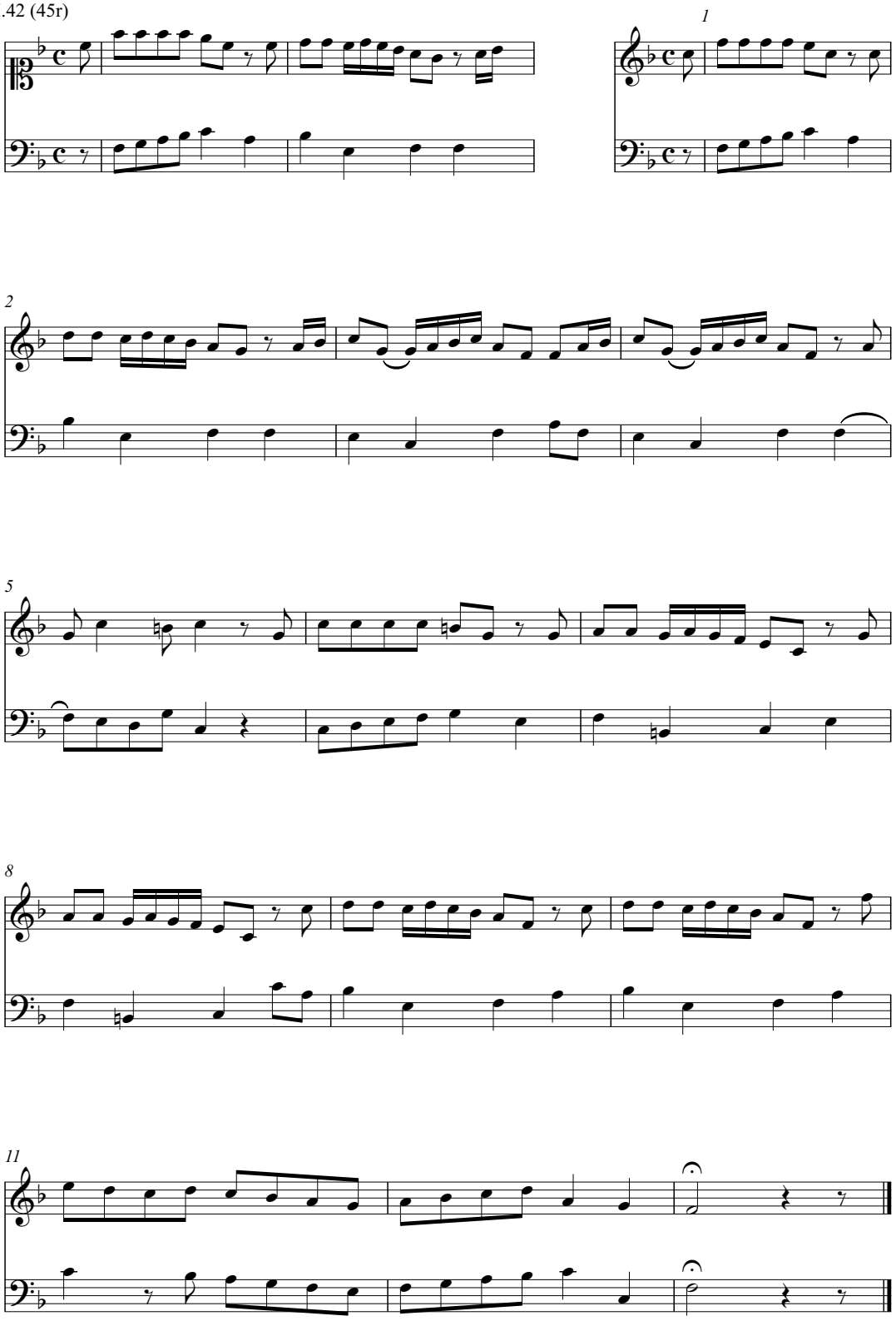
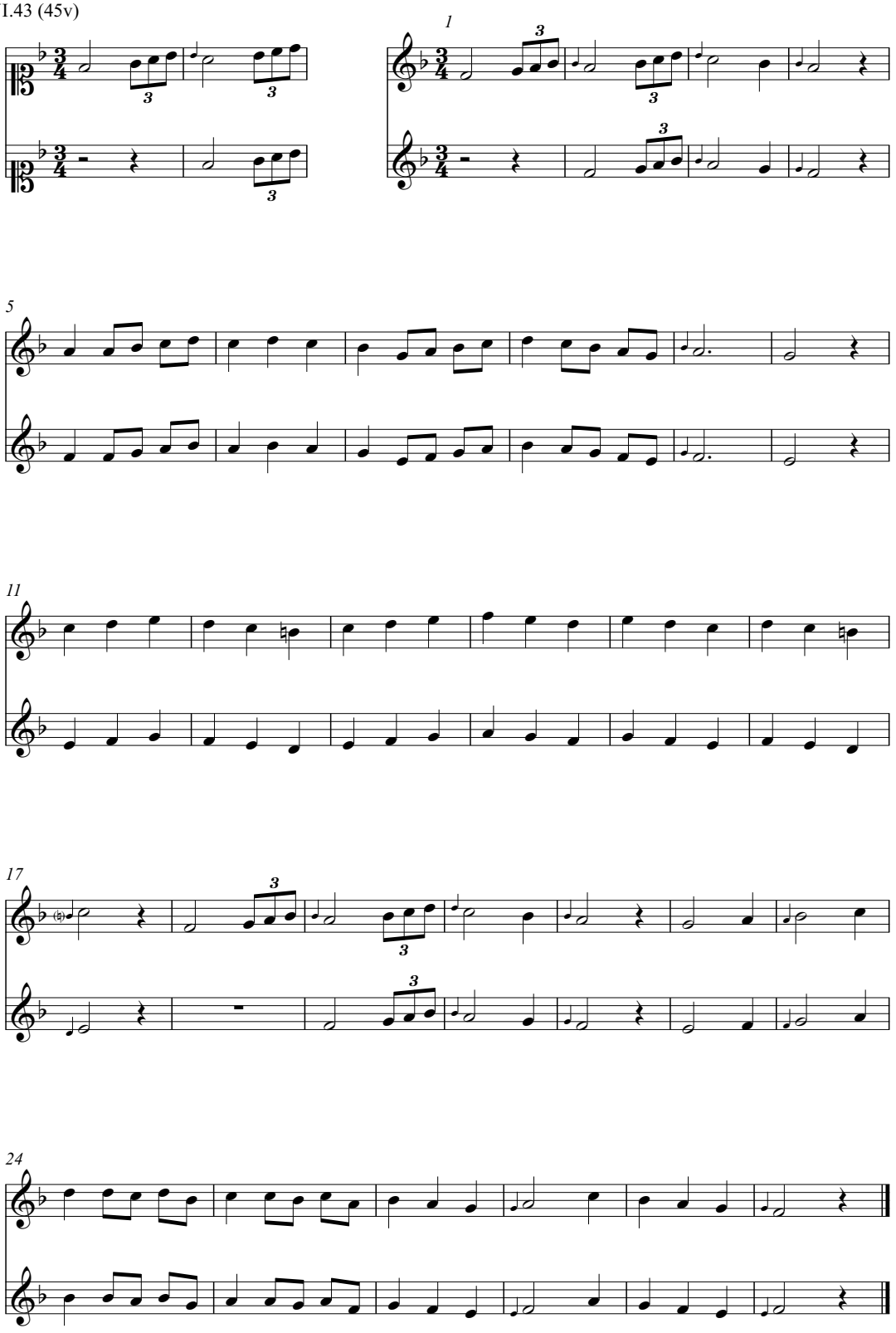
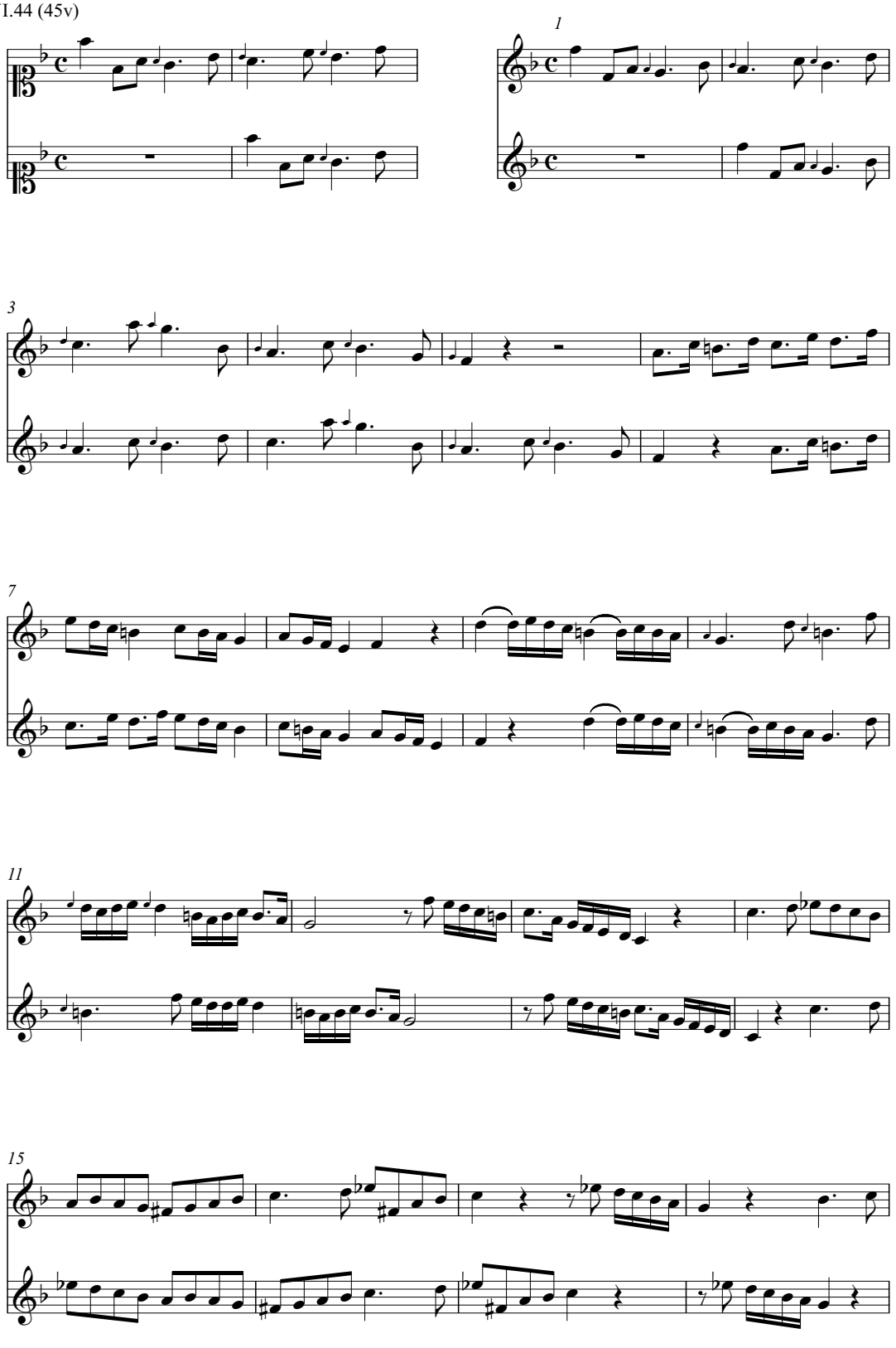
VI.42 (45r)

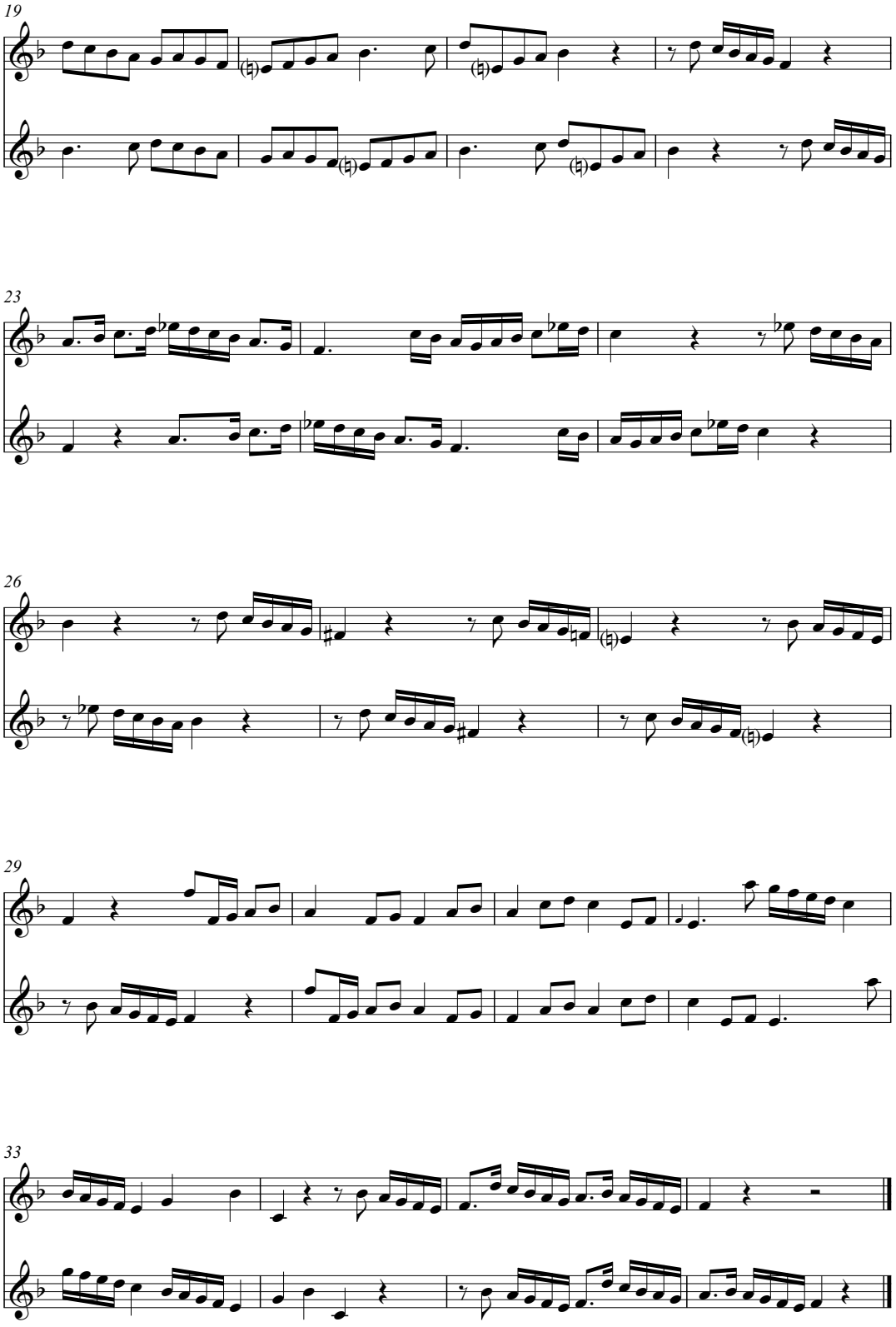


VI.43 (45v)



VI.44 (45v)

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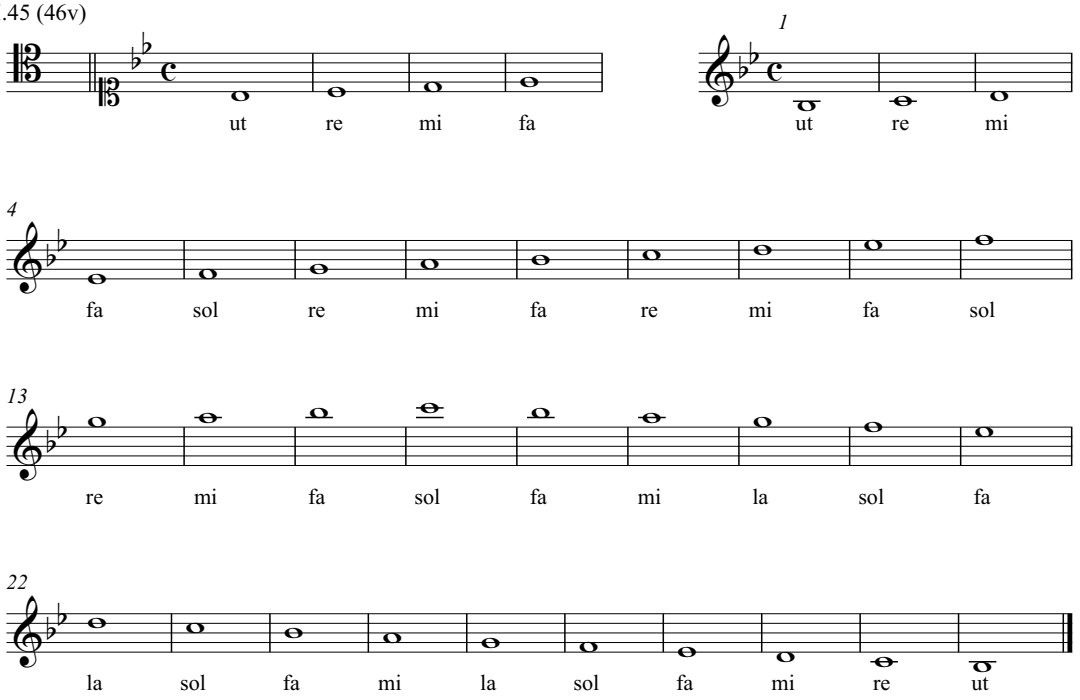
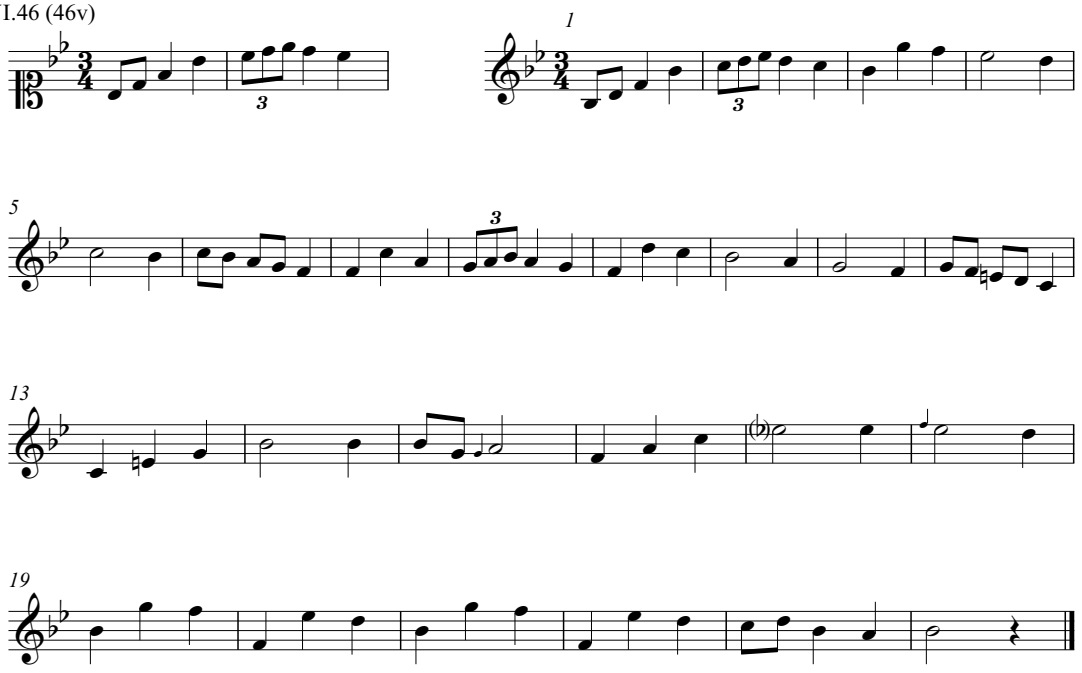
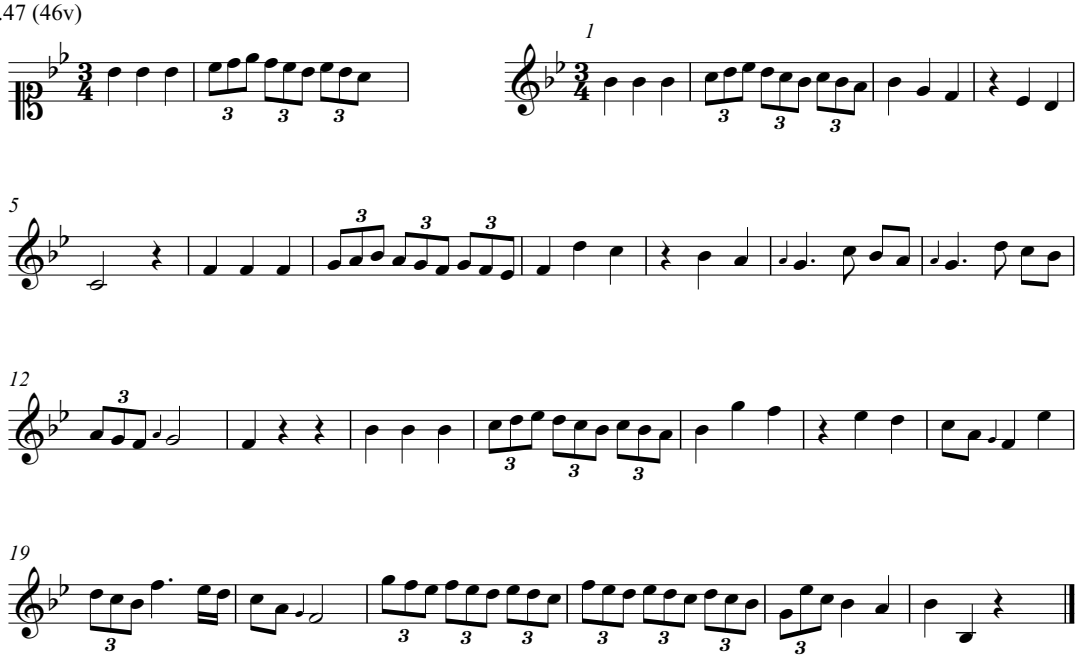
VI.45 (46v)



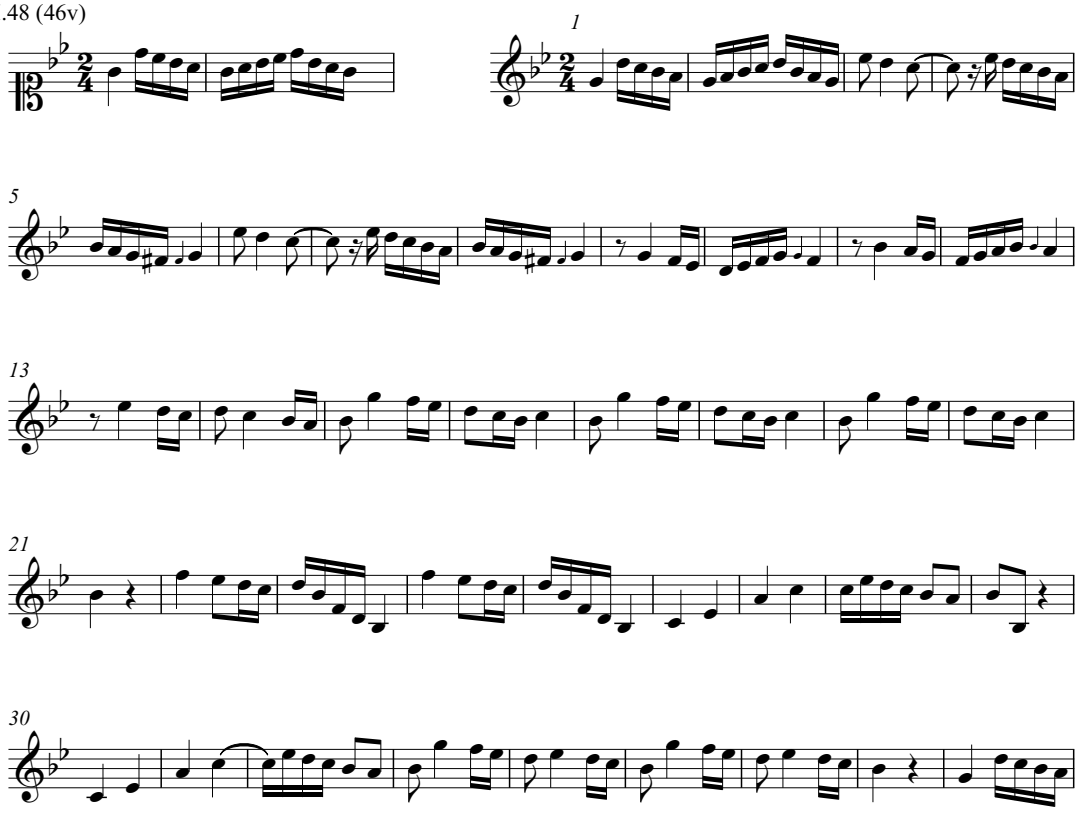
VI.46 (46v)

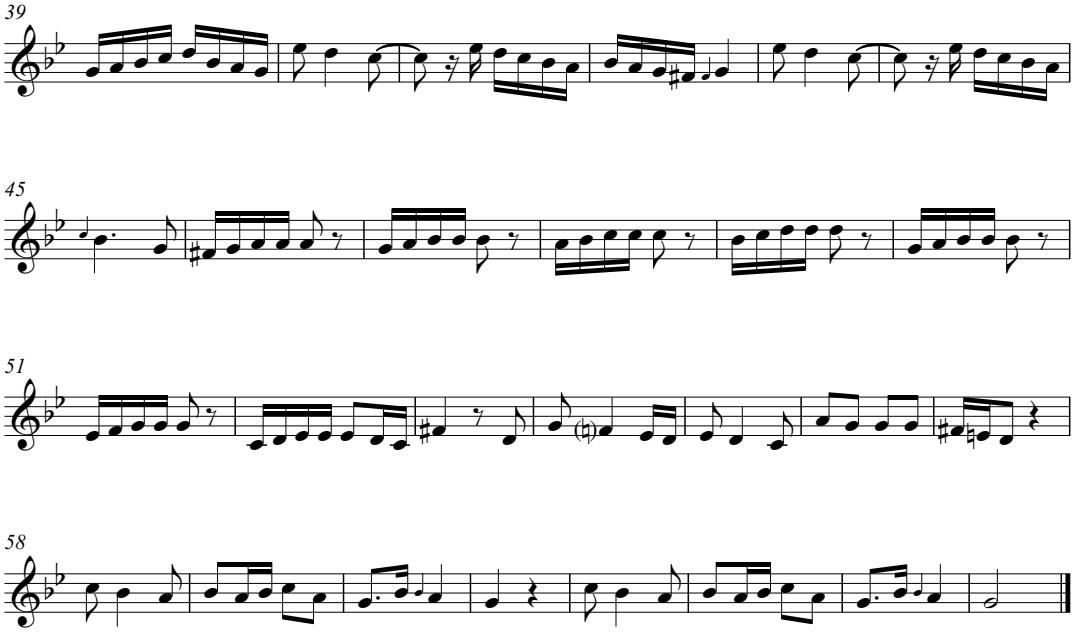


VI.47 (46v)

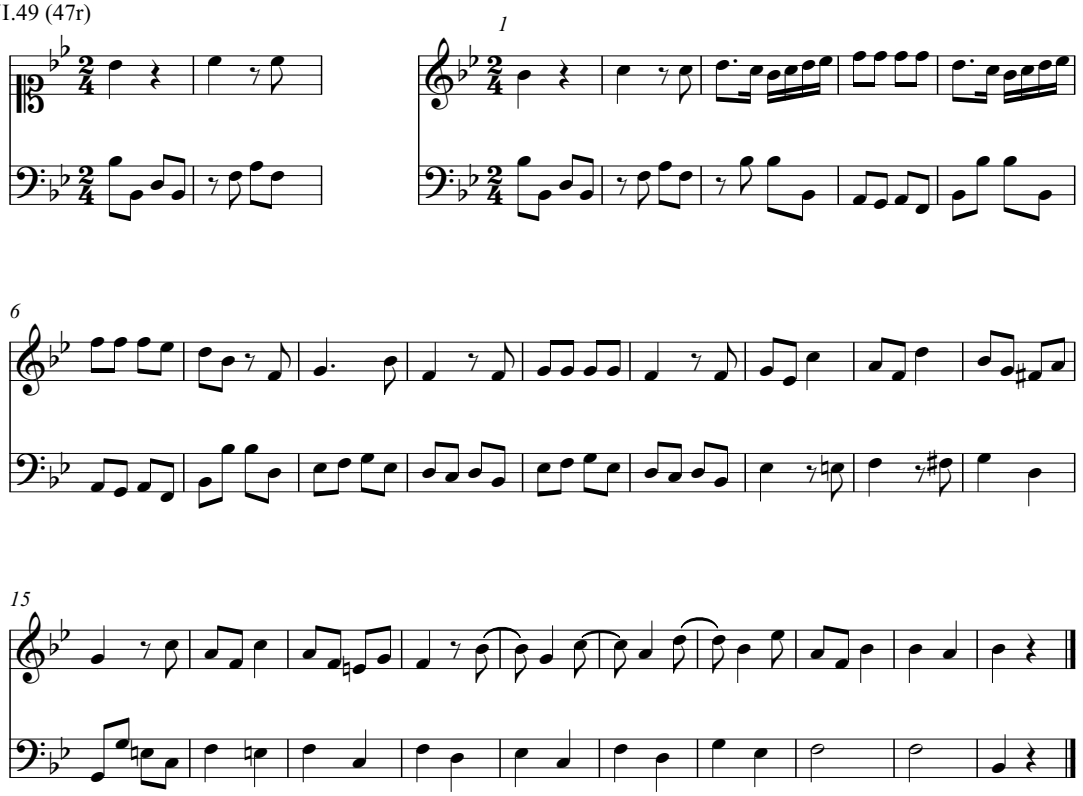


VI.48 (46v)

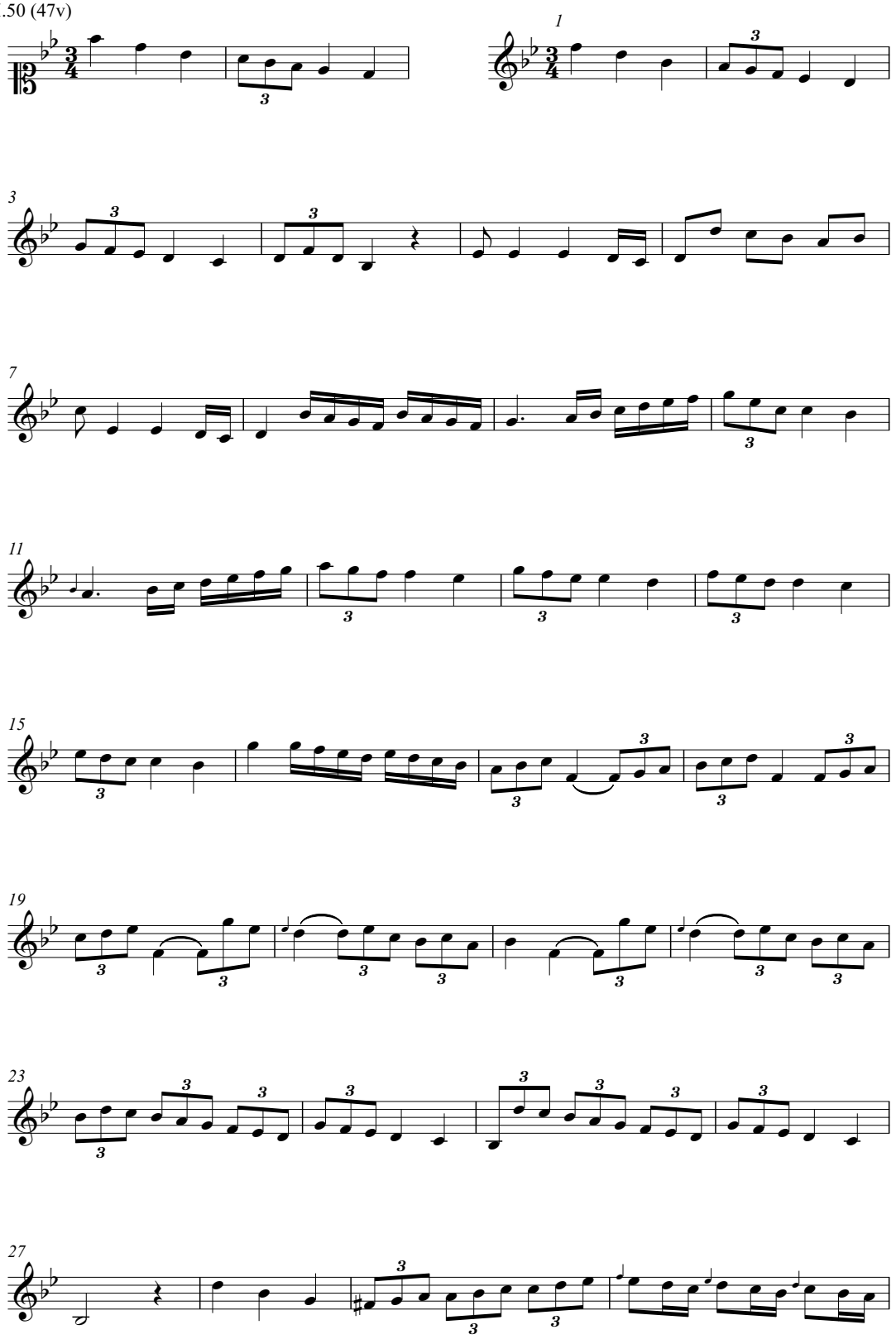


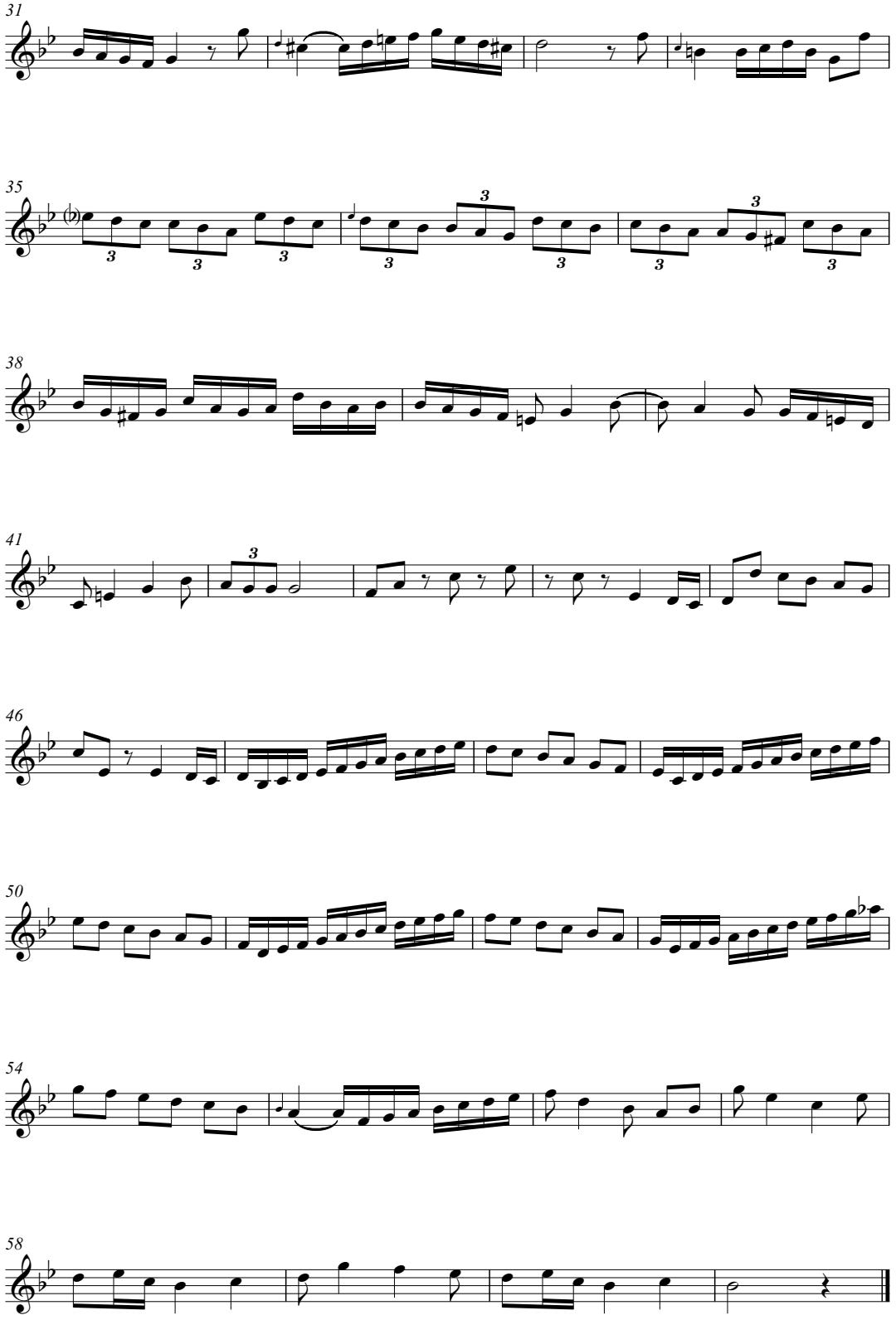


VI.49 (47r)



VI.50 (47v)

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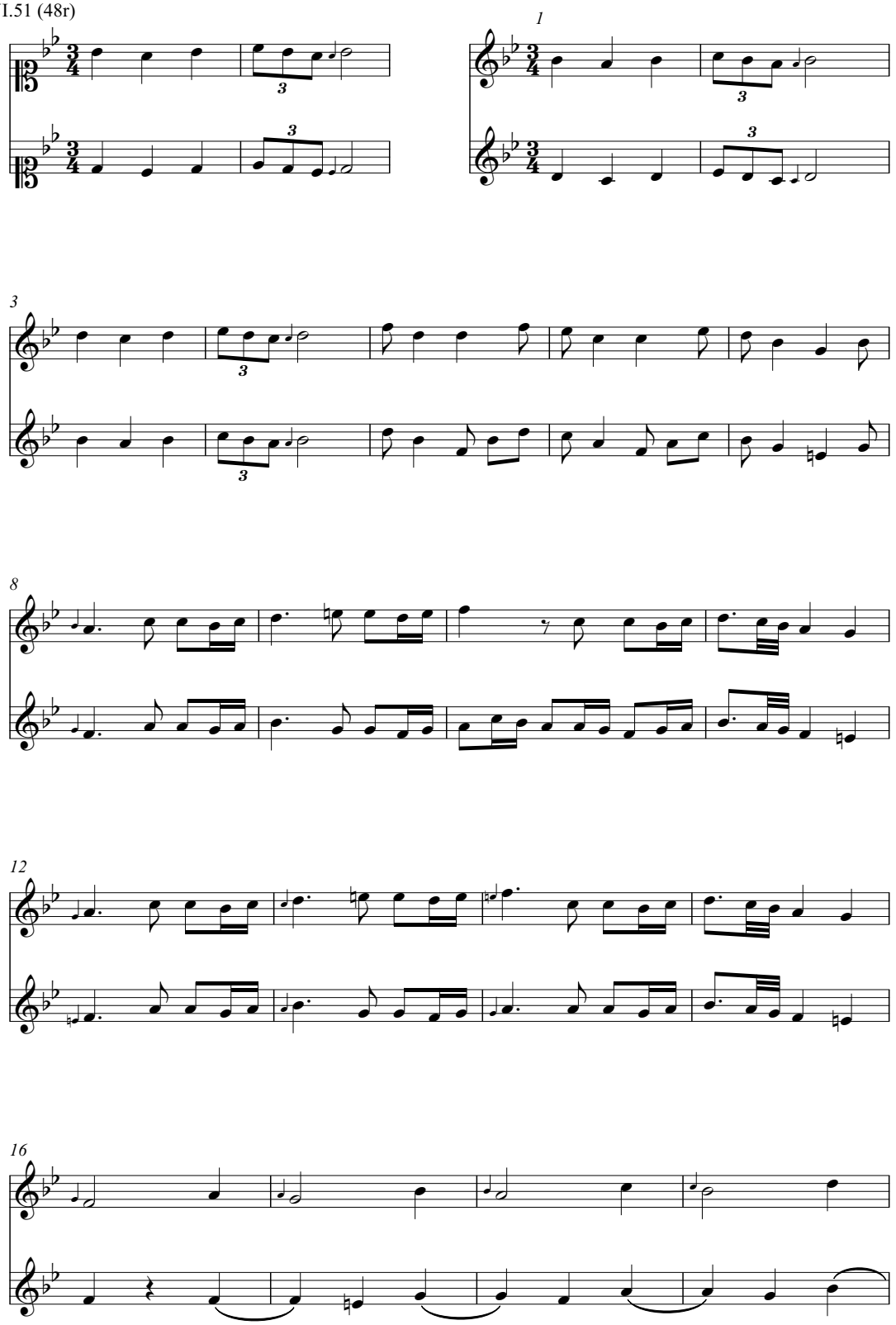
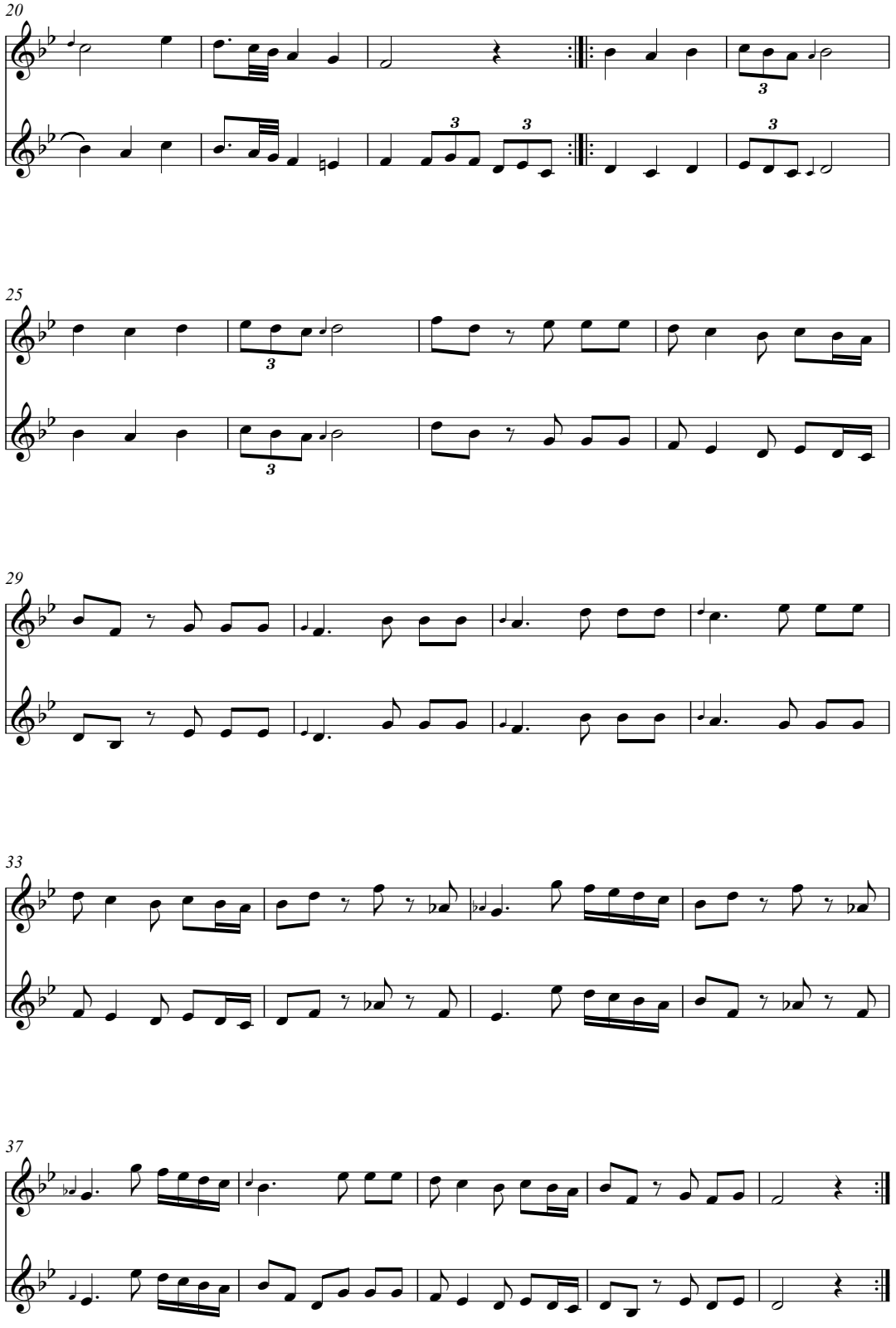
VI.51 (48r)

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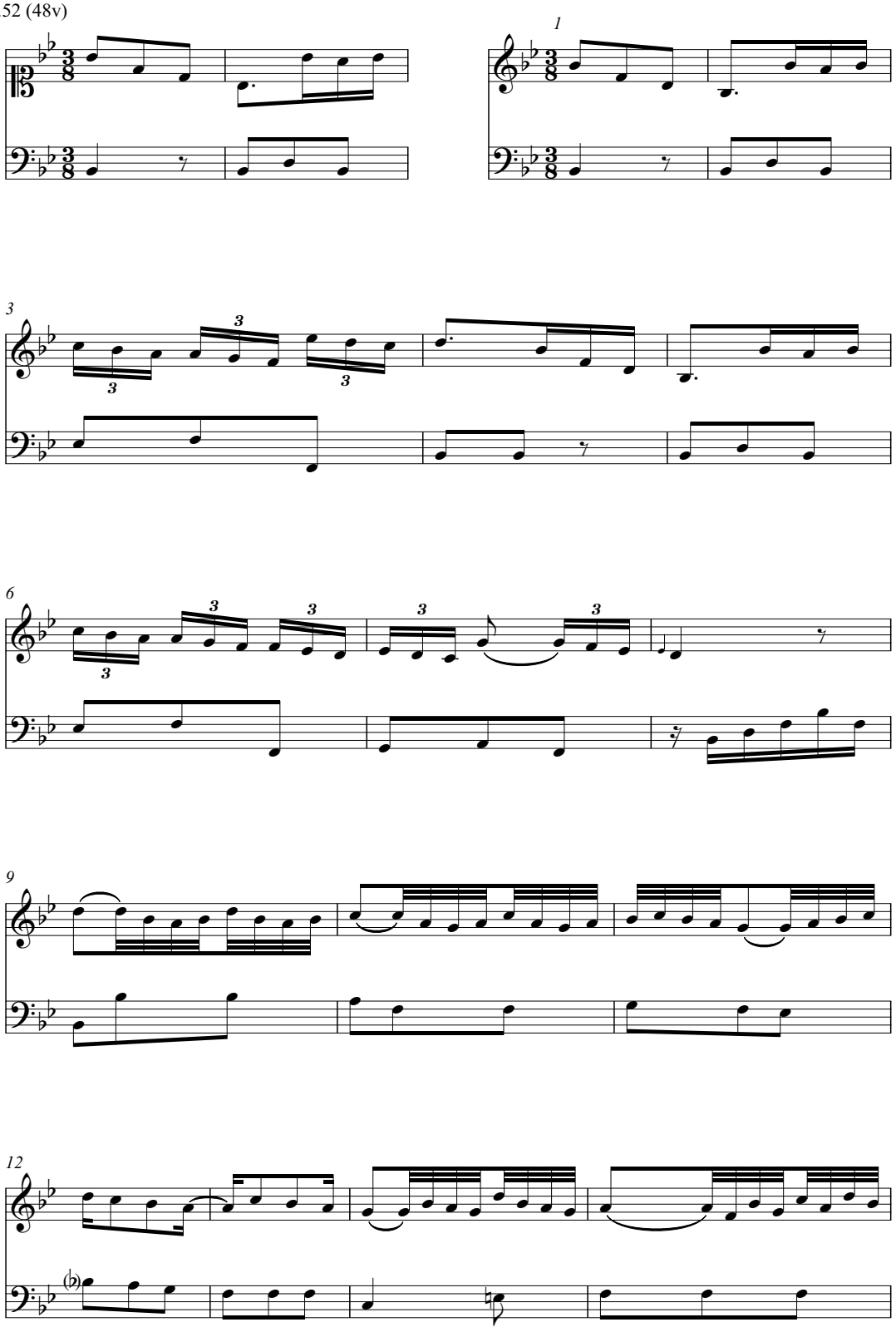
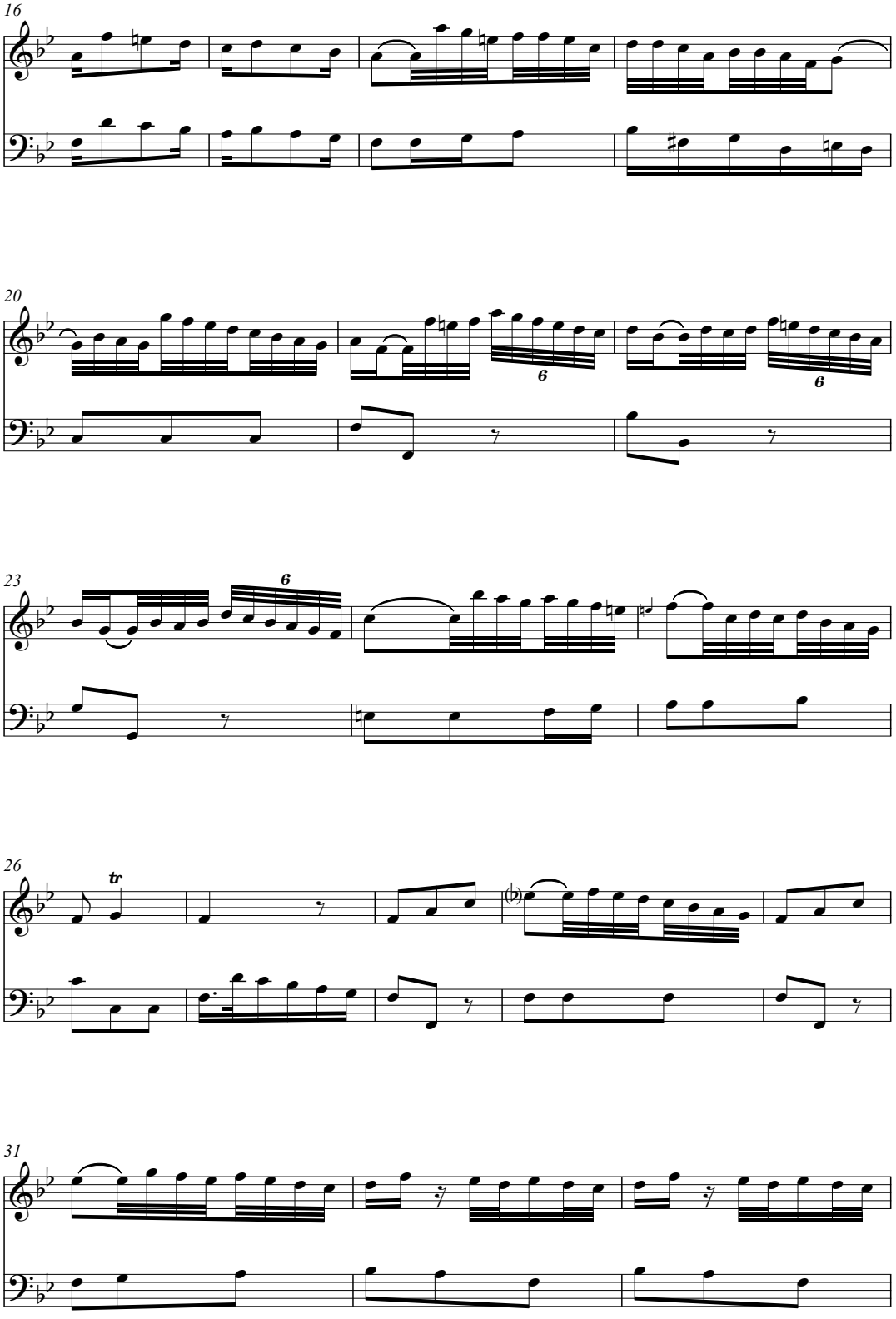
37

VI.52 (48v)

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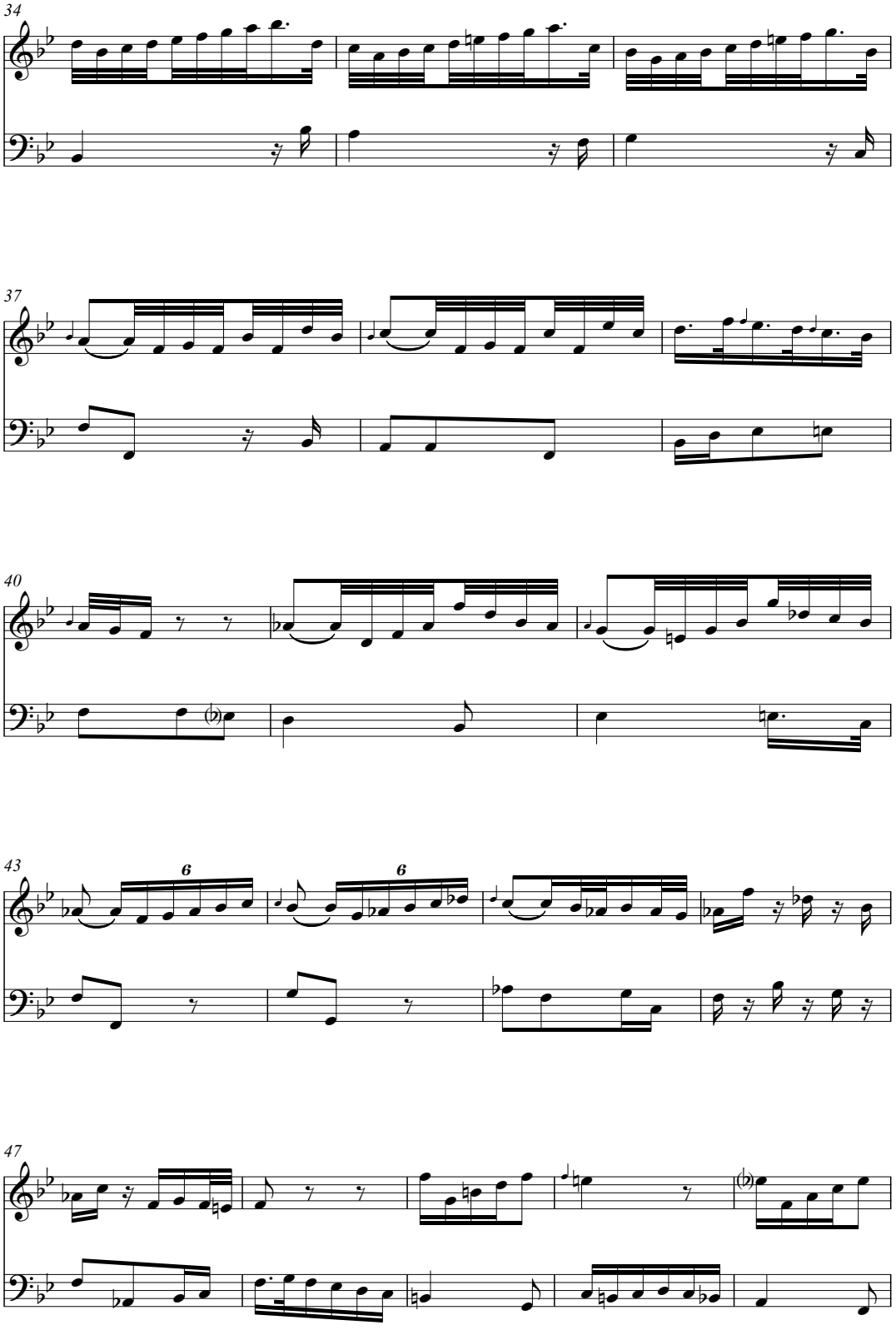
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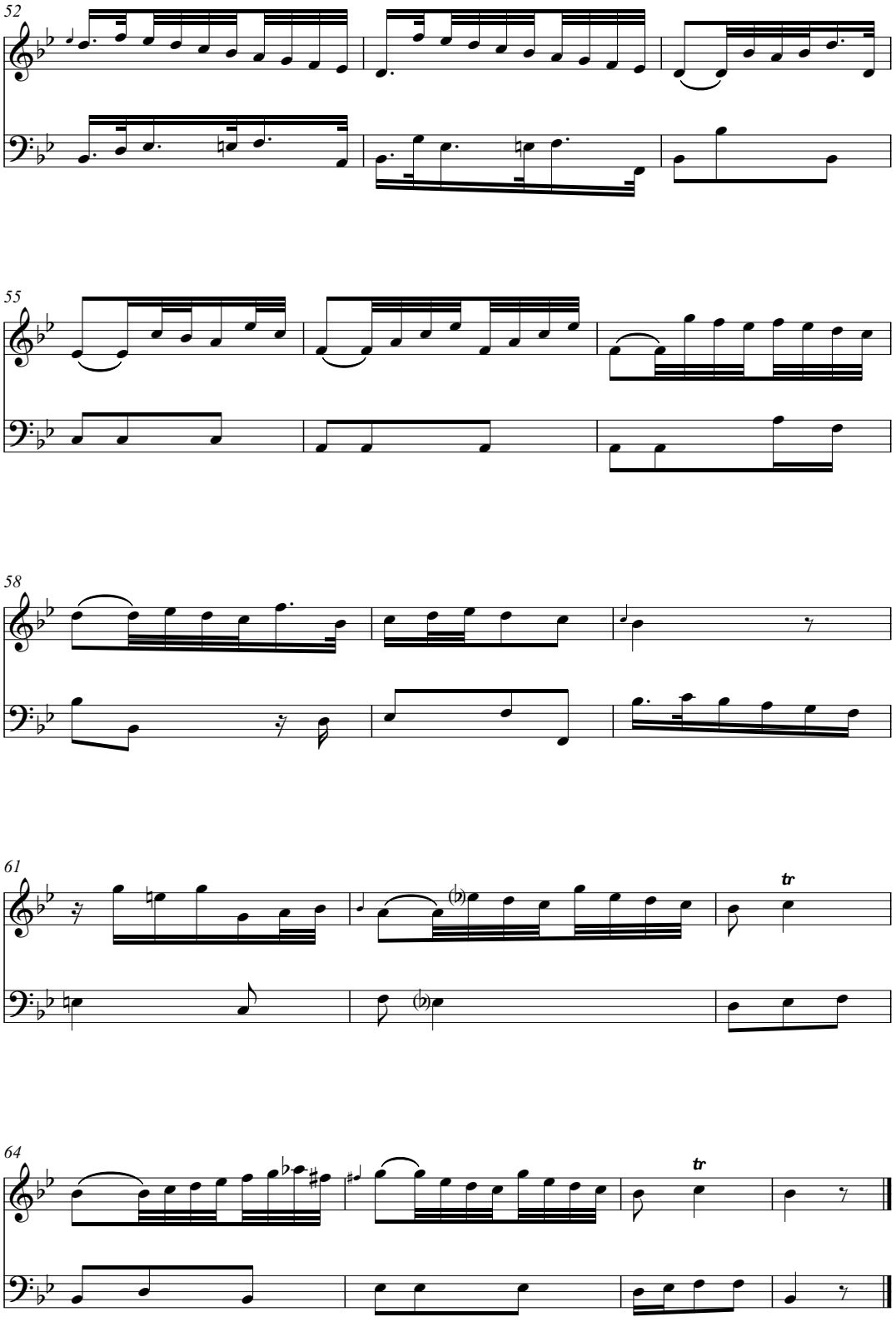
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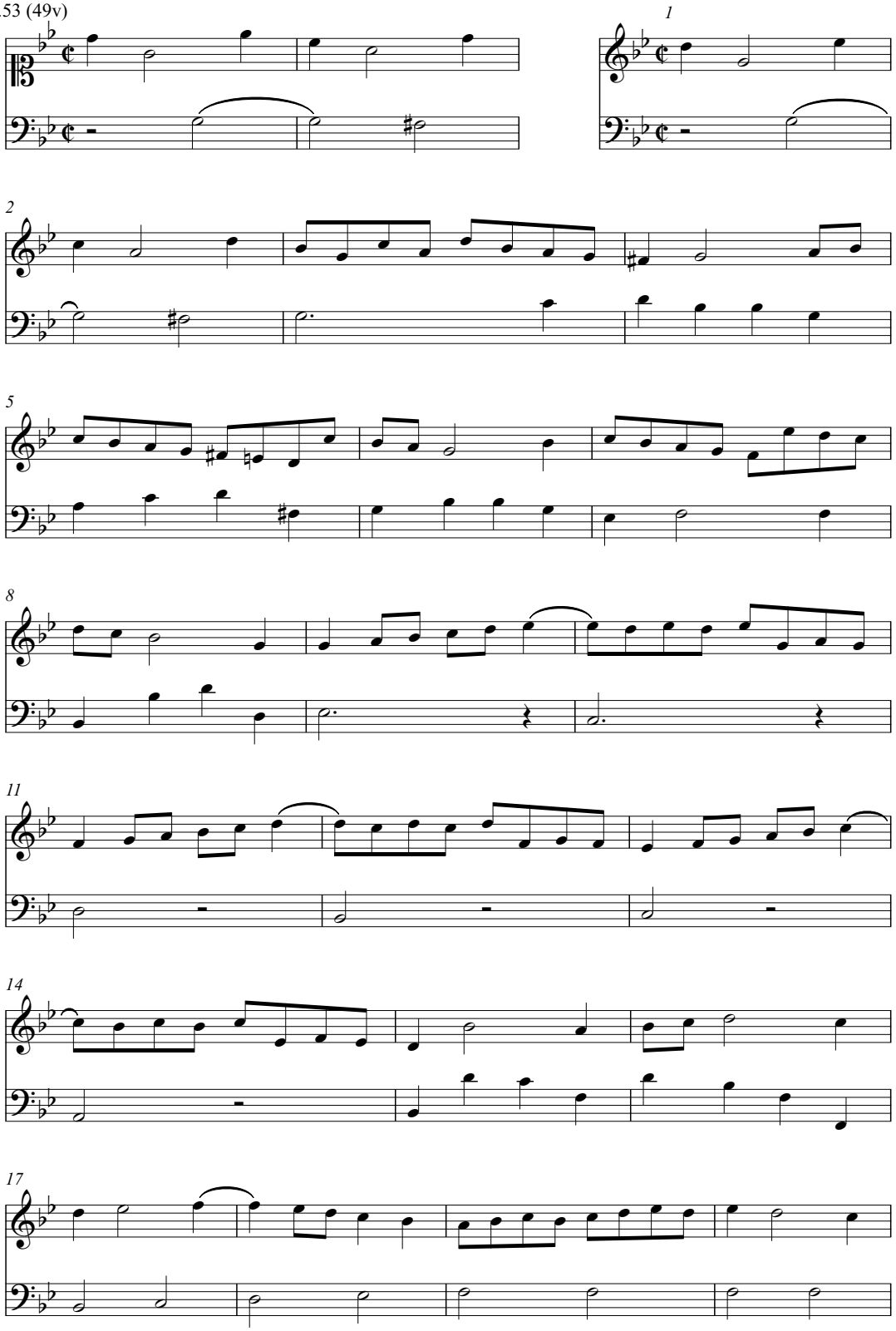
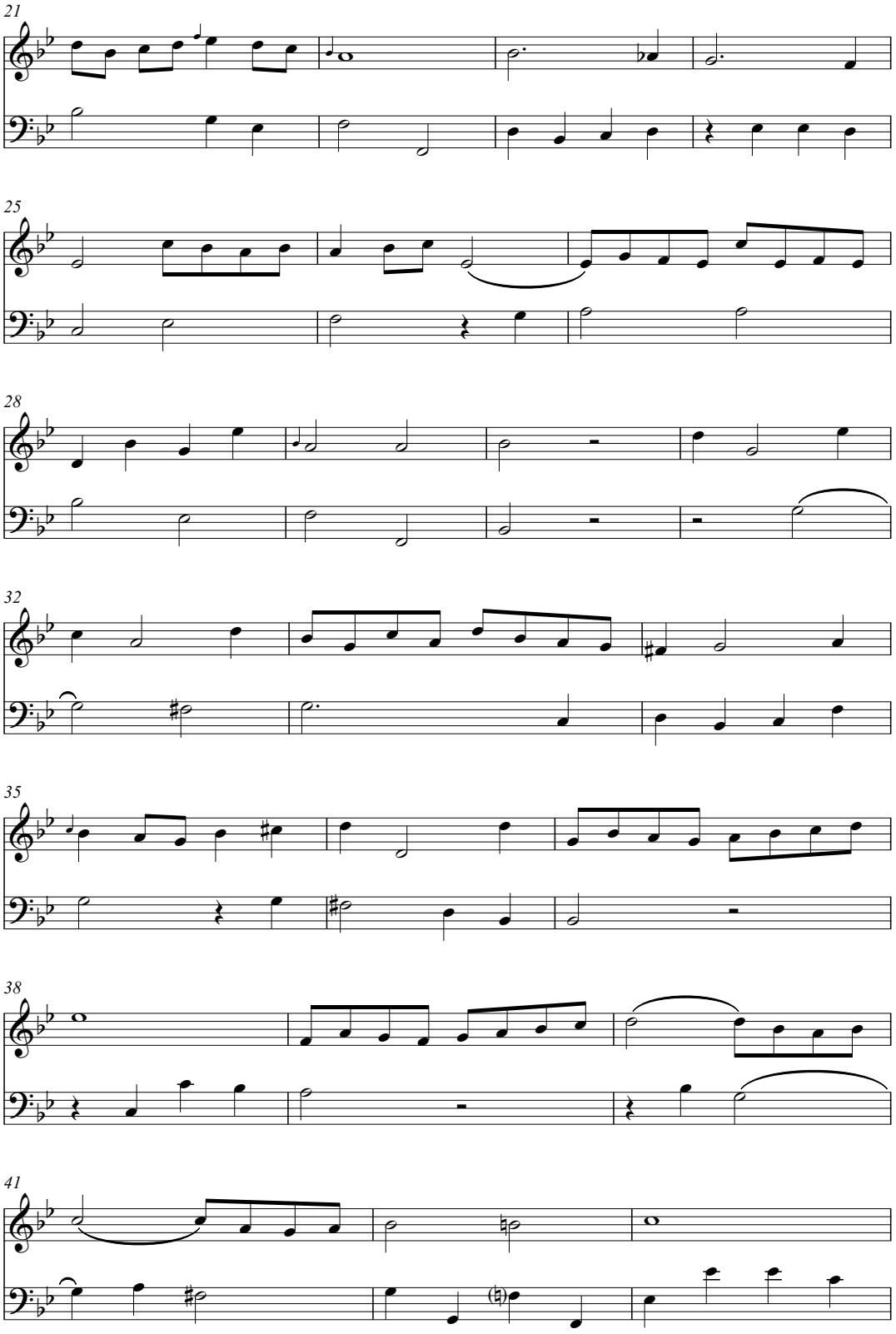
tr

VI.53 (49v)

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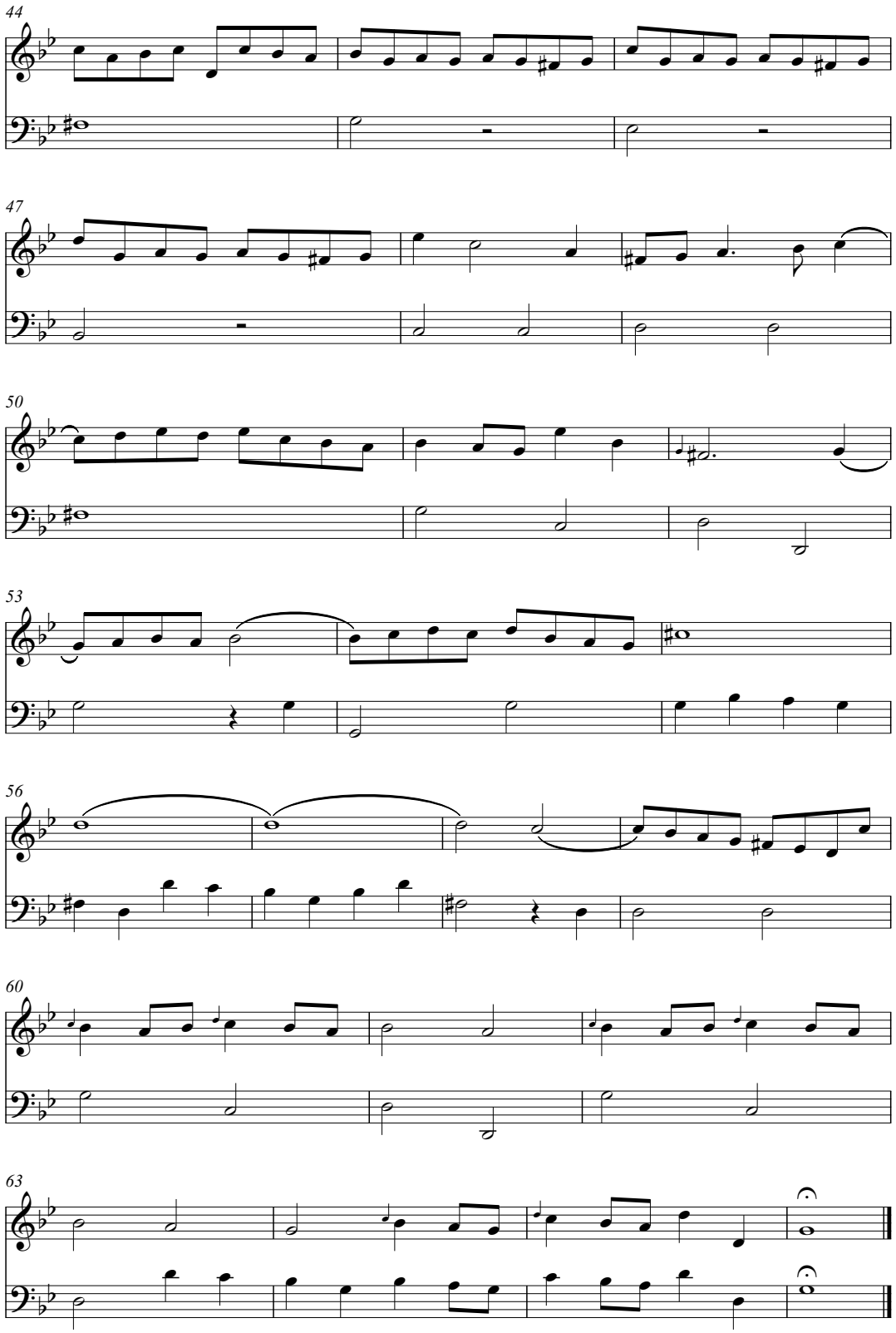
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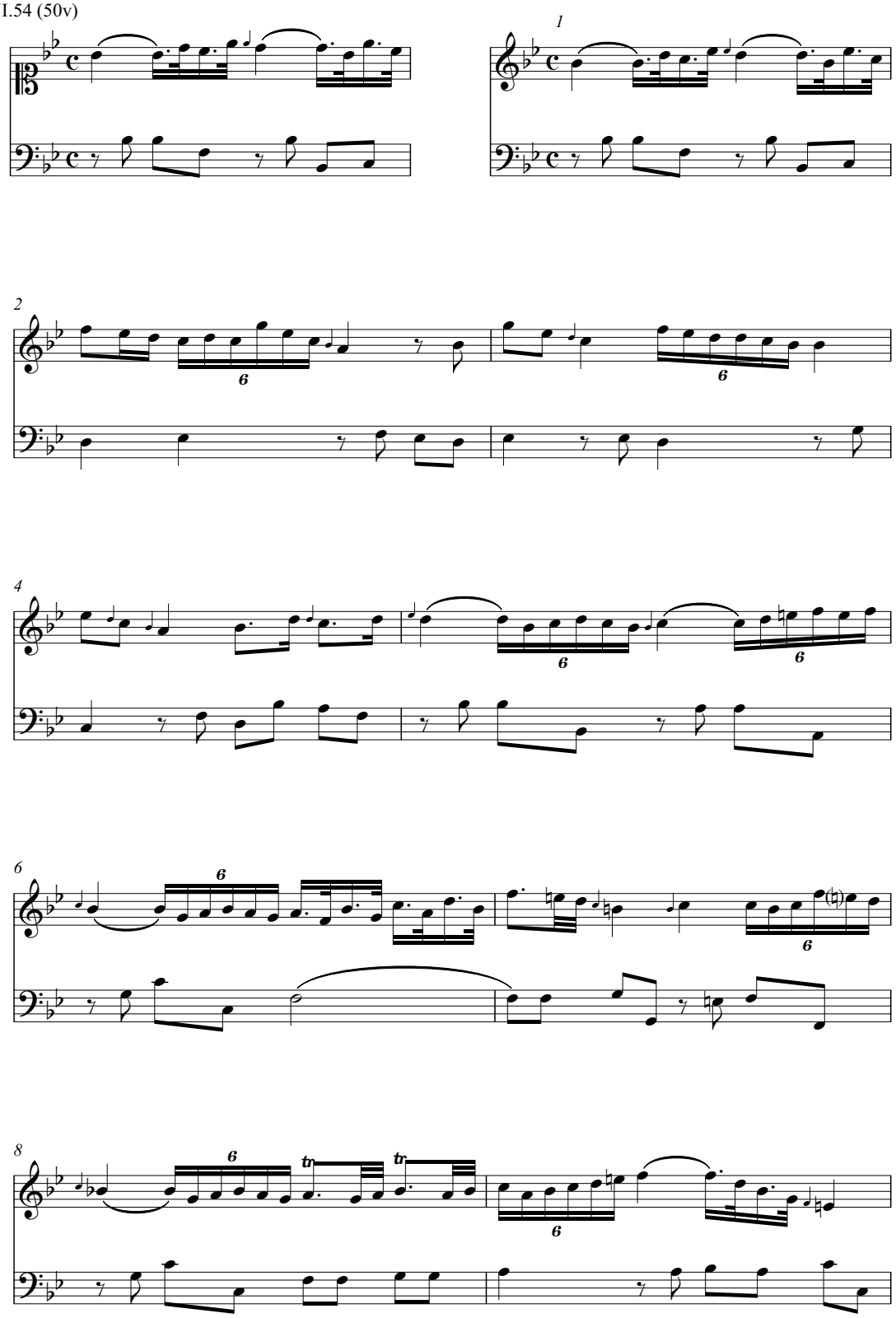
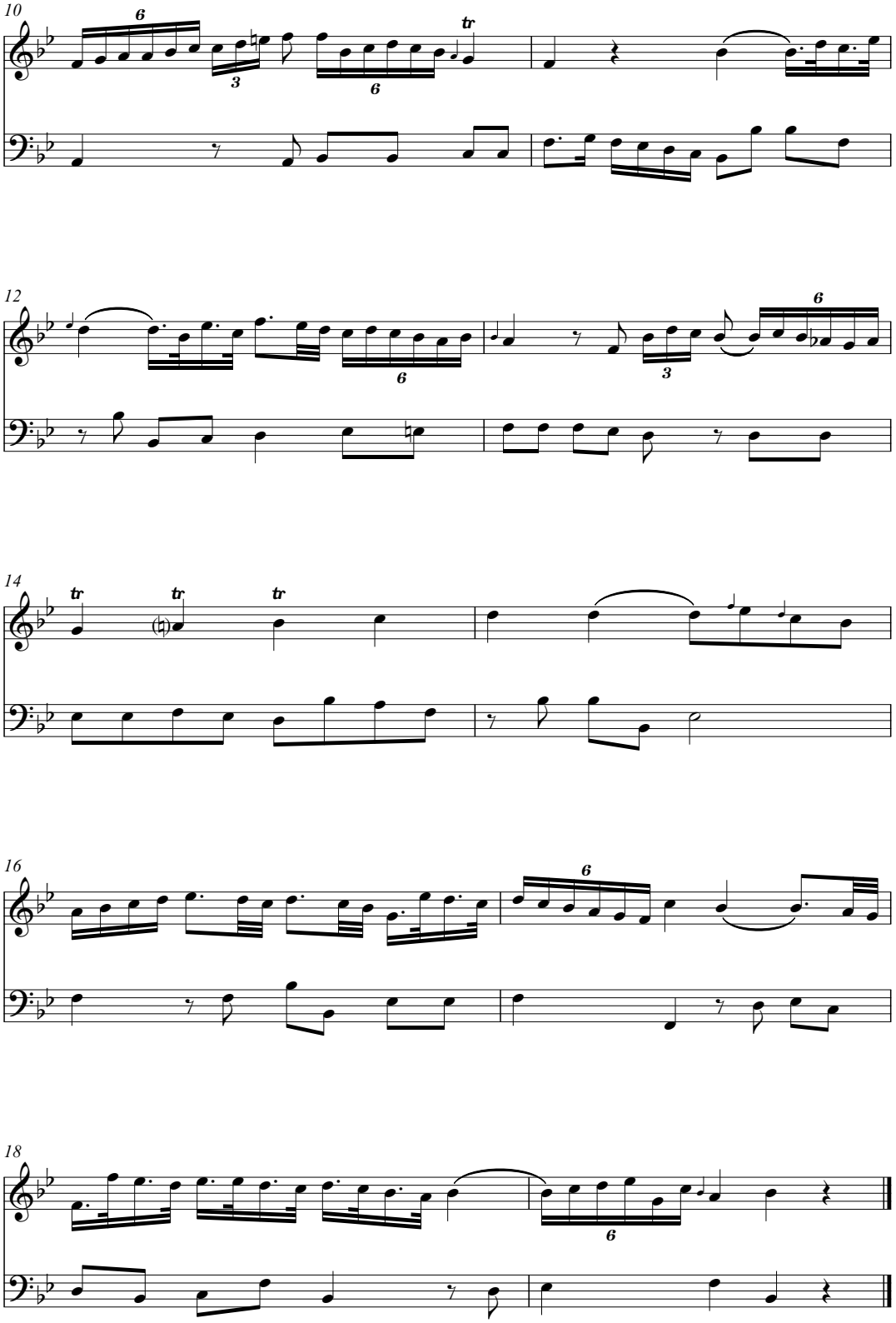
VI.54 (50v)

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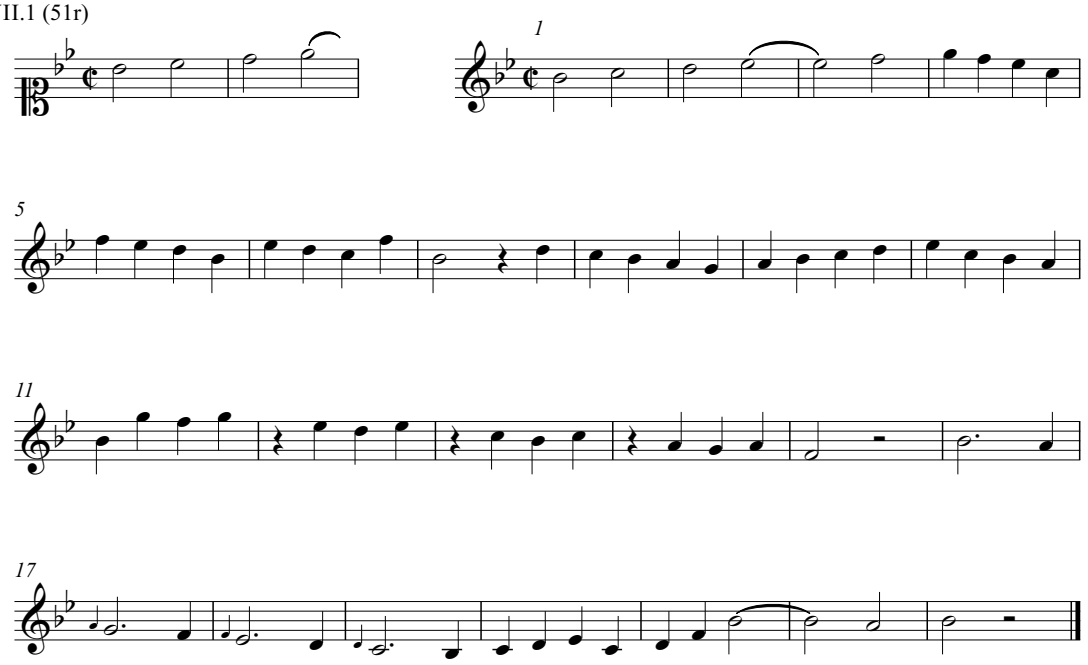
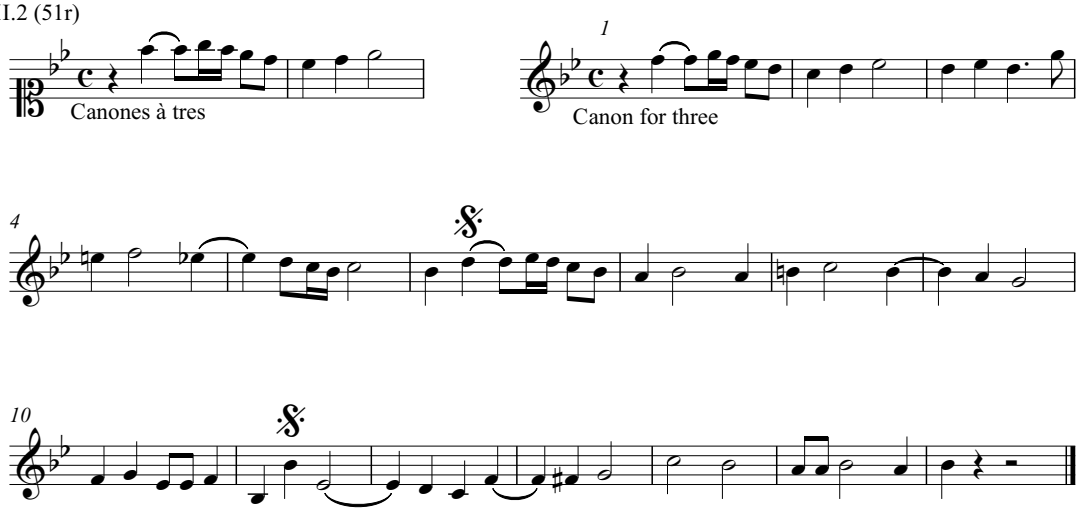
VII. Lecciones terzeras del Sr. Mtro. Leo. Duos y partidas

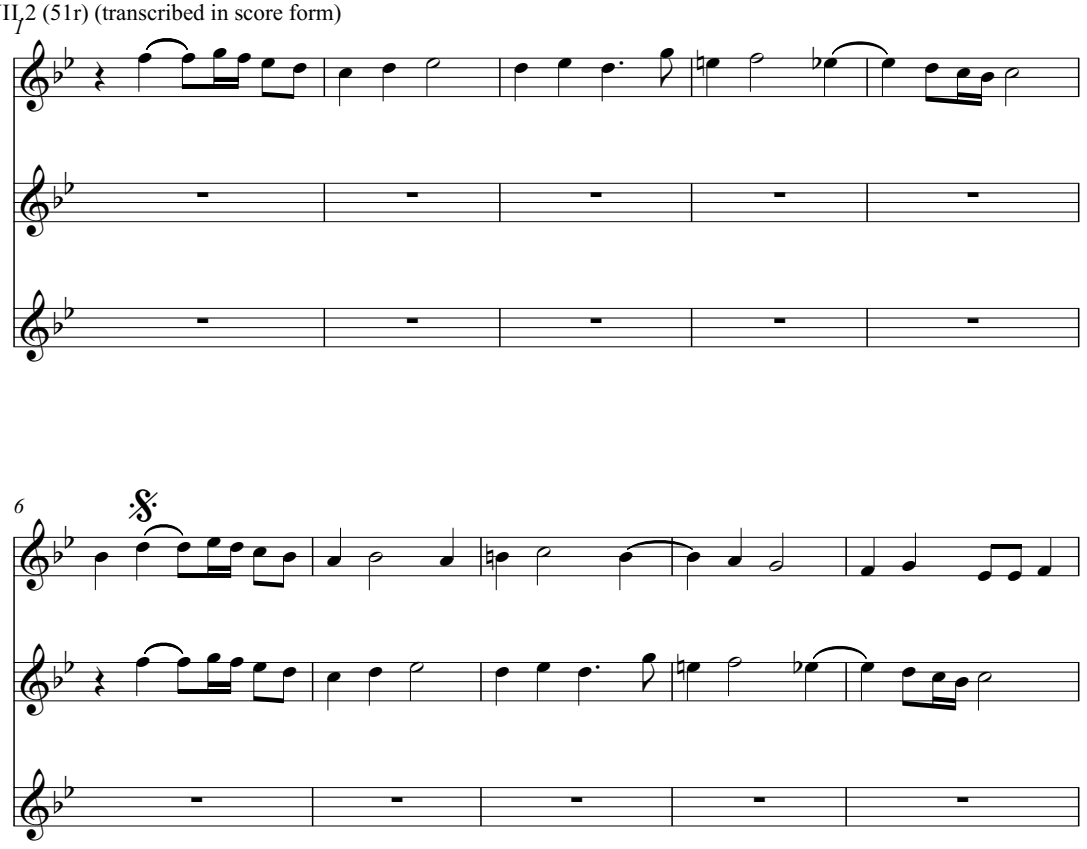
VII.1 (51r)

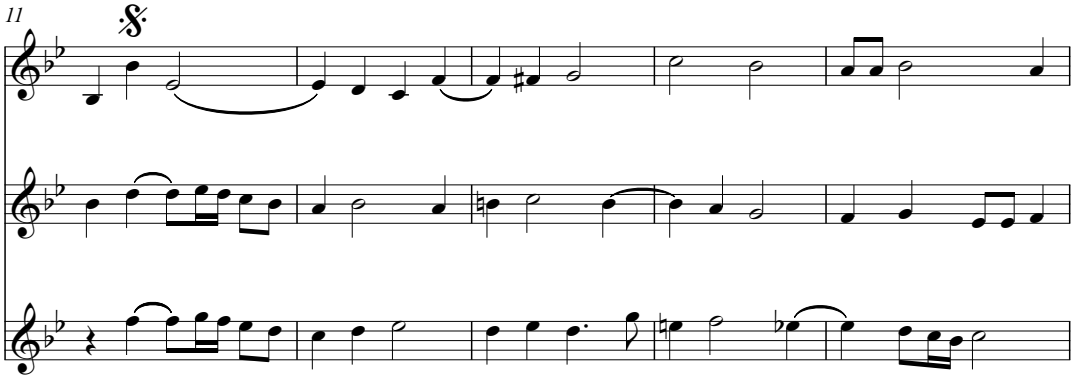


VII.2 (51r)



VII.2 (51r) (transcribed in score form)

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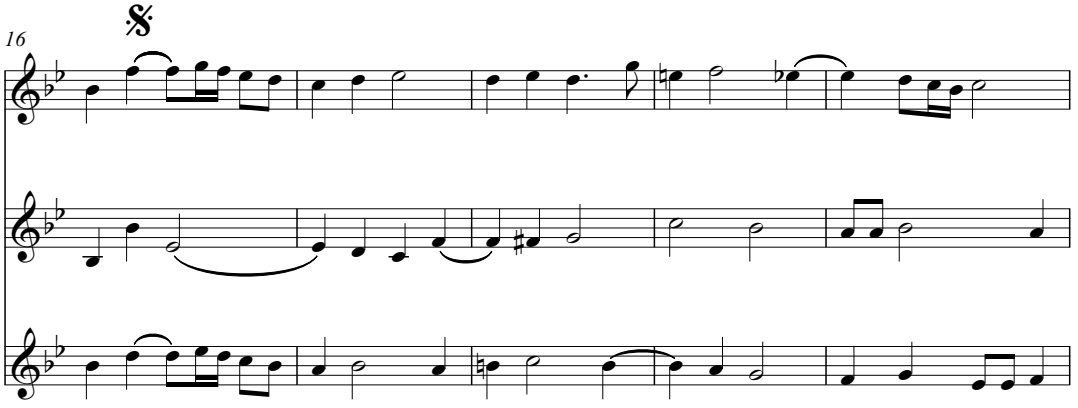
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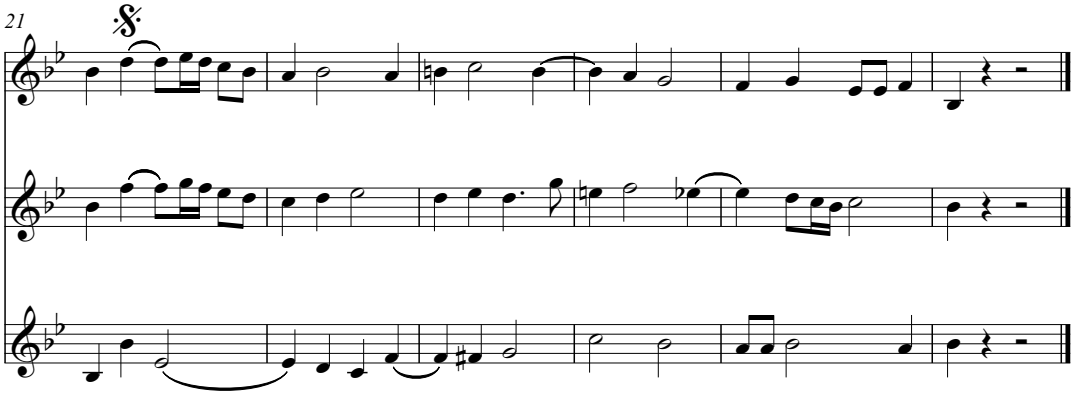
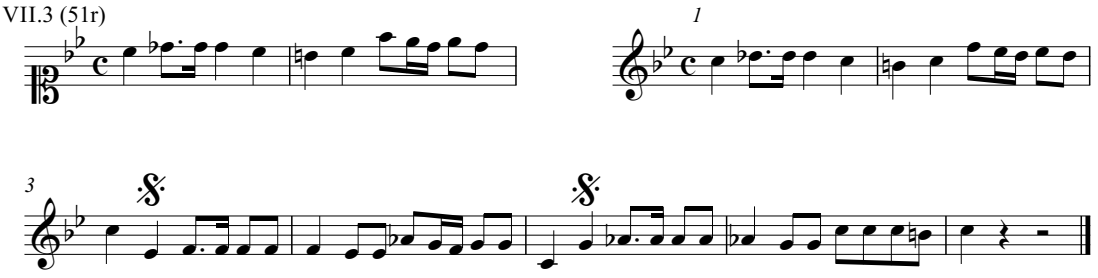
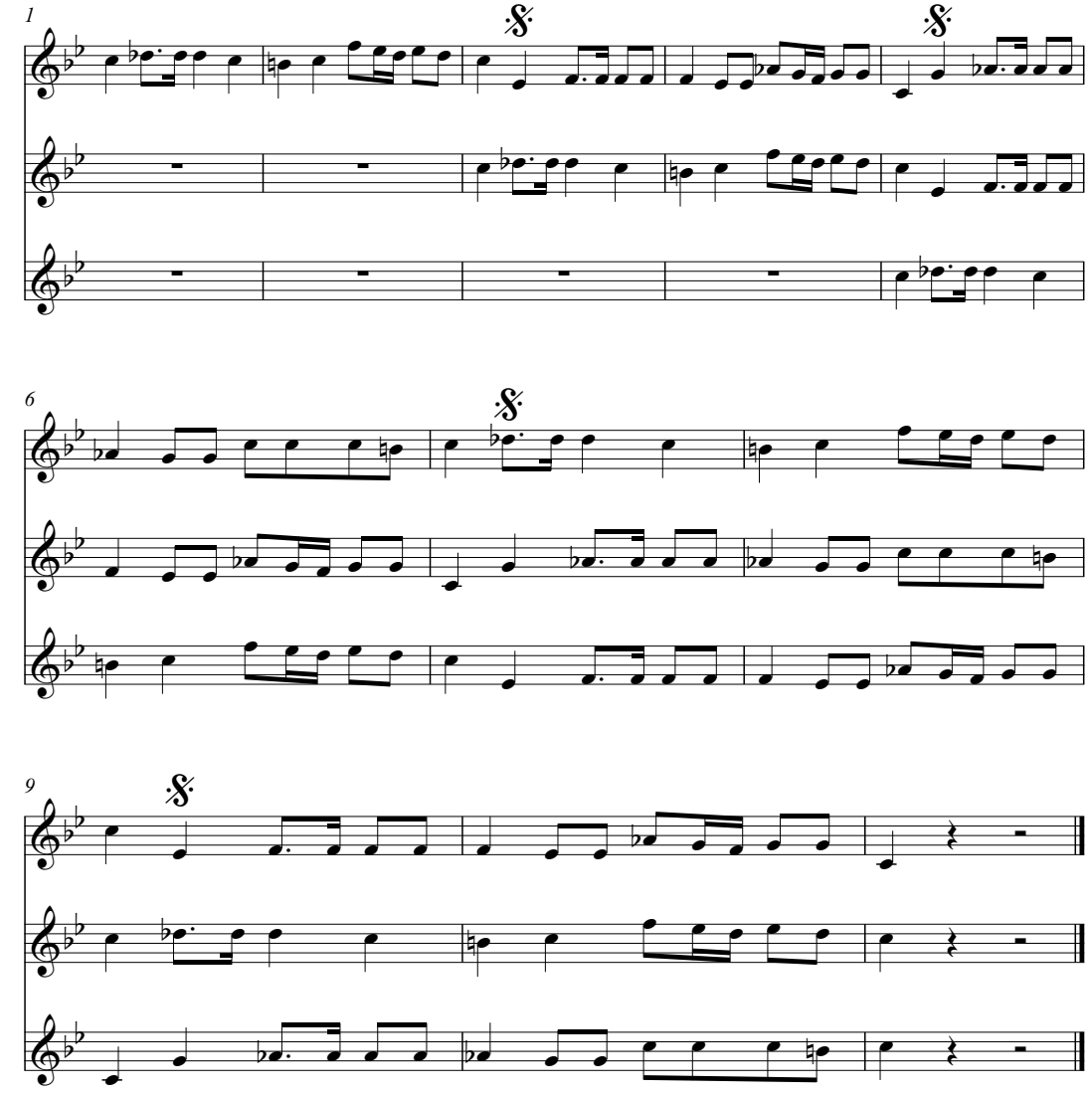

21

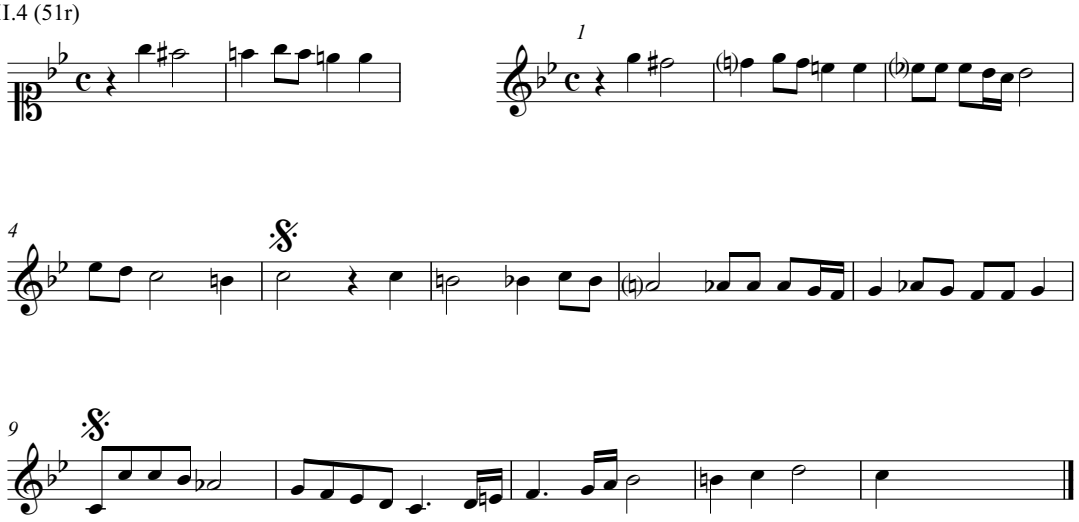
VII.3 (51r)



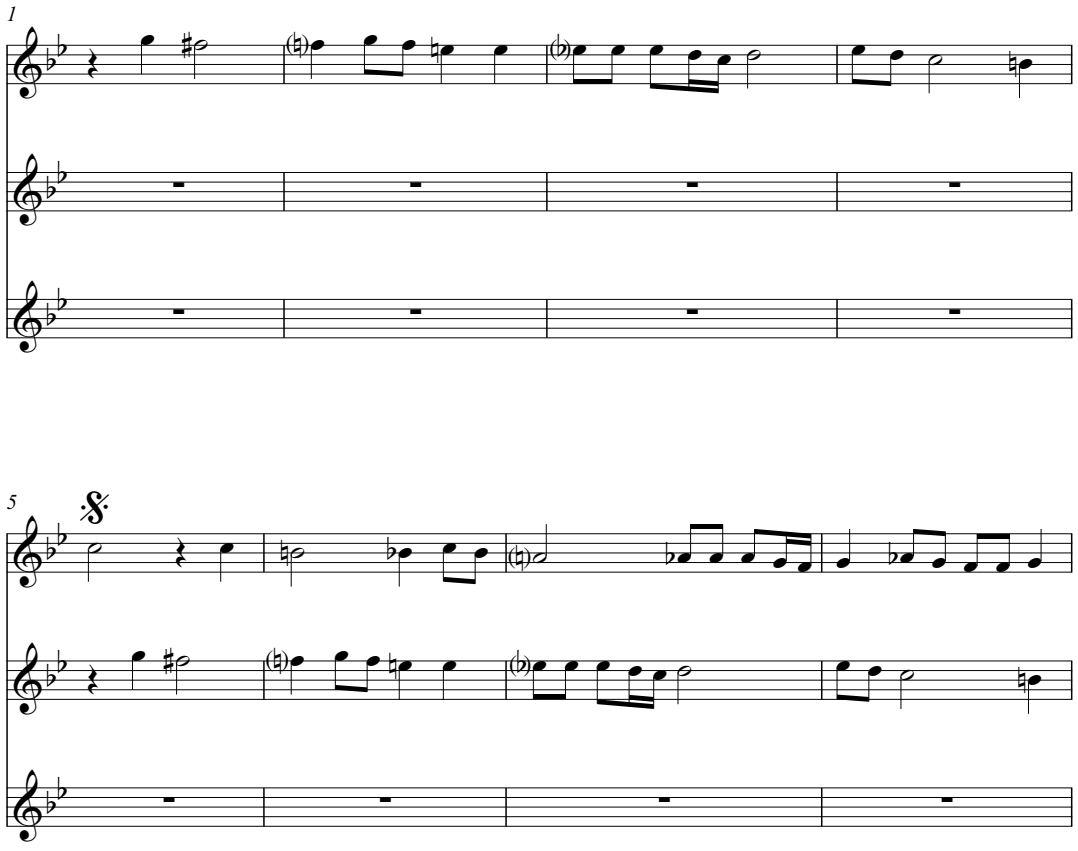
VII.3 (51r) (transcribed in score form)

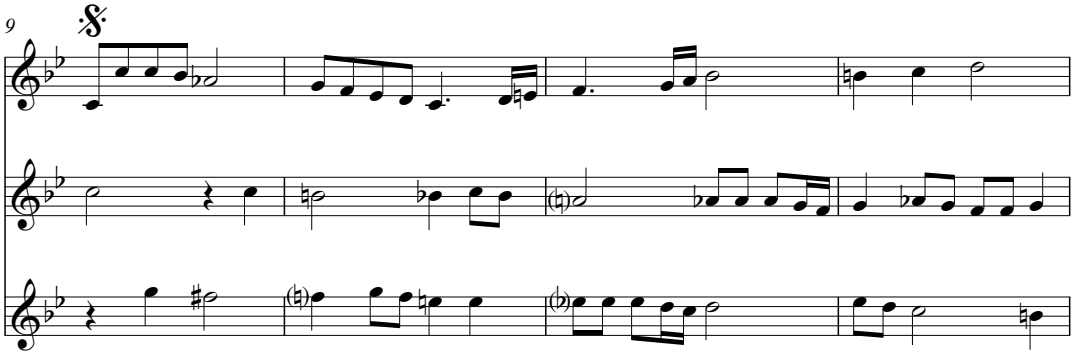


VII.4 (51r)



VII.4 (51r) (transcribed in score form)

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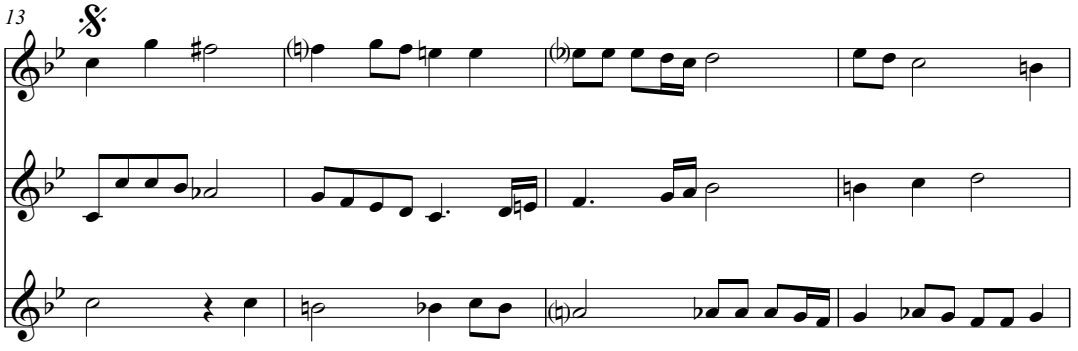
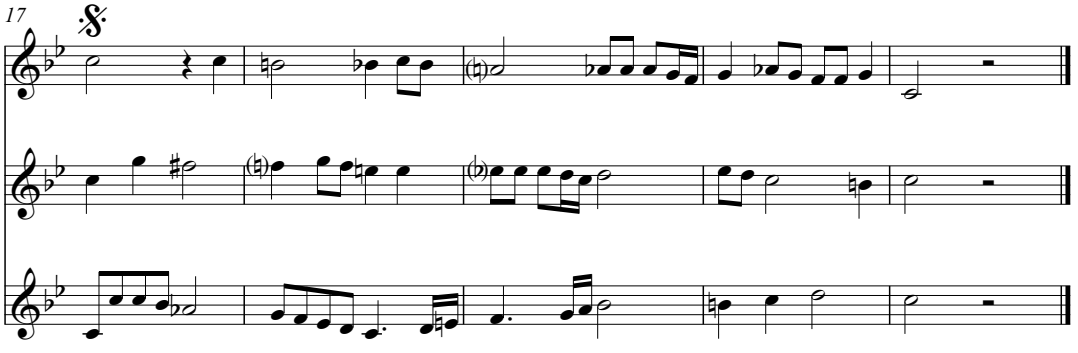
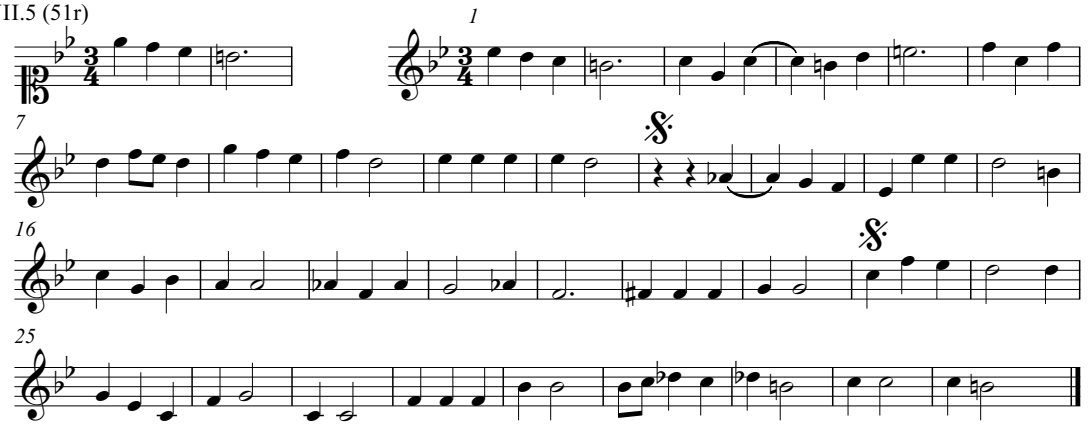
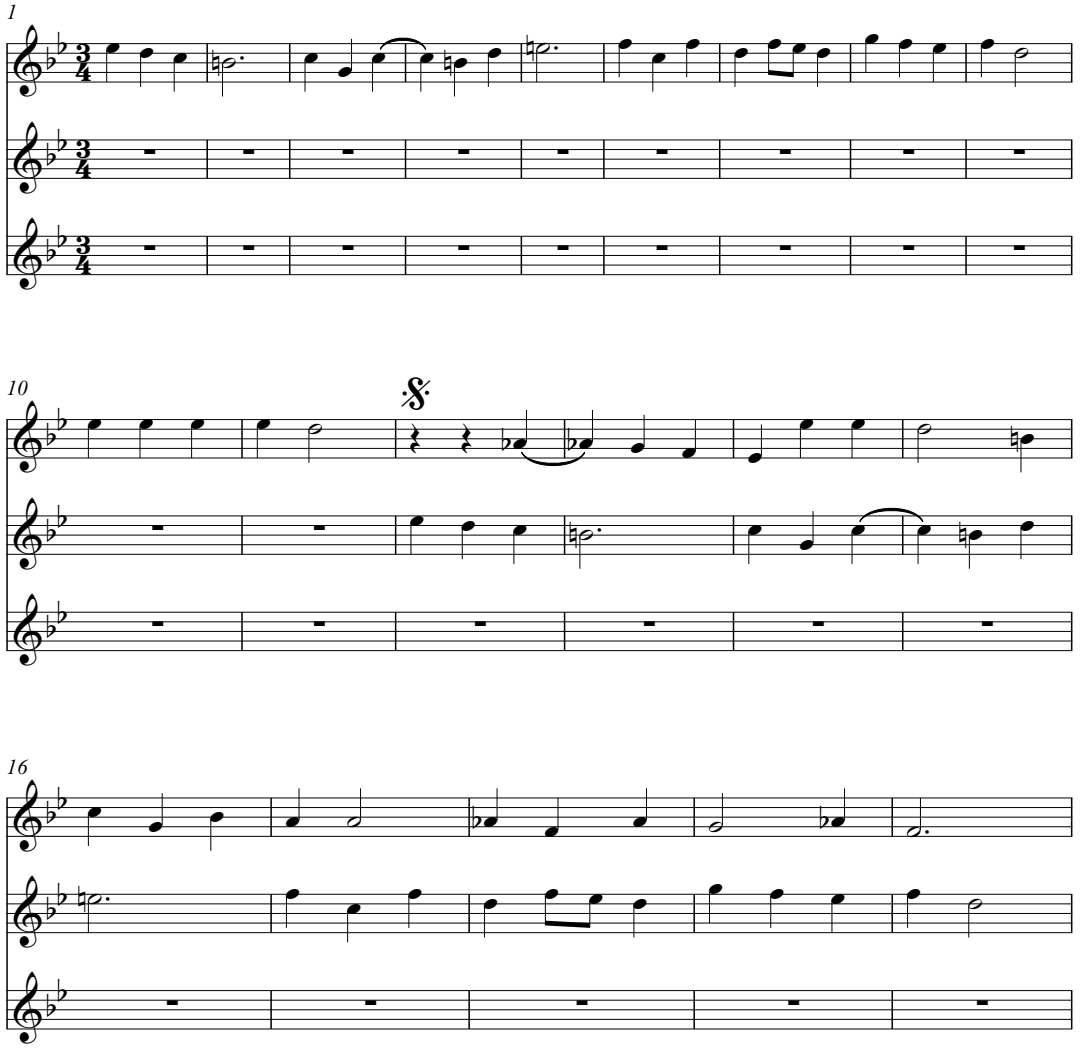

13

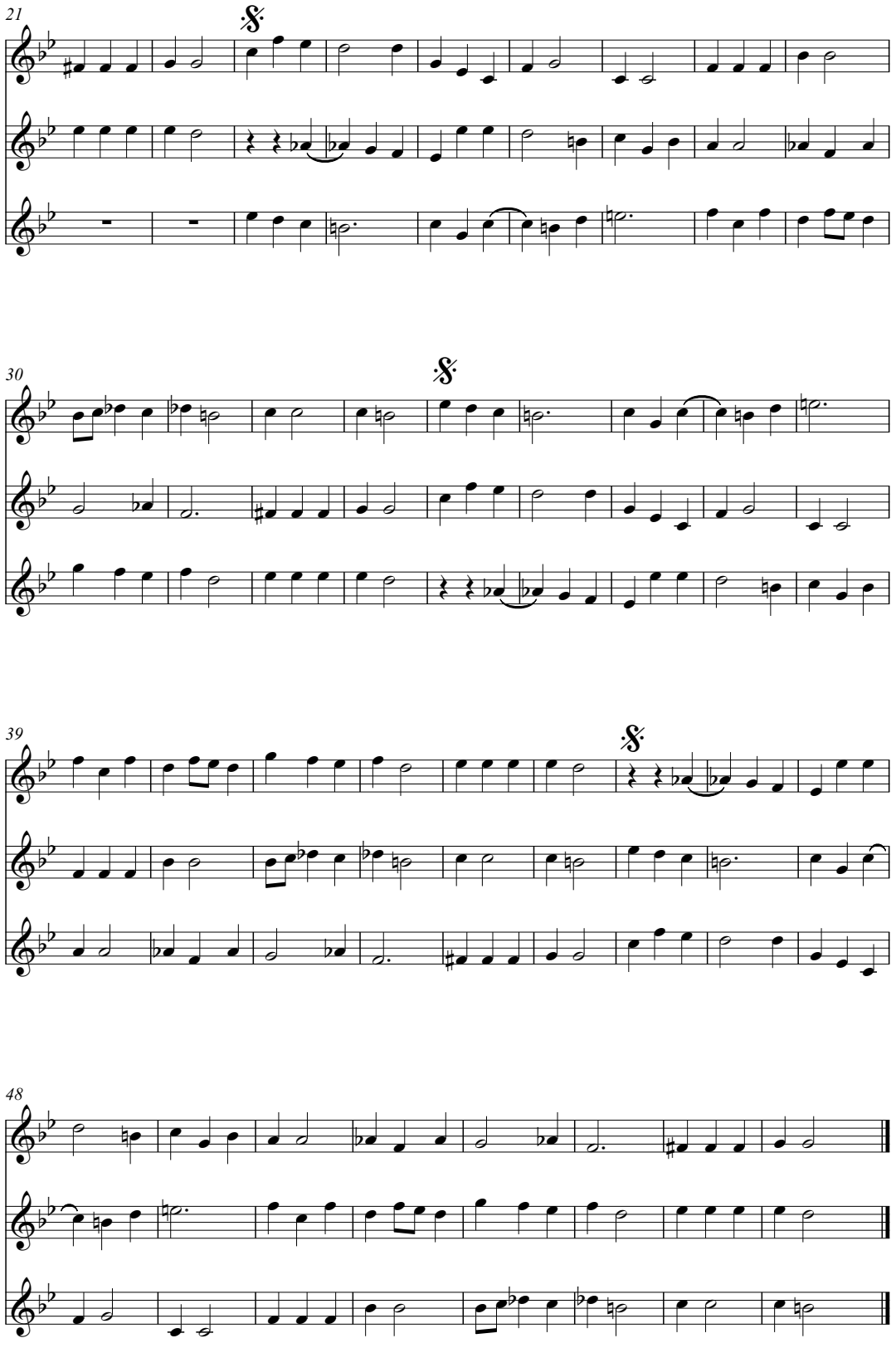

17

VII.5 (51r)

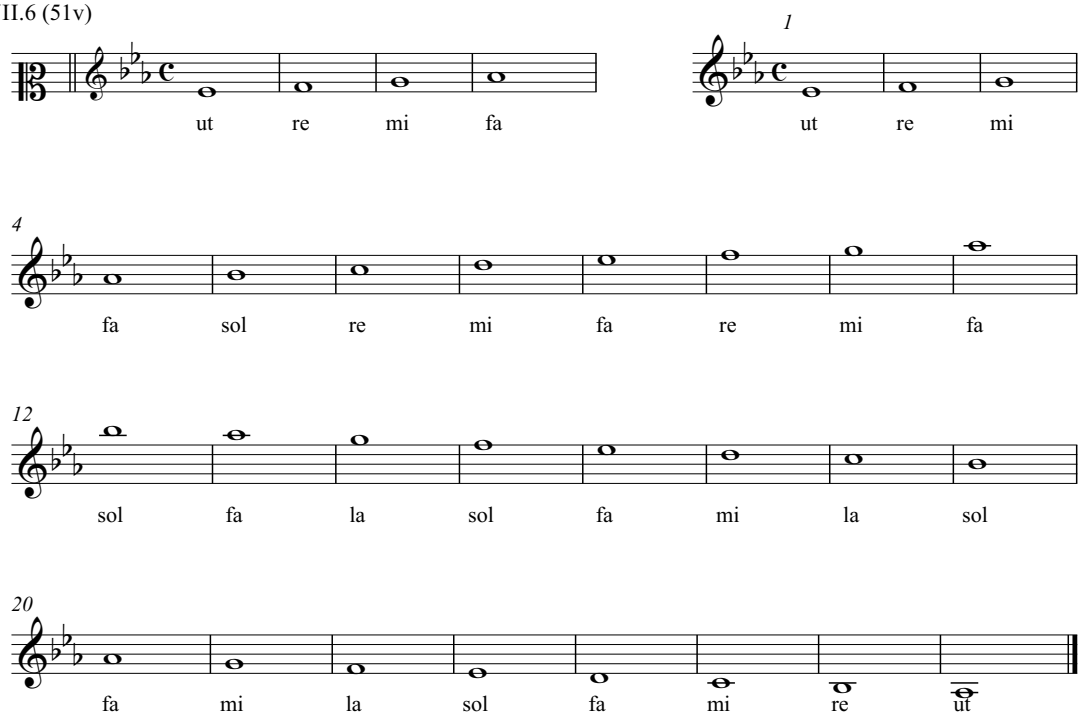


VII.5 (51r) (transcribed in score form)

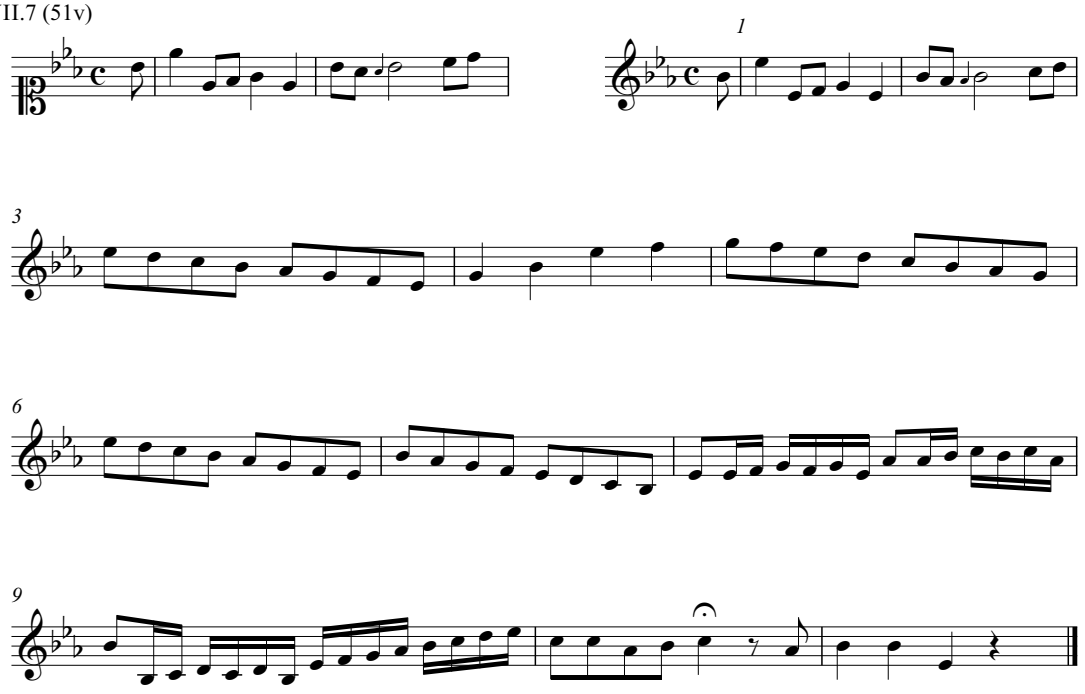



21
30
39
48

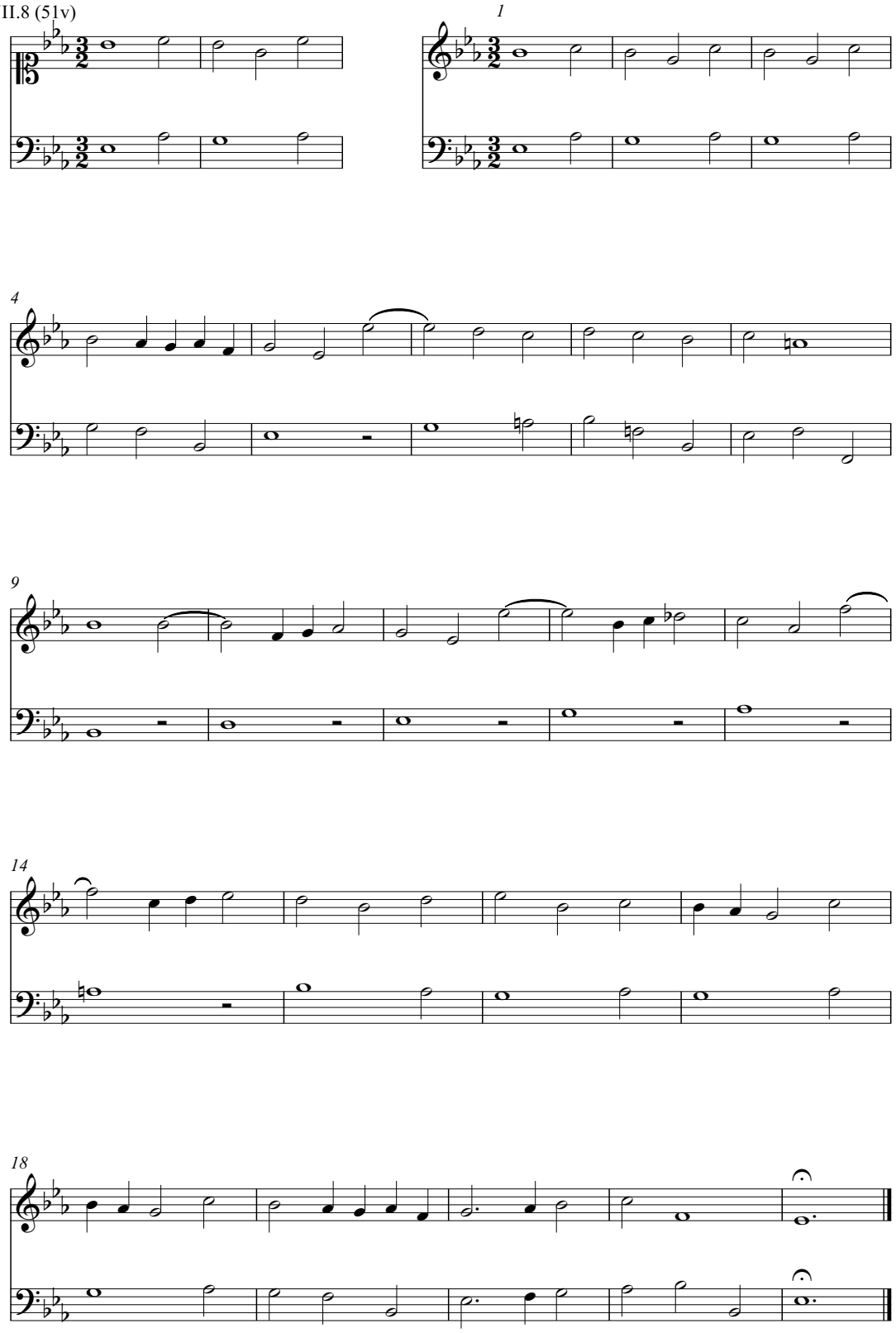
VII.6 (51v)



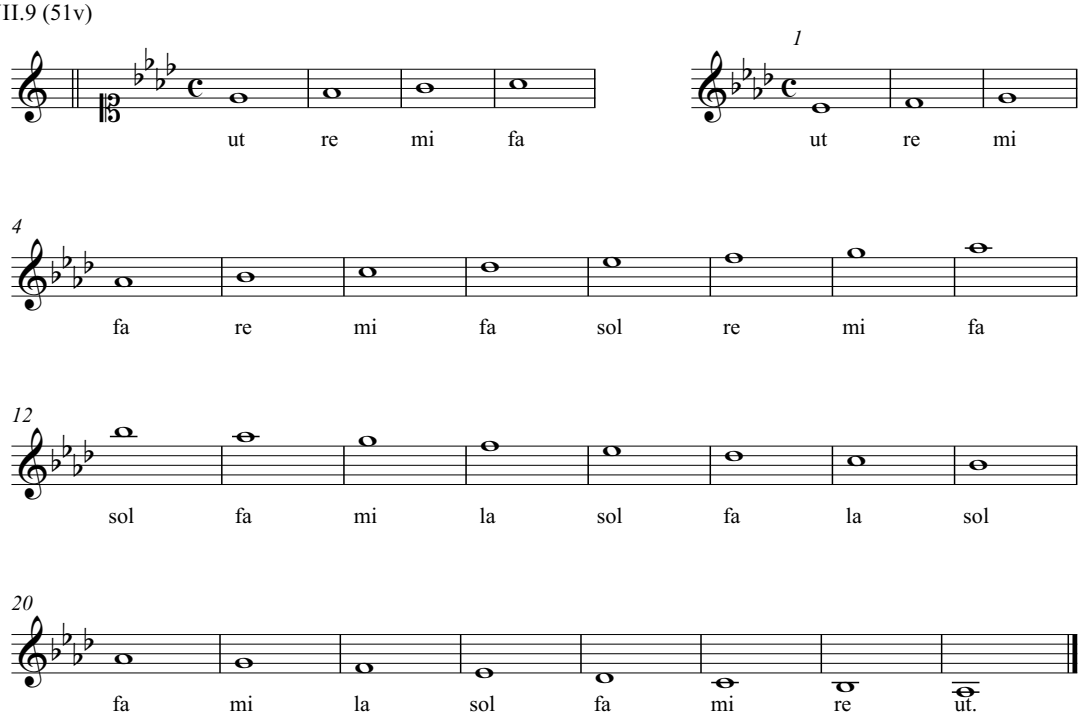
VII.7 (51v)



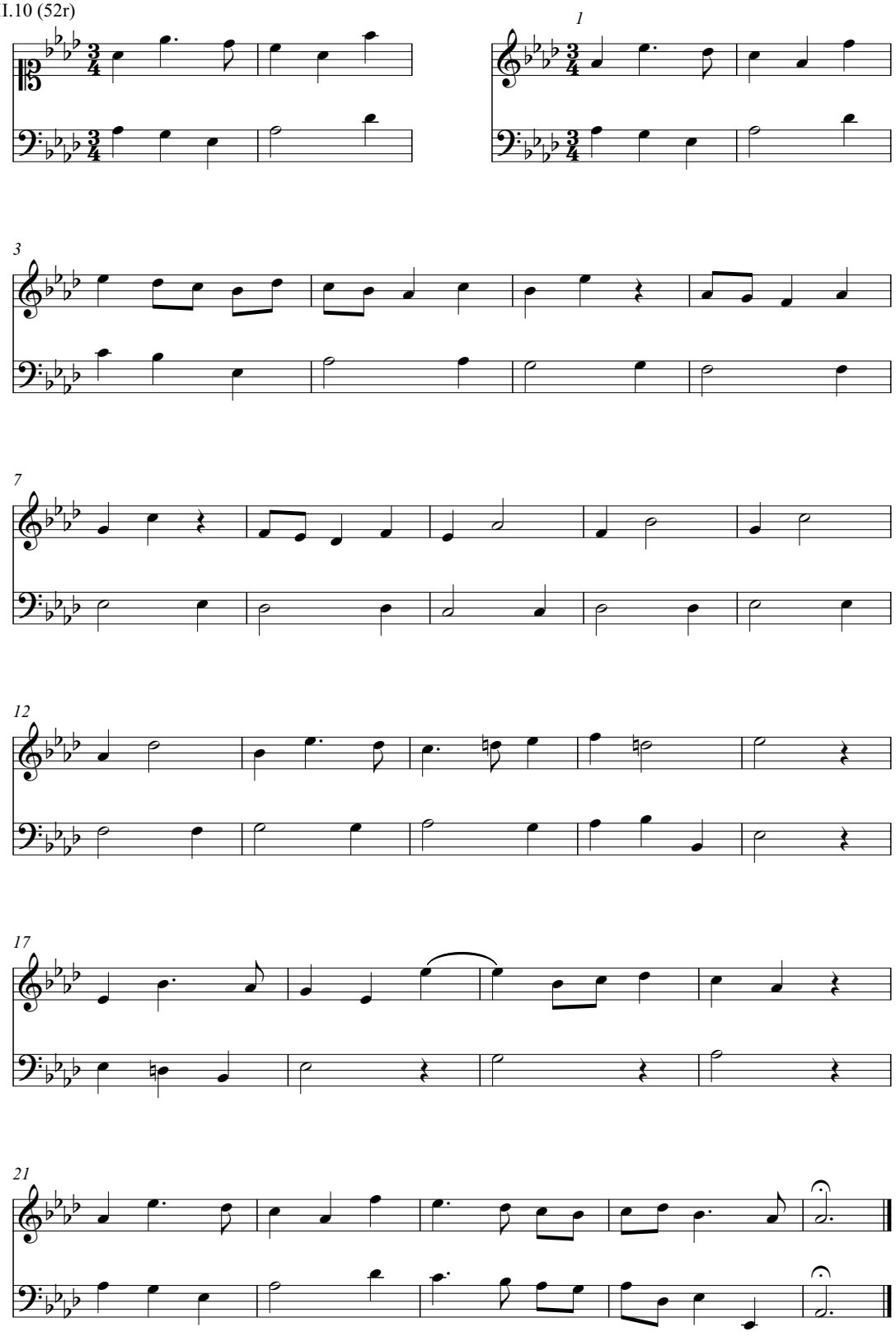
VII.8 (51v)



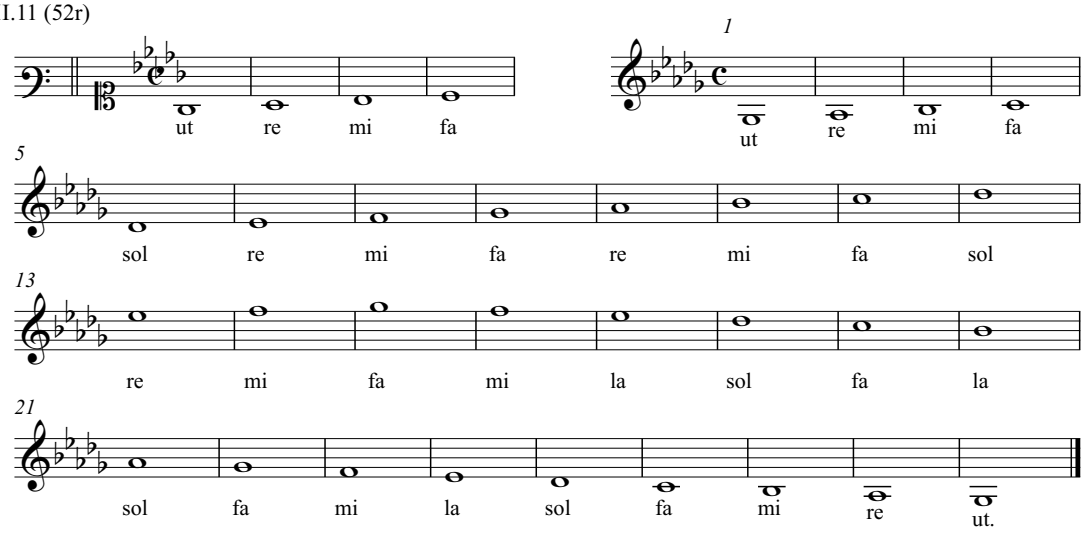
VII.9 (51v)


ut re mi fa
1
ut re mi
4
fa re mi fa sol re mi fa
12
sol fa mi la sol fa la sol
20
fa mi la sol fa mi re ut.

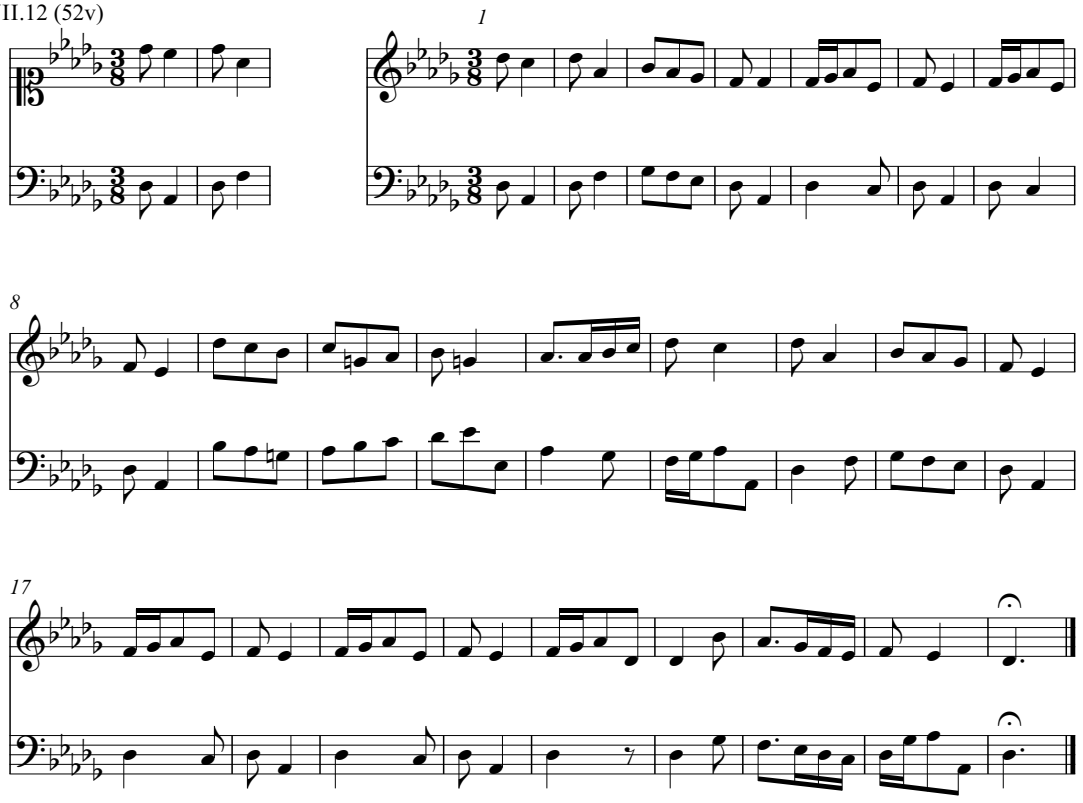
VII.10 (52r)



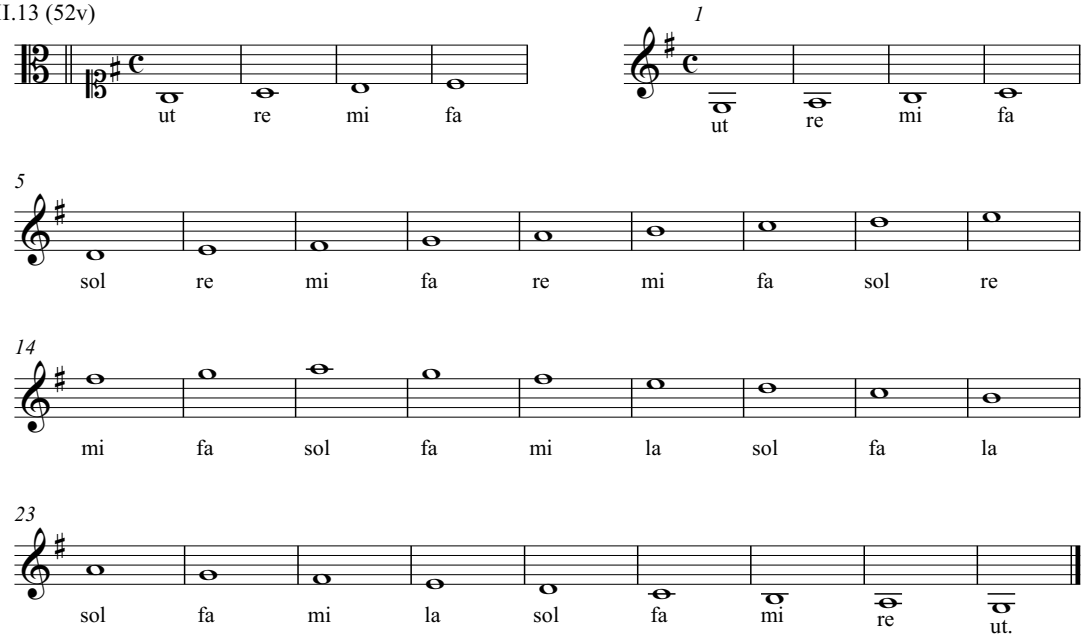
VII.11 (52r)


ut re mi fa
1
ut re mi fa
5
sol re mi fa re mi fa sol
13
re mi fa mi la sol fa la
21
sol fa mi la sol fa mi re ut.

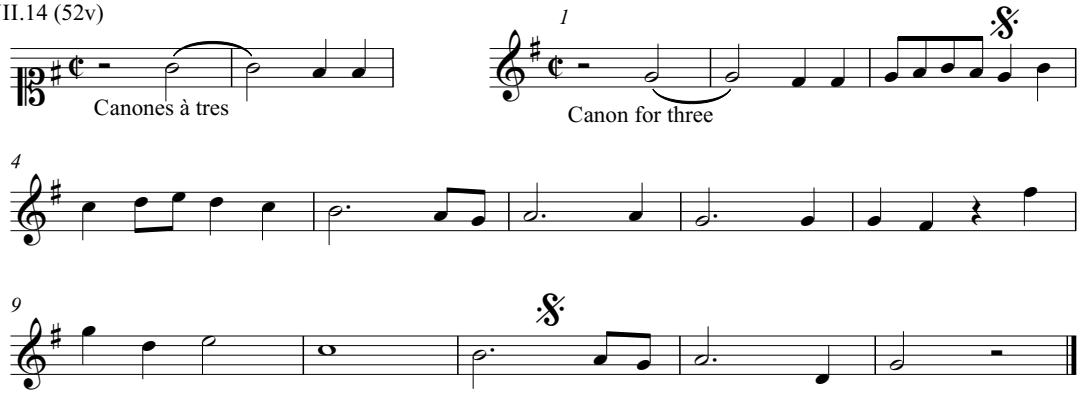
VII.12 (52v)



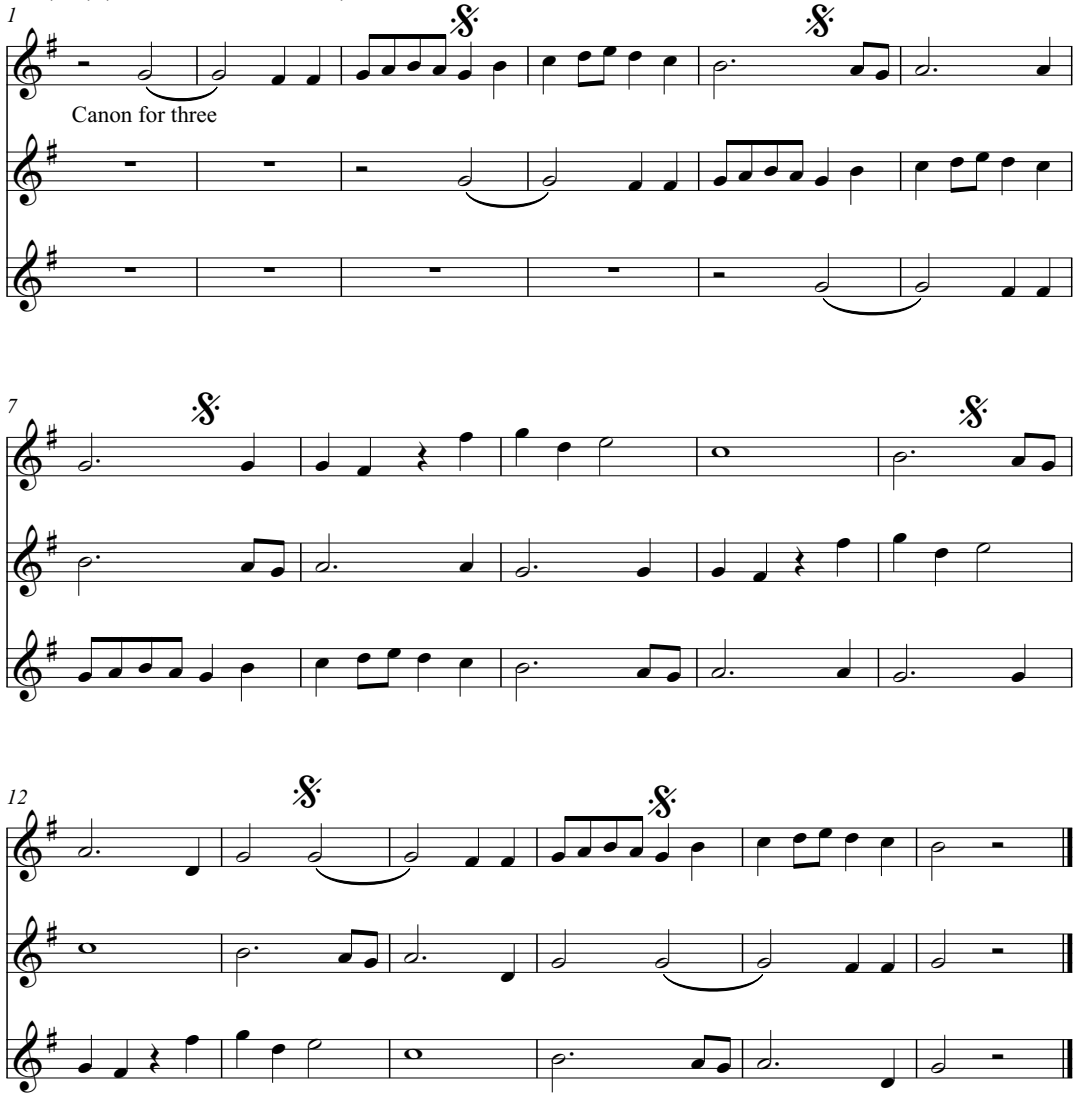
VII.13 (52v)



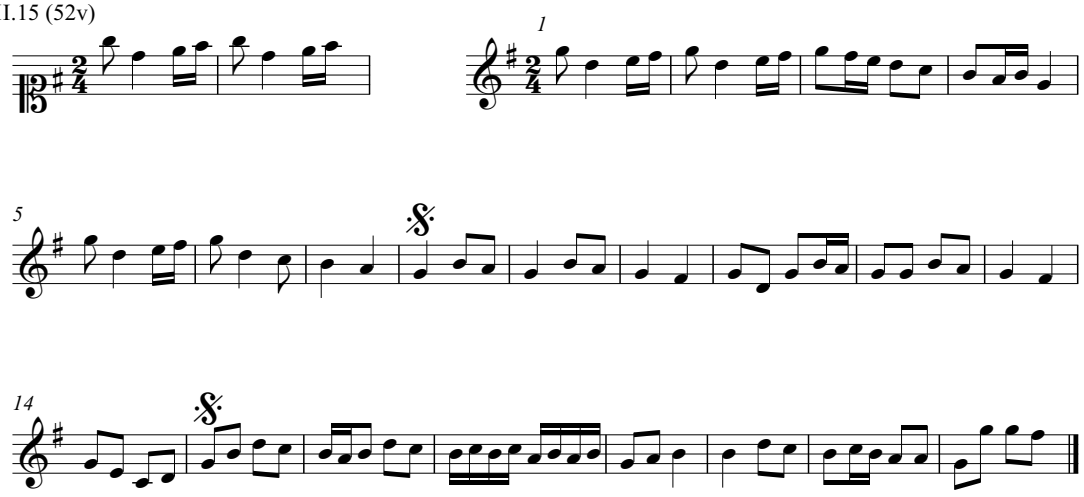
VII.14 (52v)



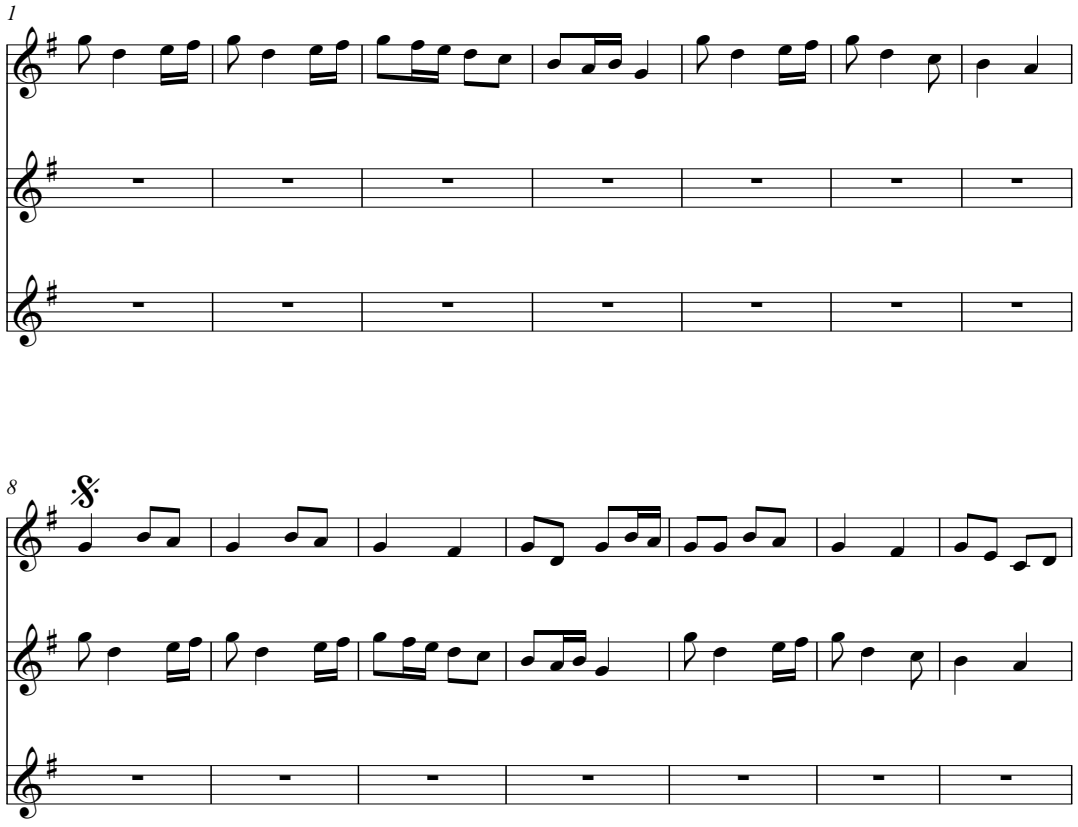
VII.14 (52v) (transcribed in score form)

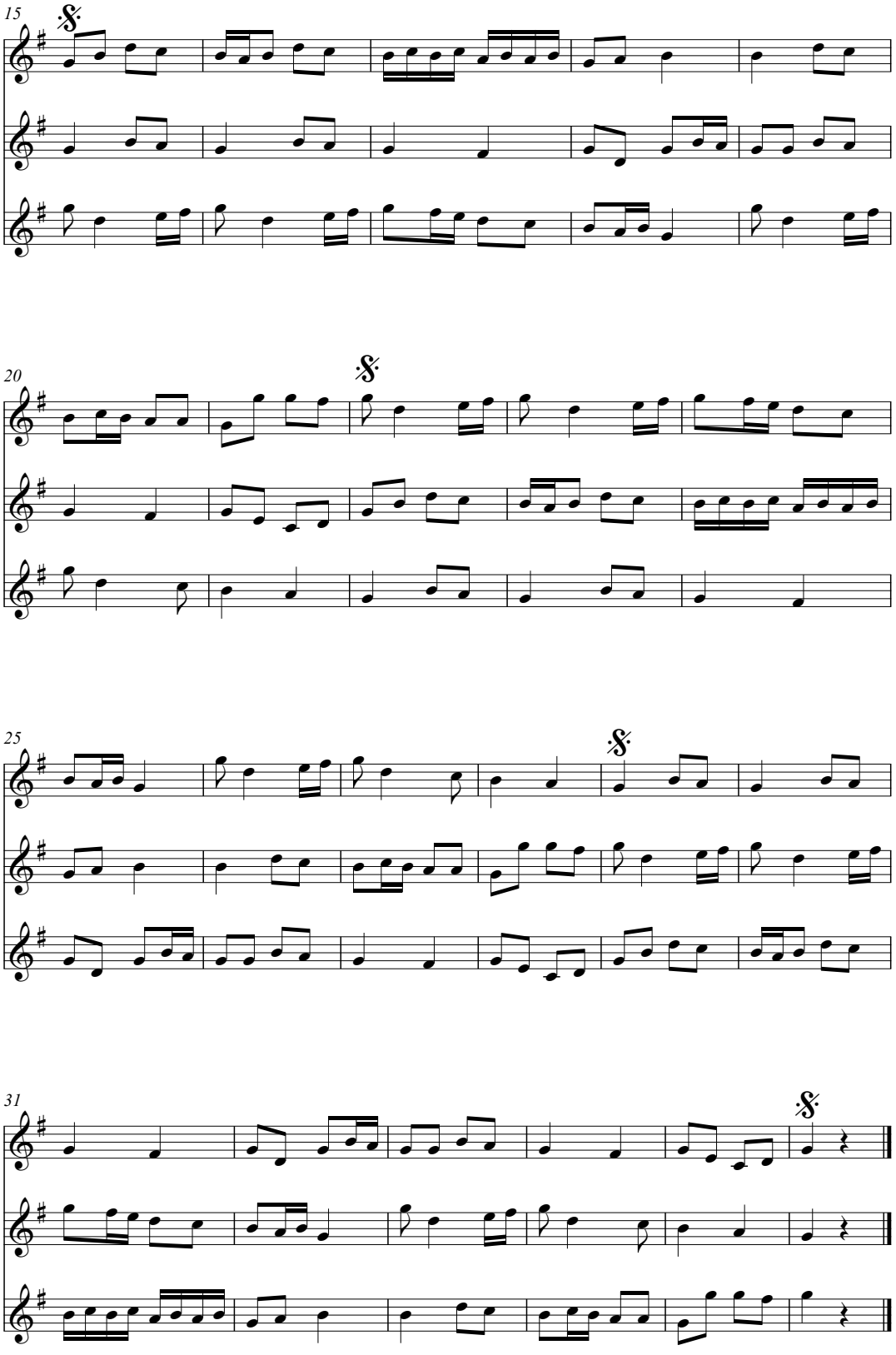


VII.15 (52v)

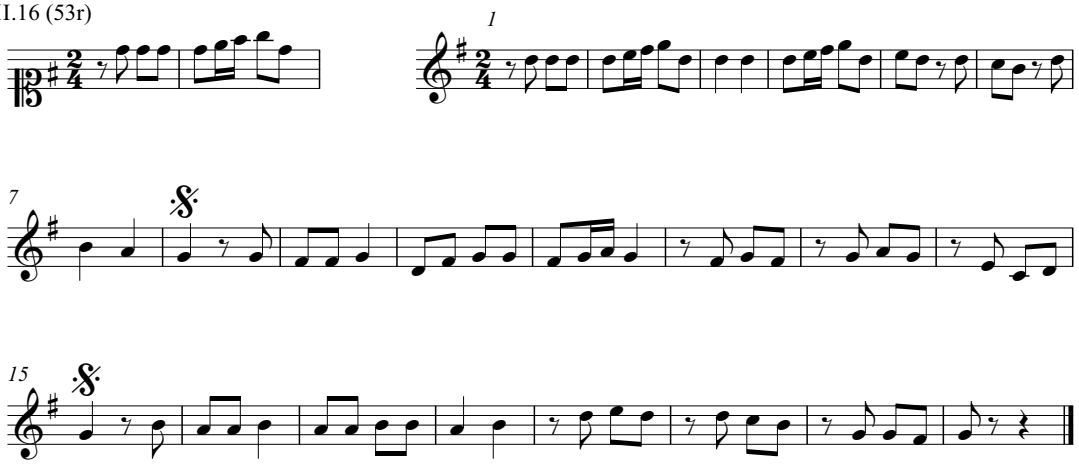


VII.15 (52v) (transcribed in score form)

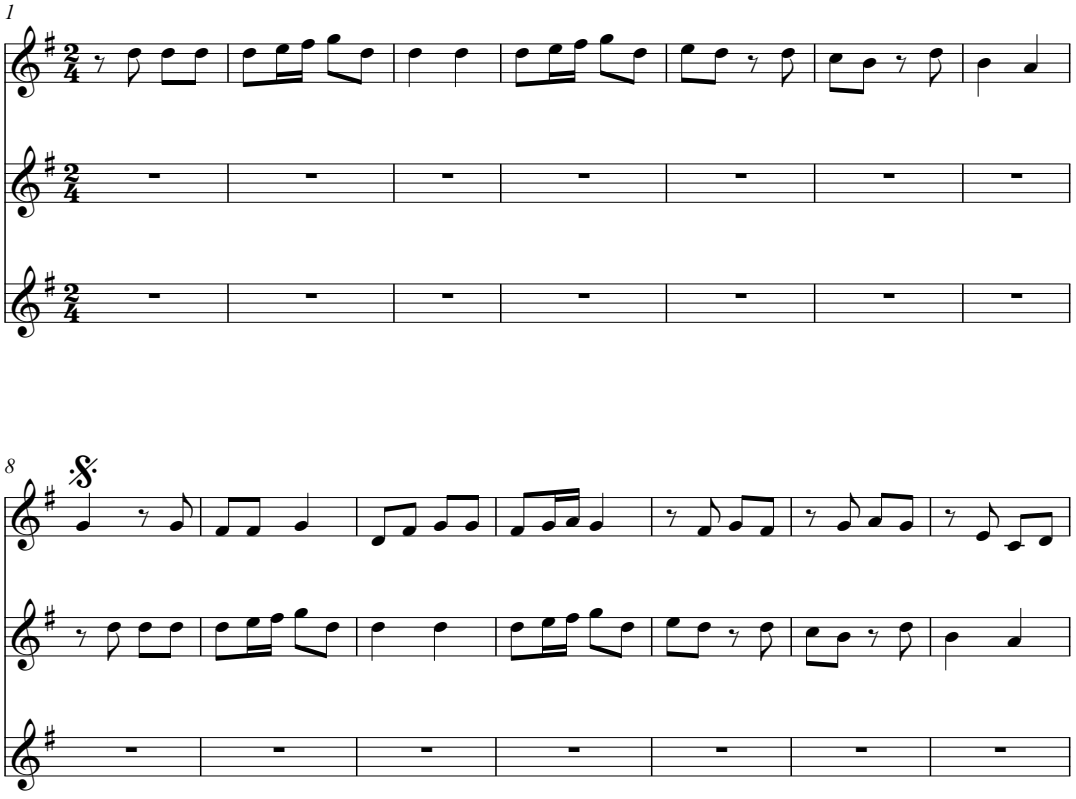


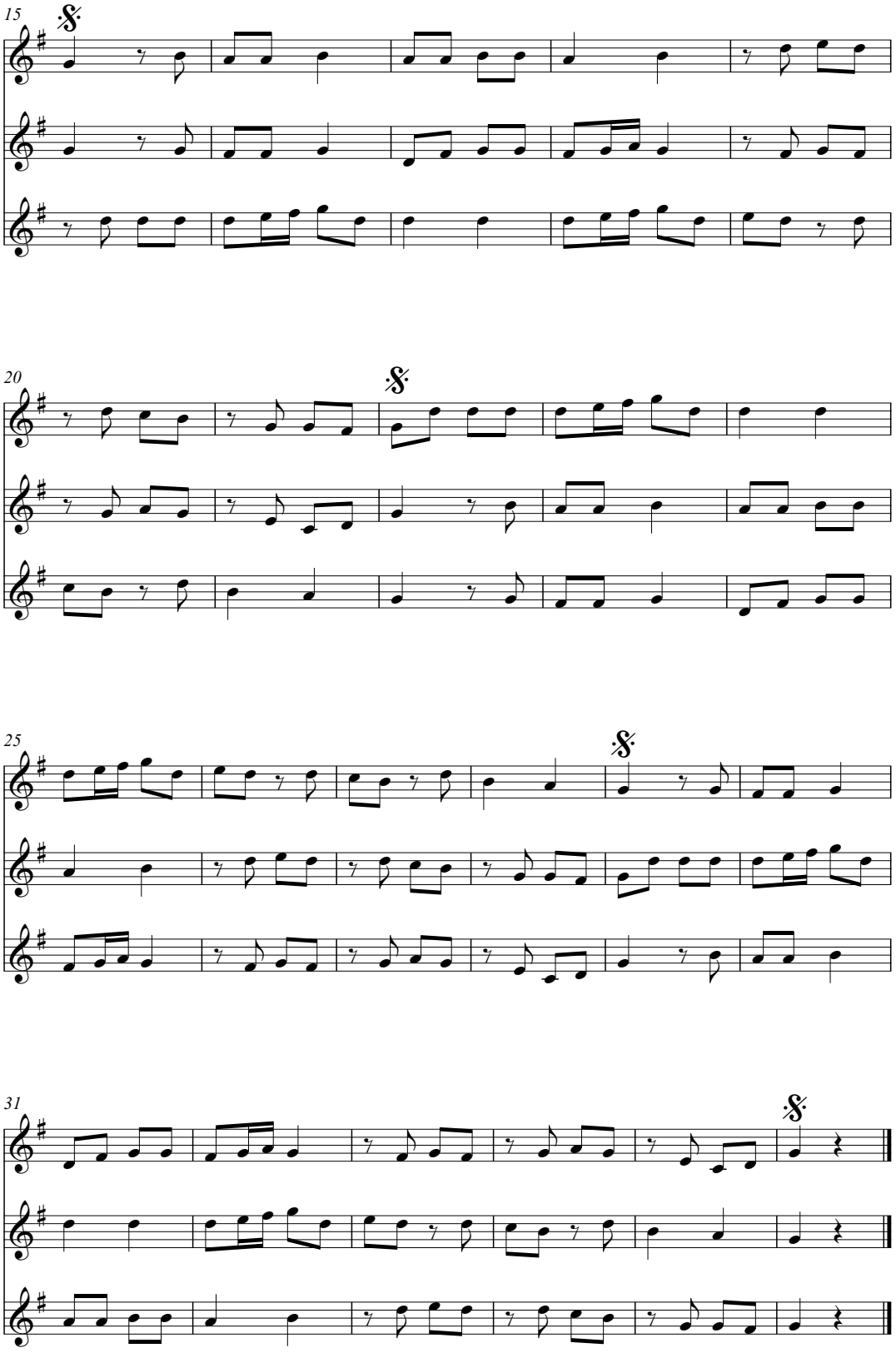

15
20
25
31

VII.16 (53r)

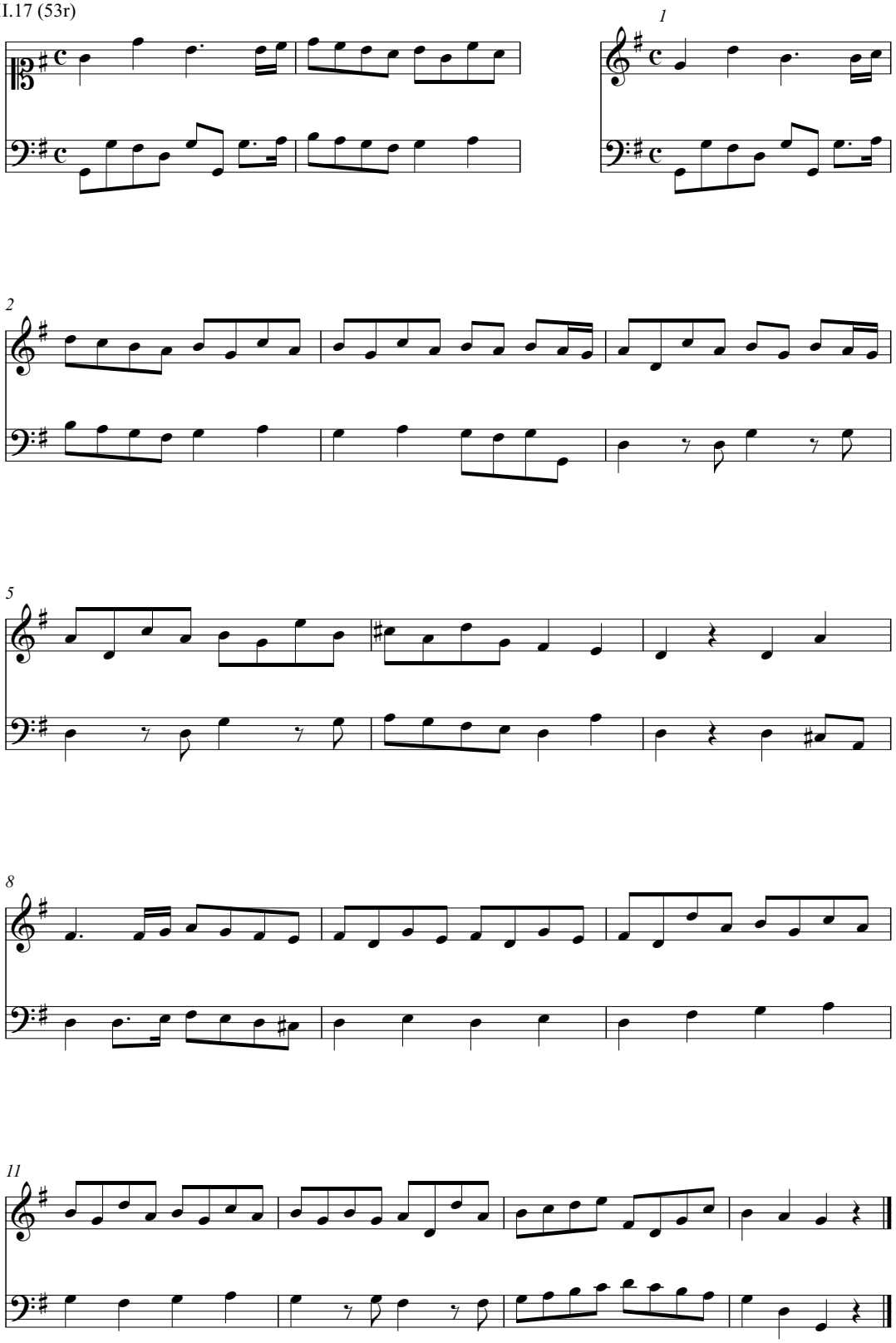


VII.16 (53r) (transcribed in score form)

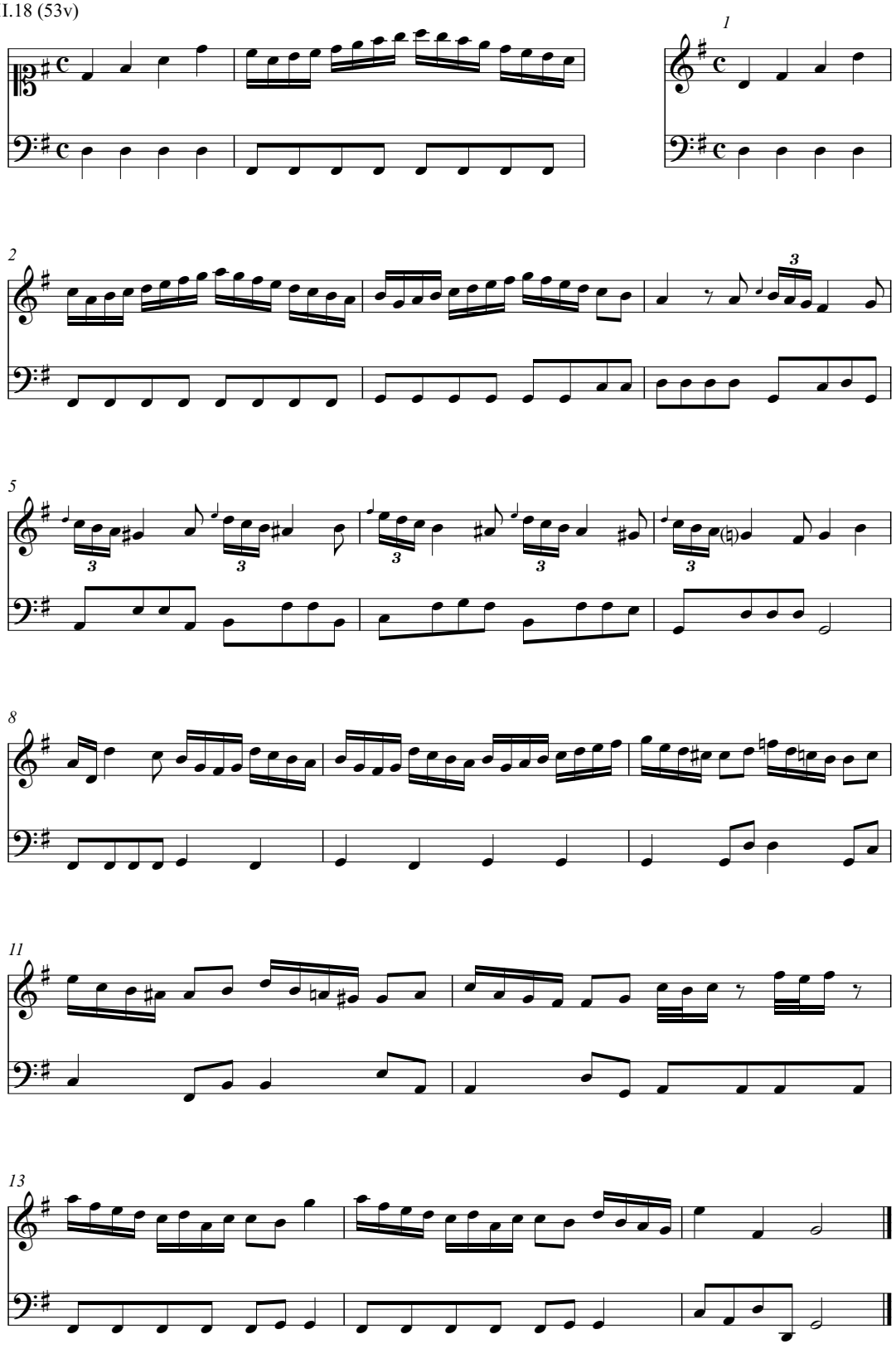



15
20
25
31

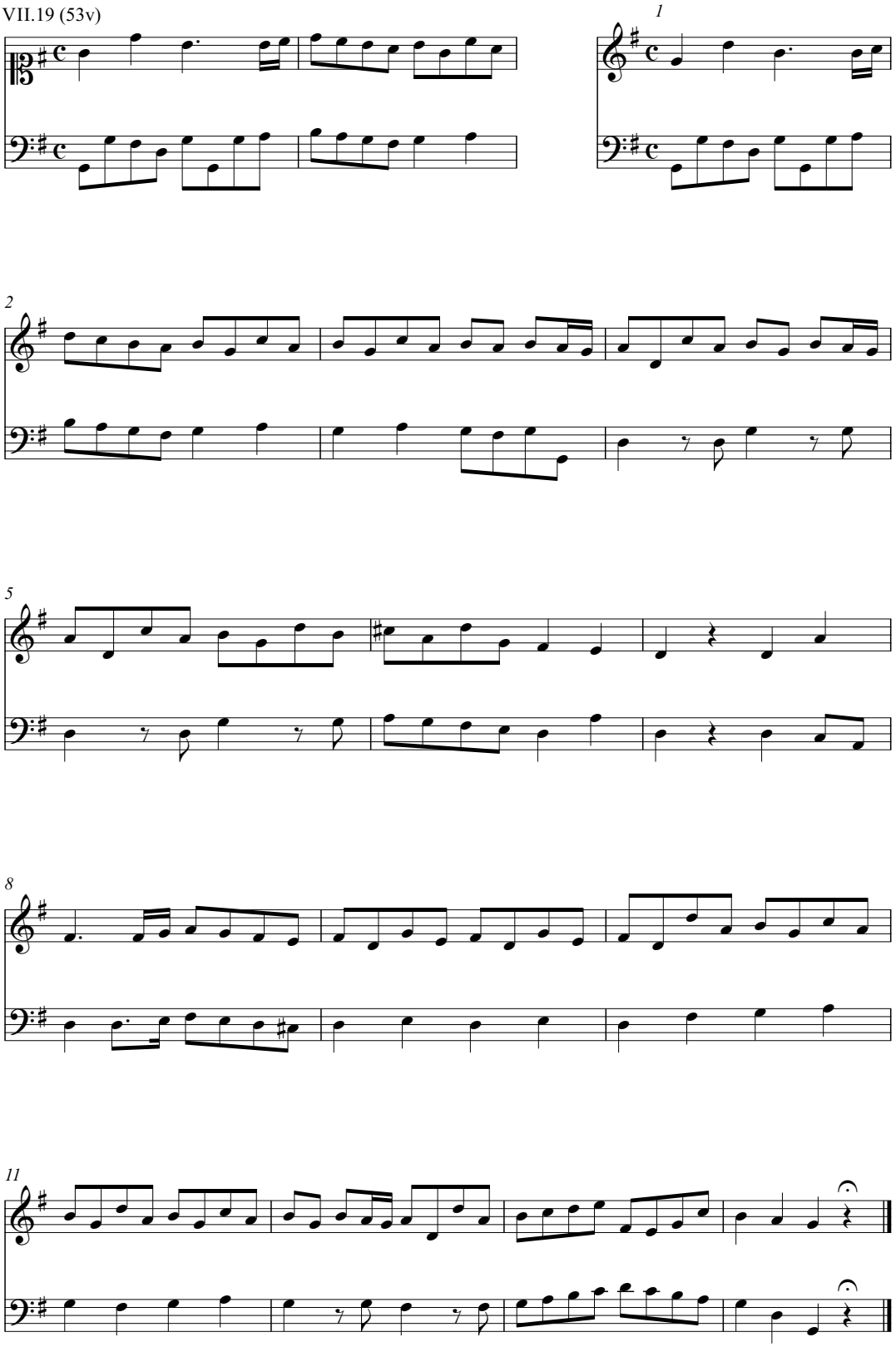
VII.17 (53r)



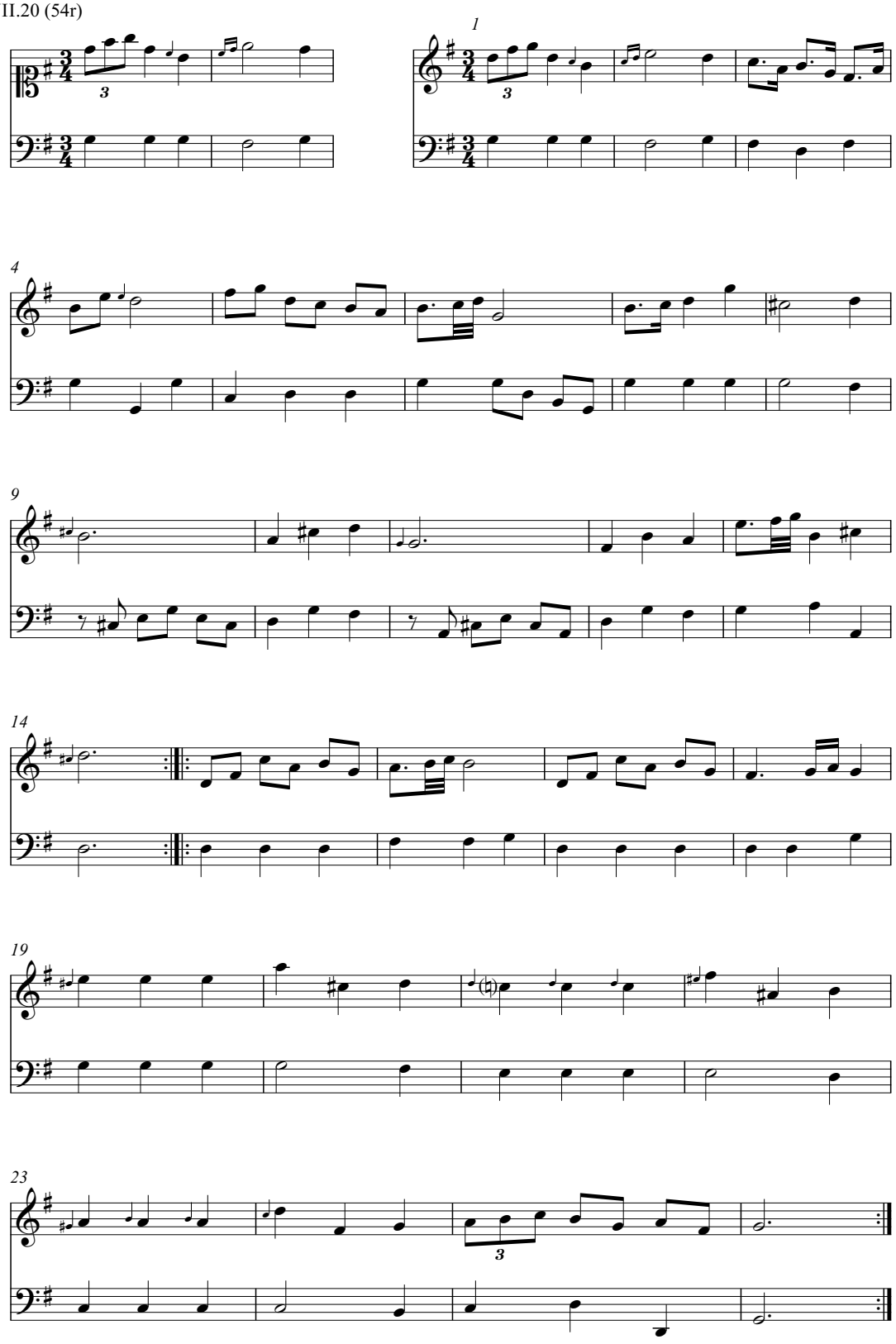
VII.18 (53v)



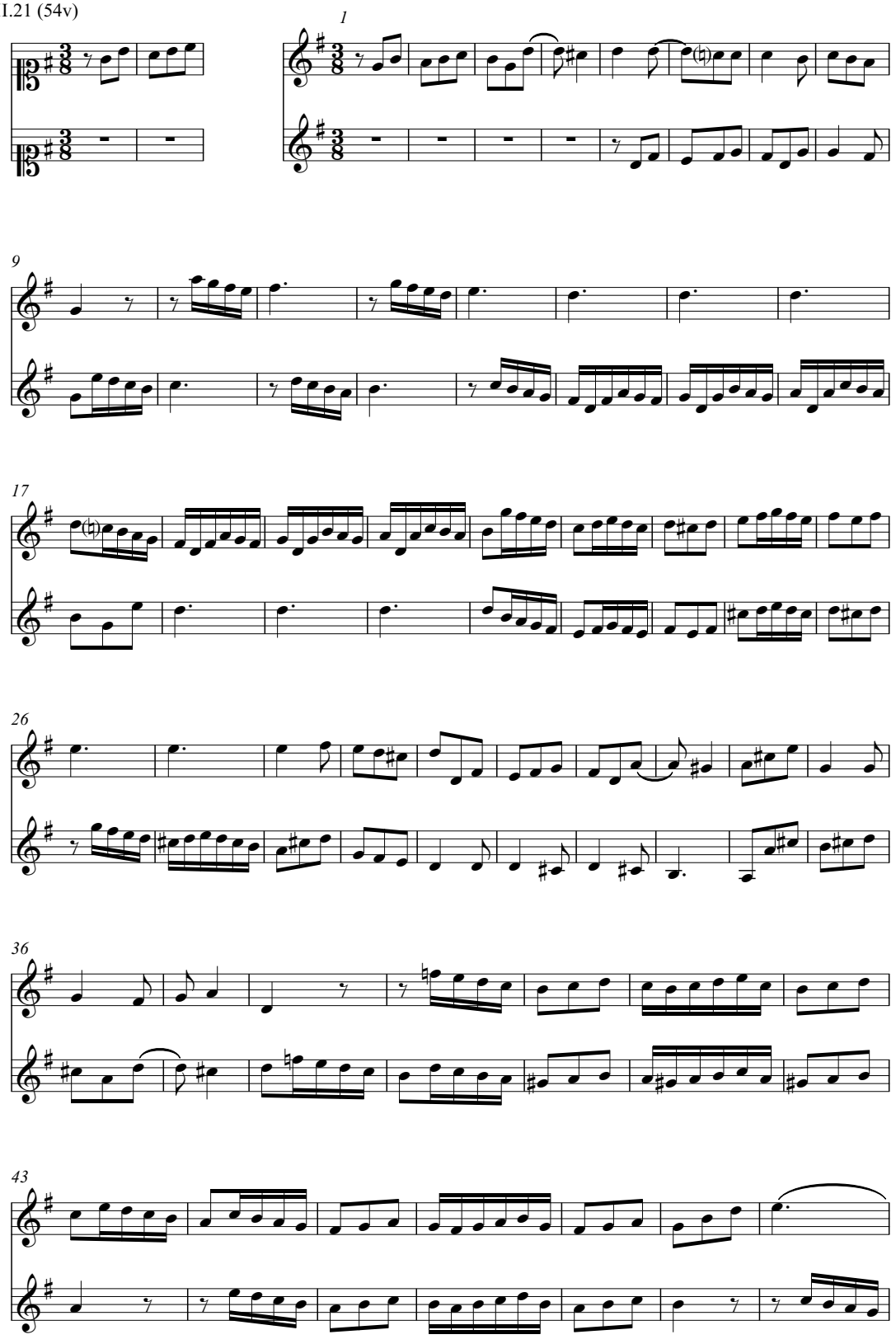
VII.19 (53v)

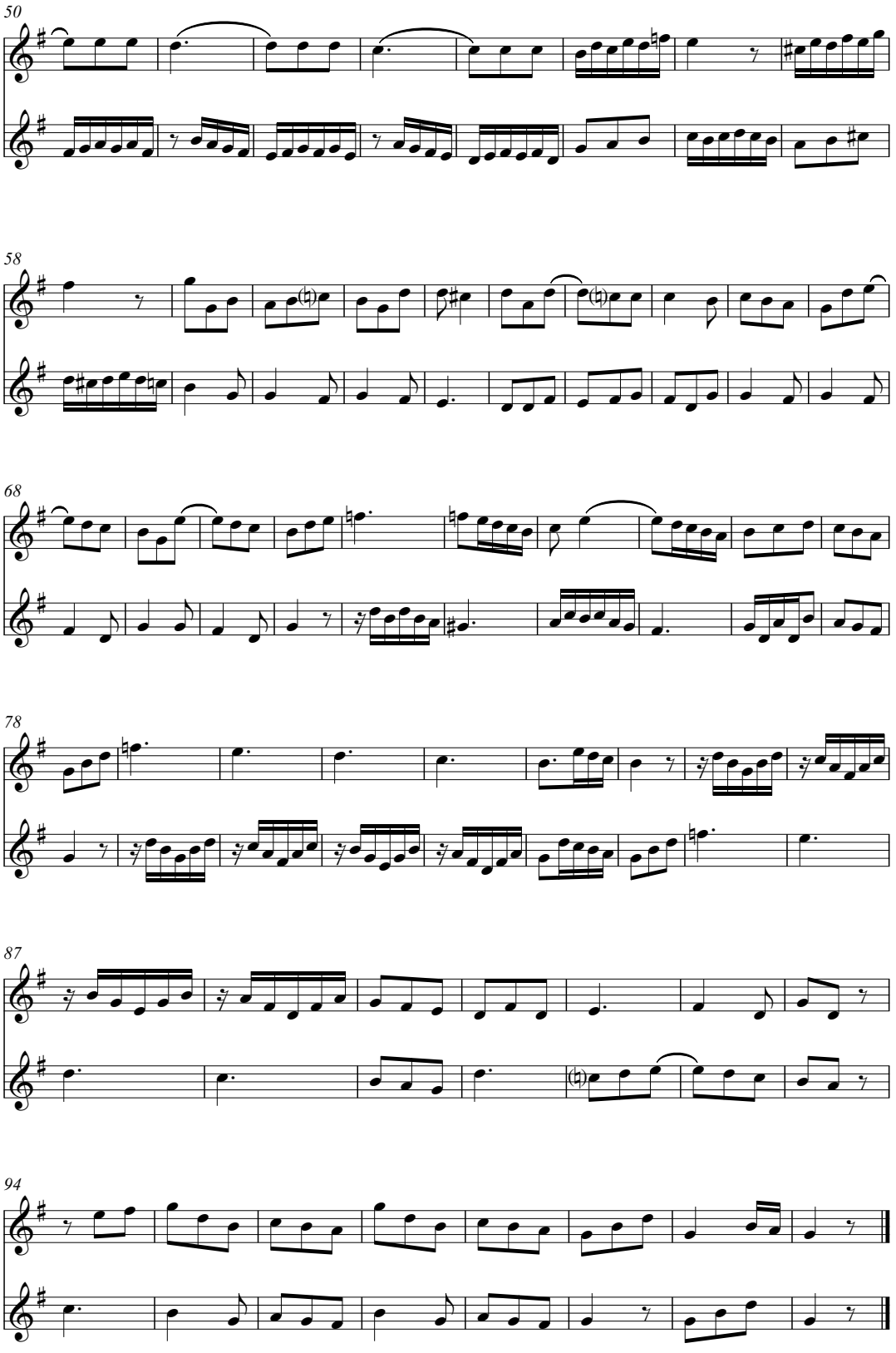


VII.20 (54r)

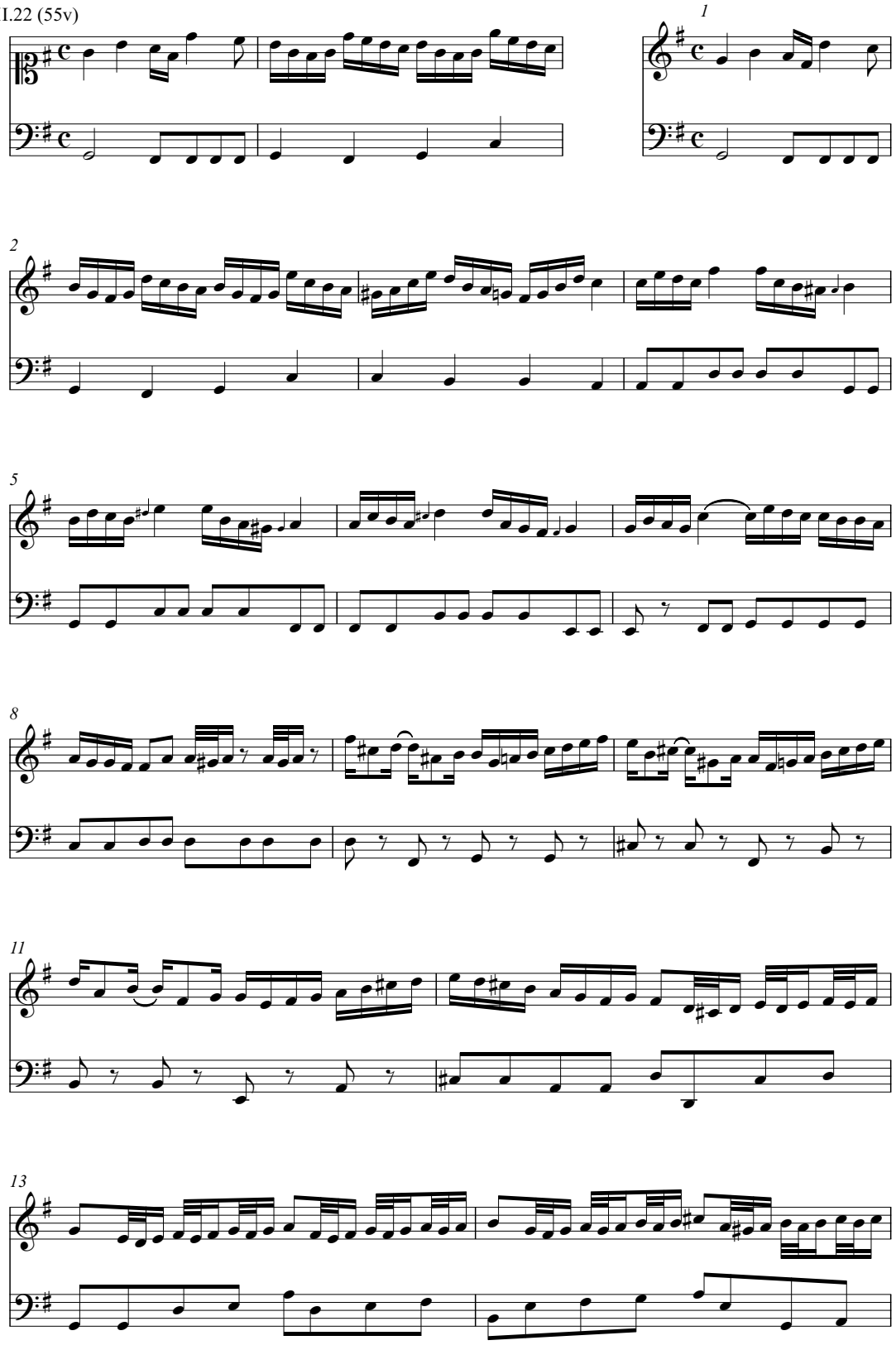


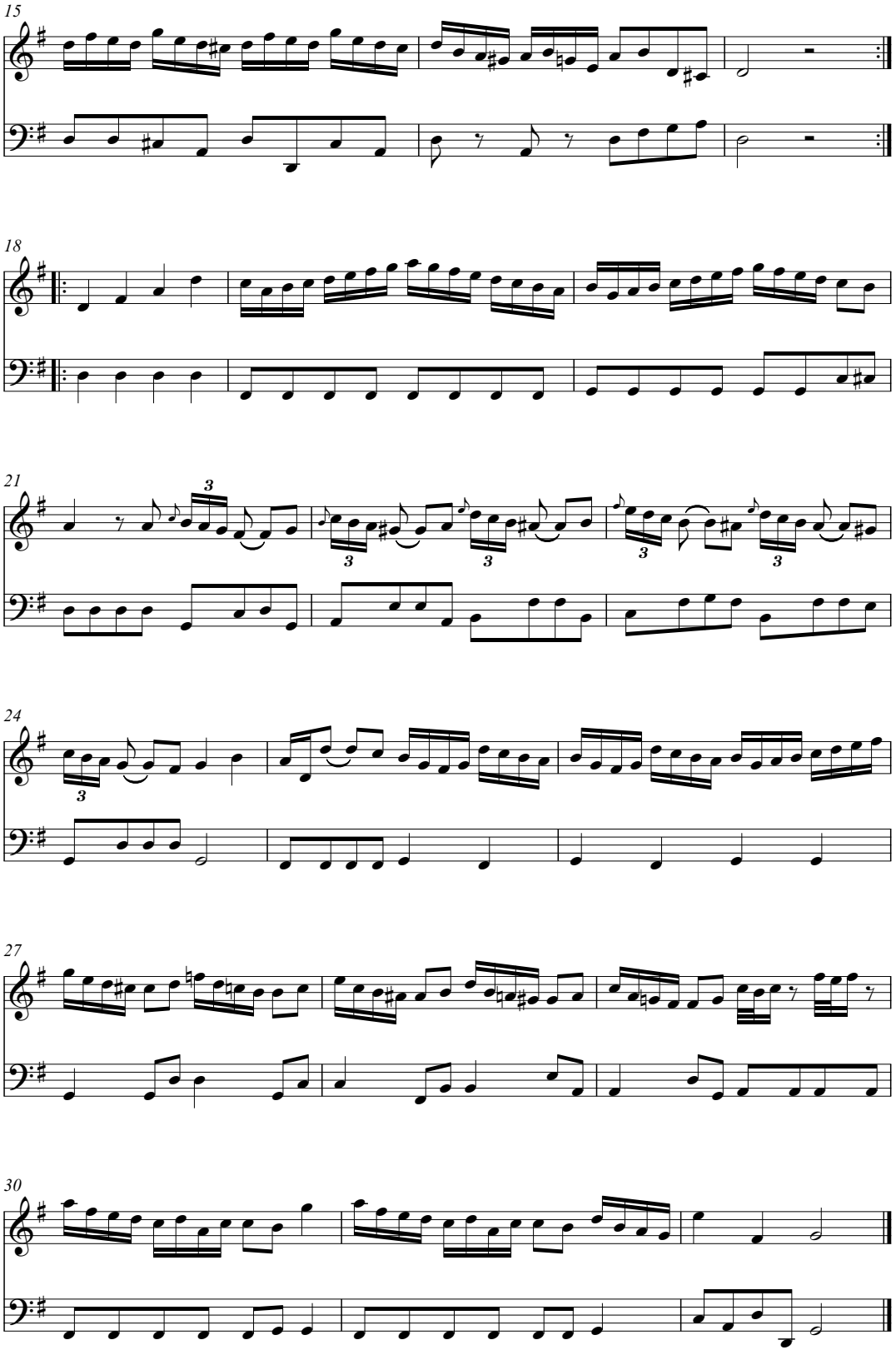
VII.21 (54v)



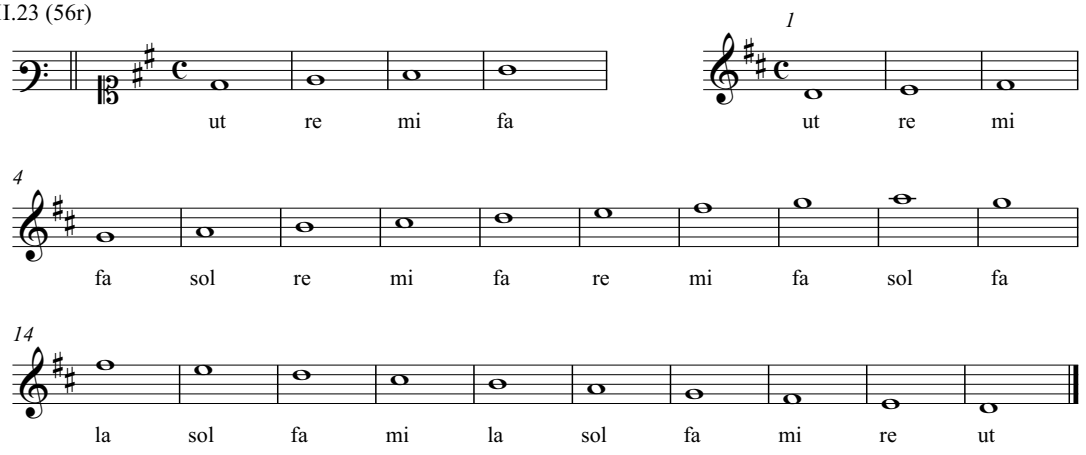

50
58
68
78
87
94

VII.22 (55v)

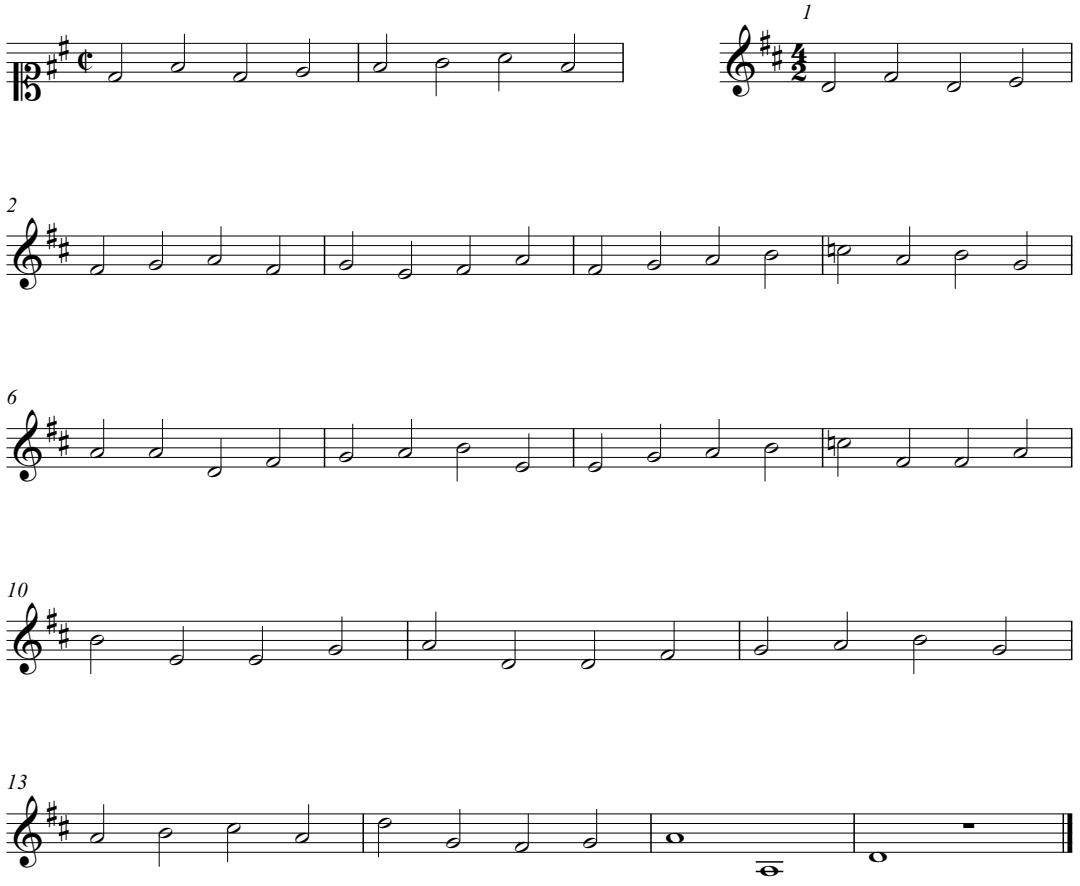



15
18
21
24
27
30

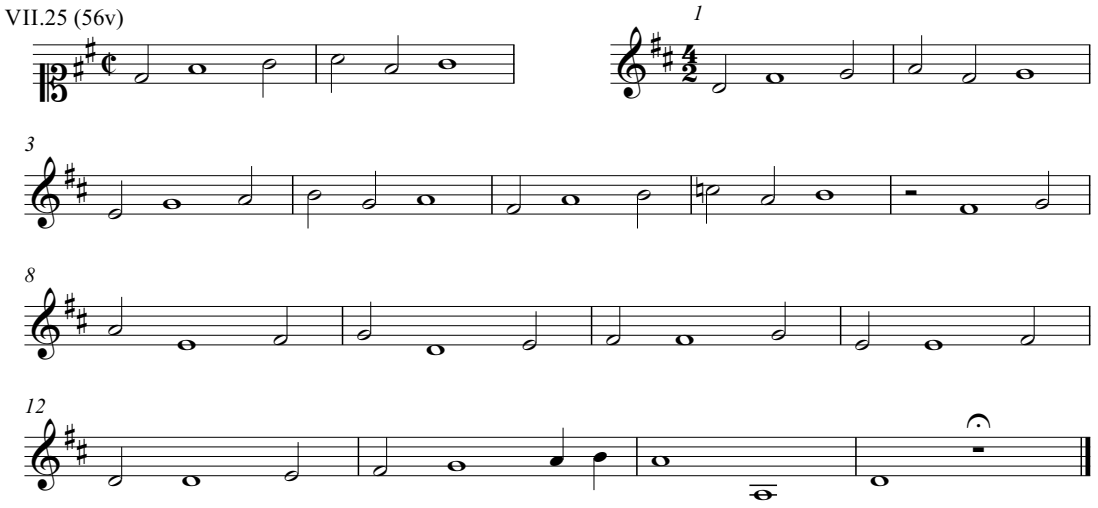
VII.23 (56r)



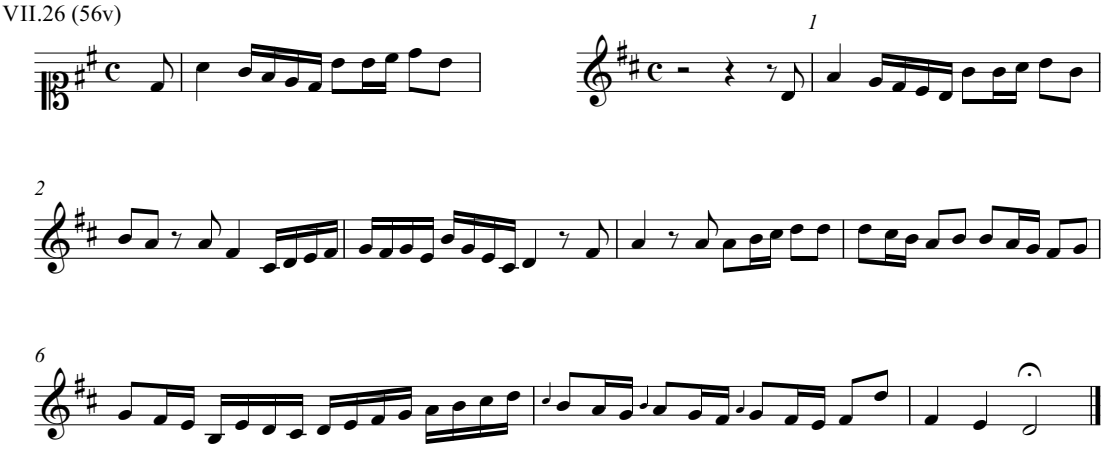
VII.24 (56r)



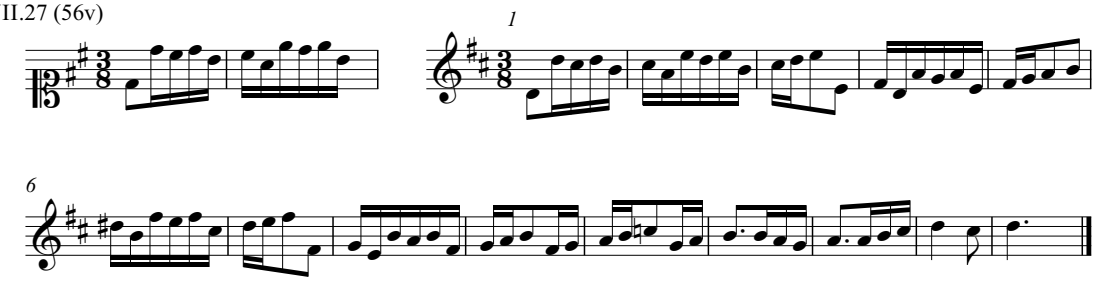
VII.25 (56v)



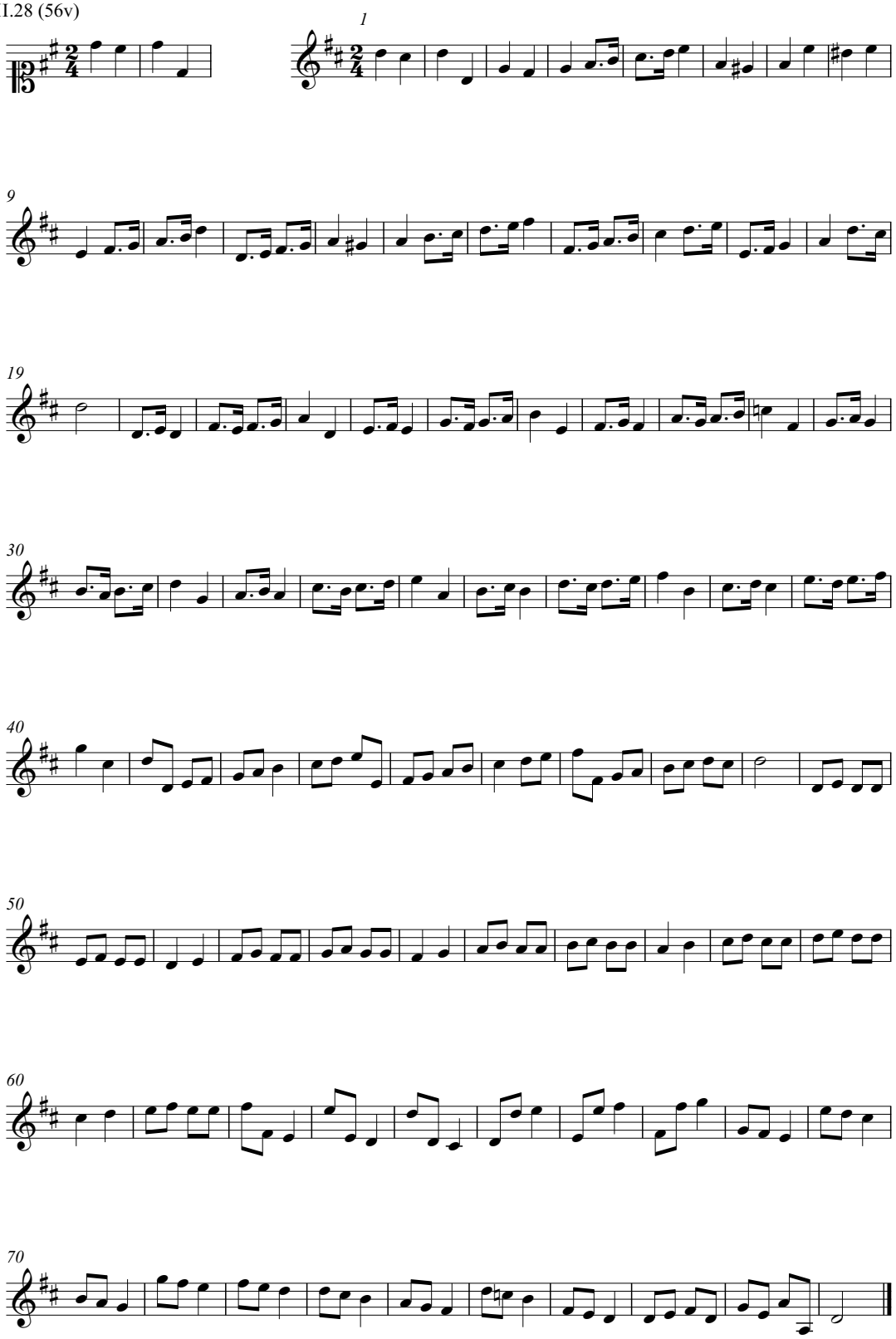
VII.26 (56v)



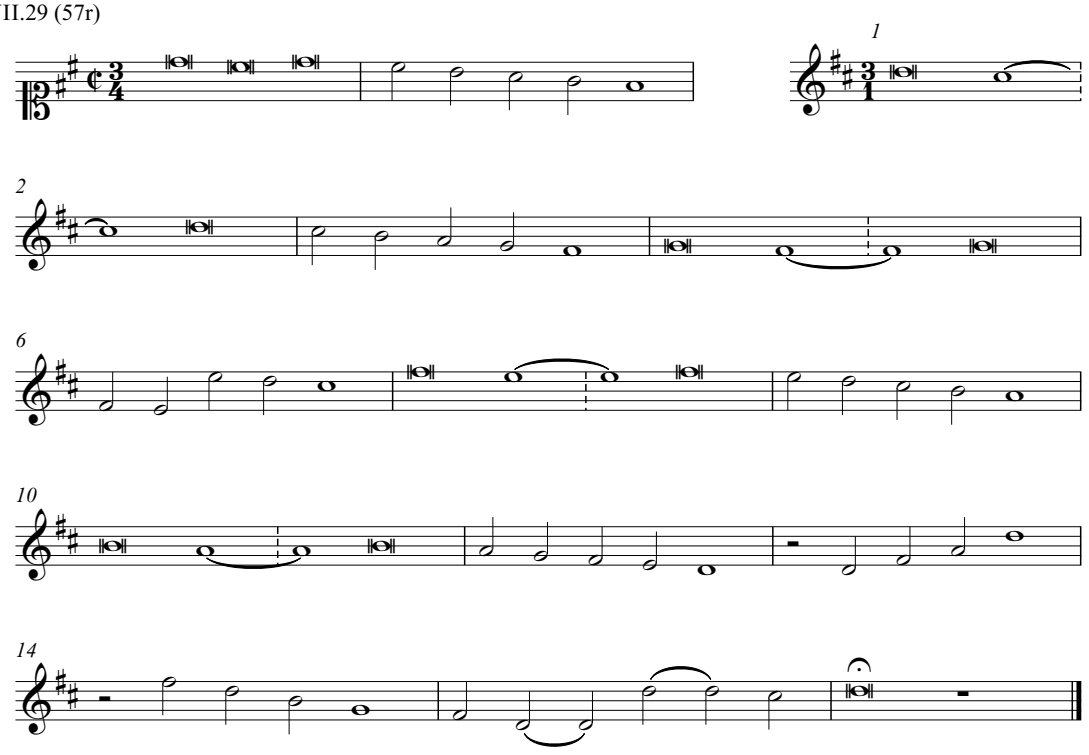
VII.27 (56v)



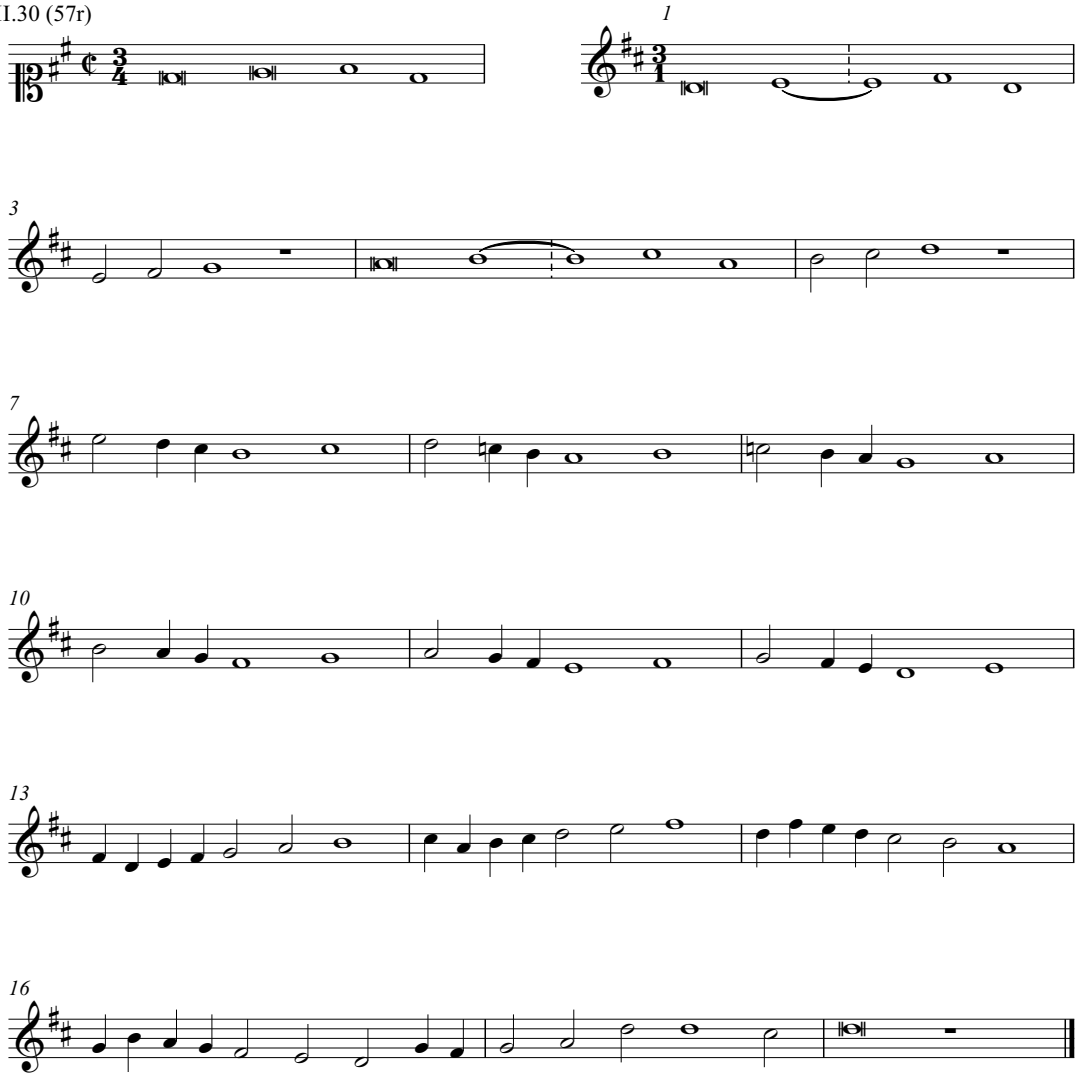
VII.28 (56v)



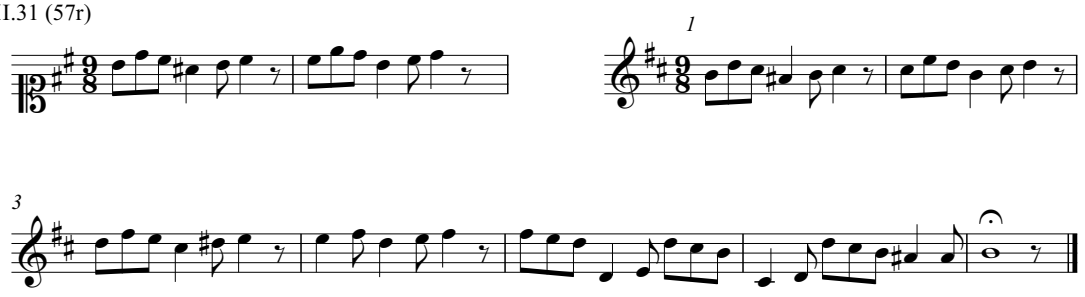
VII.29 (57r)



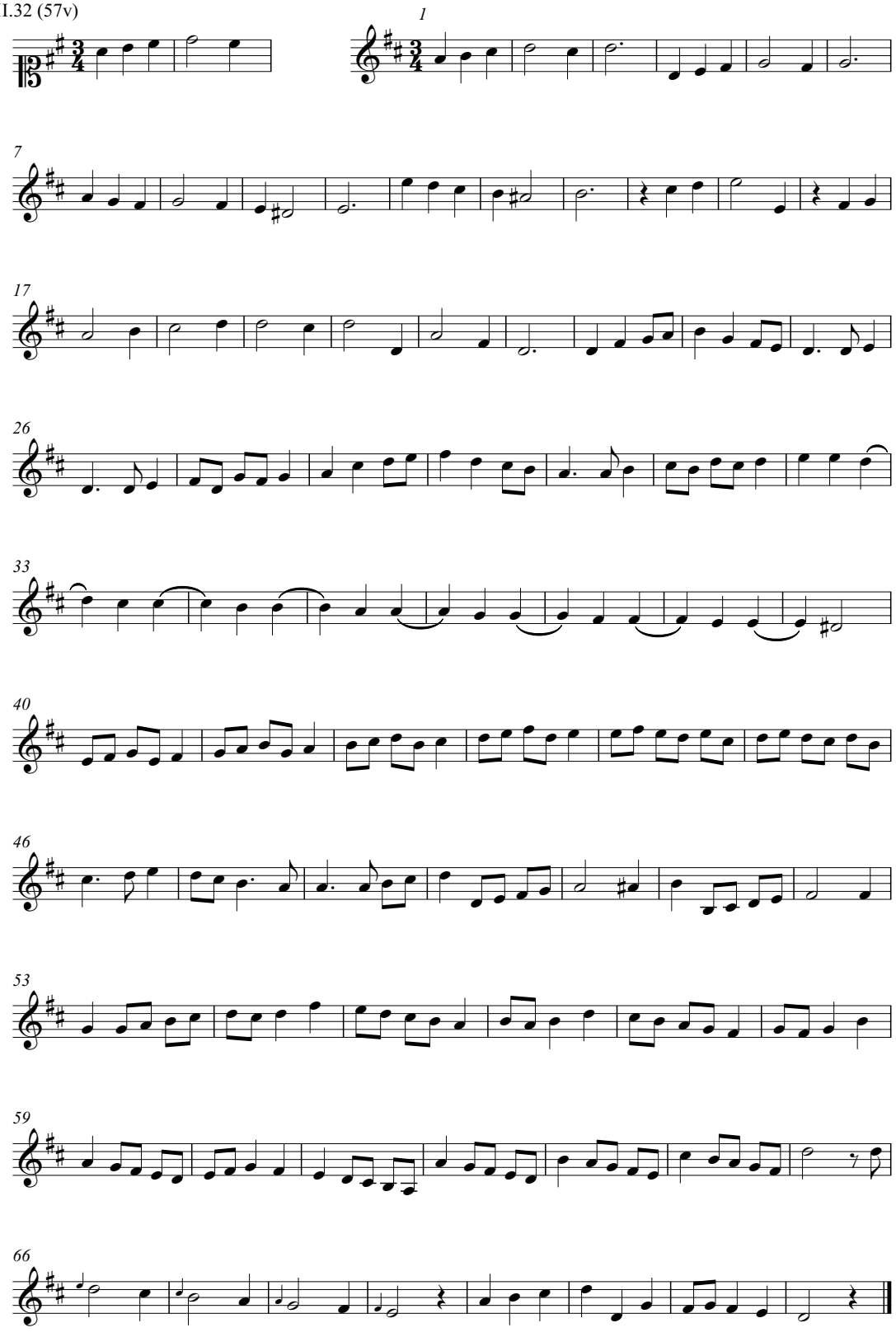
VII.30 (57r)



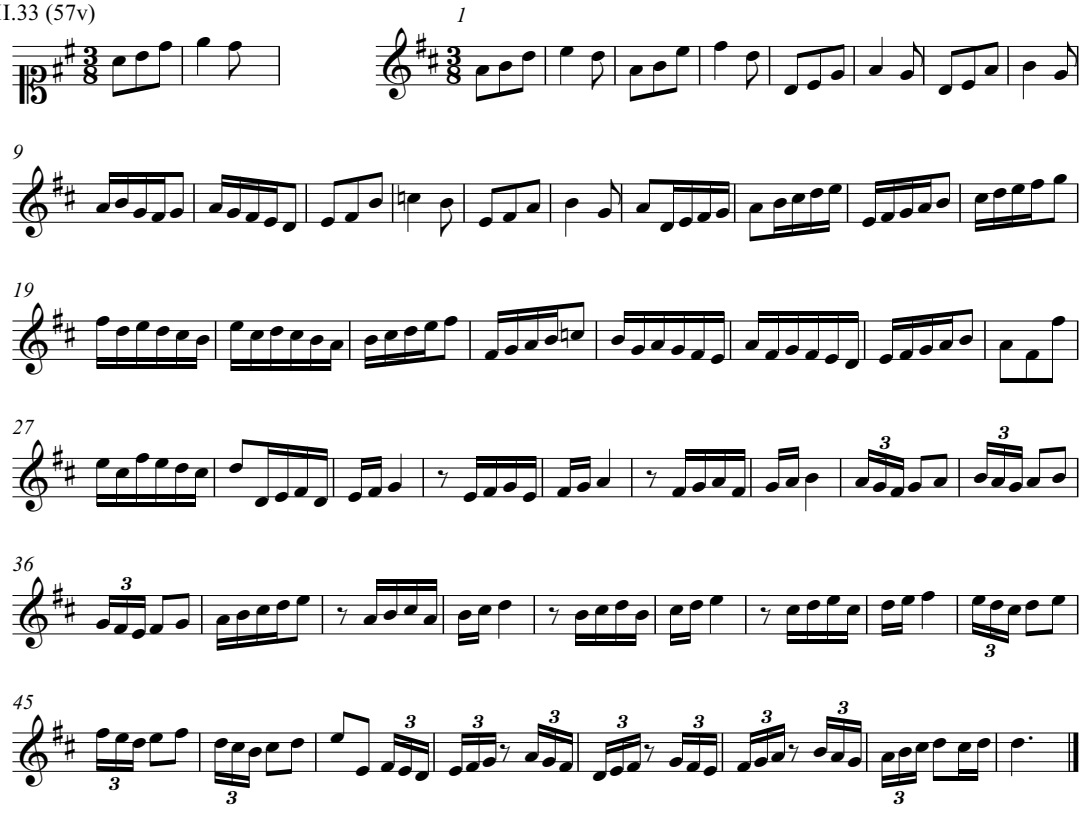
VII.31 (57r)



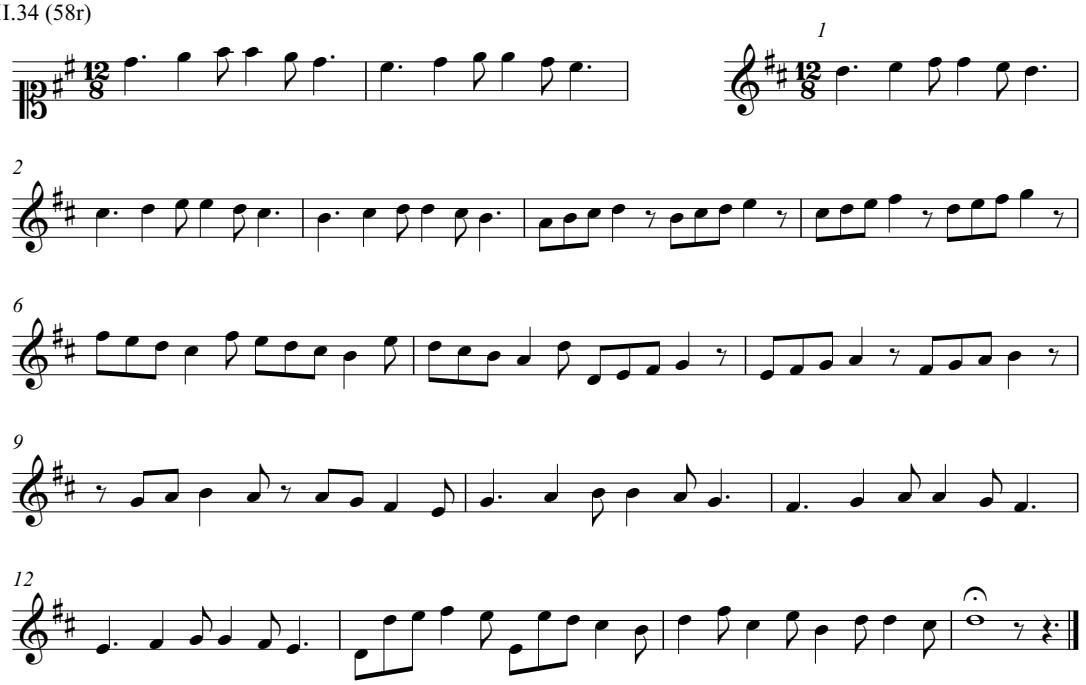
VII.32 (57v)



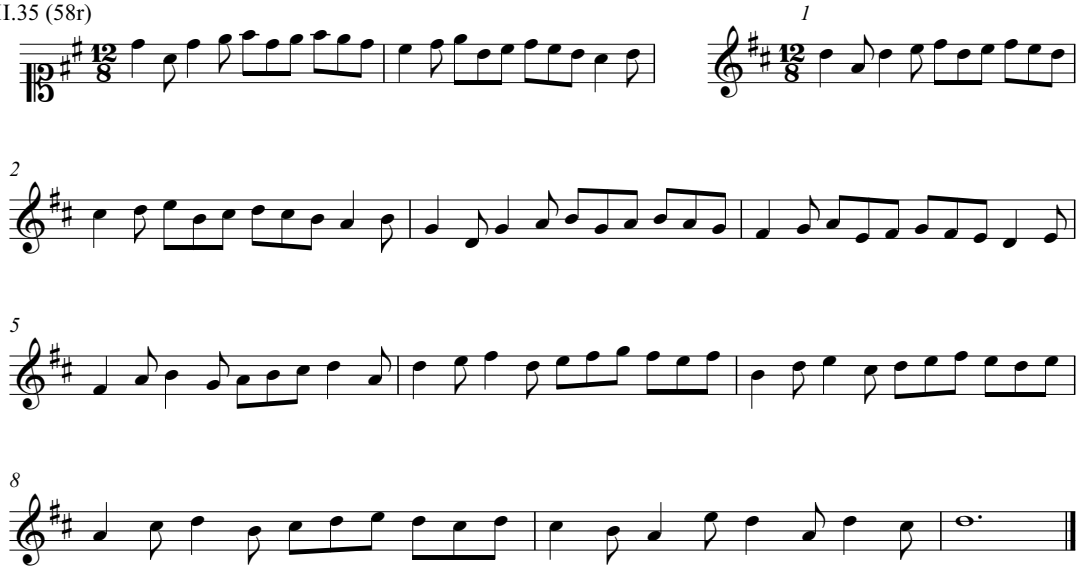
VII.33 (57v)



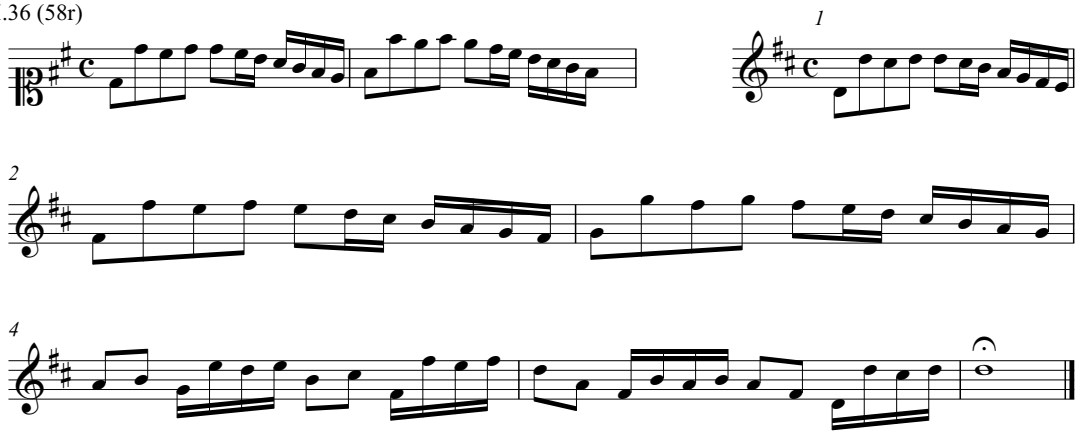
VII.34 (58r)



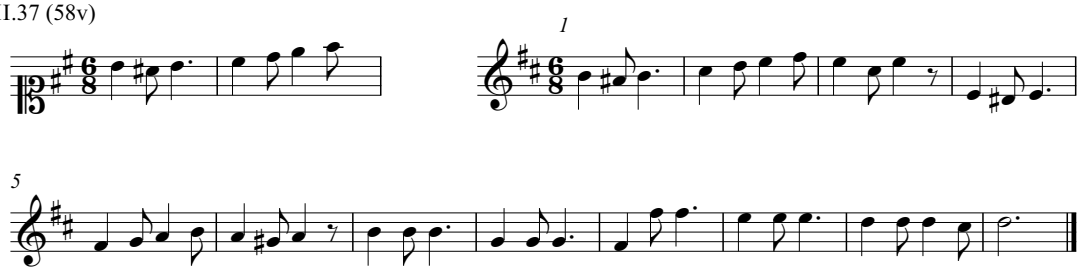
VII.35 (58r)



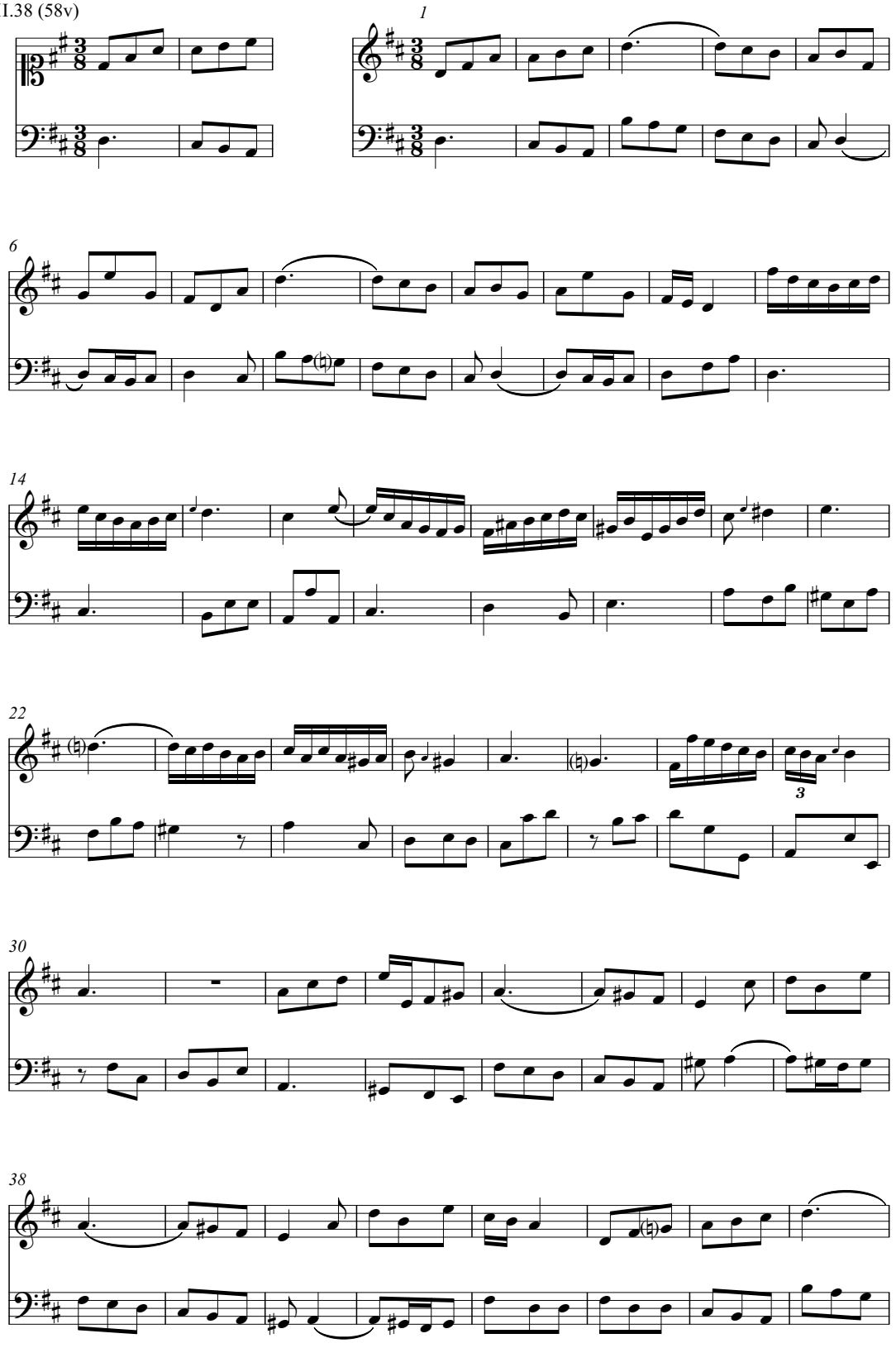
VII.36 (58r)

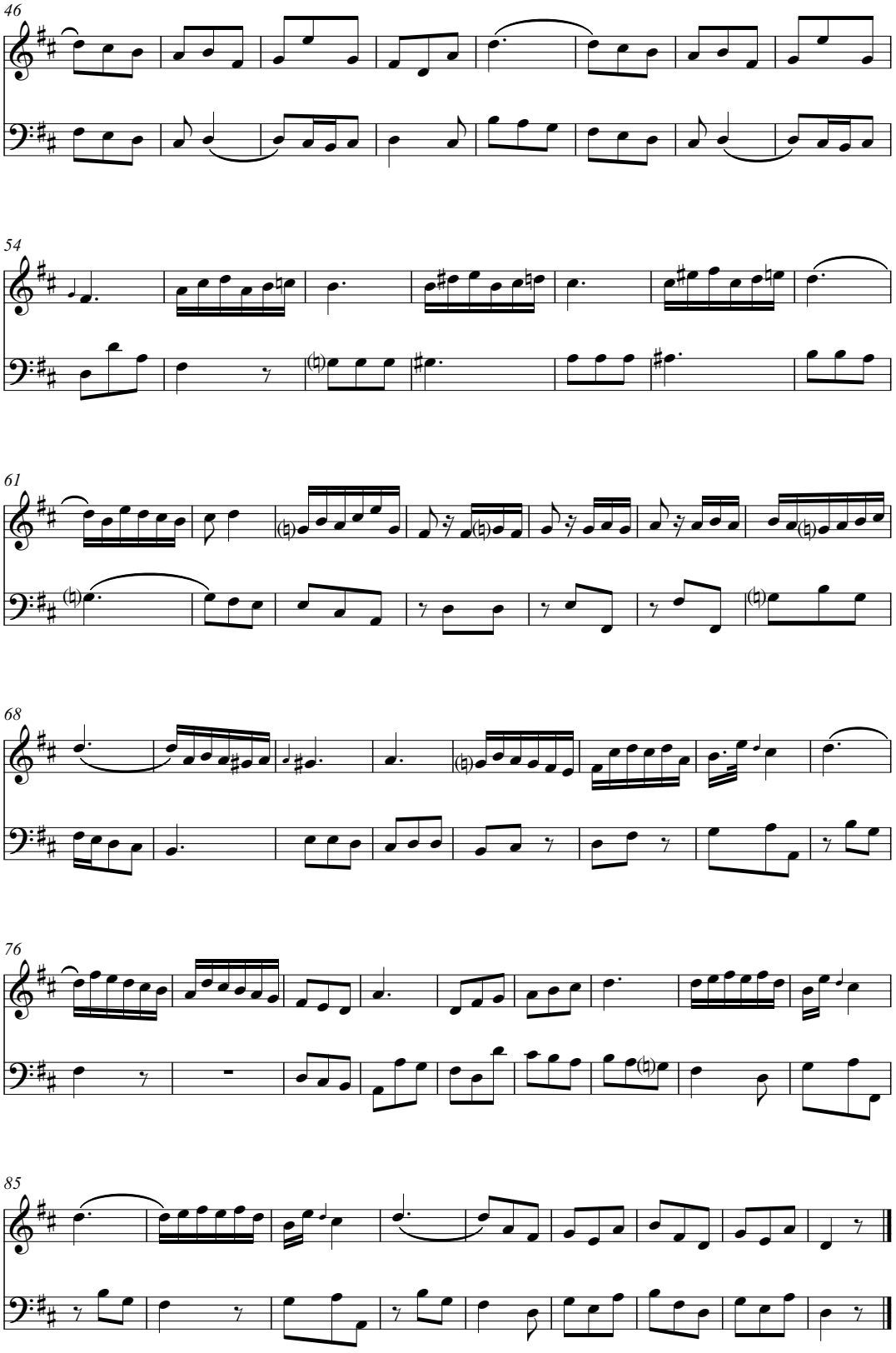


VII.37 (58v)

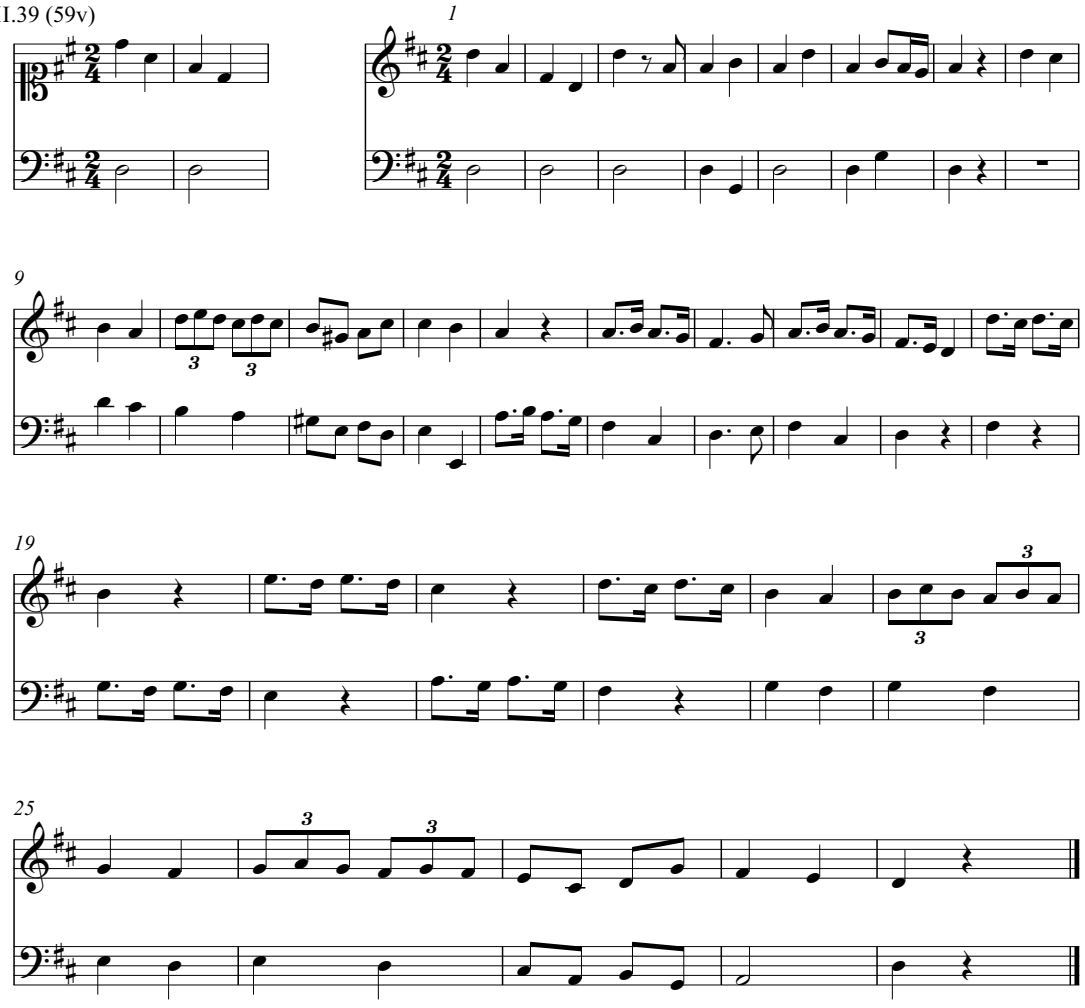


VII.38 (58v)

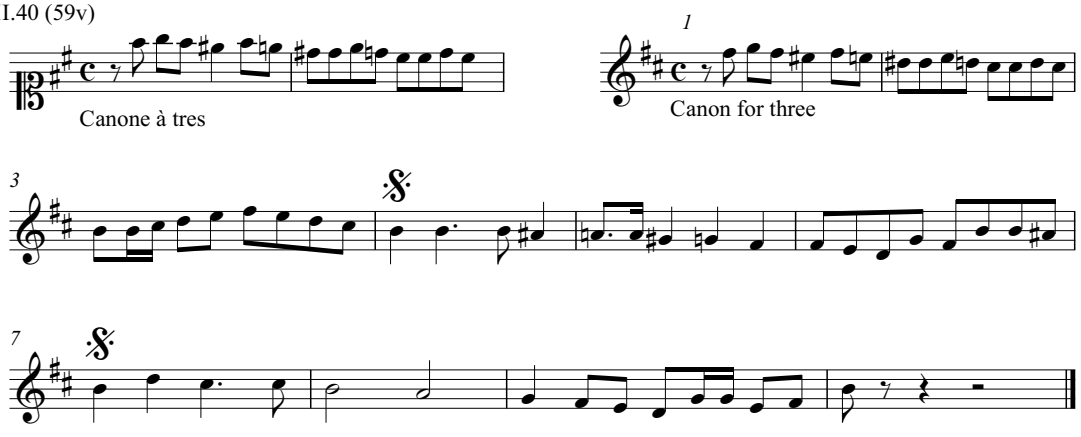



46
54
61
68
76
85

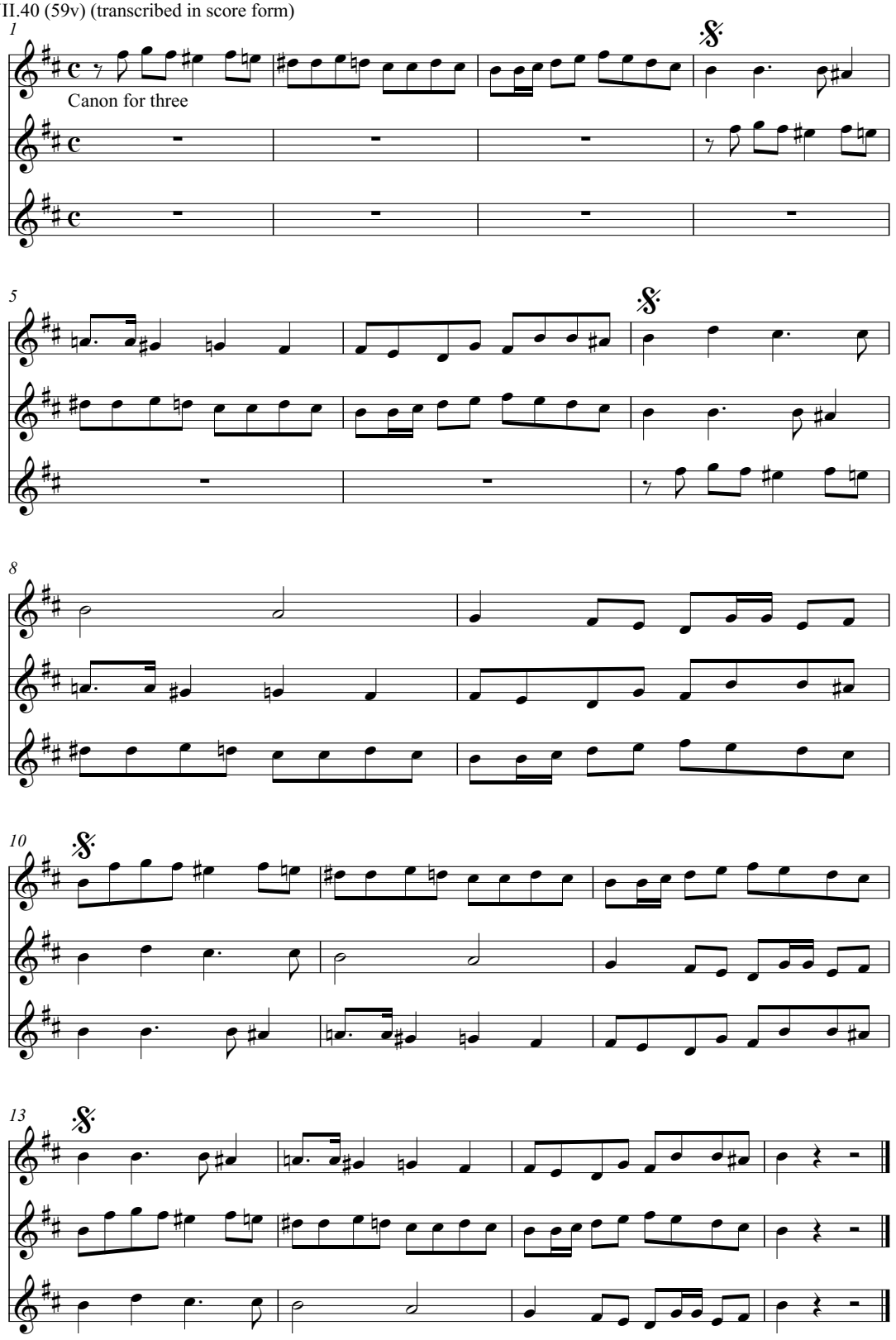
VII.39 (59v)



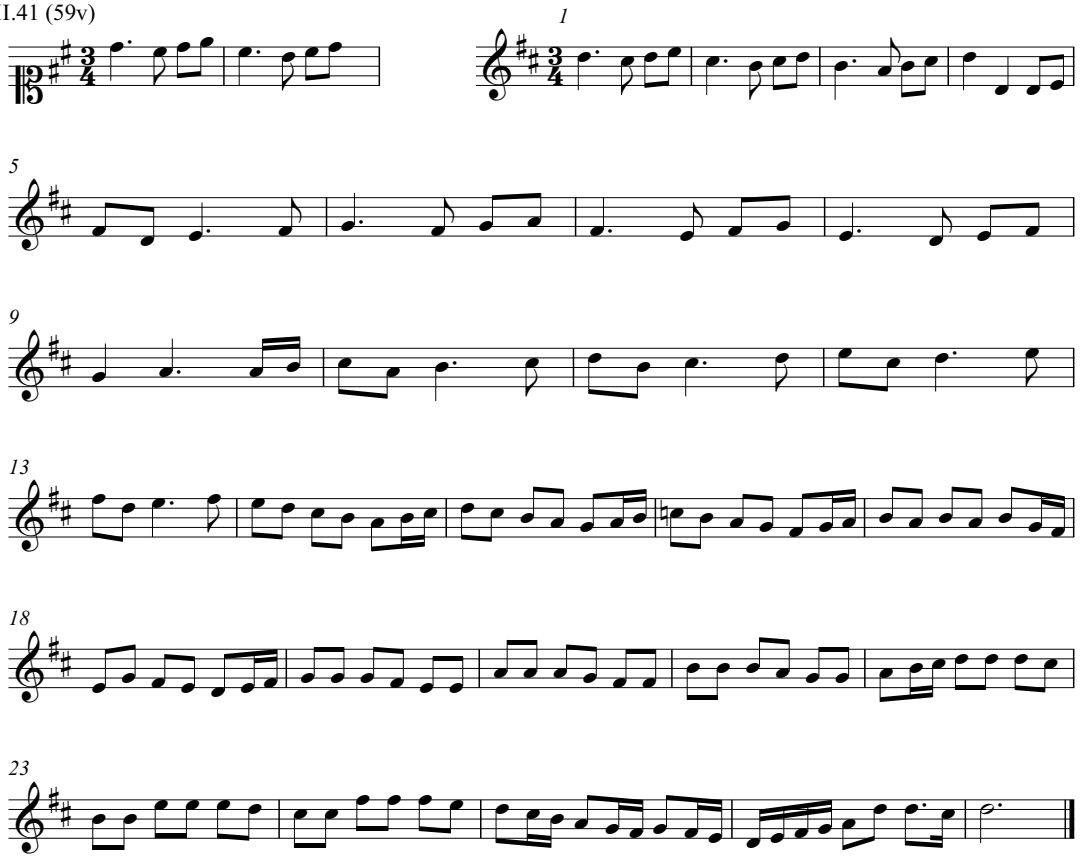
VII.40 (59v)



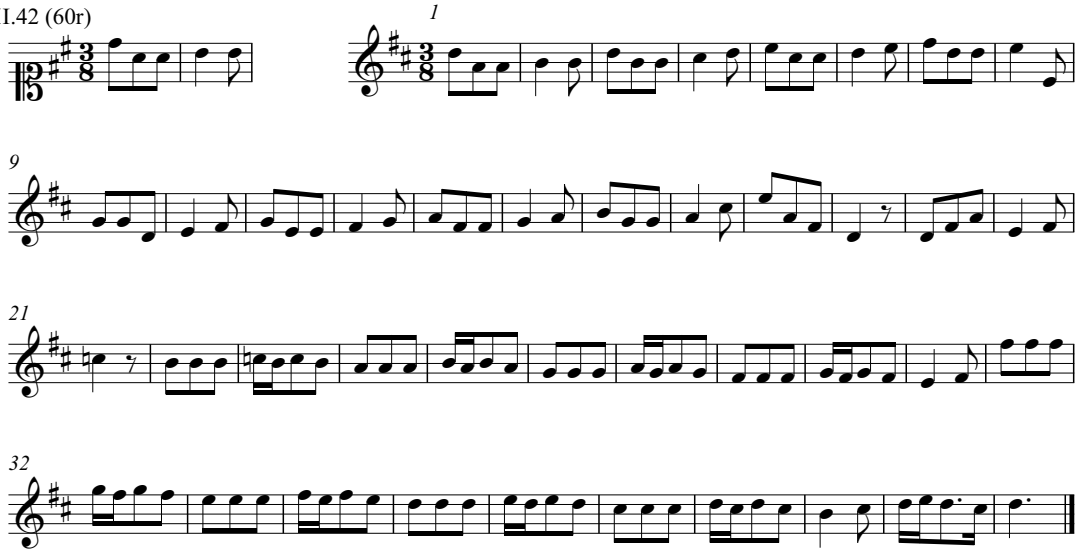
VII.40 (59v) (transcribed in score form)



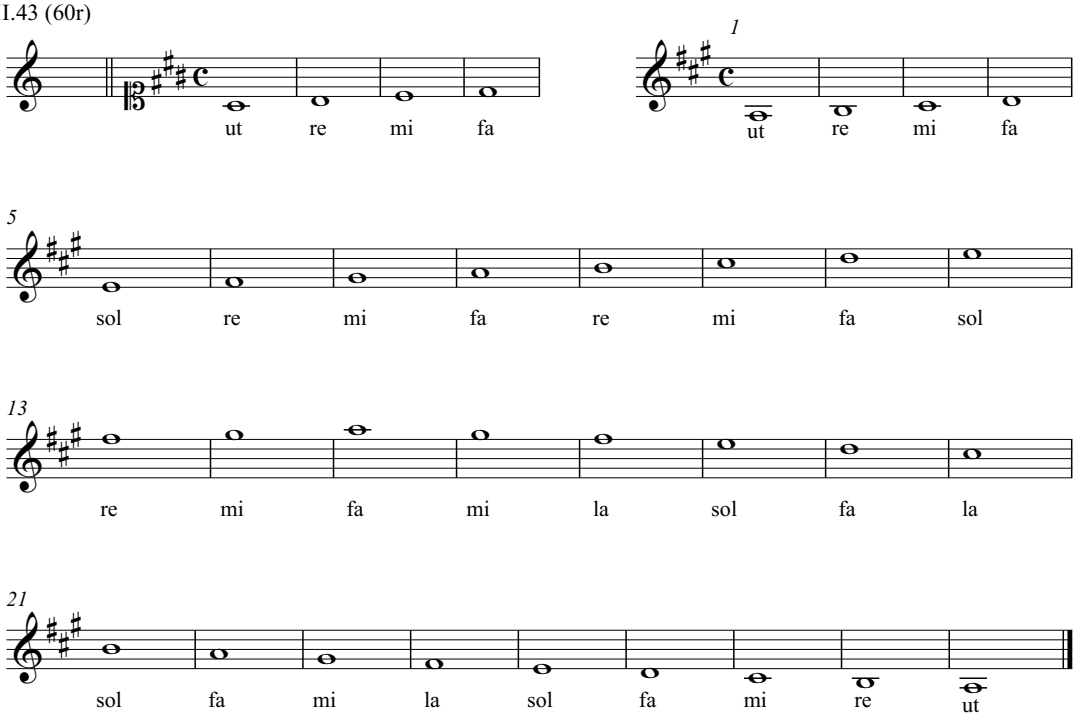
VII.41 (59v)



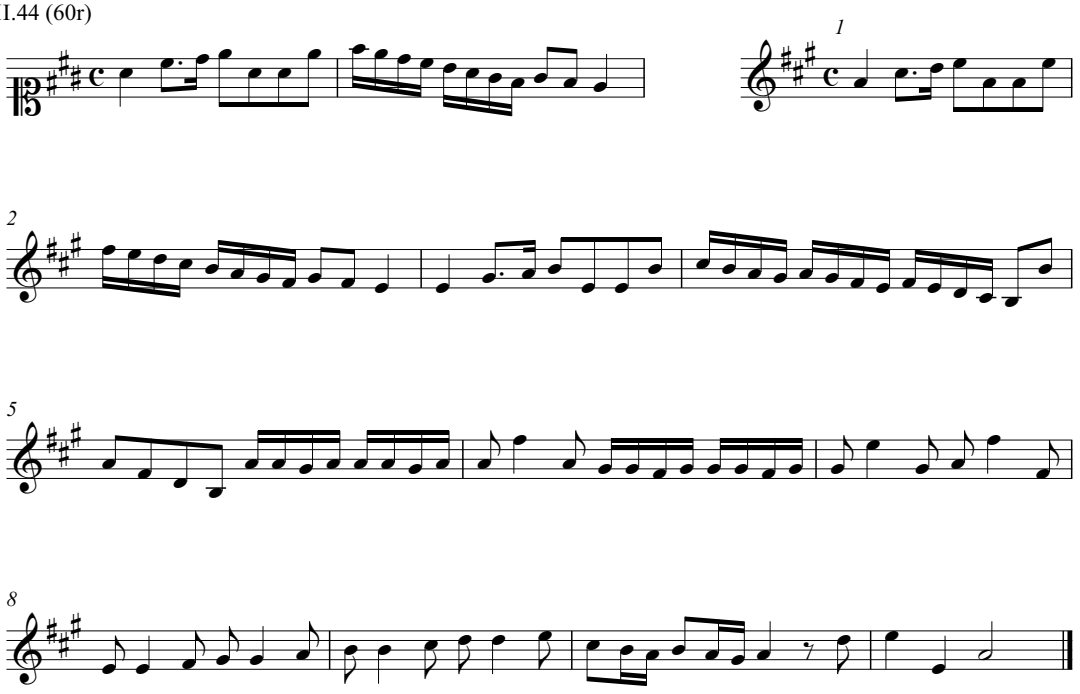
VII.42 (60r)



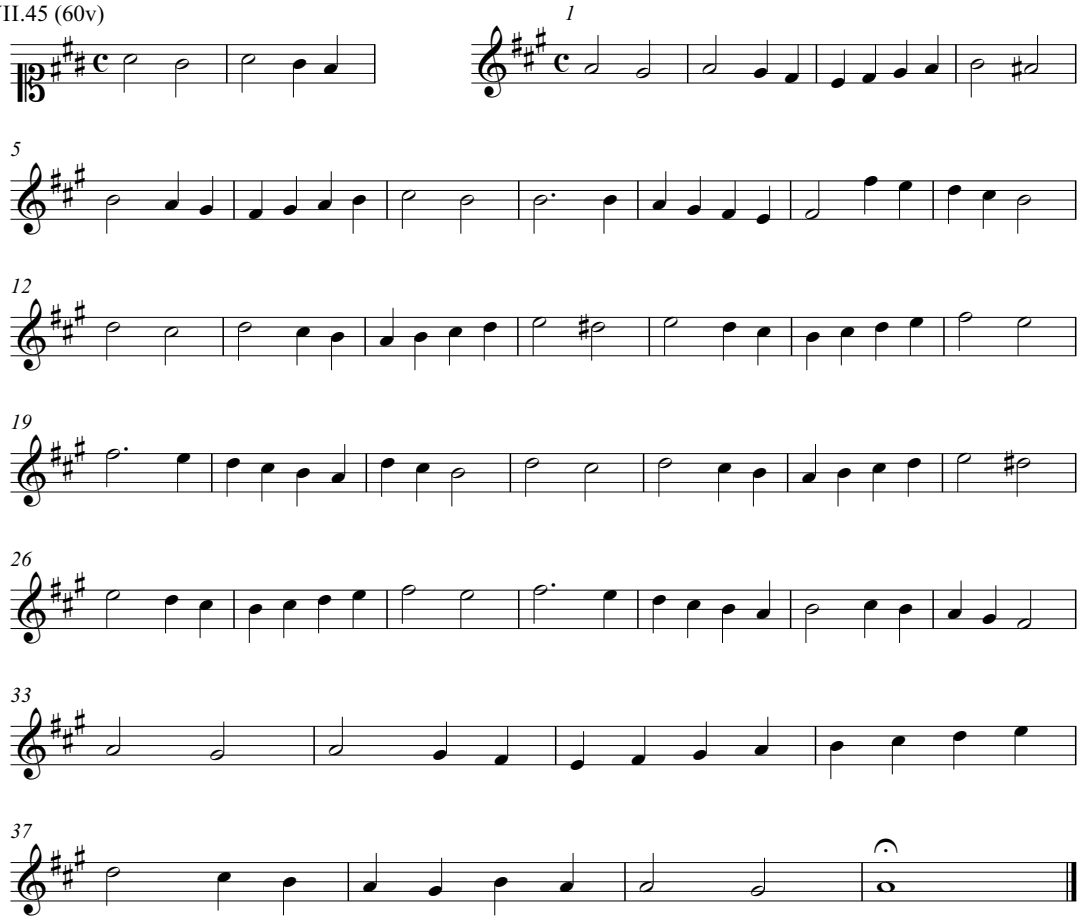
VII.43 (60r)



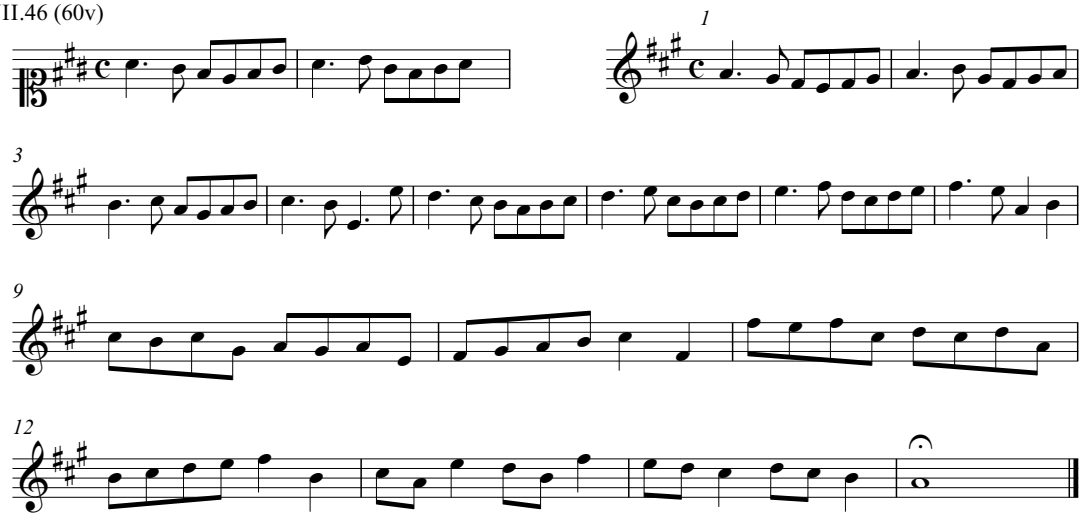
VII.44 (60r)



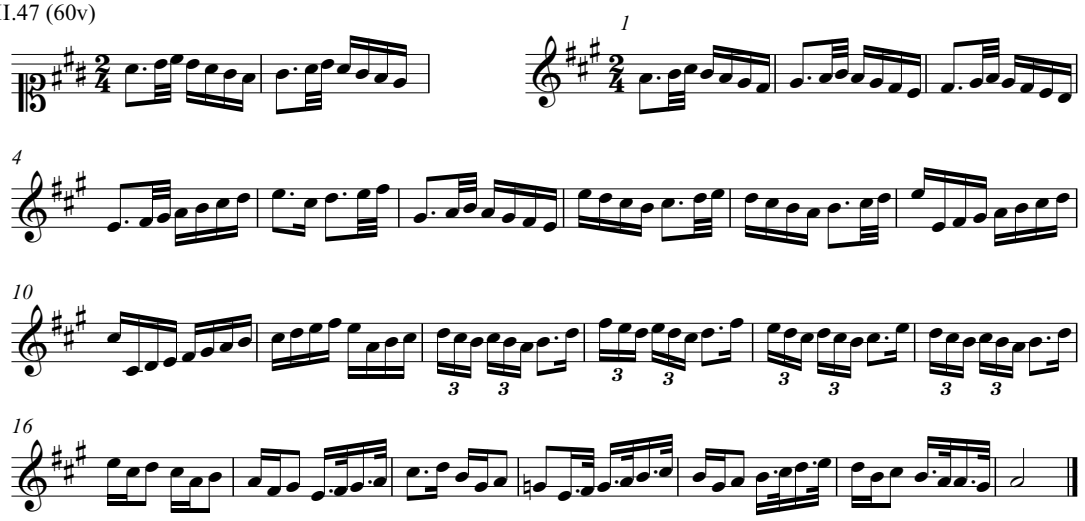
VII.45 (60v)



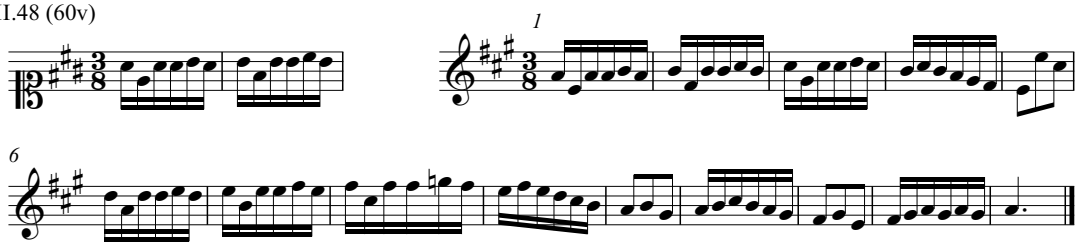
VII.46 (60v)



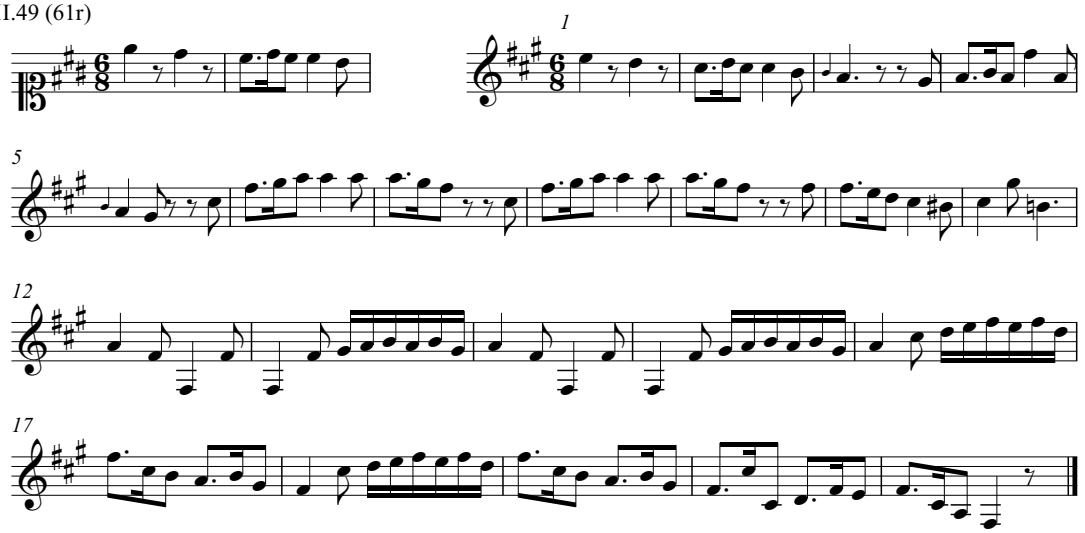
VII.47 (60v)



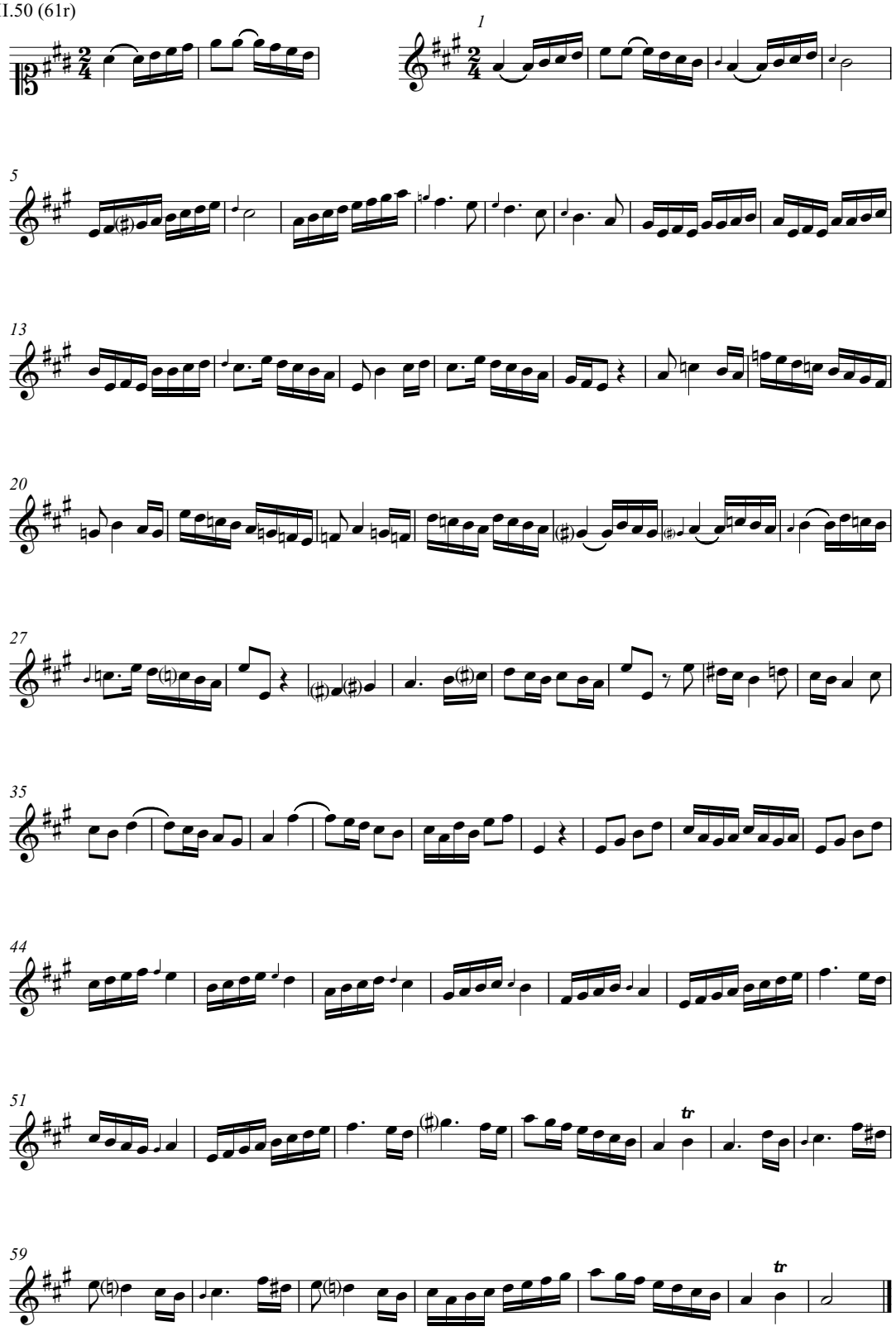
VII.48 (60v)



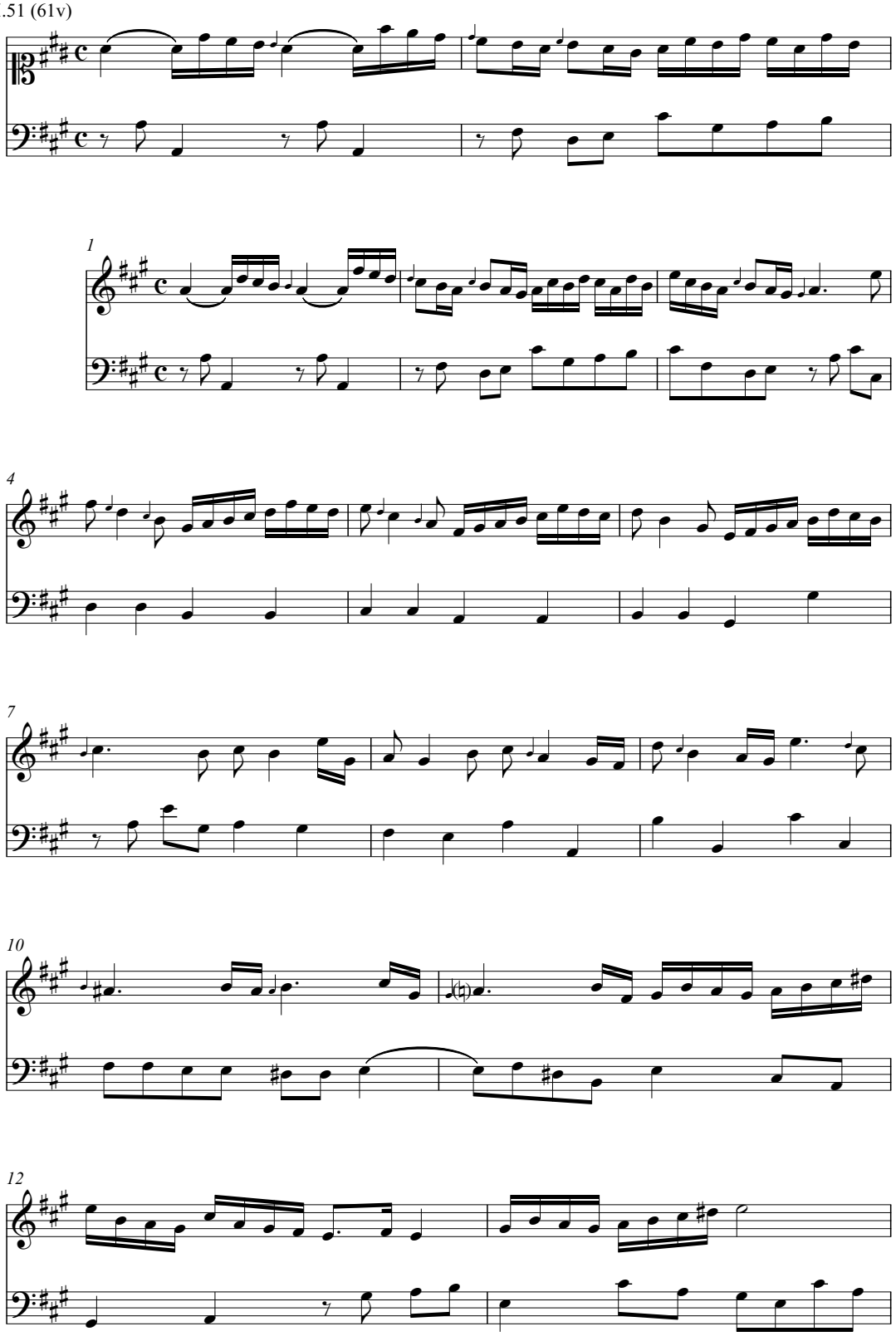
VII.49 (61r)

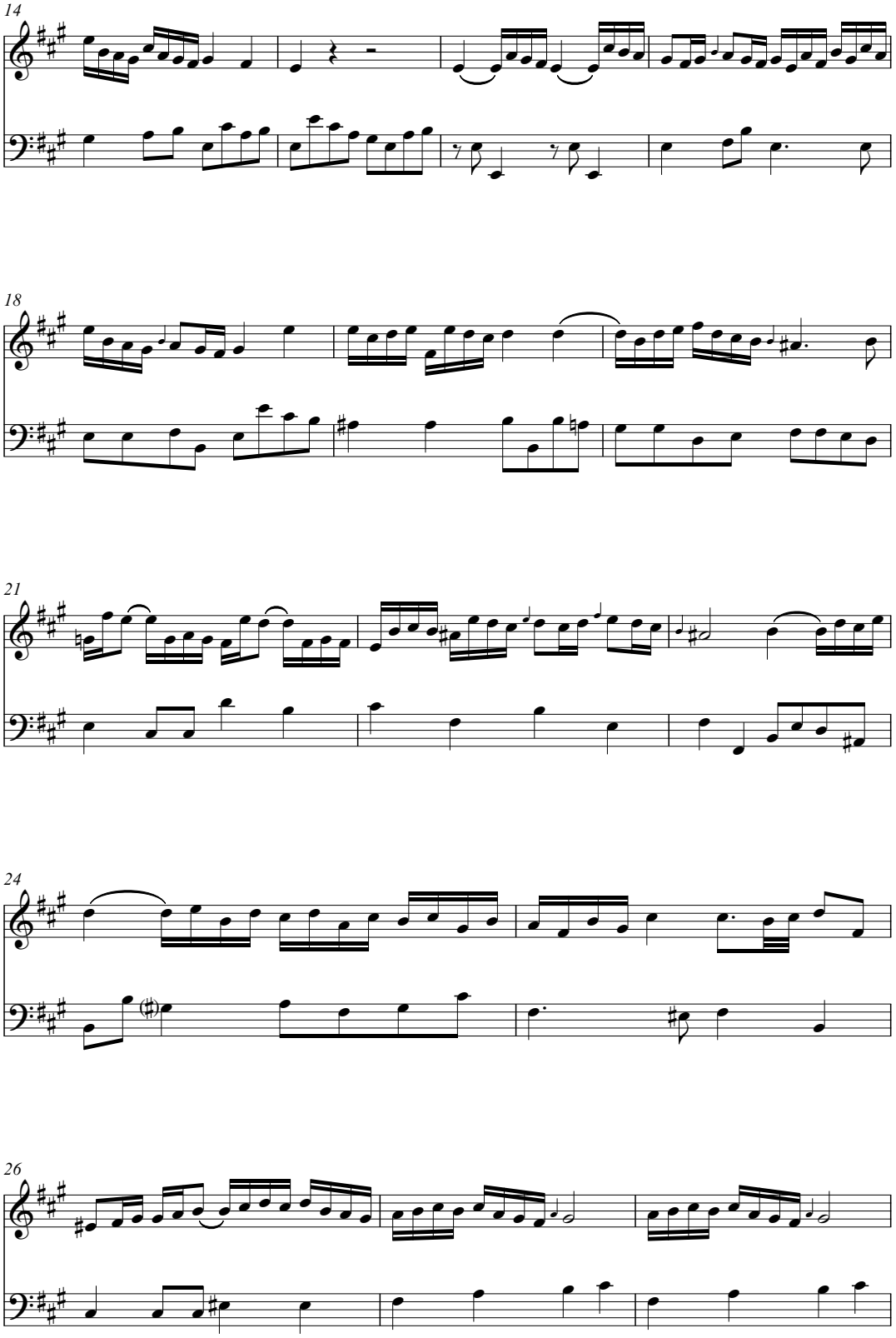


VII.50 (61r)



VII.51 (61v)

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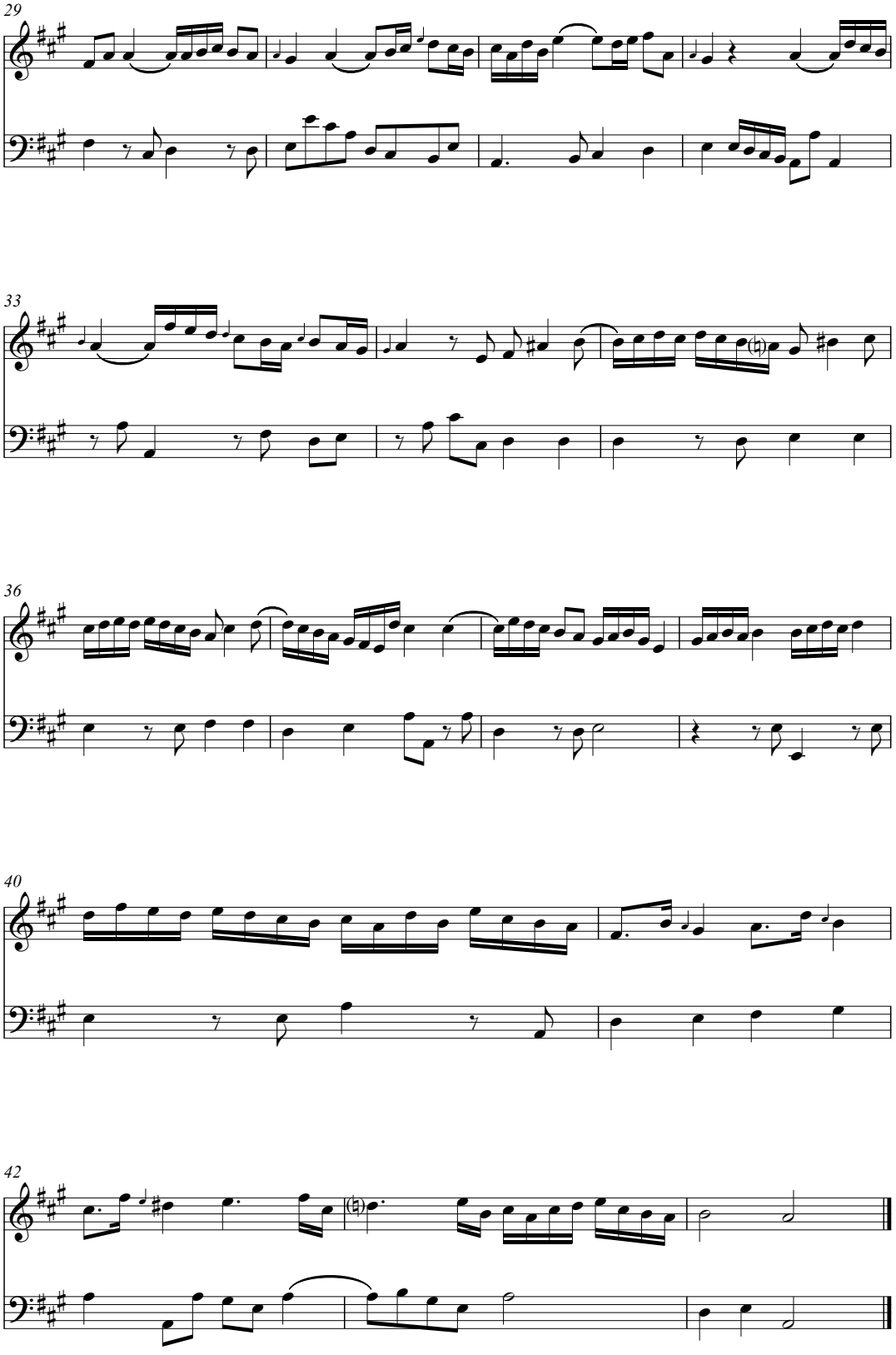
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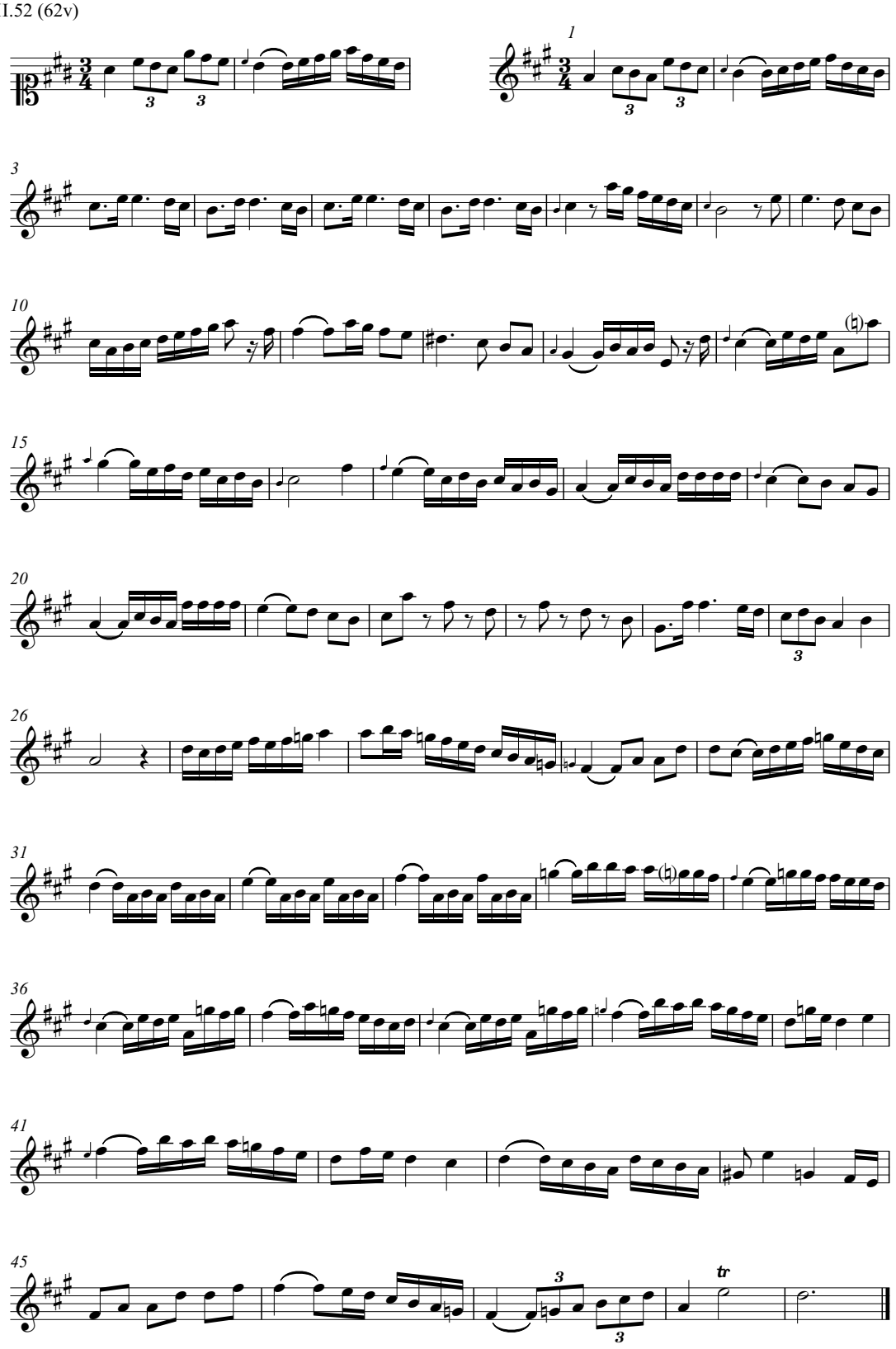
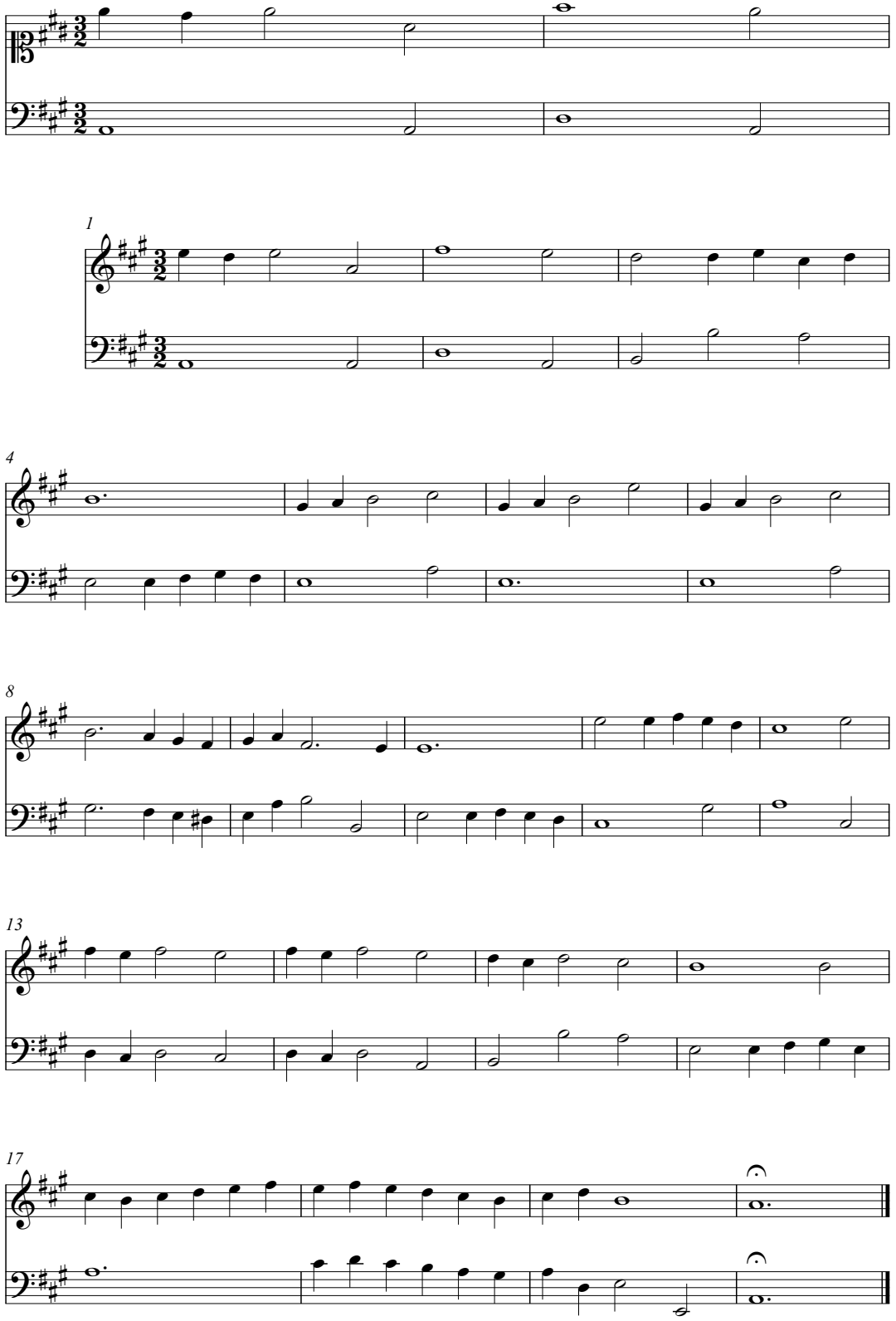
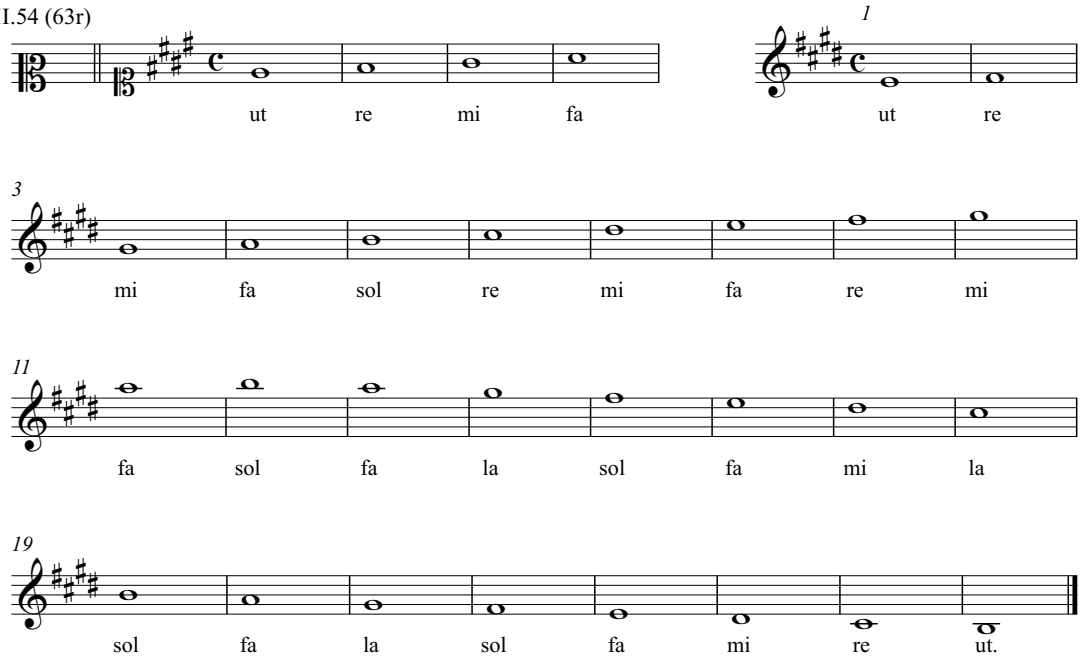
VII.52 (62v)



VII.53 (62v)



VII.54 (63r)


ut re mi fa
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ut re
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mi fa sol re mi fa re mi
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fa sol fa la sol fa mi la
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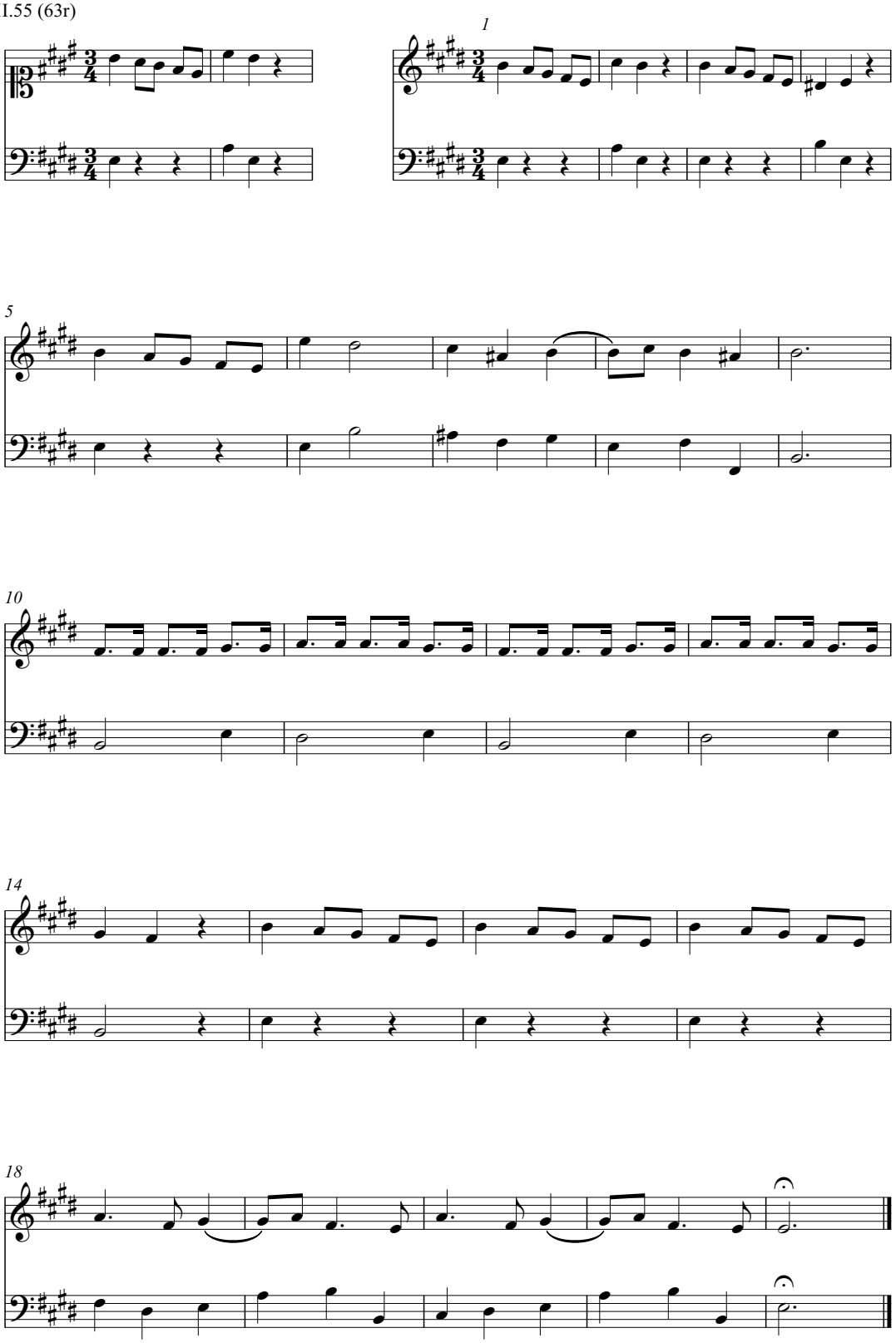
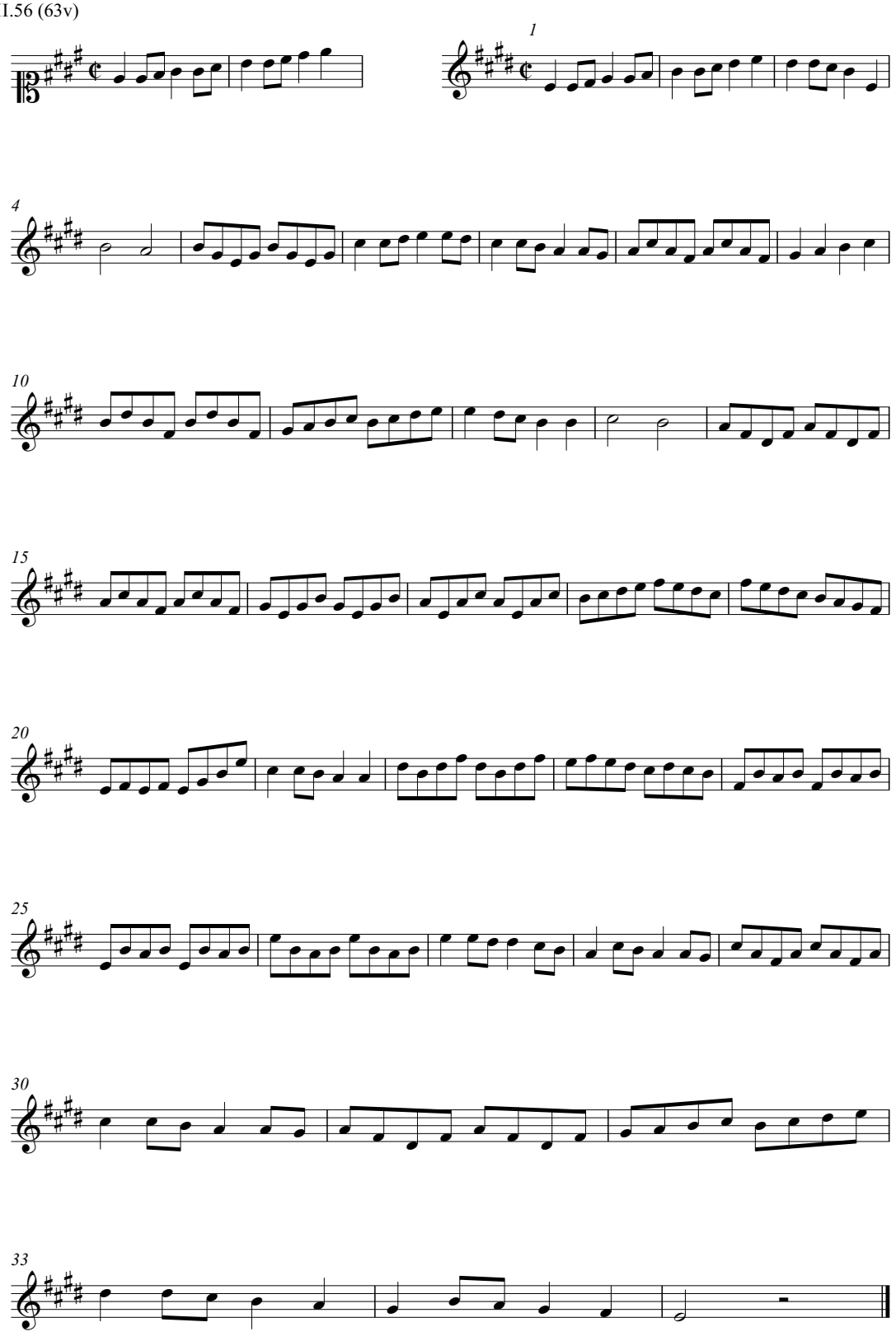
sol fa la sol fa mi re ut.

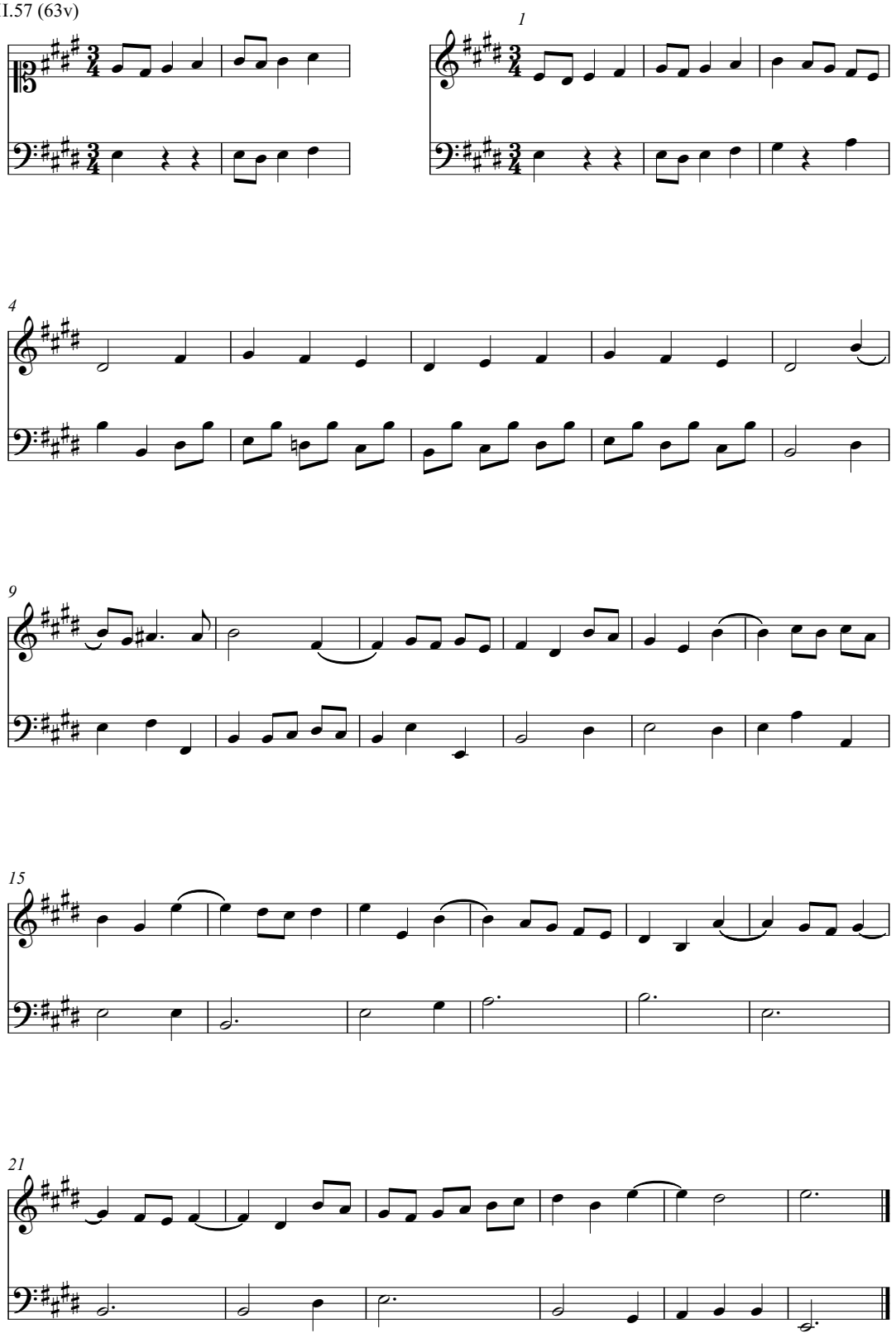
VII.55 (63r)



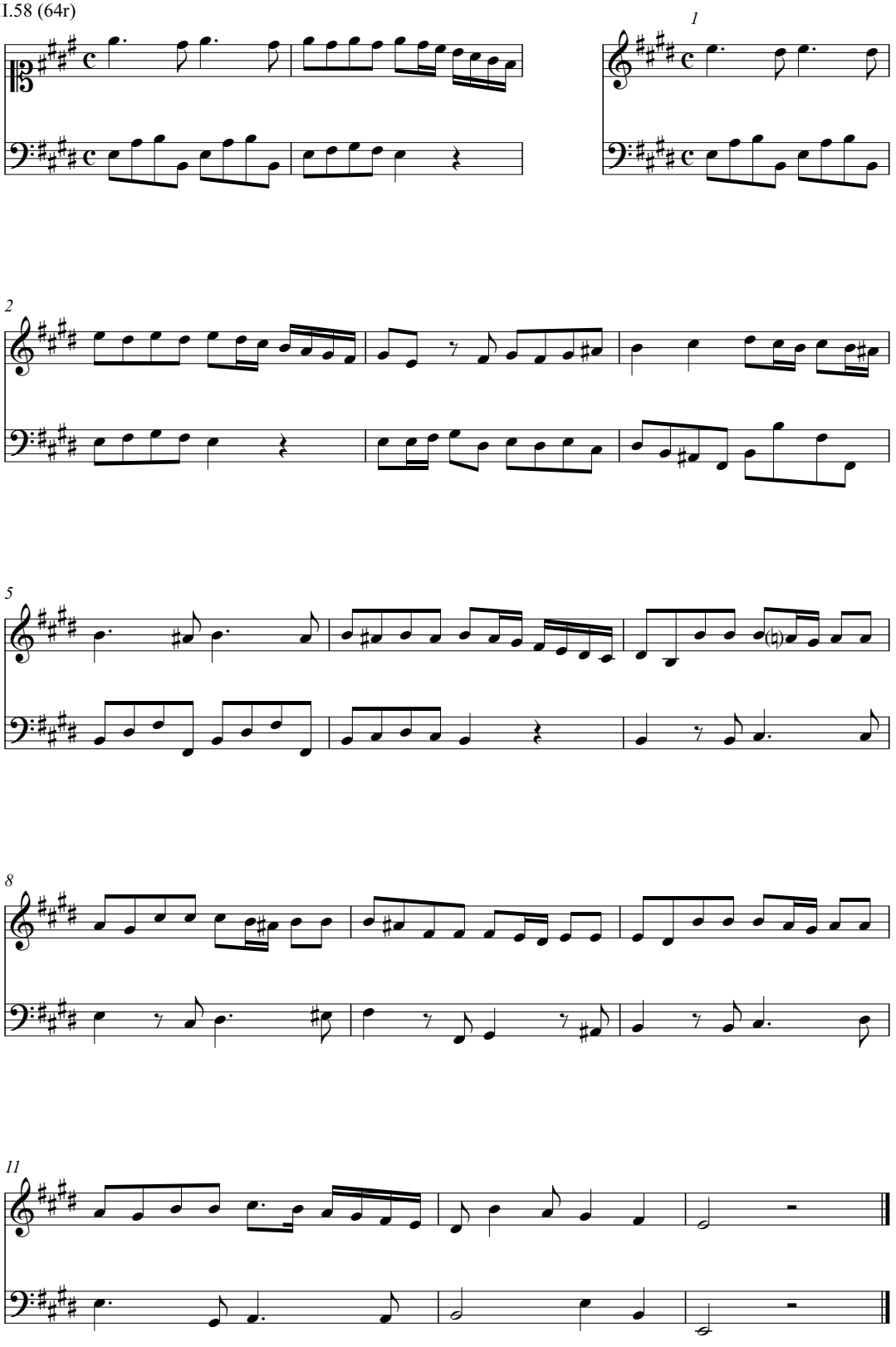
VII.56 (63v)



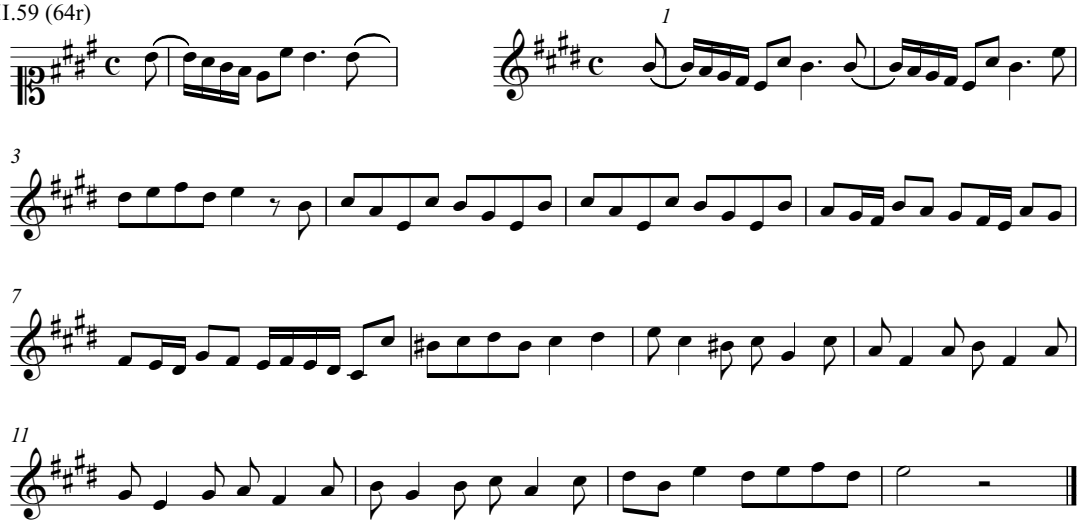
VII.57 (63v)



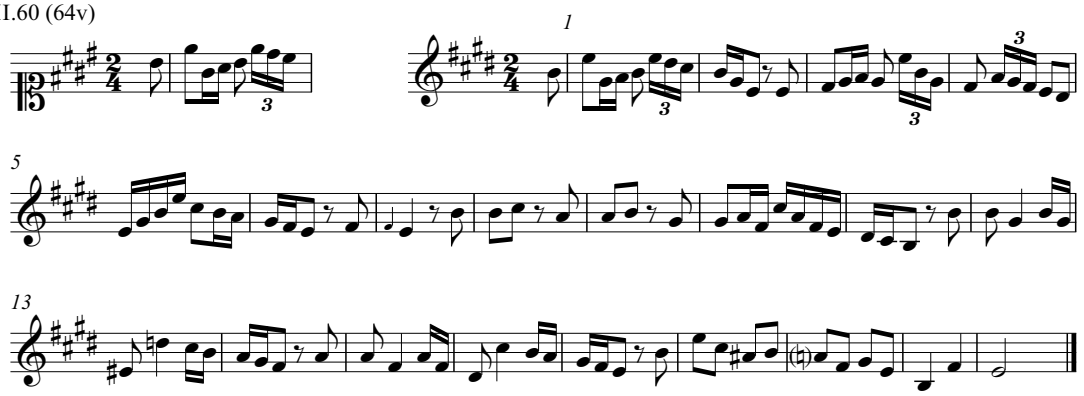
VII.58 (64r)



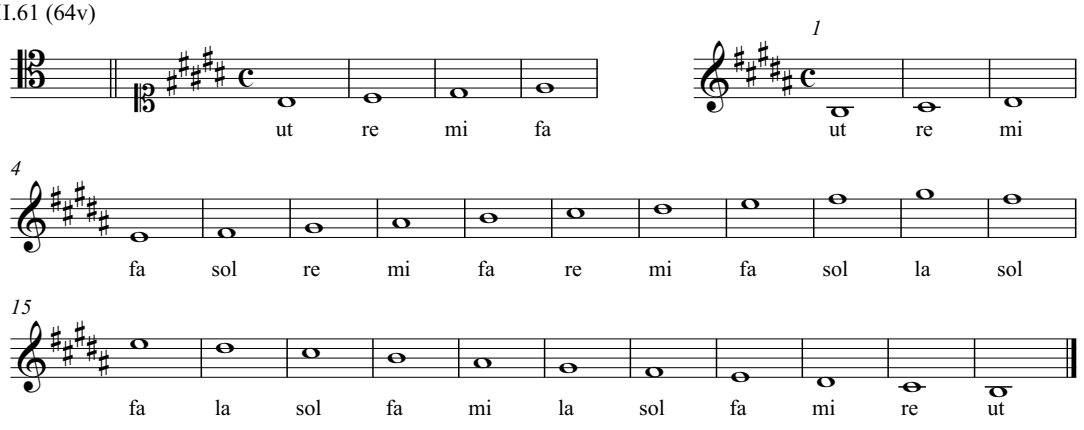
VII.59 (64r)



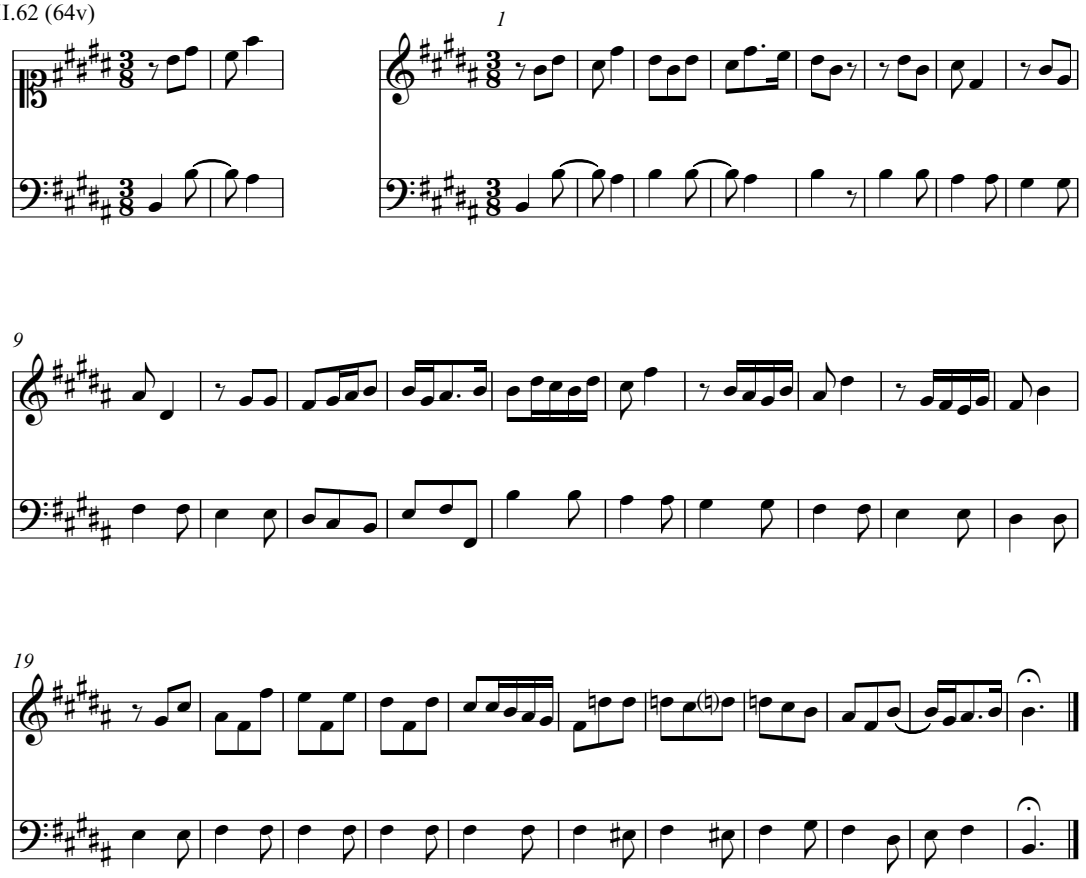
VII.60 (64v)



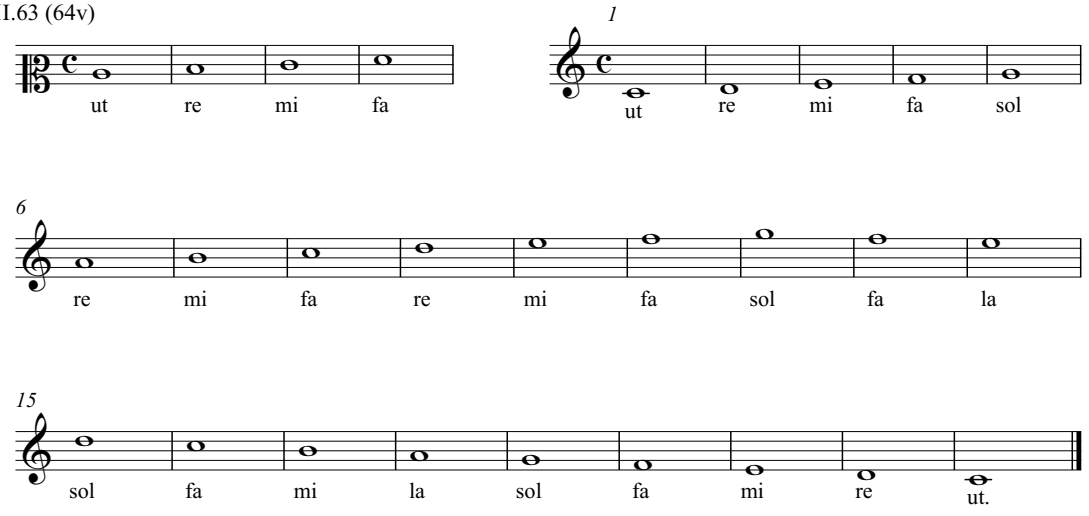
VII.61 (64v)



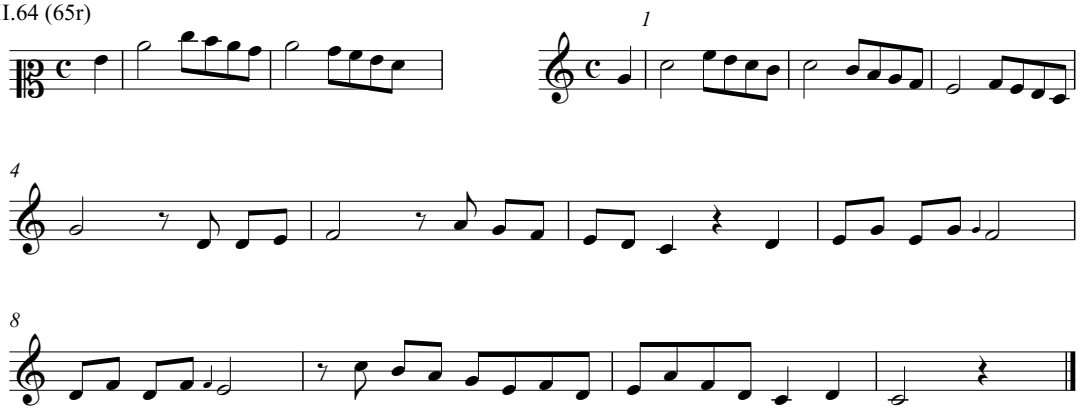
VII.62 (64v)



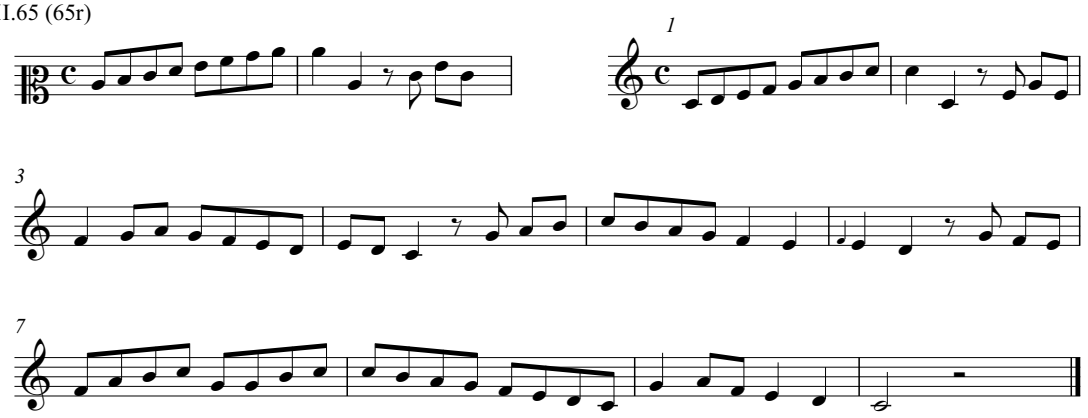
VII.63 (64v)



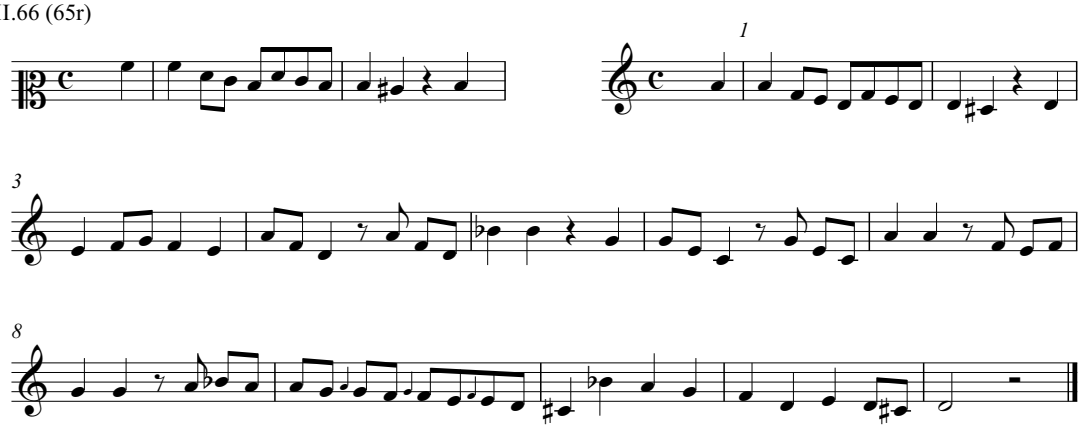
VII.64 (65r)



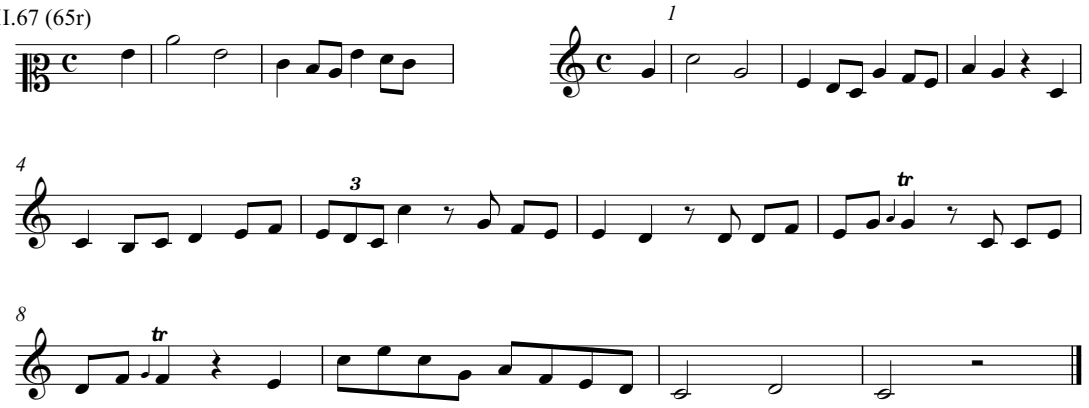
VII.65 (65r)



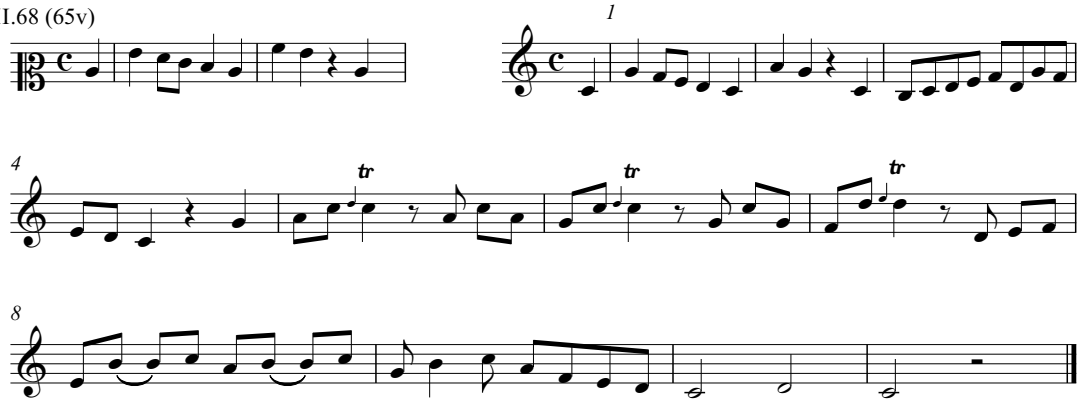
VII.66 (65r)



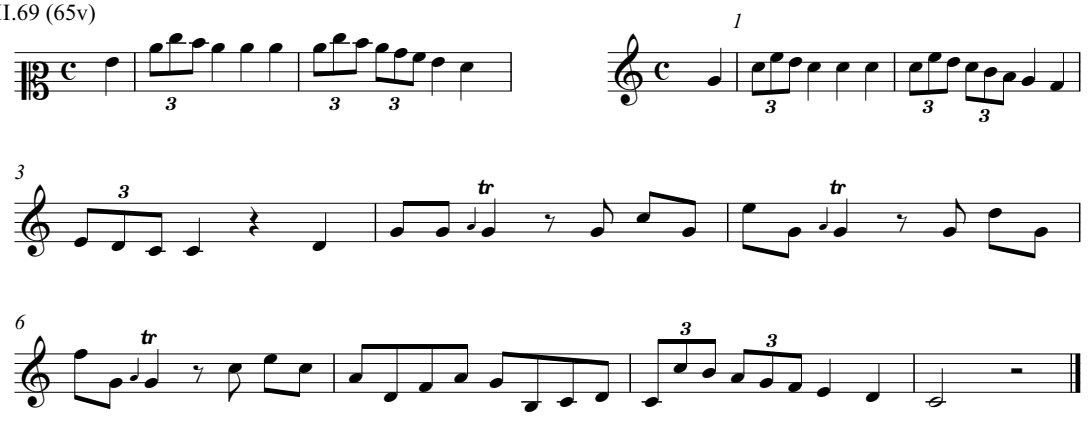
VII.67 (65r)



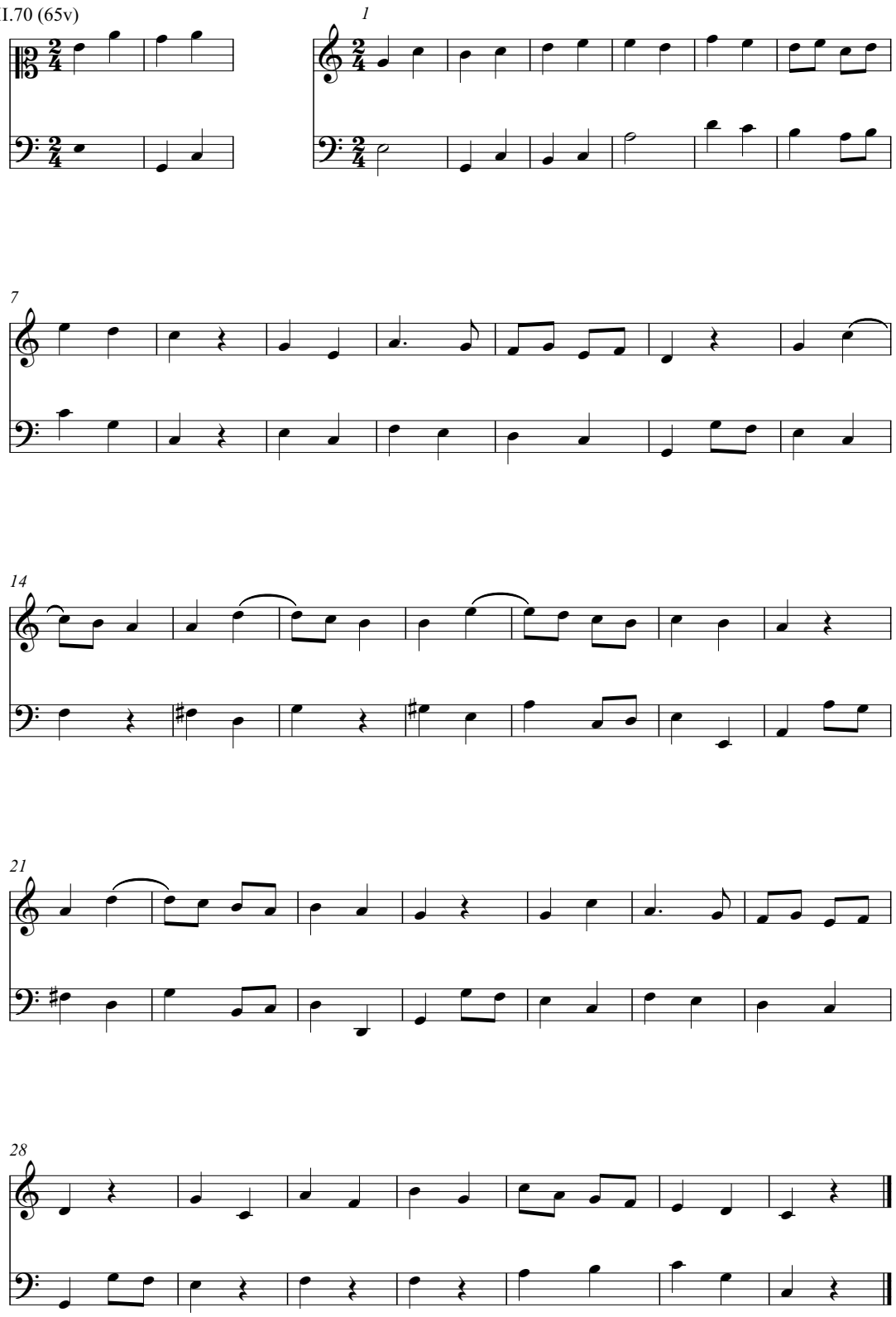
VII.68 (65v)



VII.69 (65v)



VII.70 (65v)



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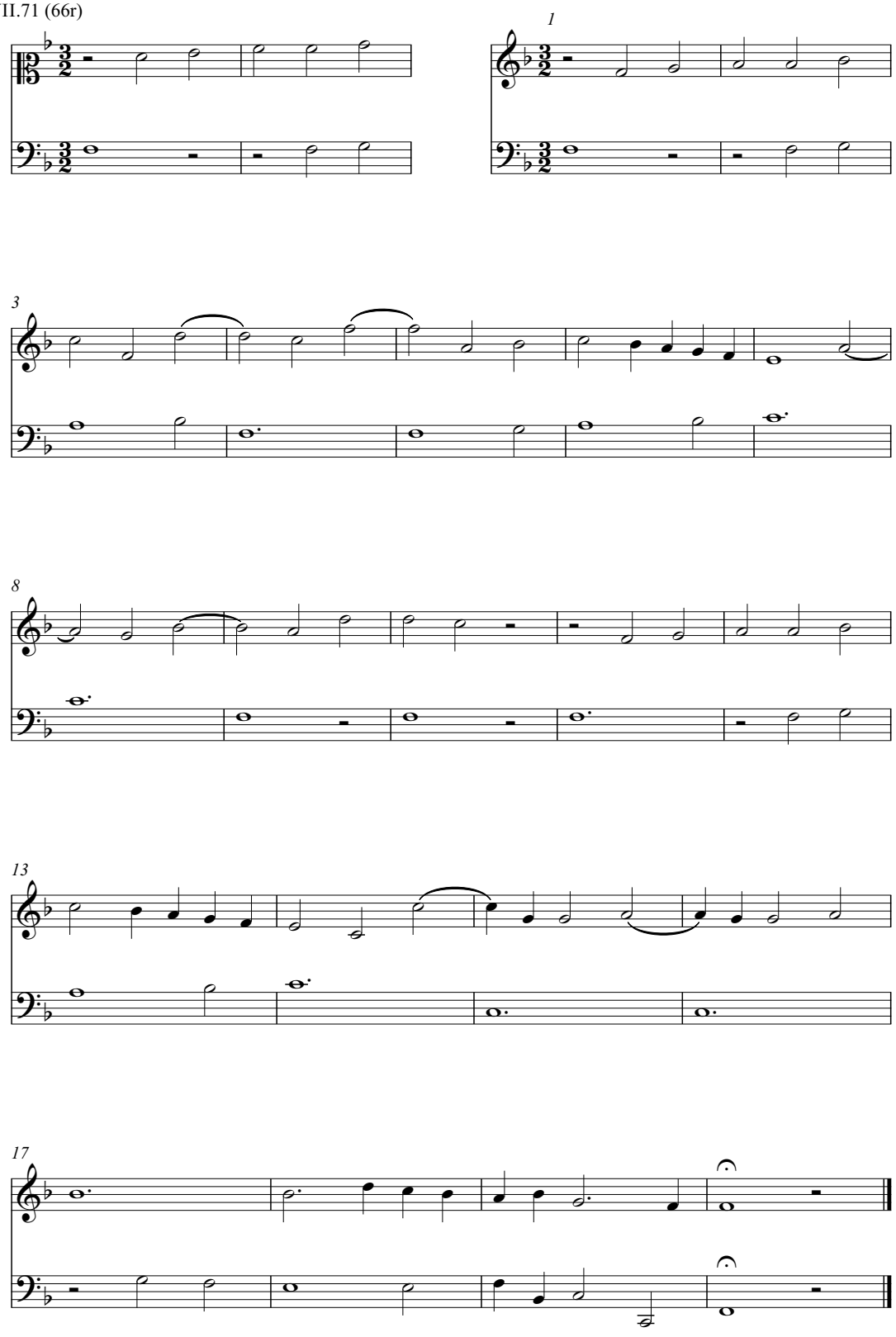
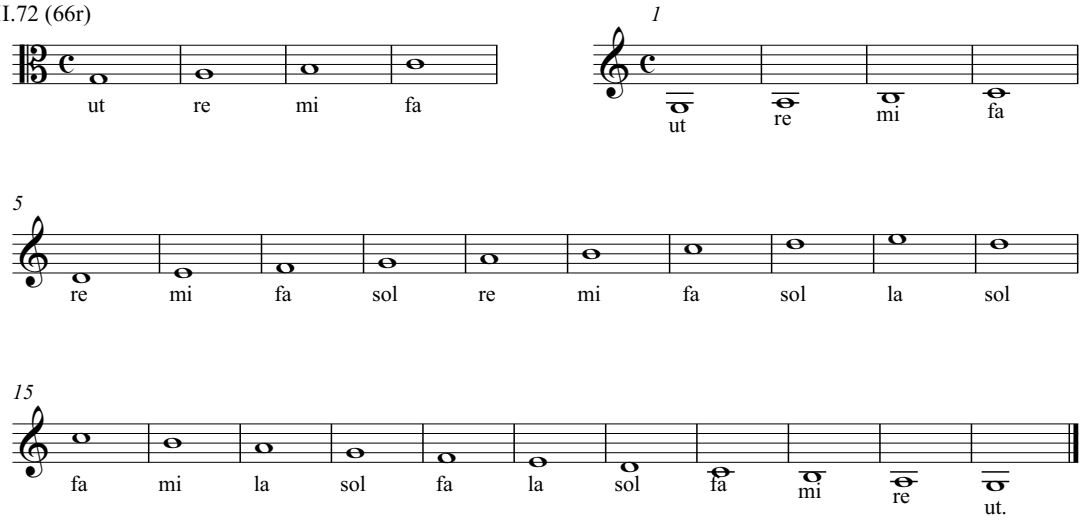
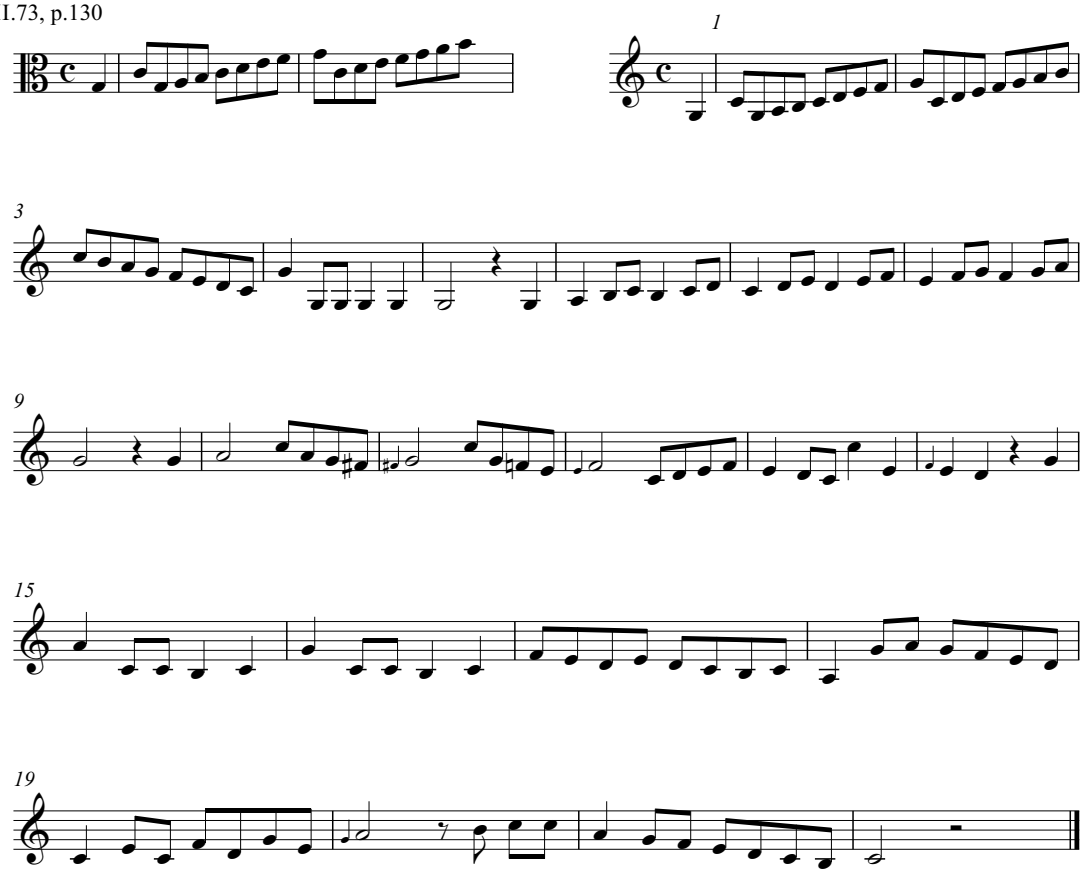


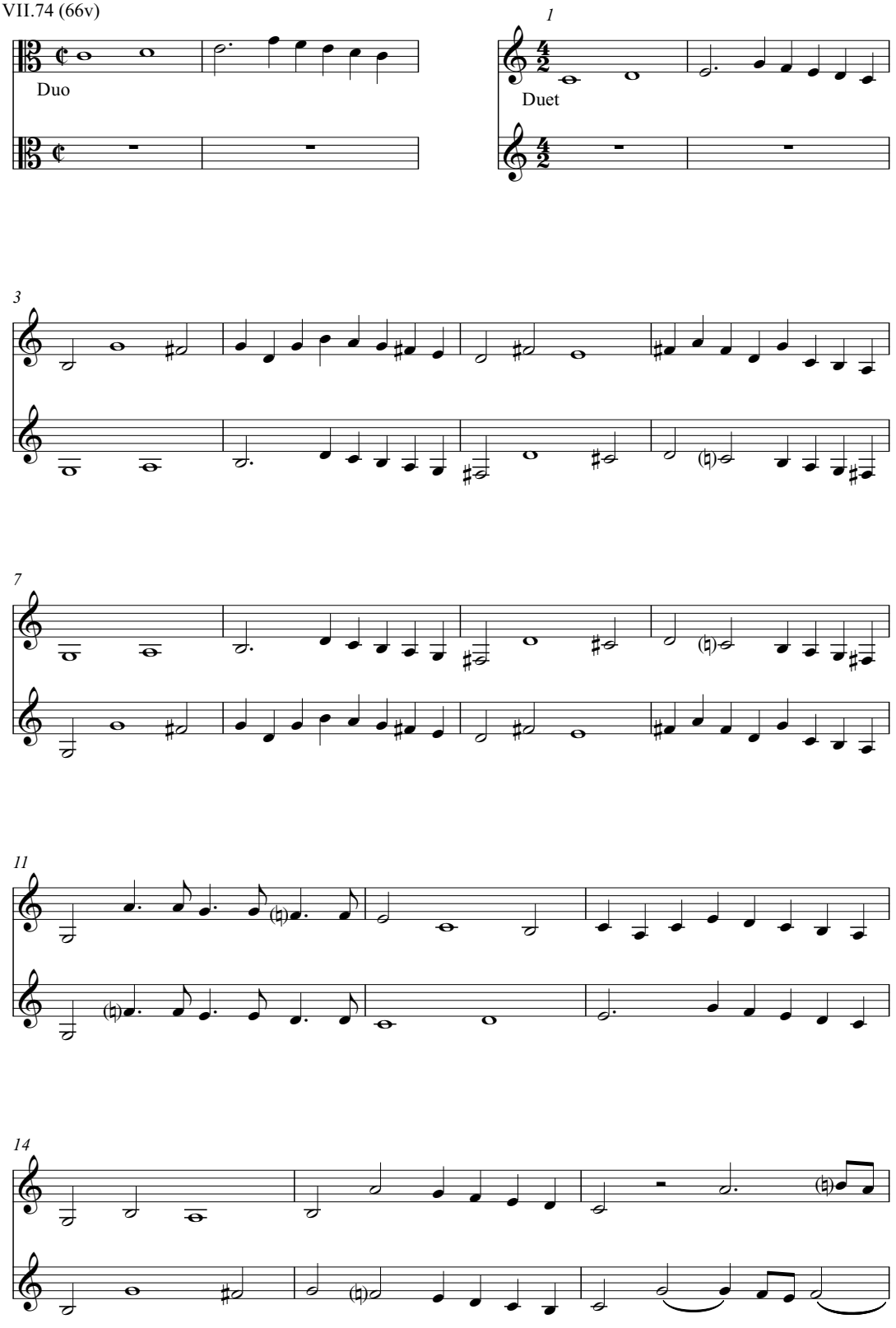
VII.72 (66r)

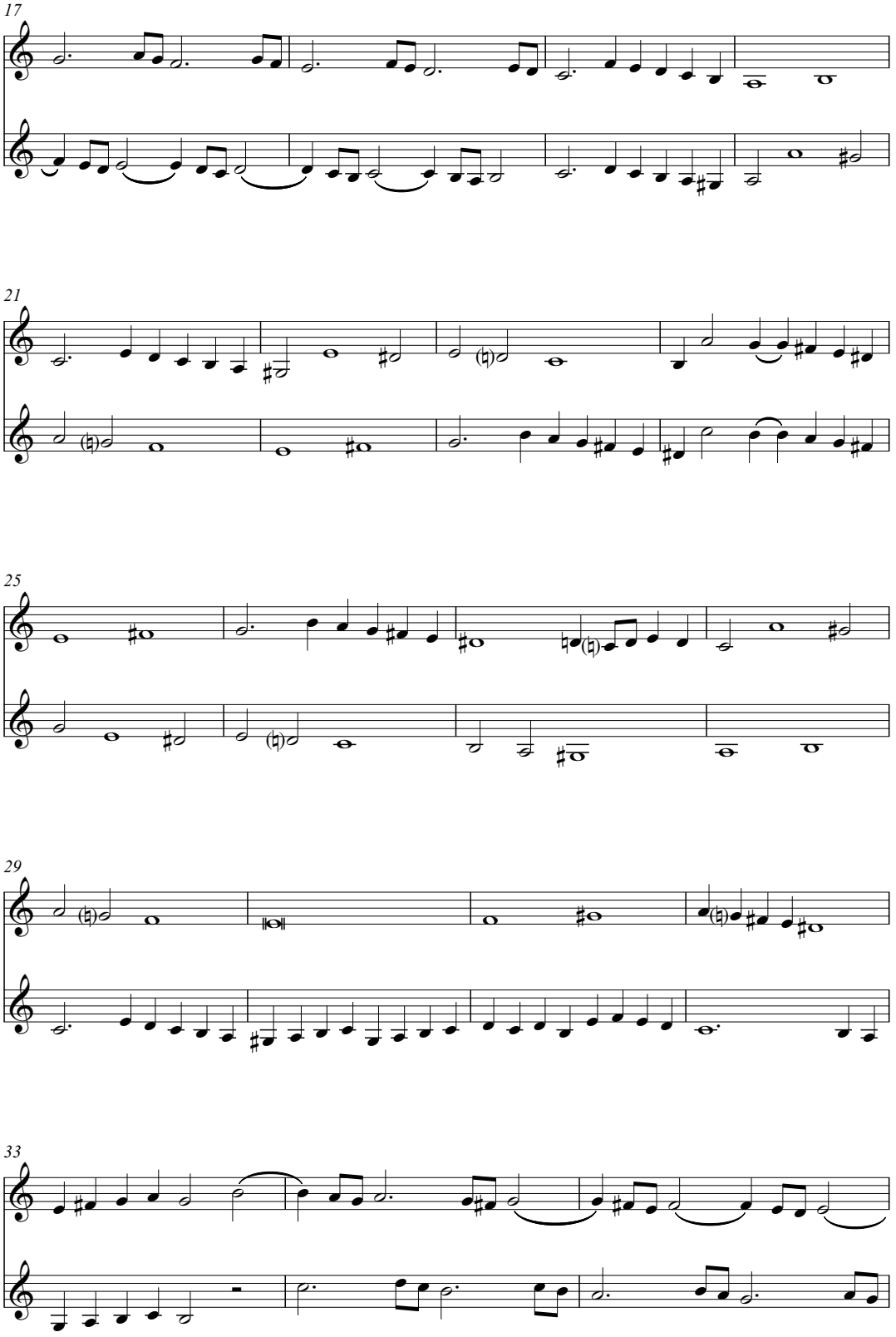


VII.73, p.130



VII.74 (66v)

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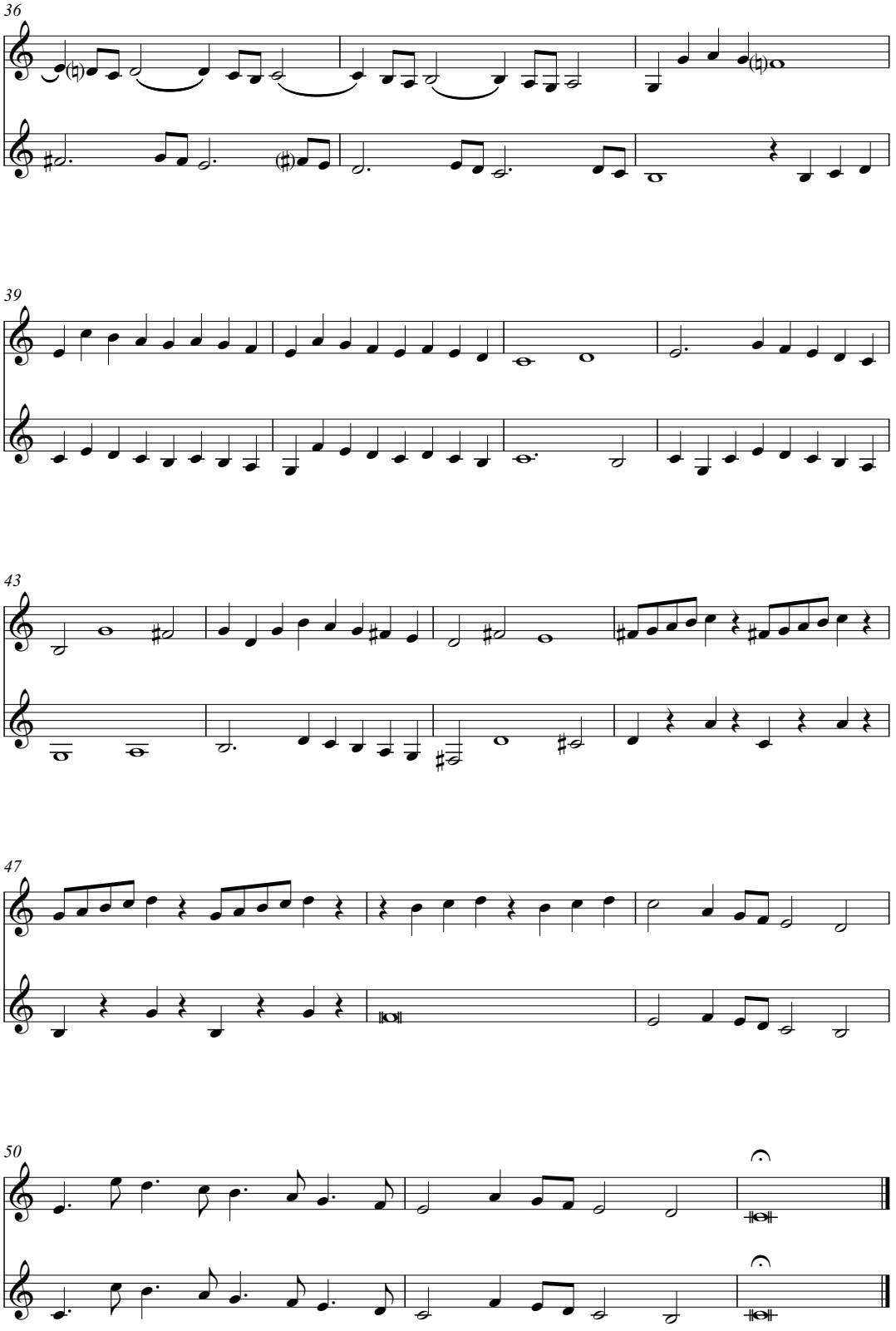
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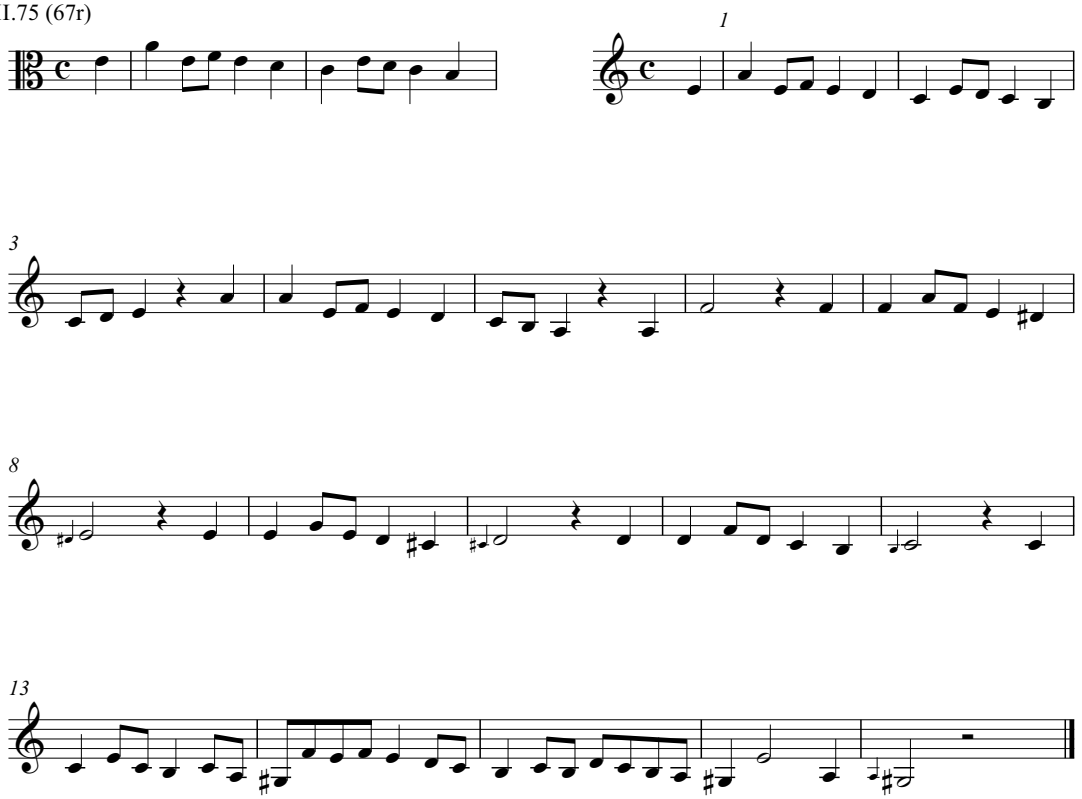
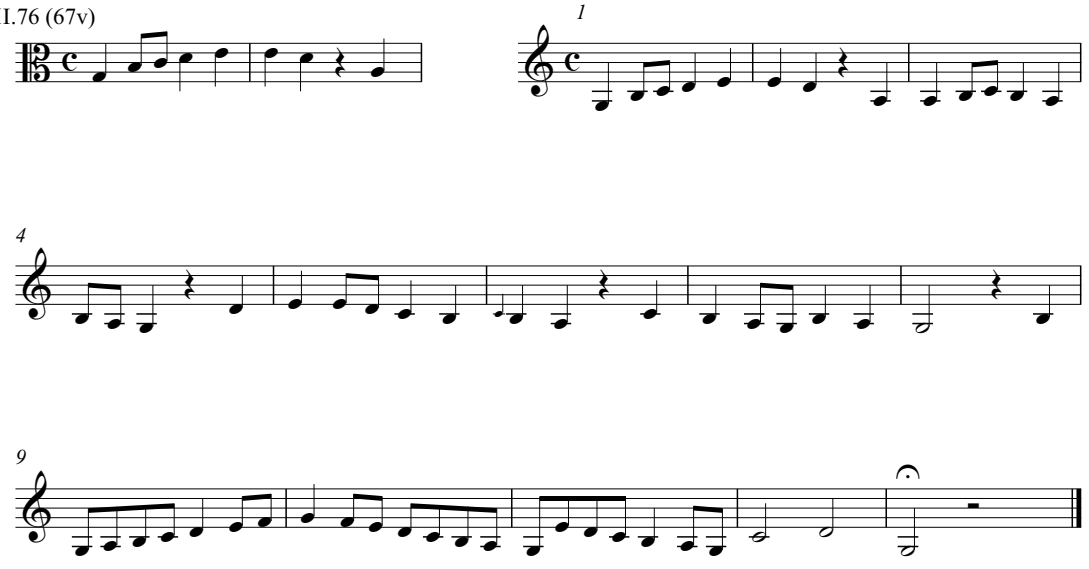
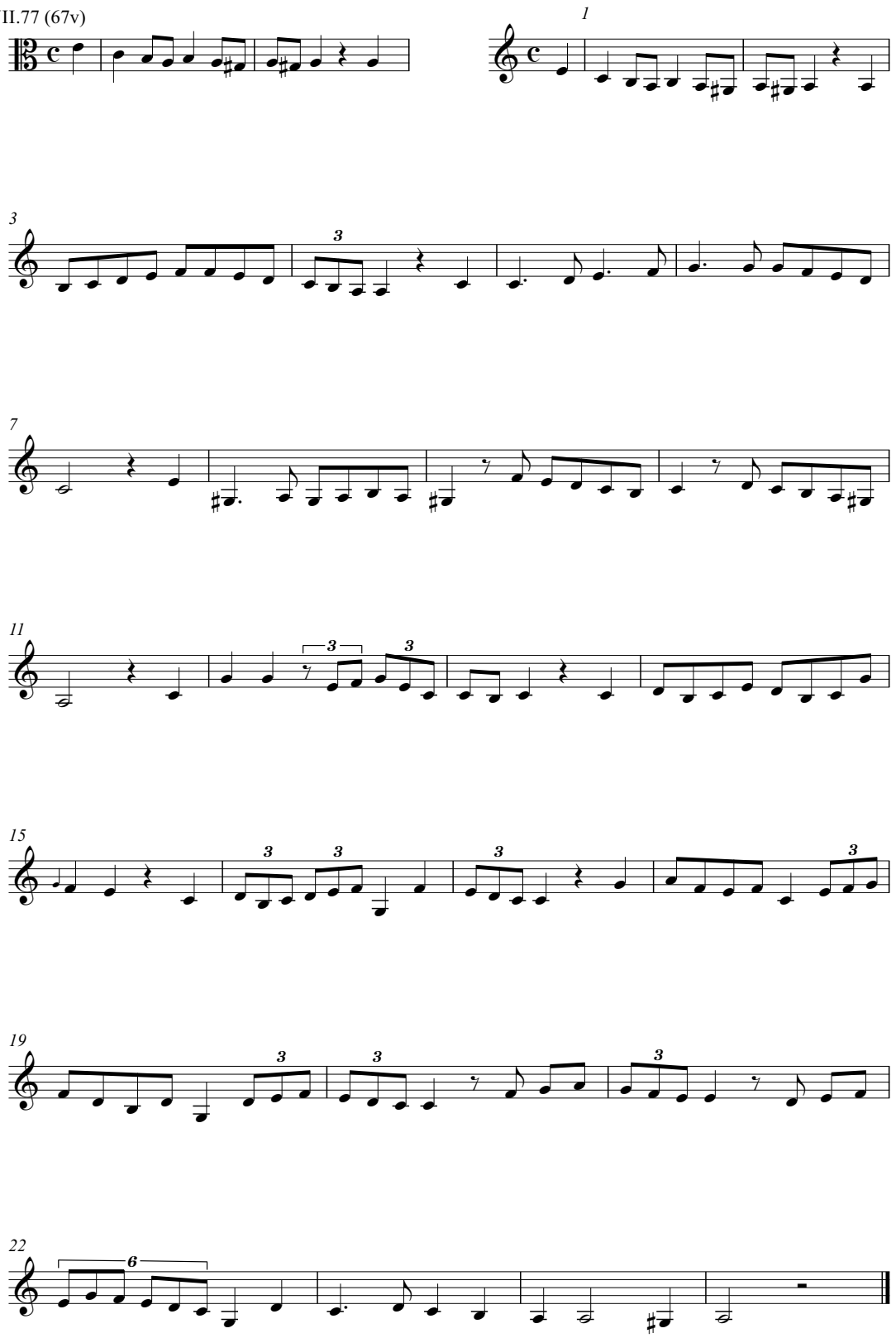
VII.75 (67r)



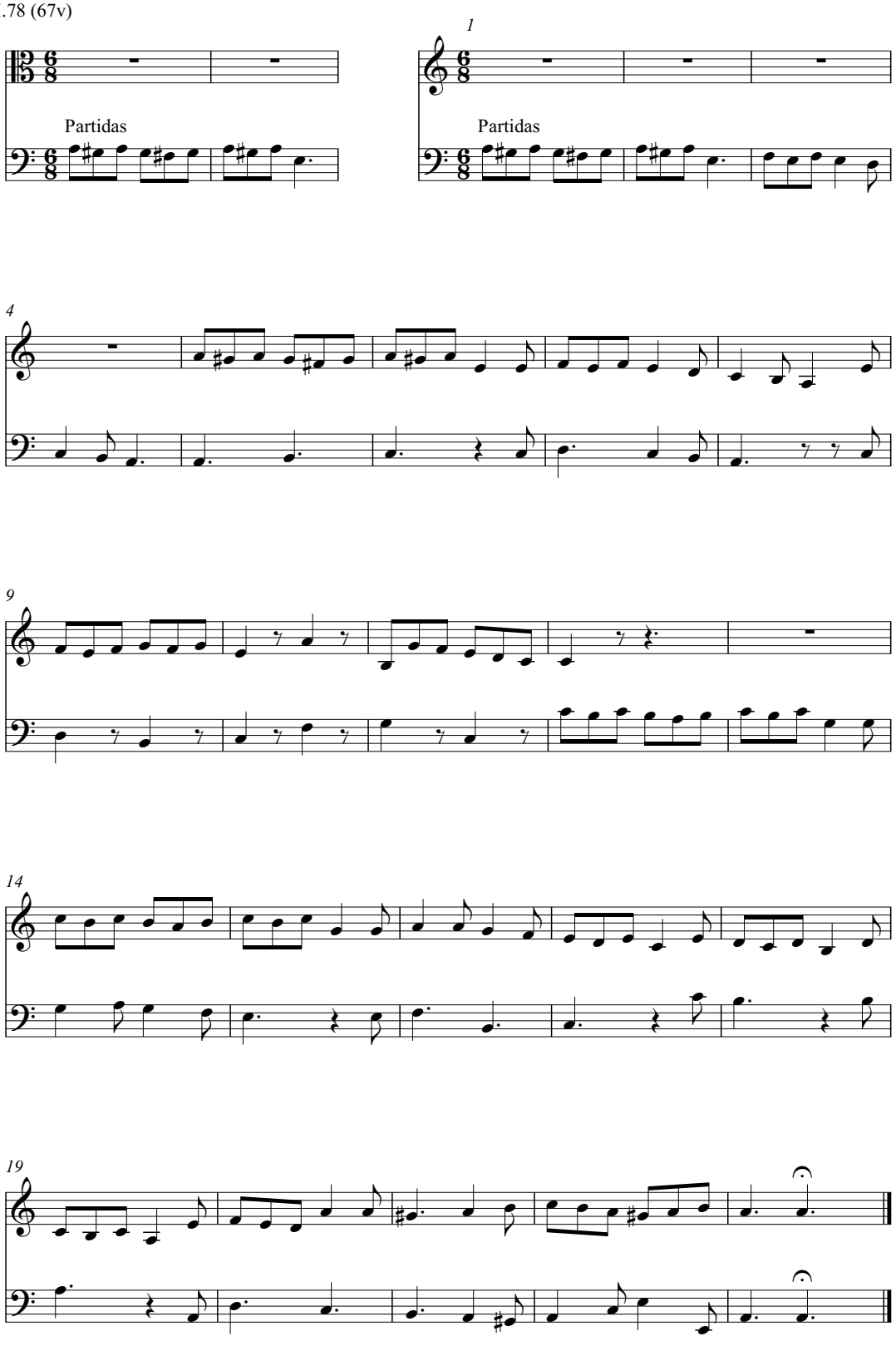
VII.76 (67v)



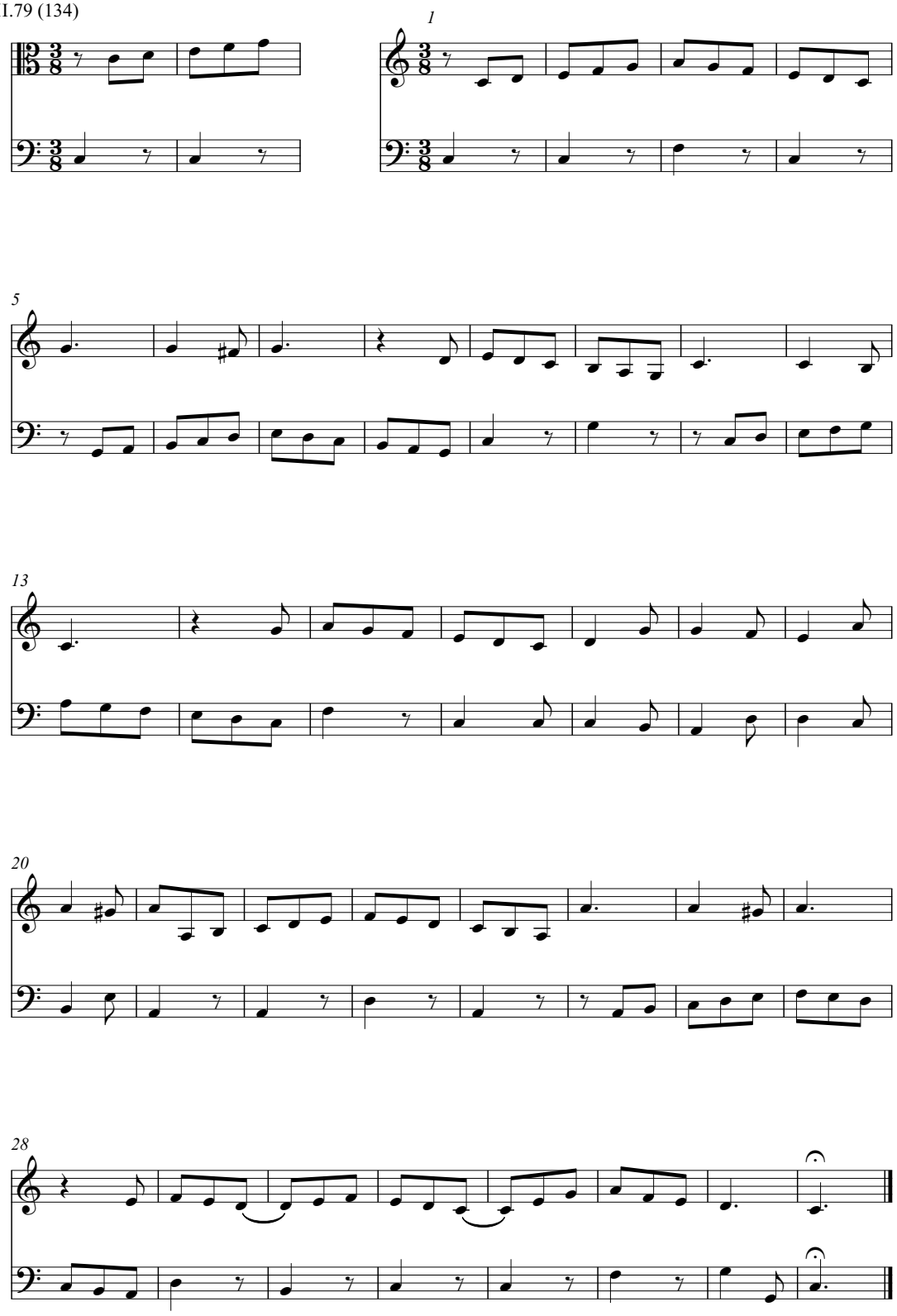
VII.77 (67v)



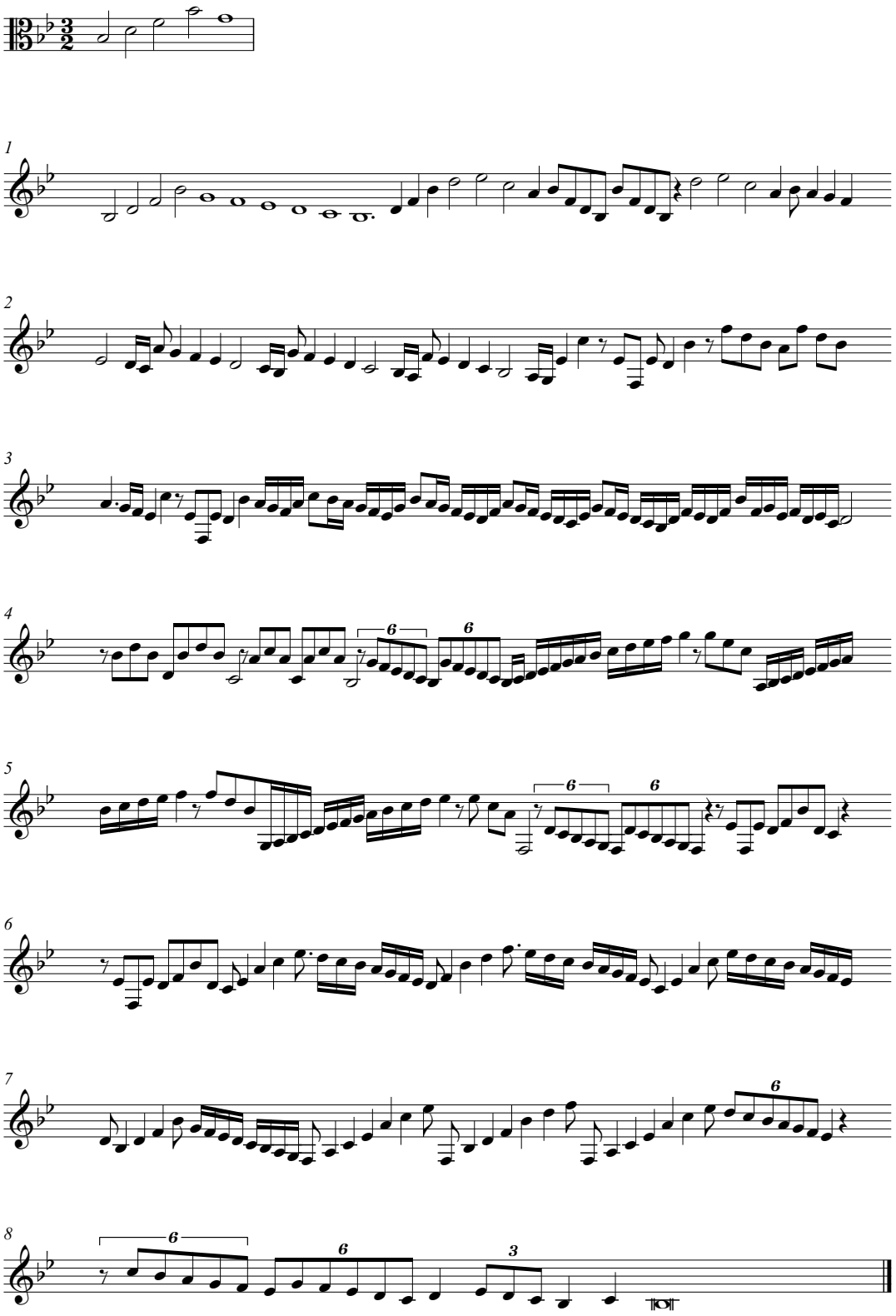
VII.78 (67v)



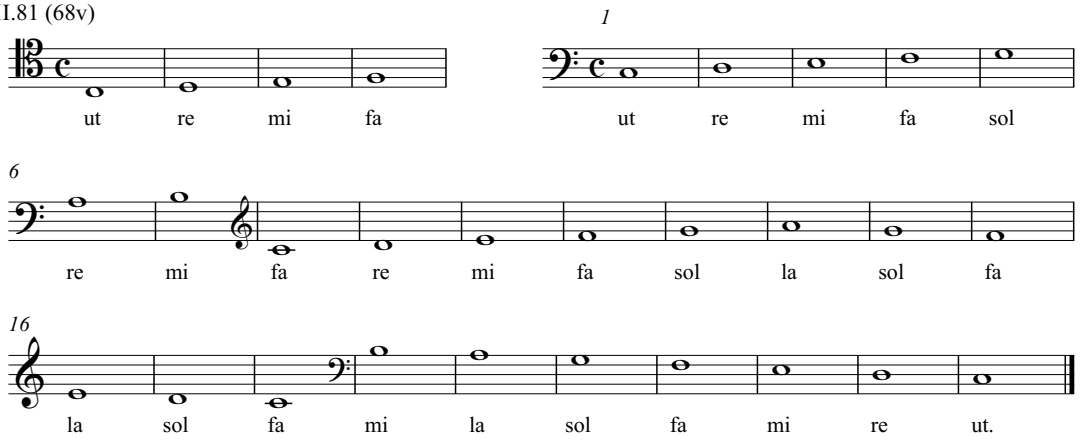
VII.79 (134)



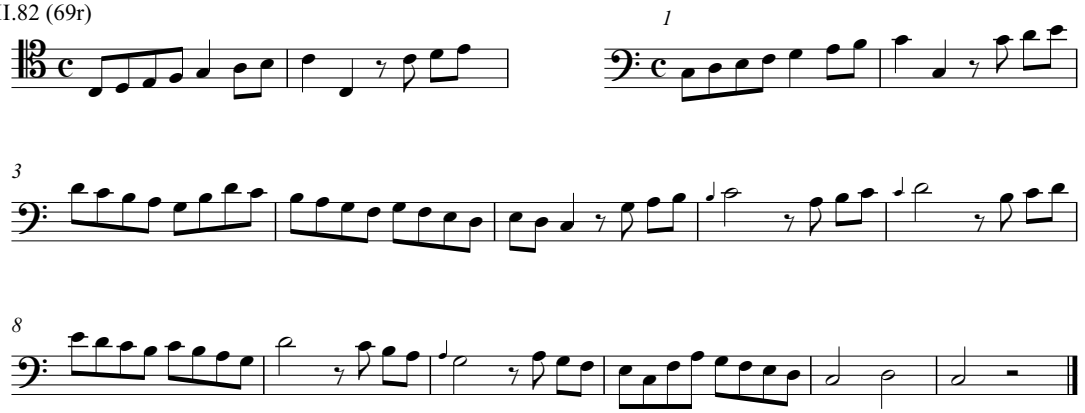
VII.80 (68v)



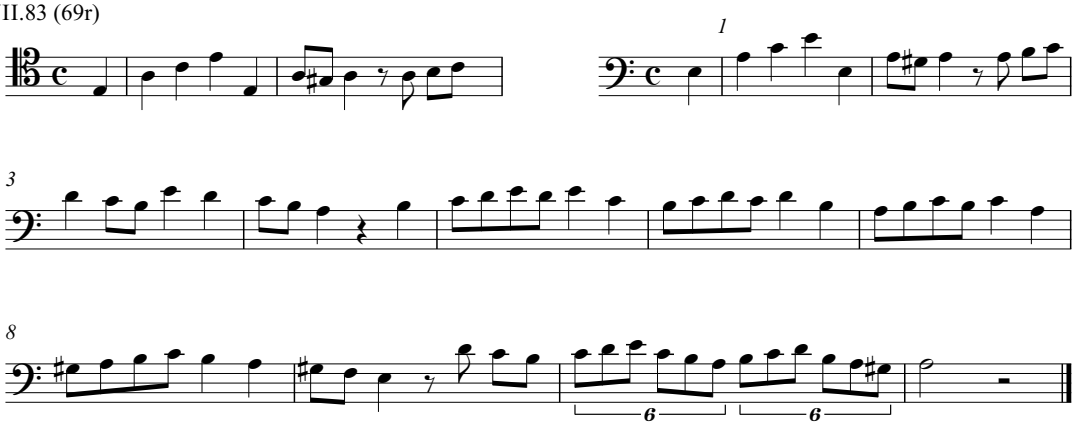
VII.81 (68v)



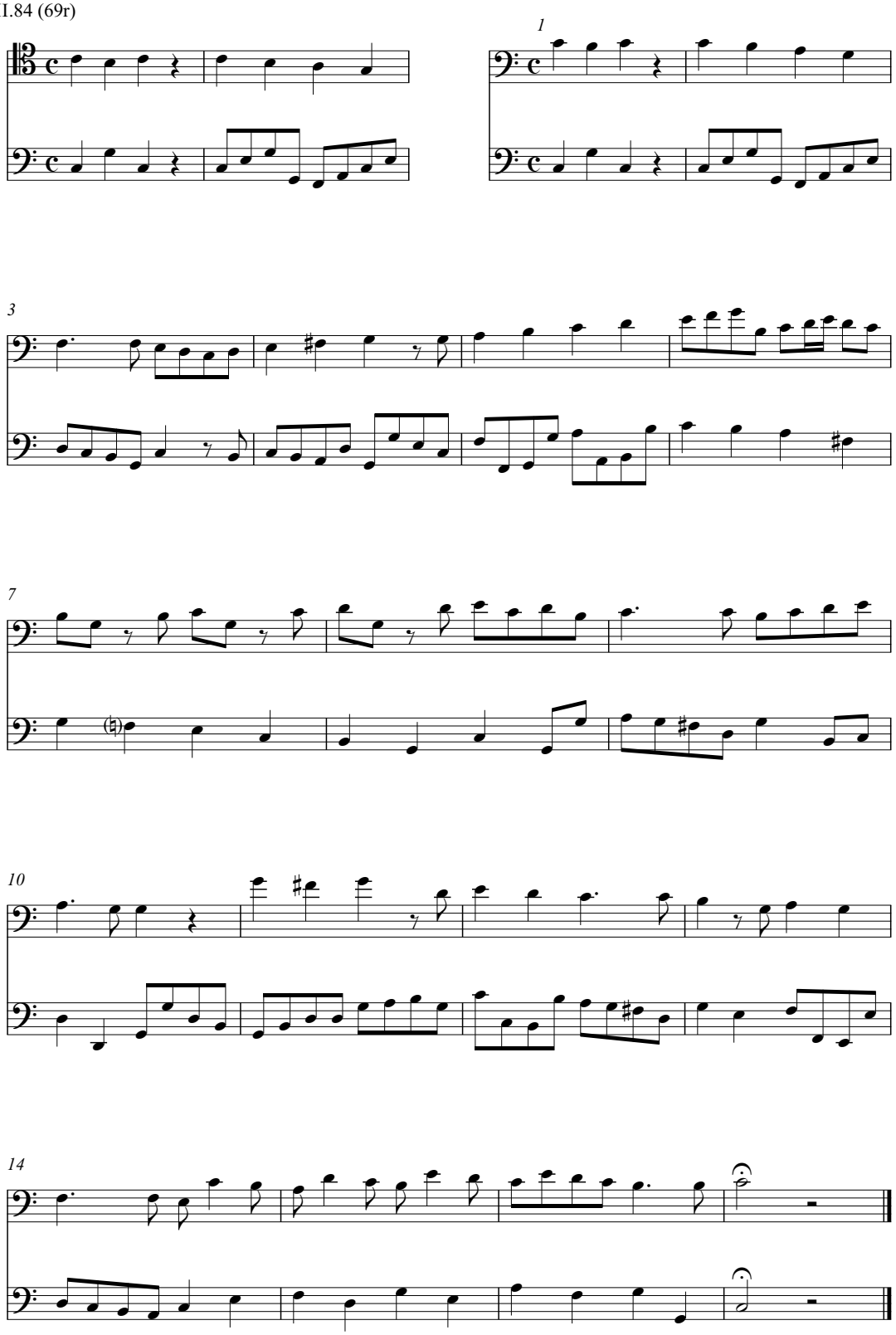
VII.82 (69r)



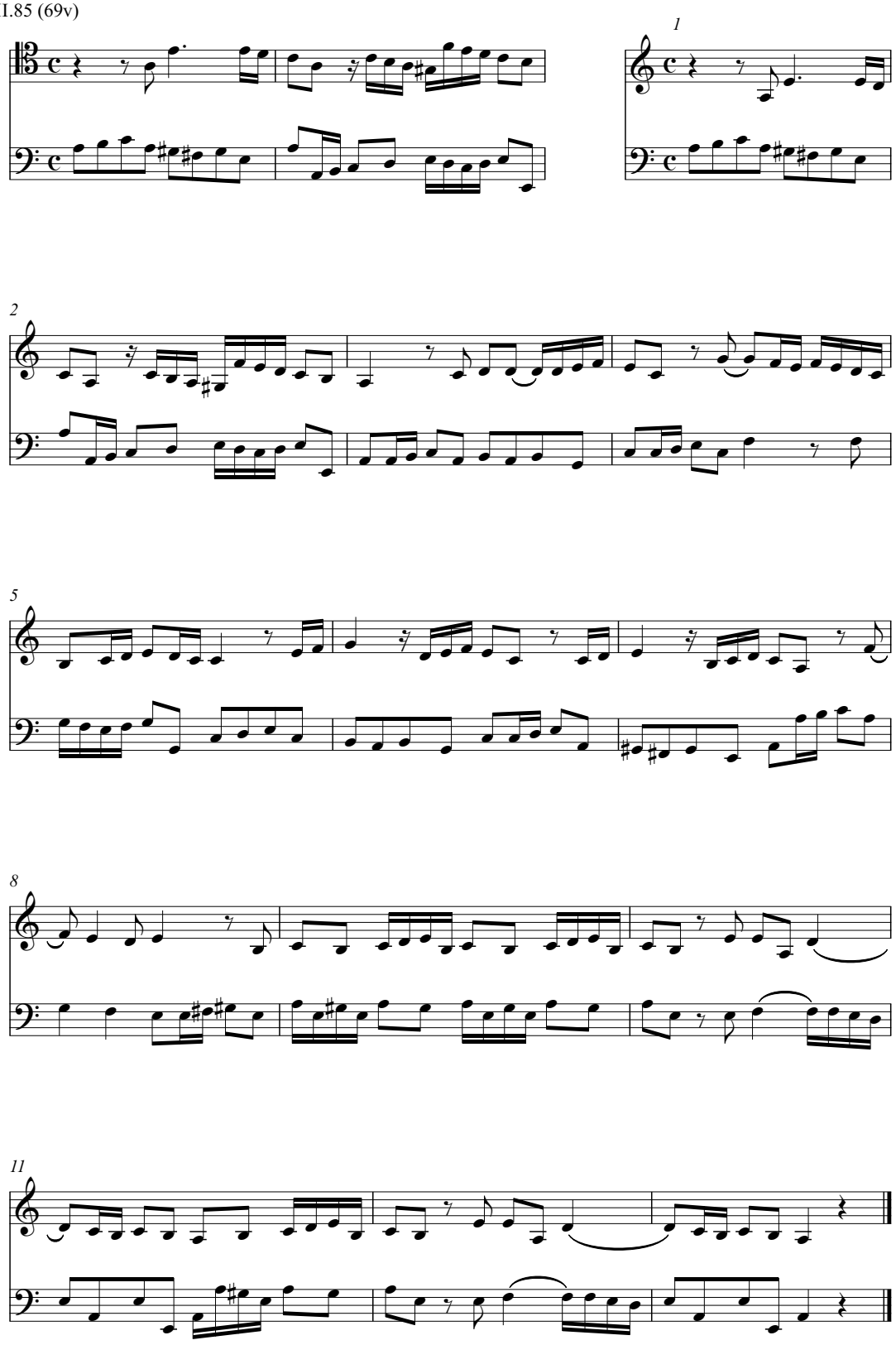
VII.83 (69r)



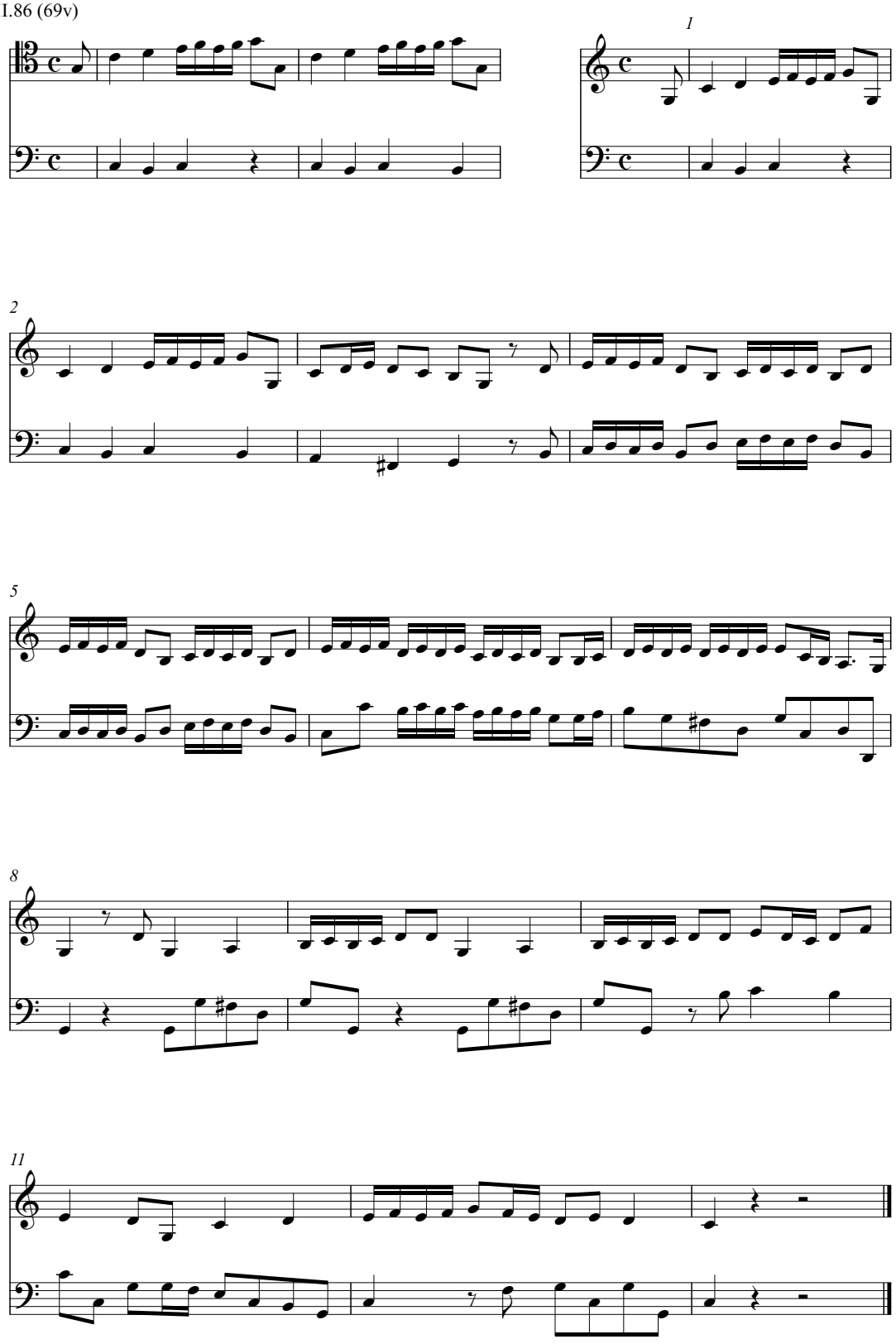
VII.84 (69r)



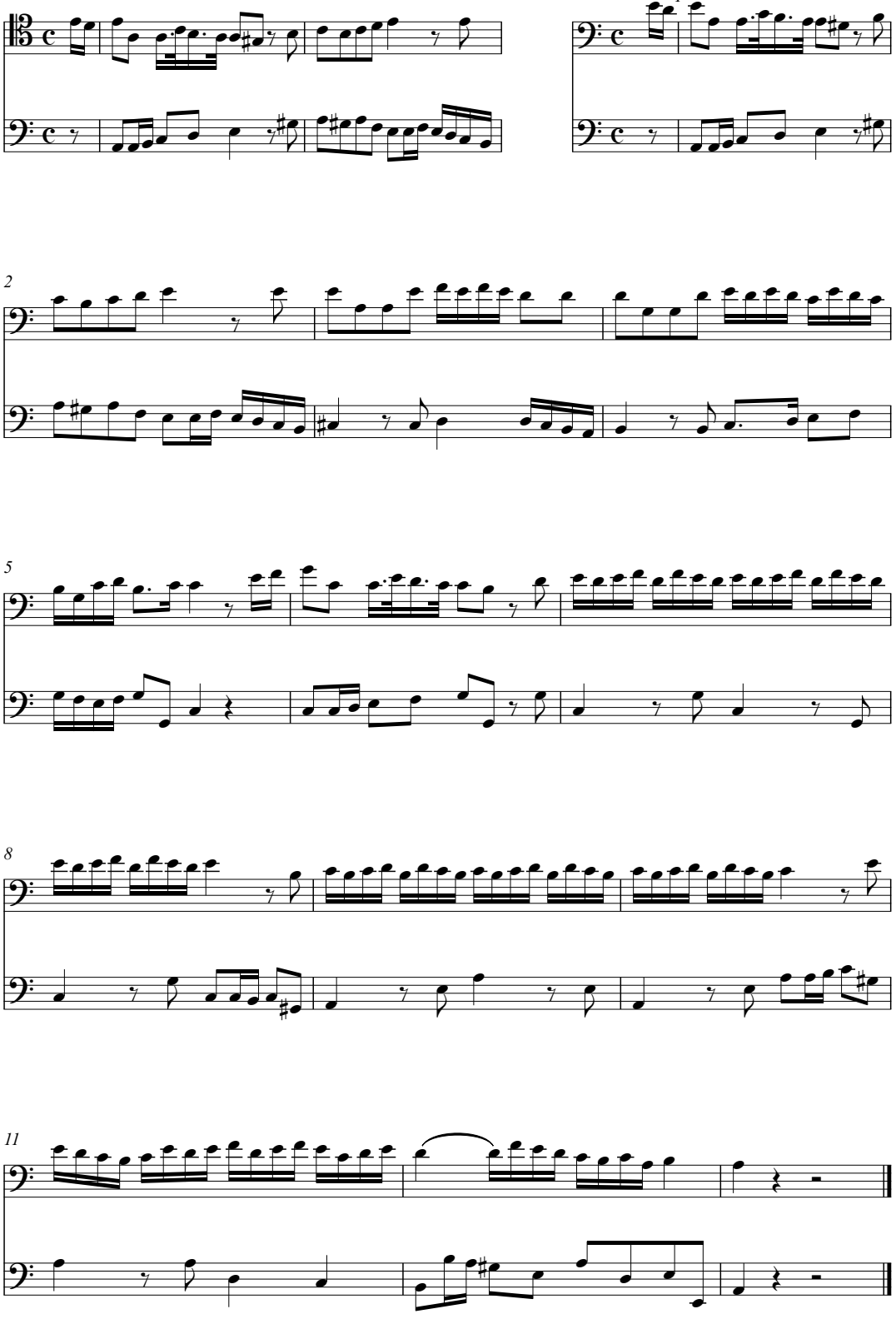
VII.85 (69v)



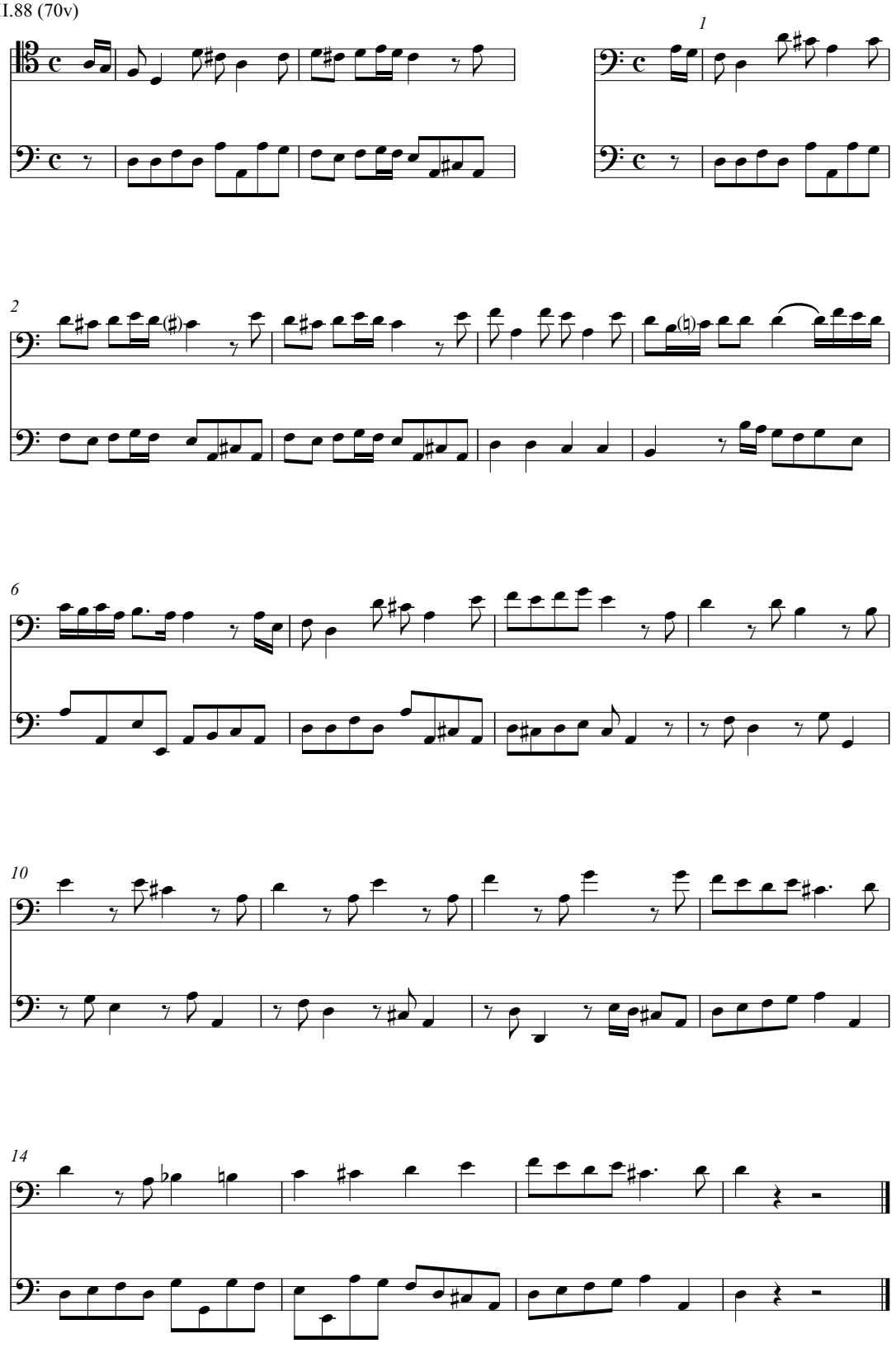
VII.86 (69v)



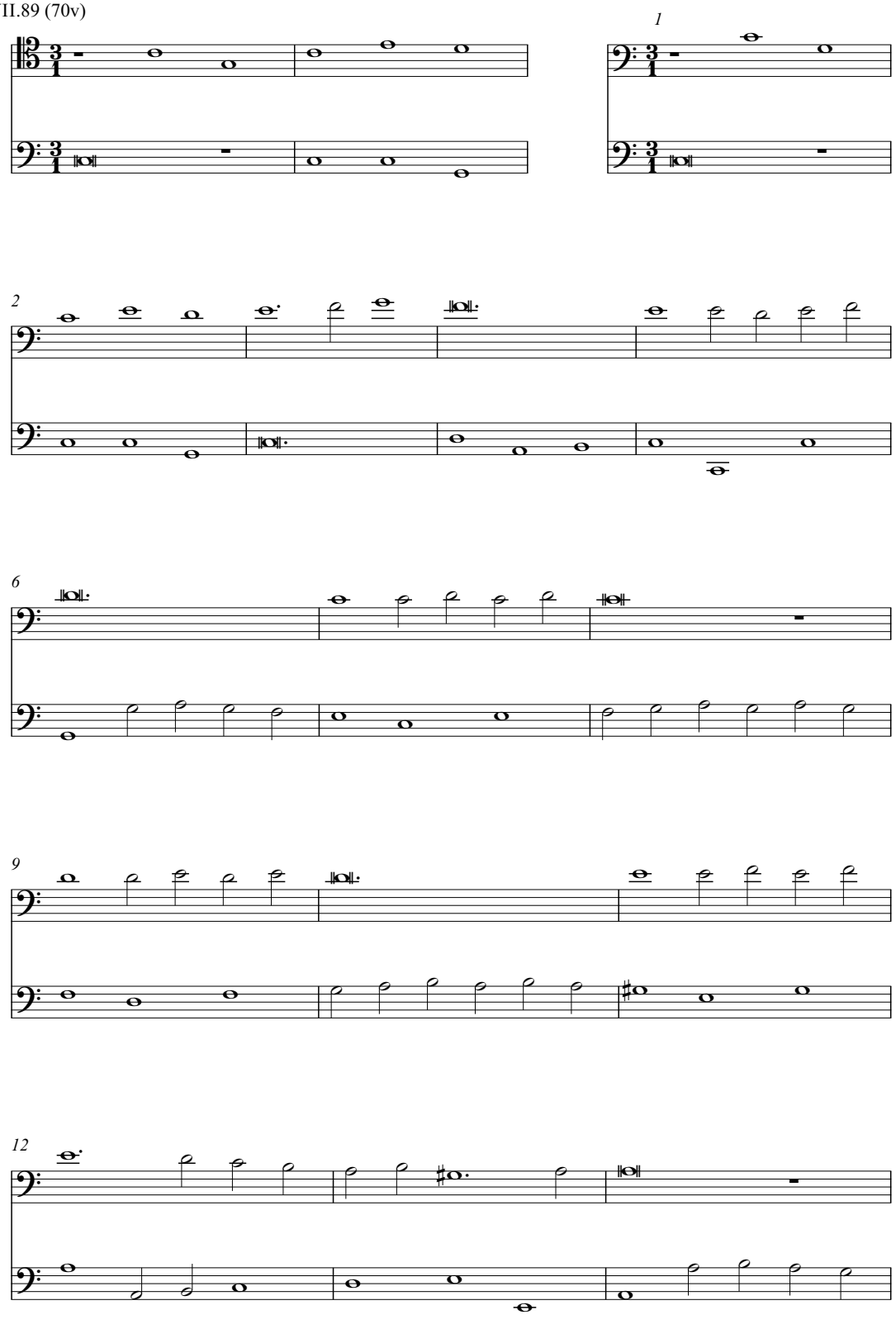
VII.87 (70r)

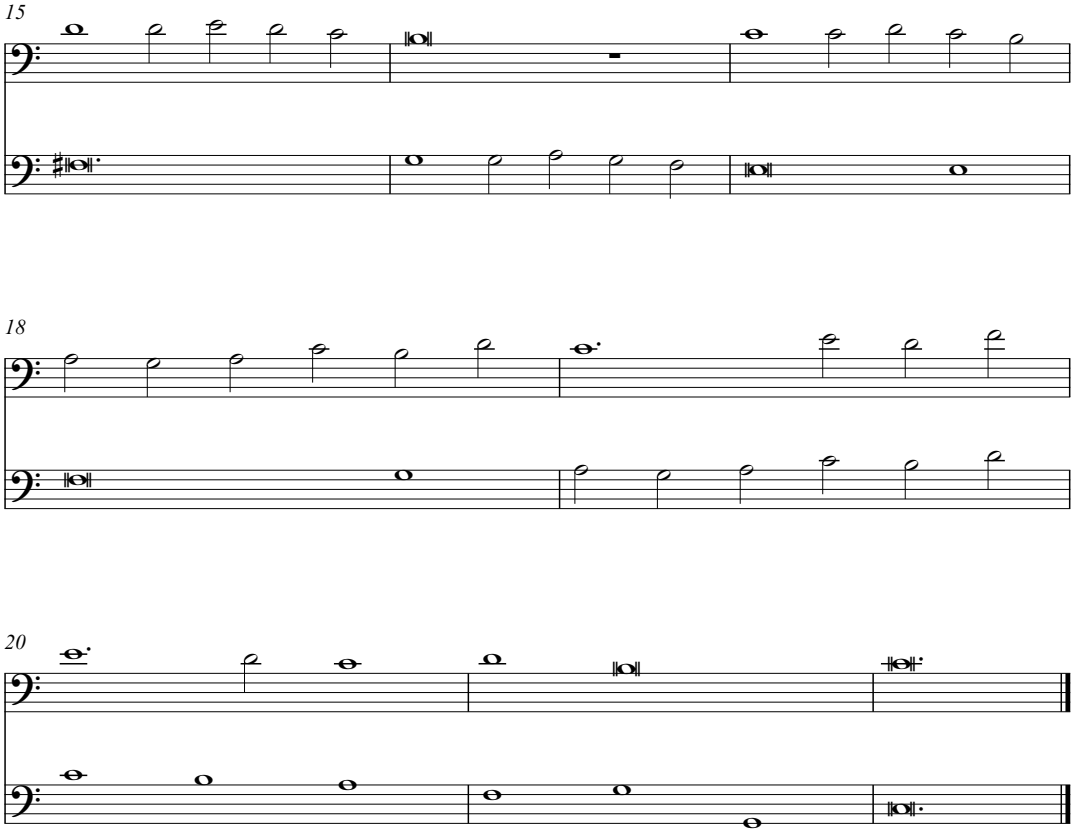


VII.88 (70v)

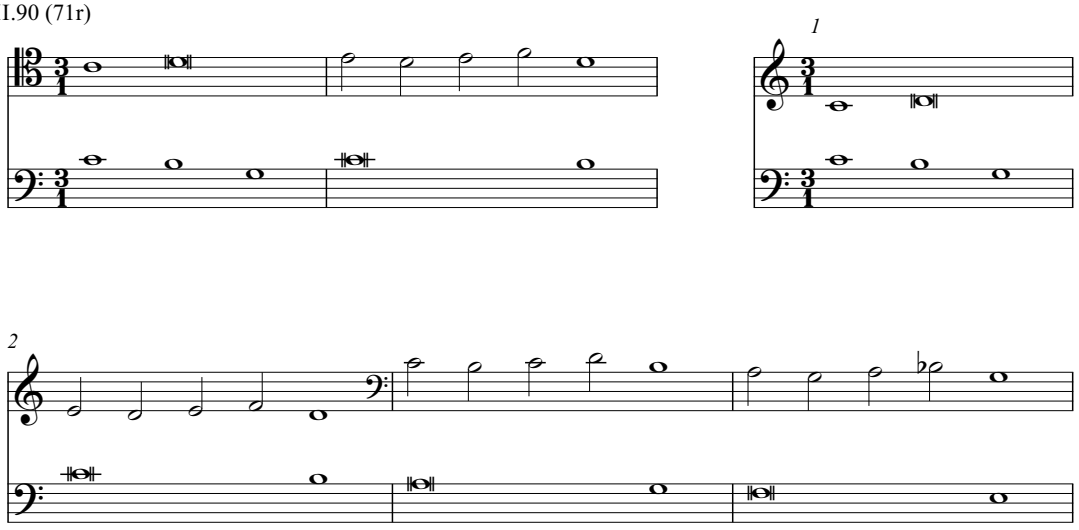


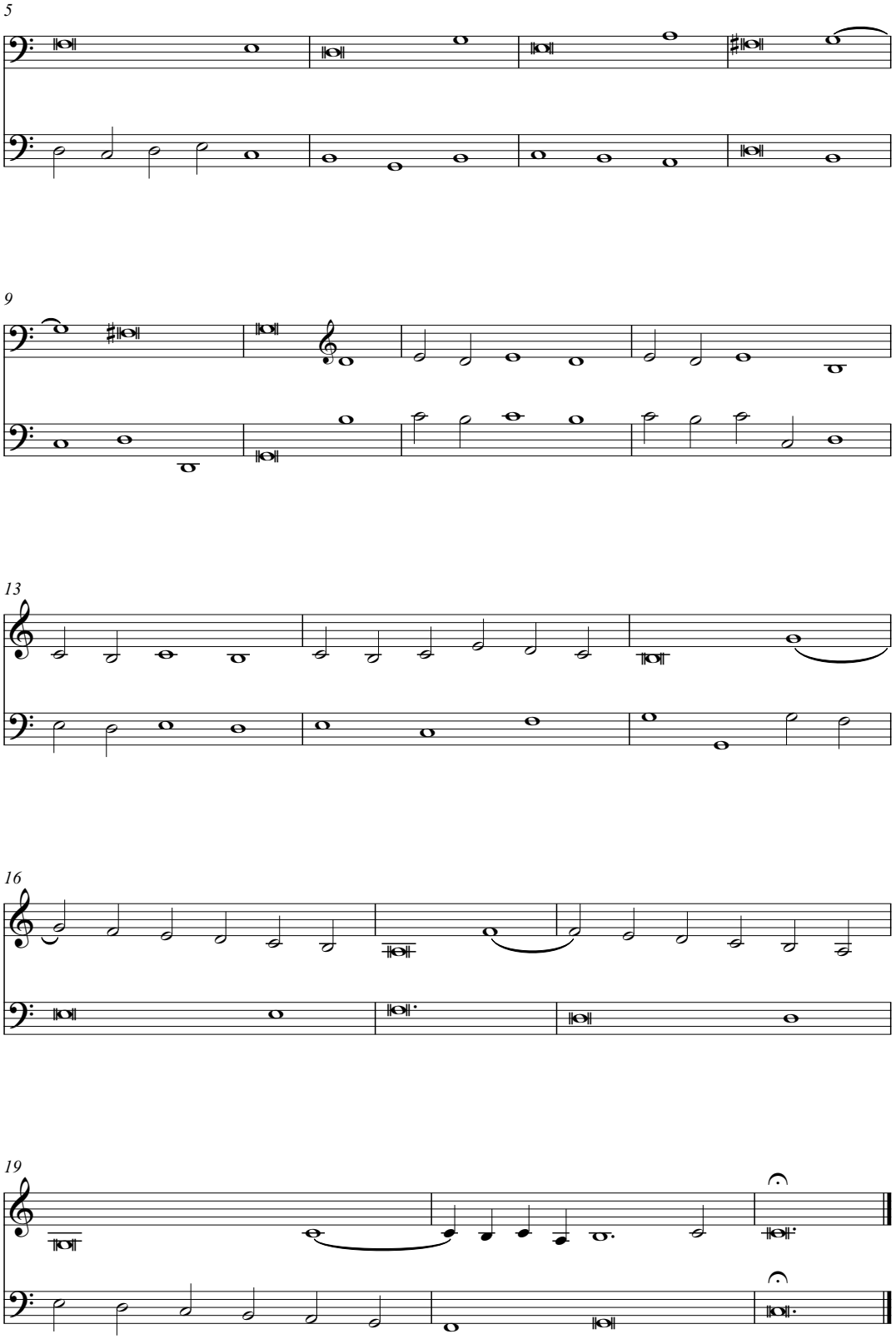
VII.89 (70v)





VII.90 (71r)

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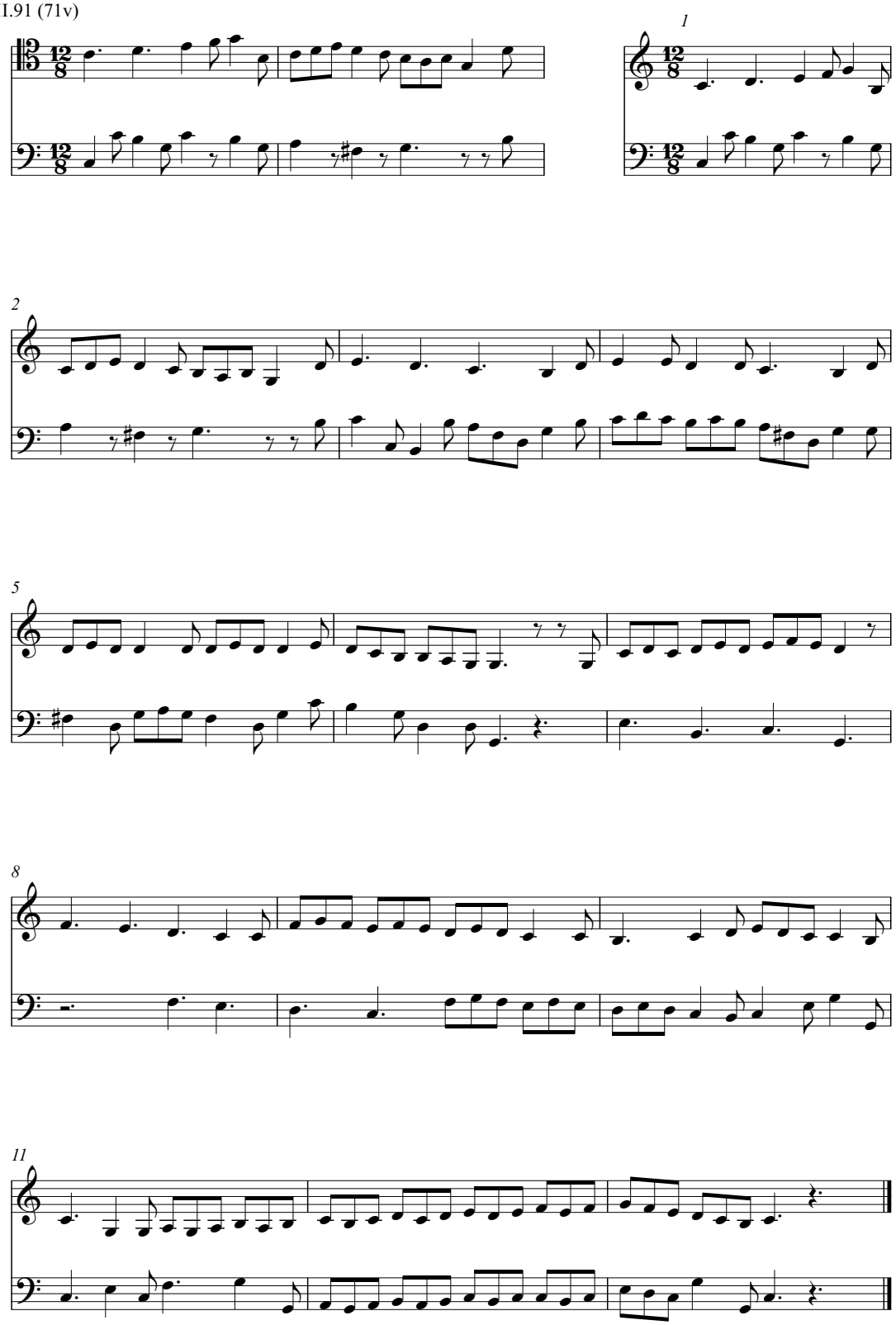
VII.91 (71v)



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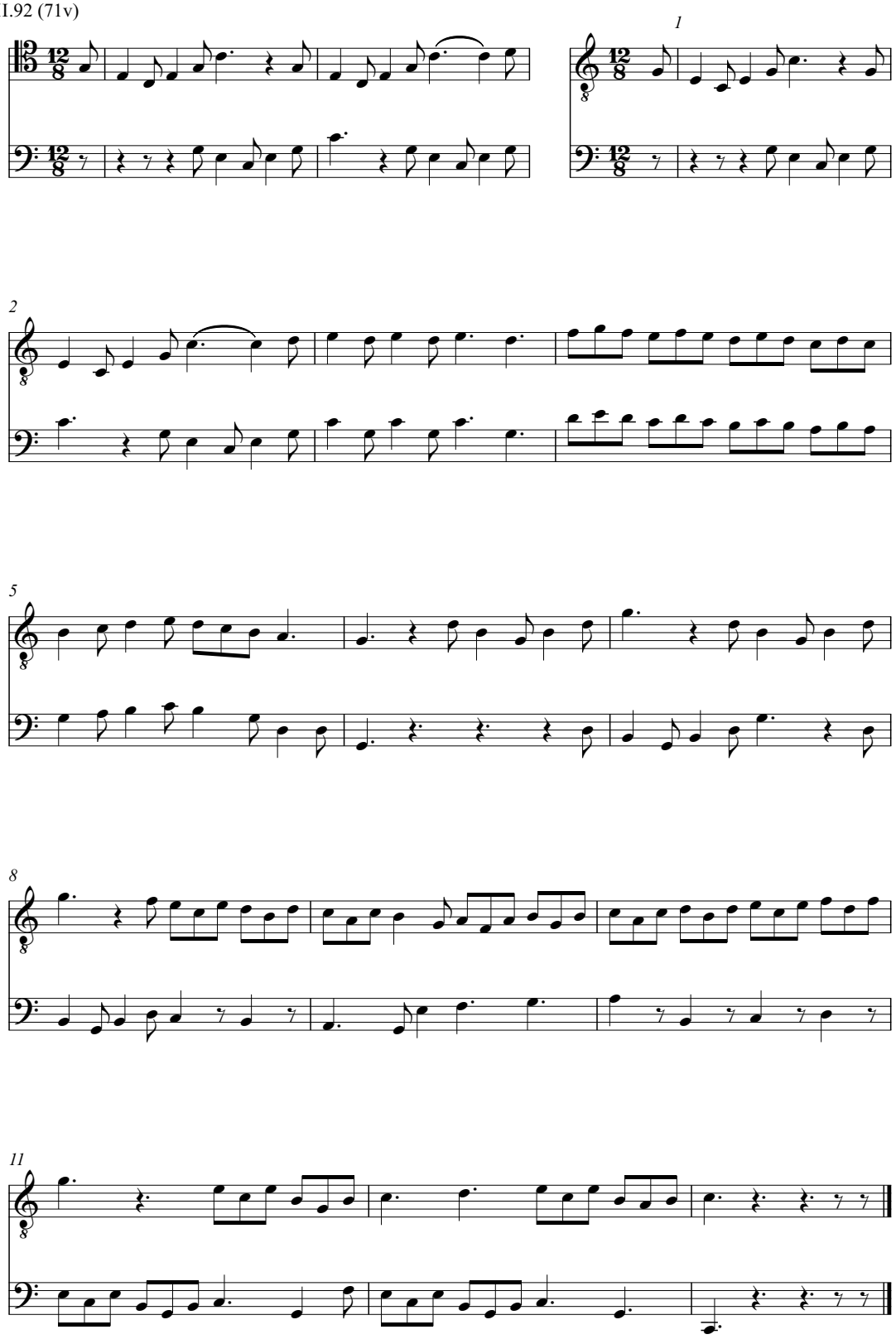
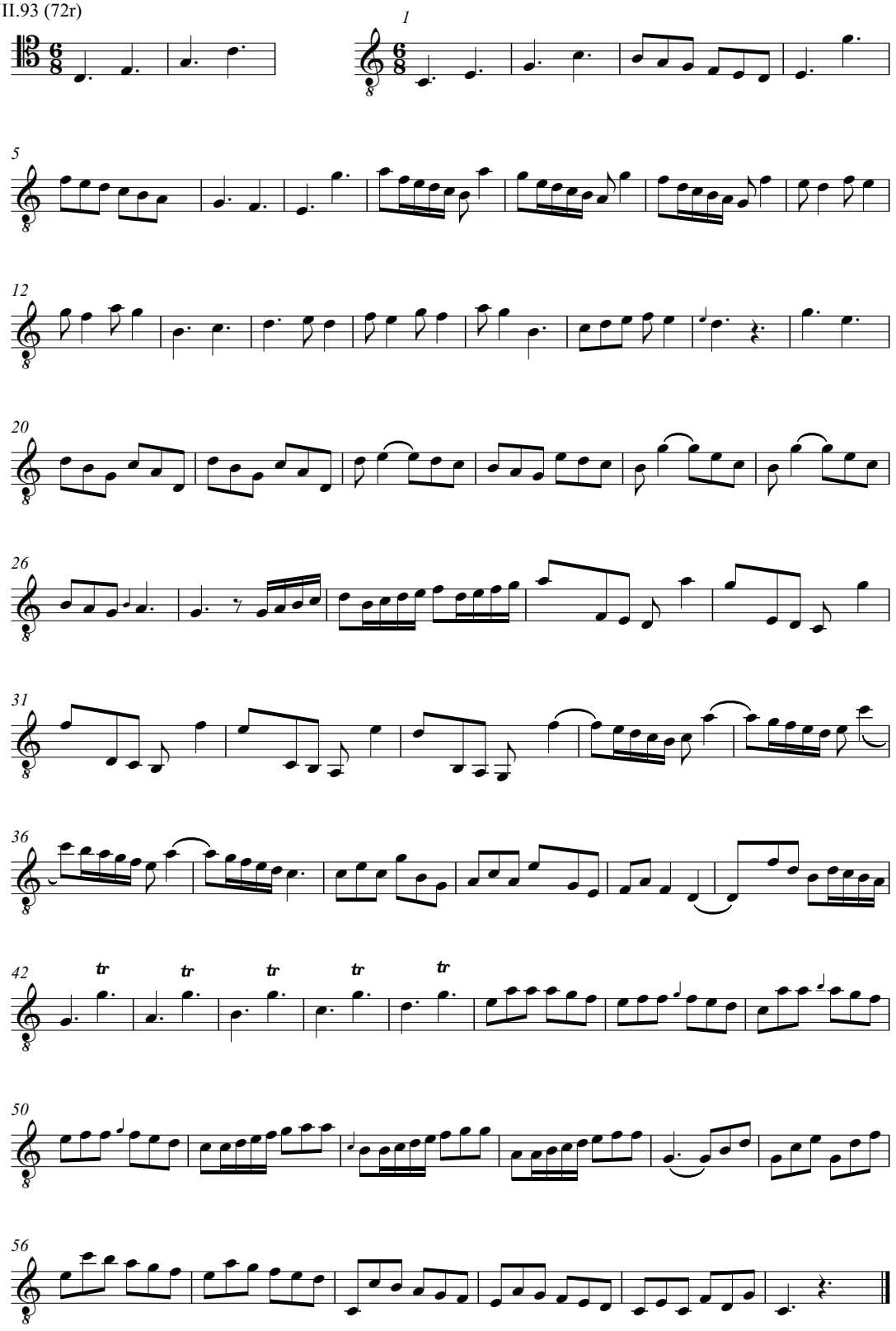


VII.93 (72r)



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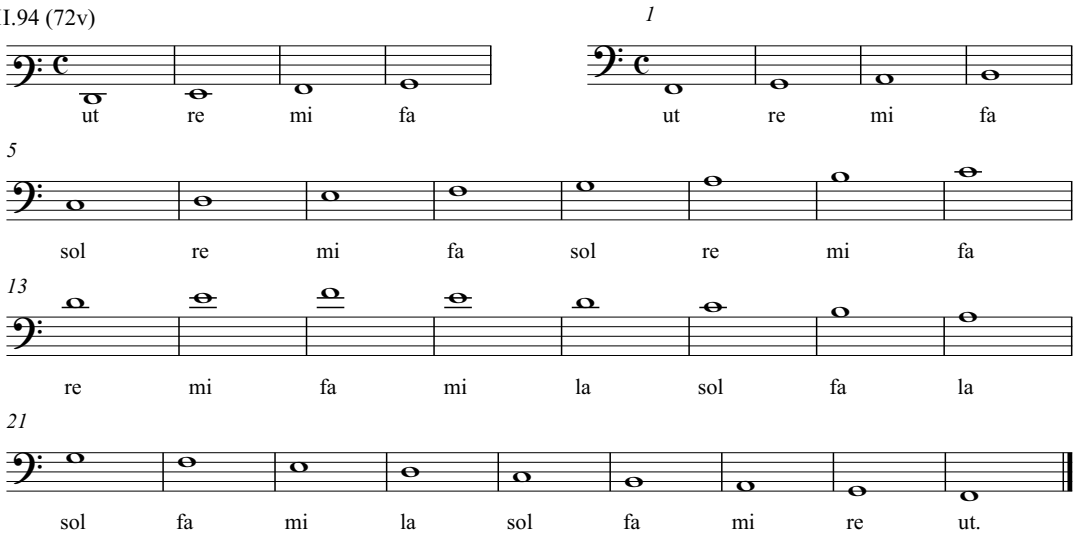

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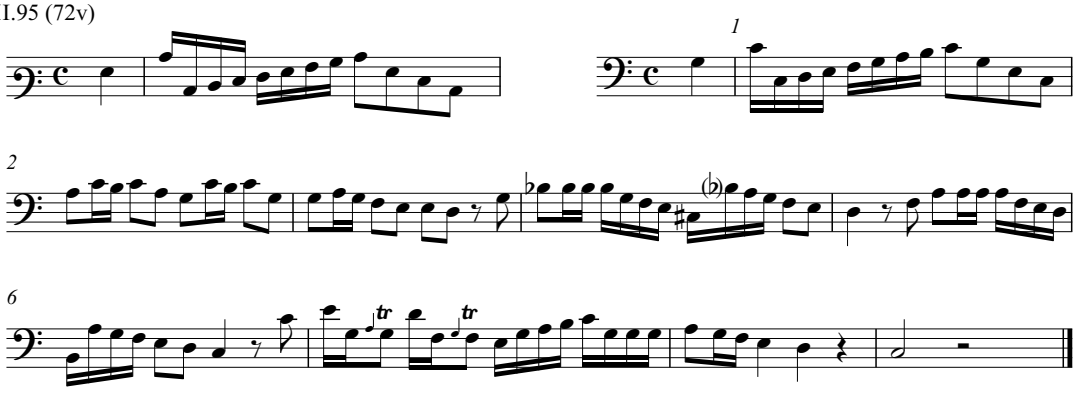

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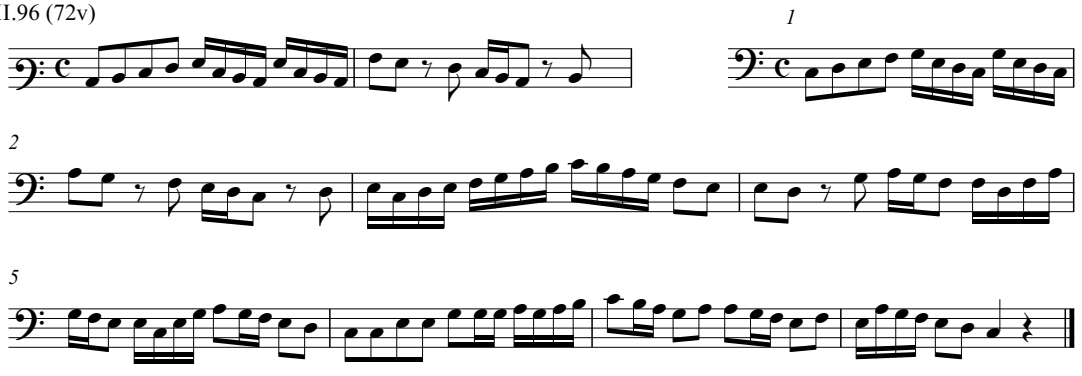

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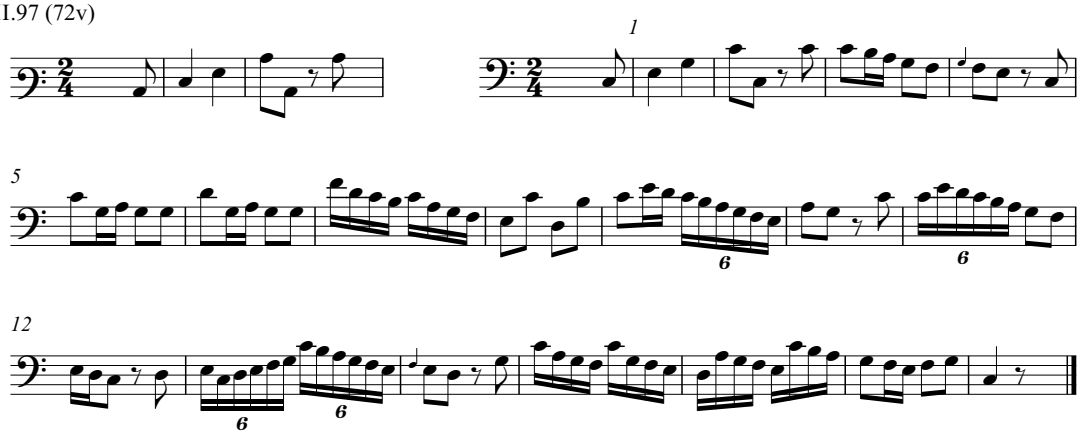

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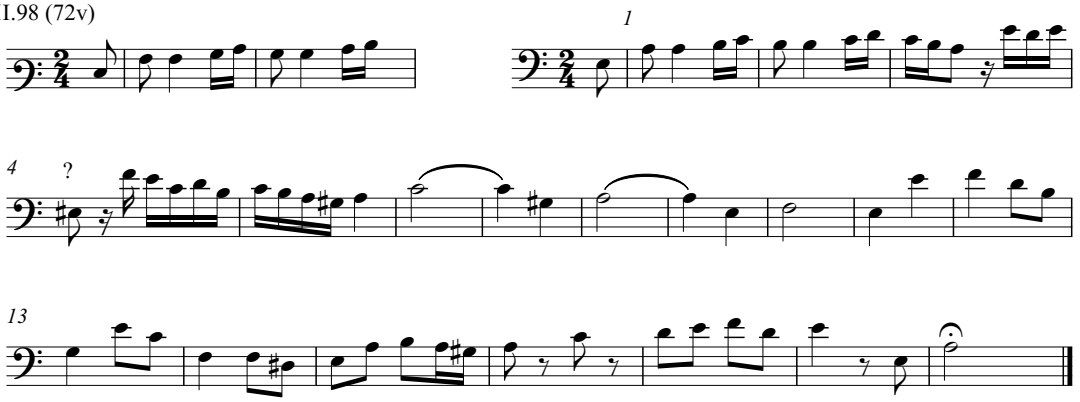

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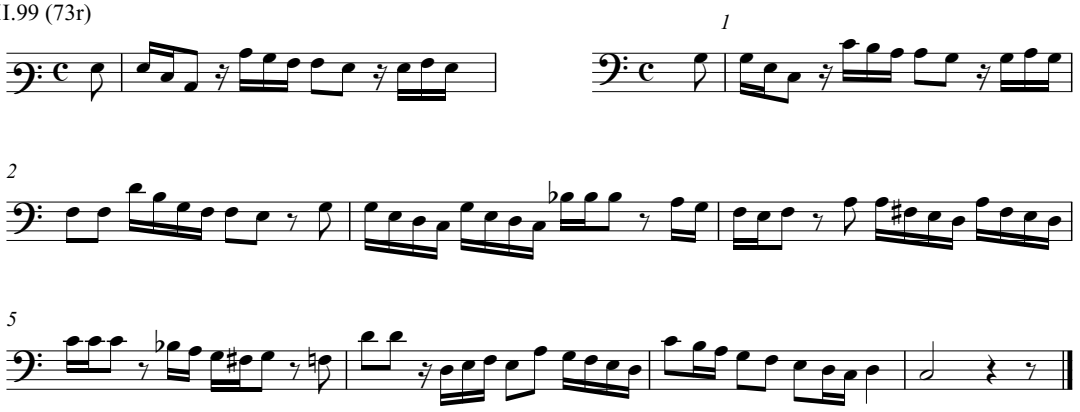

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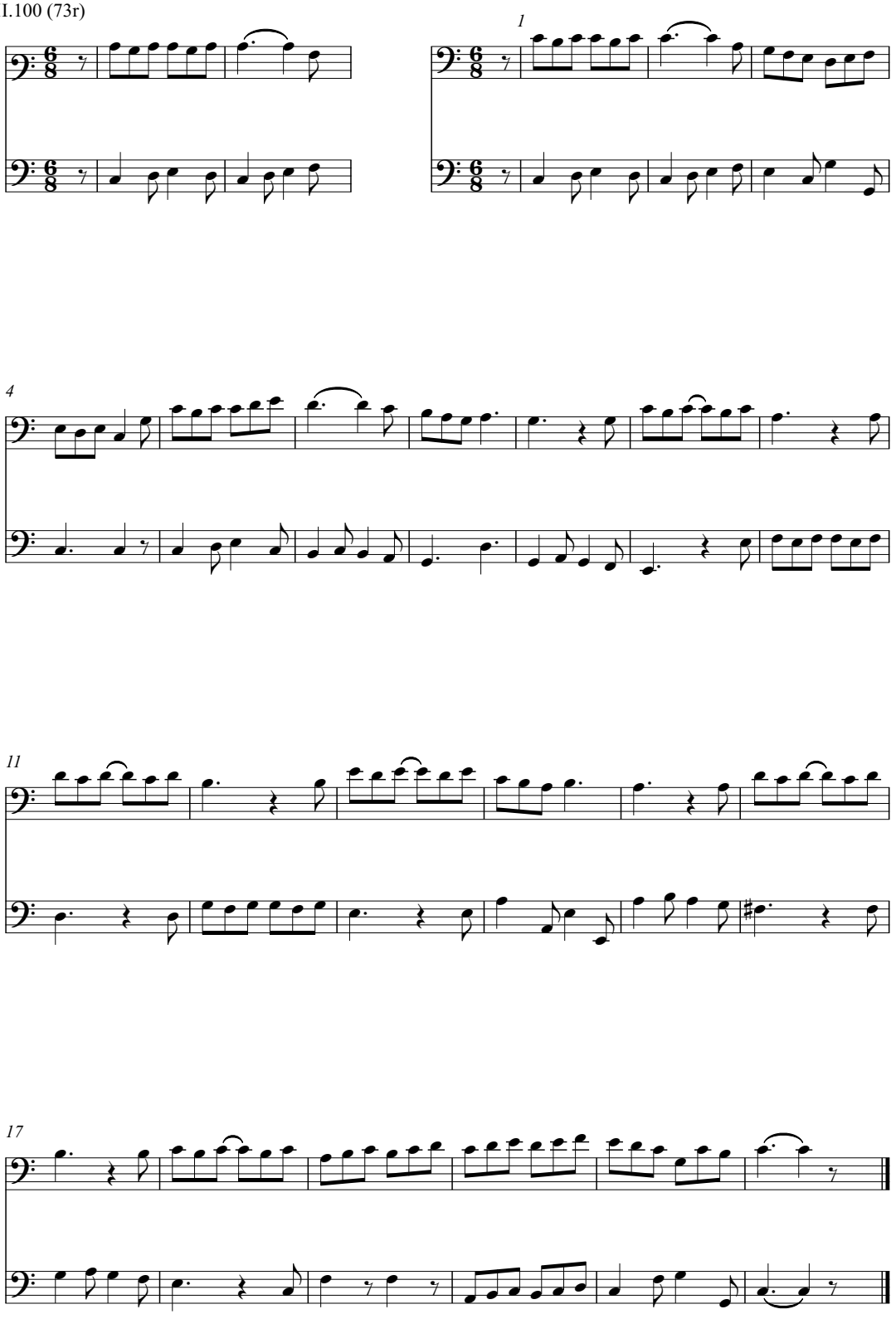

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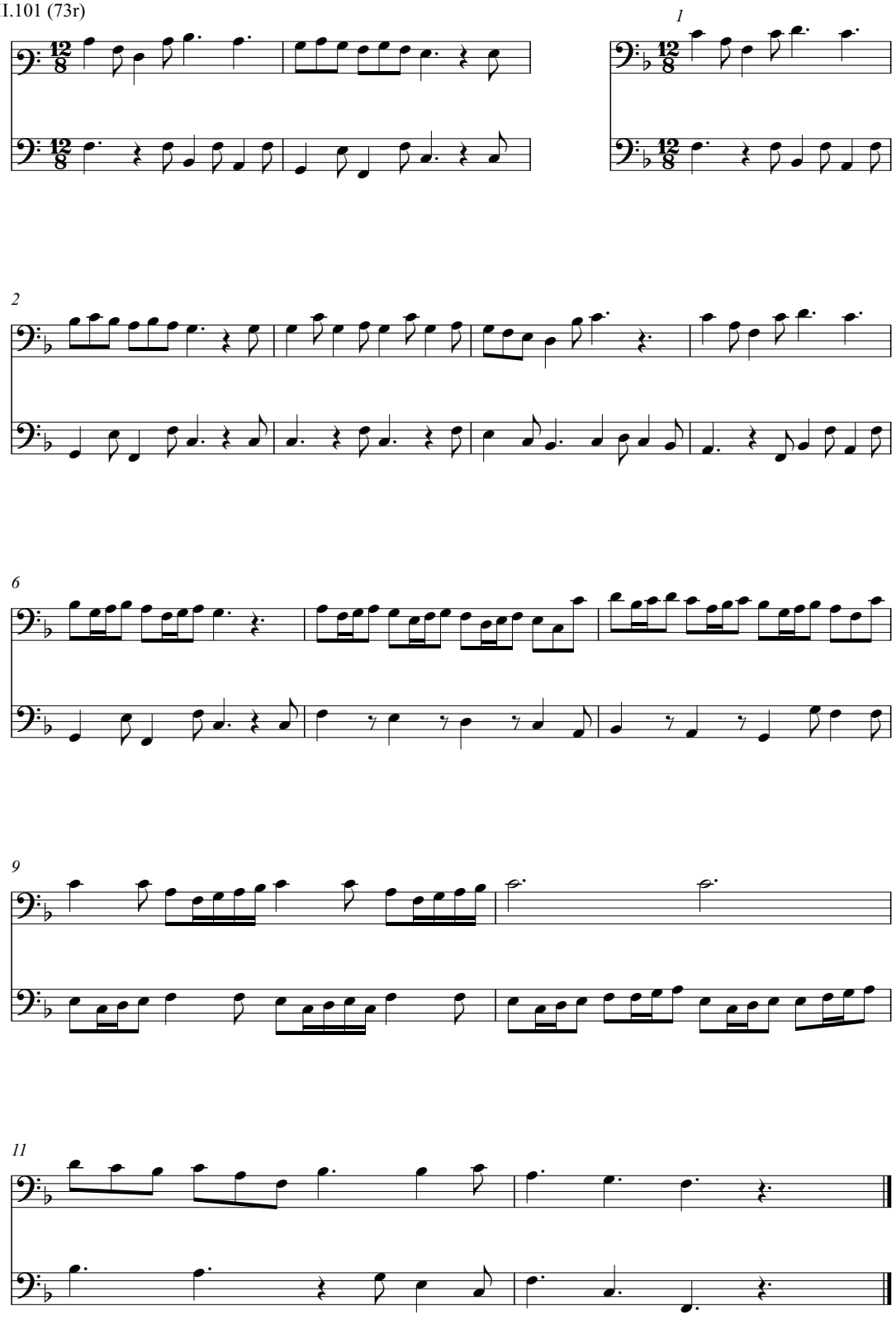

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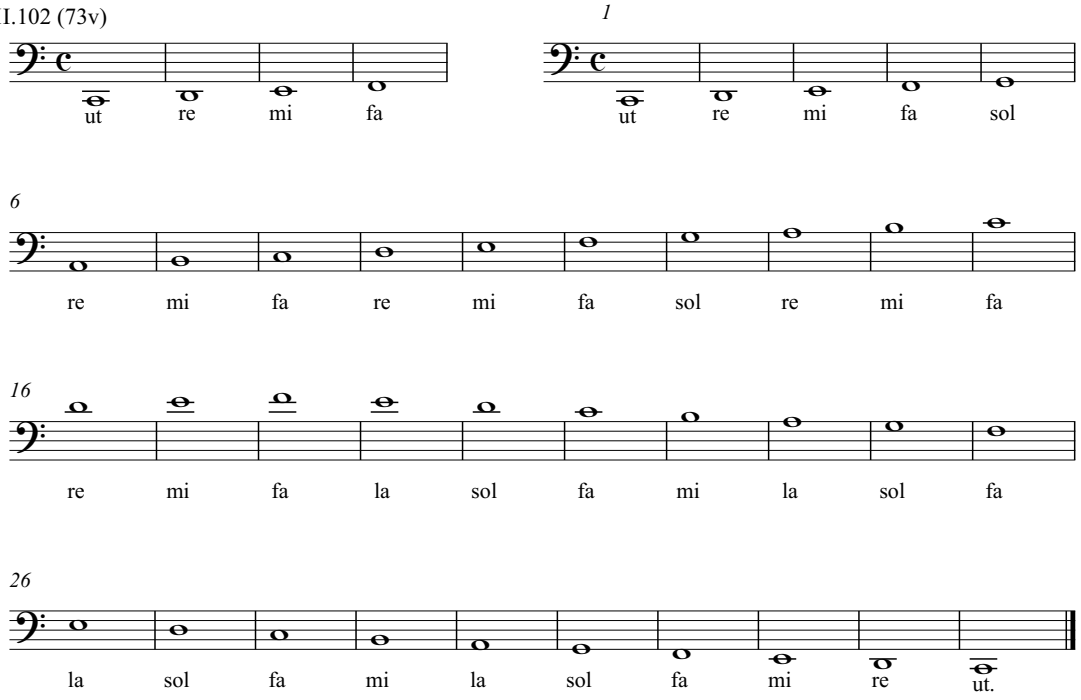

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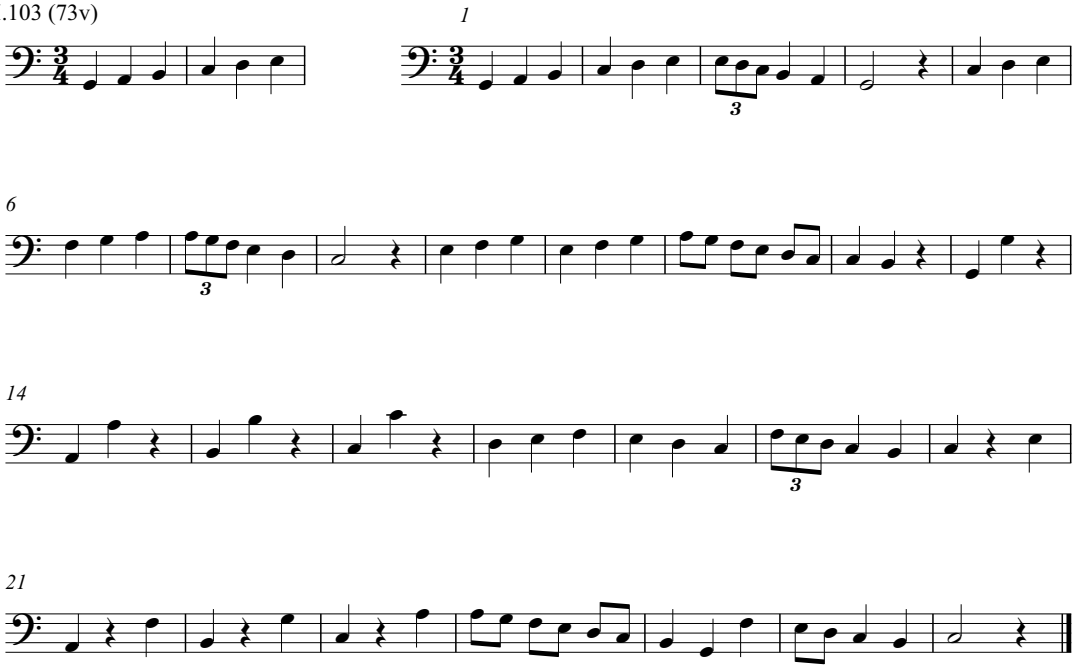

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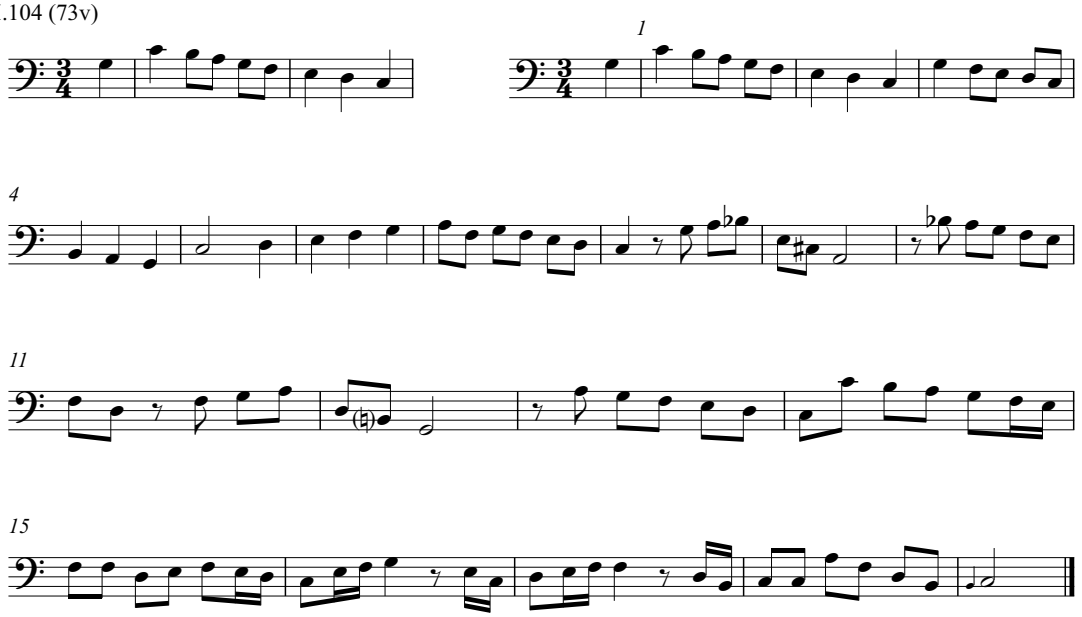

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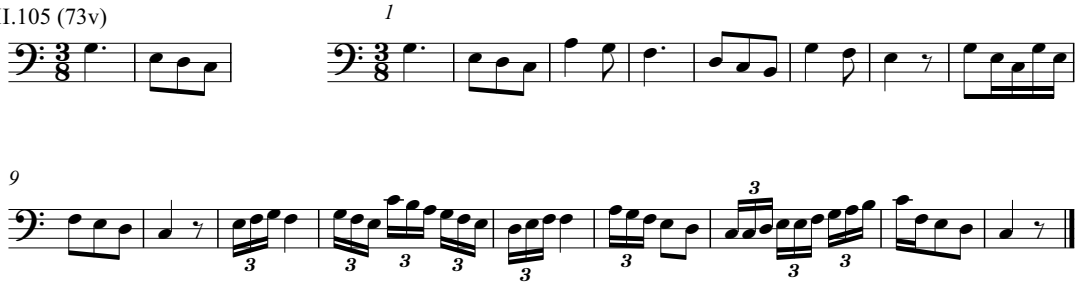

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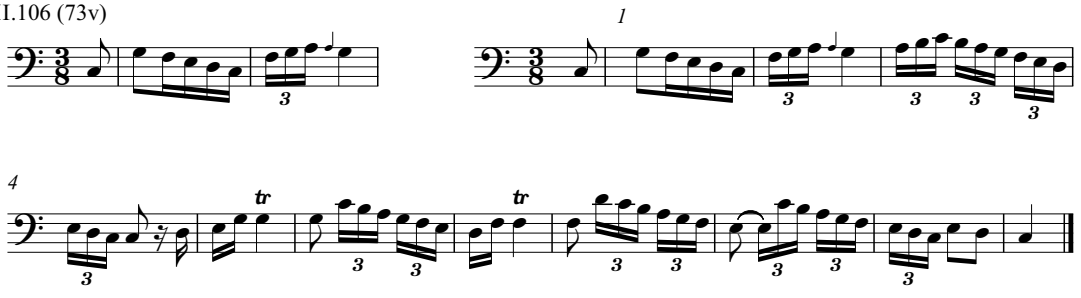

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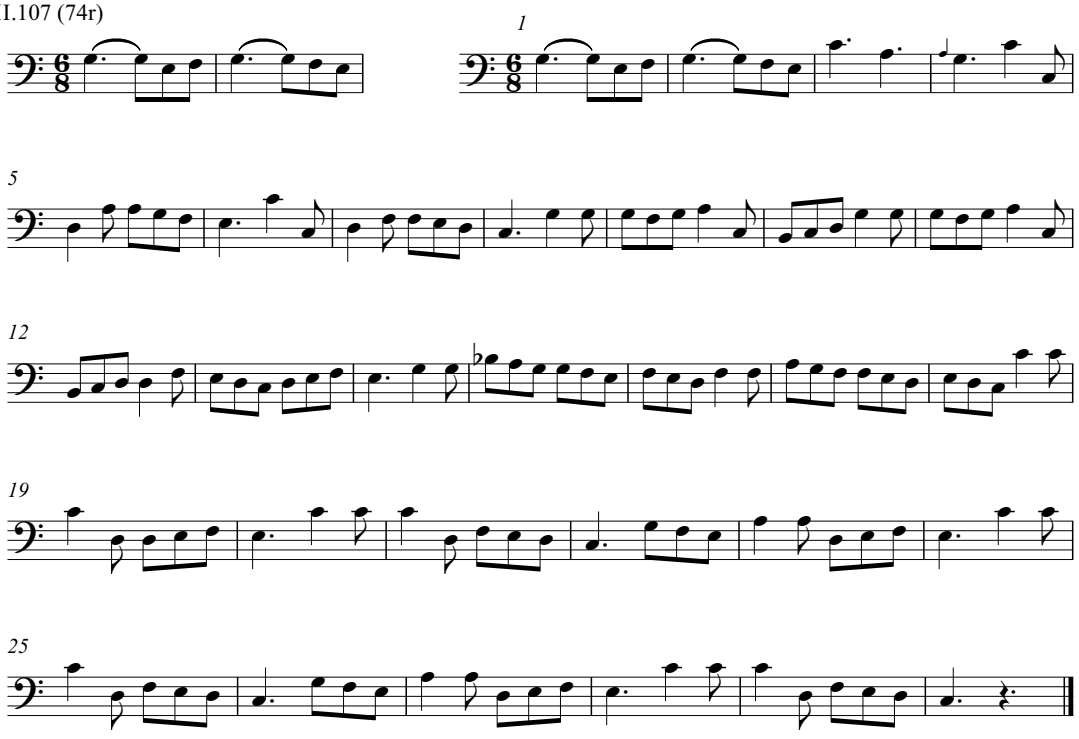

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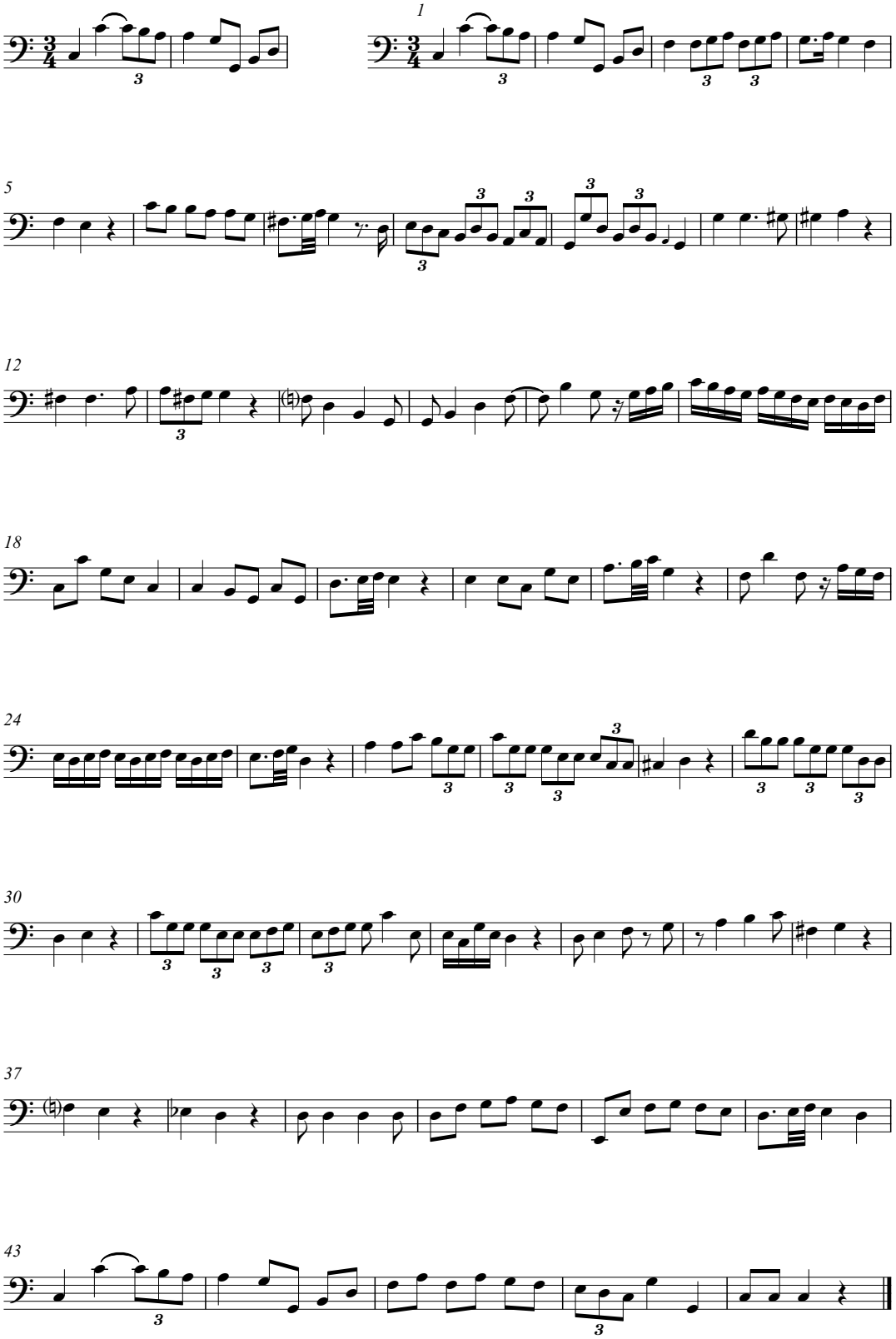

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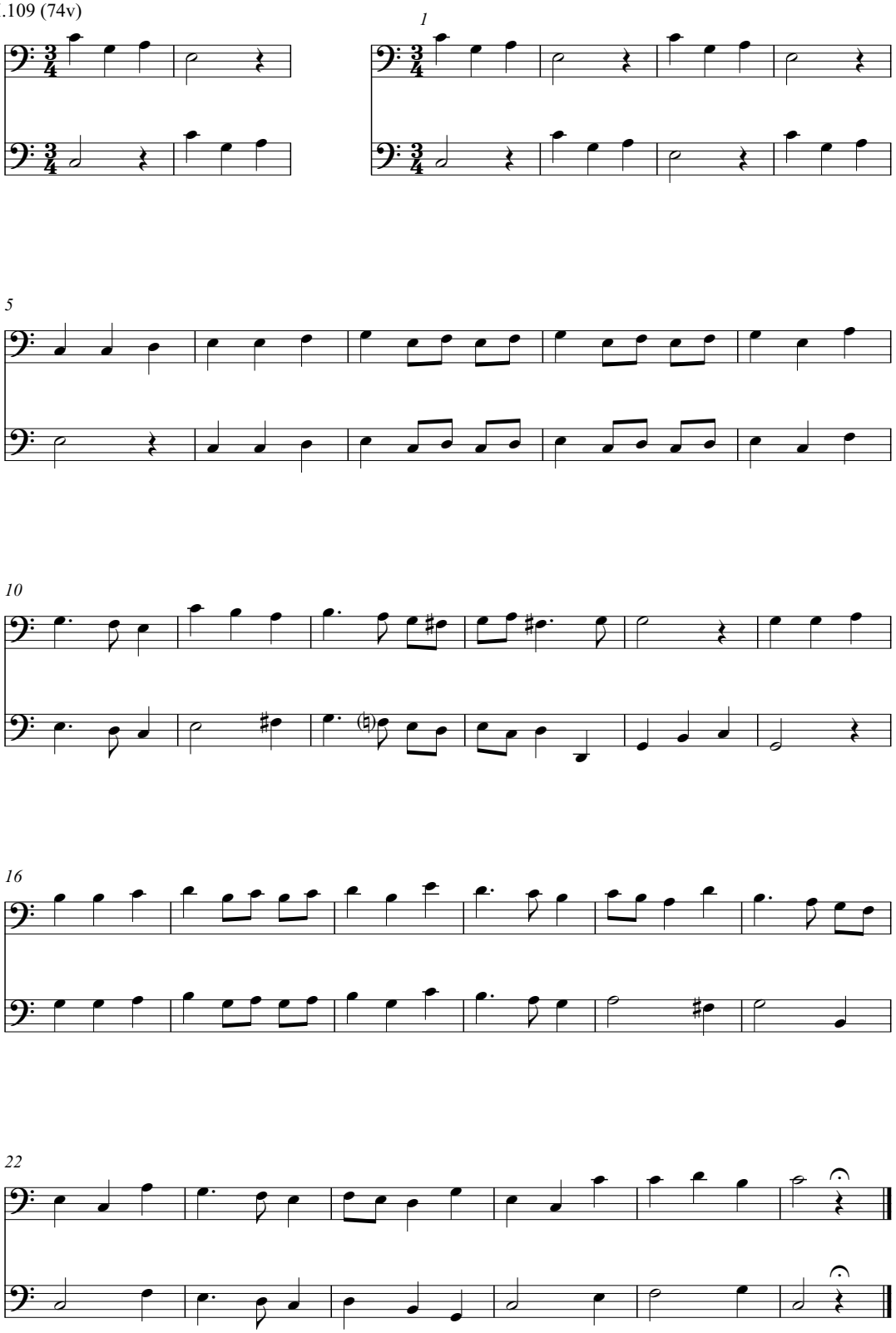

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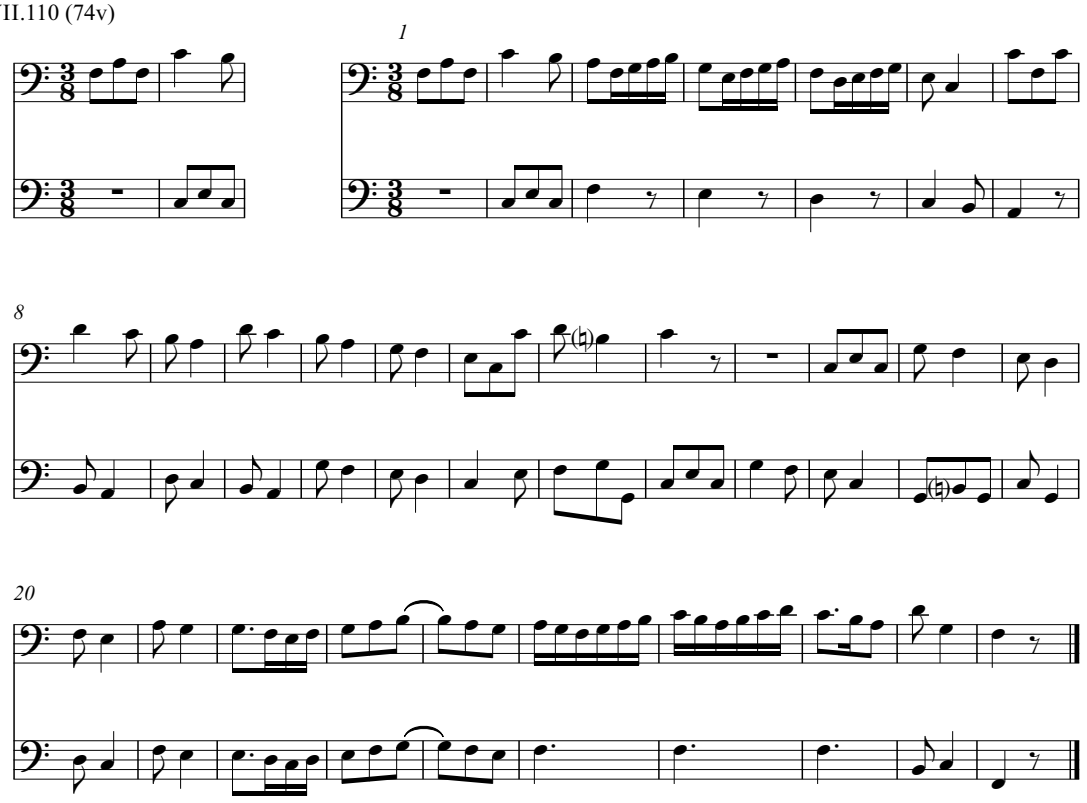

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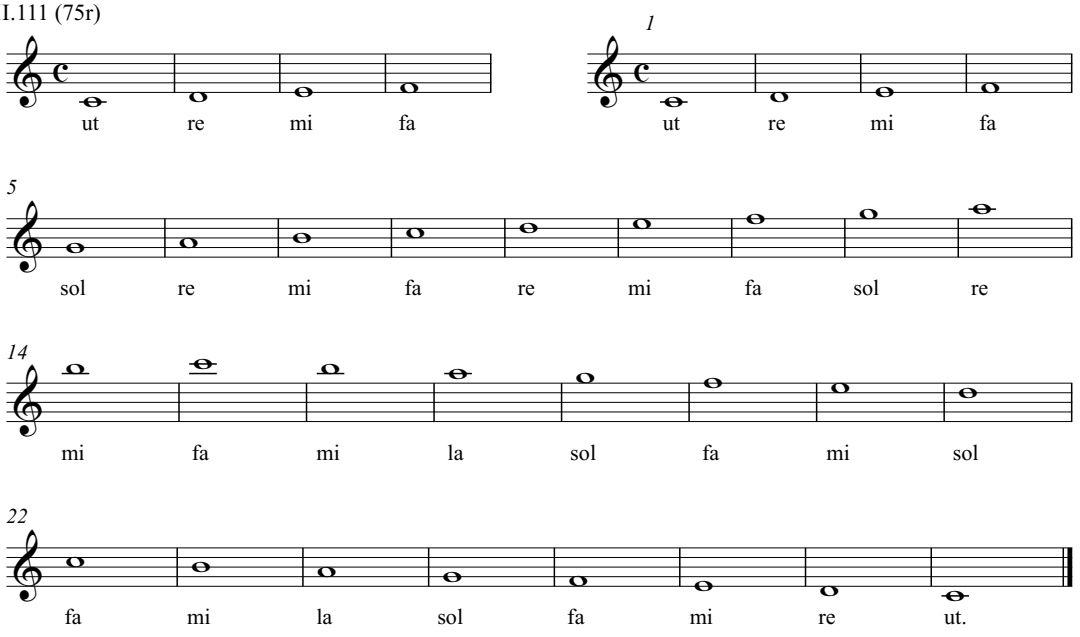

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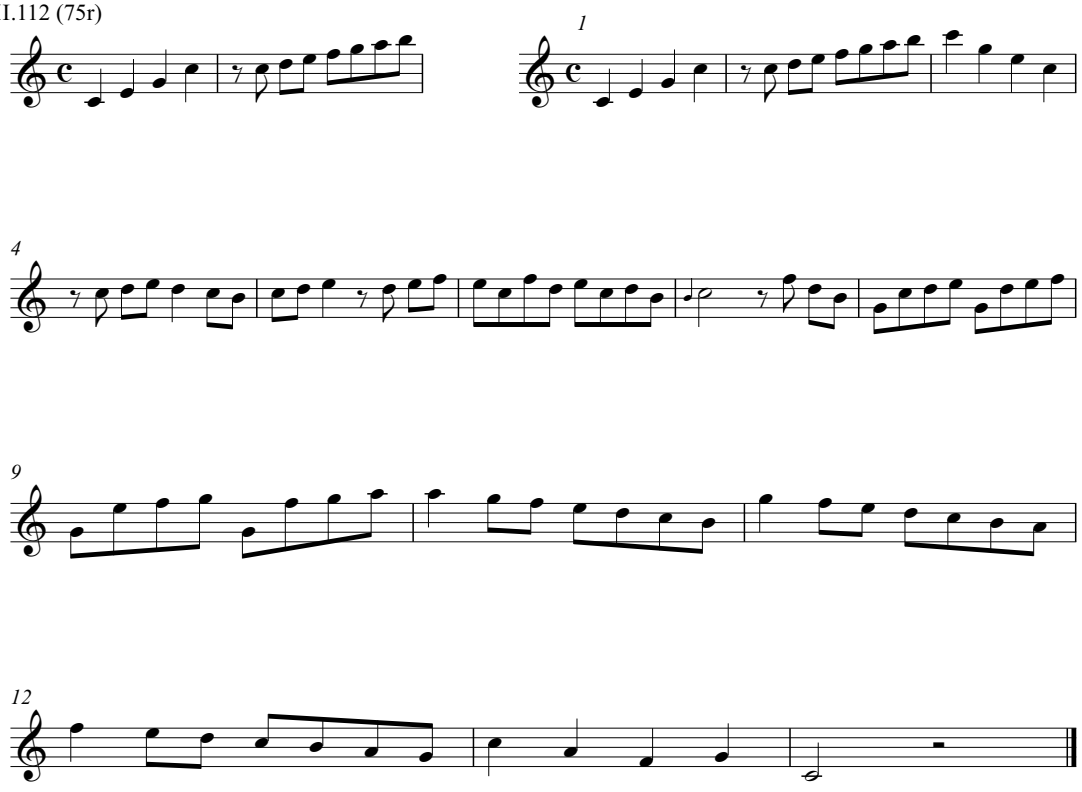

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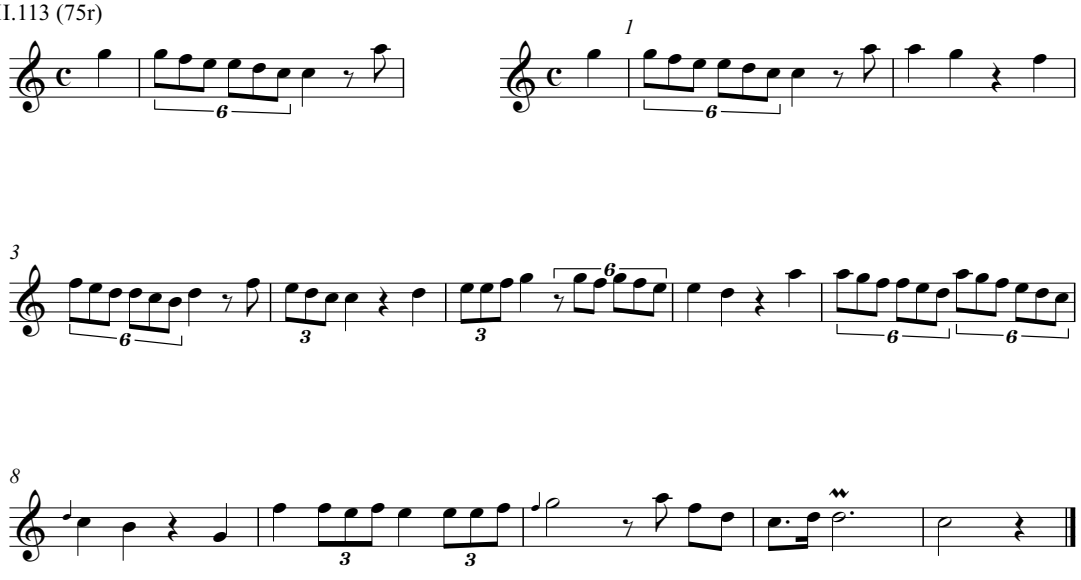

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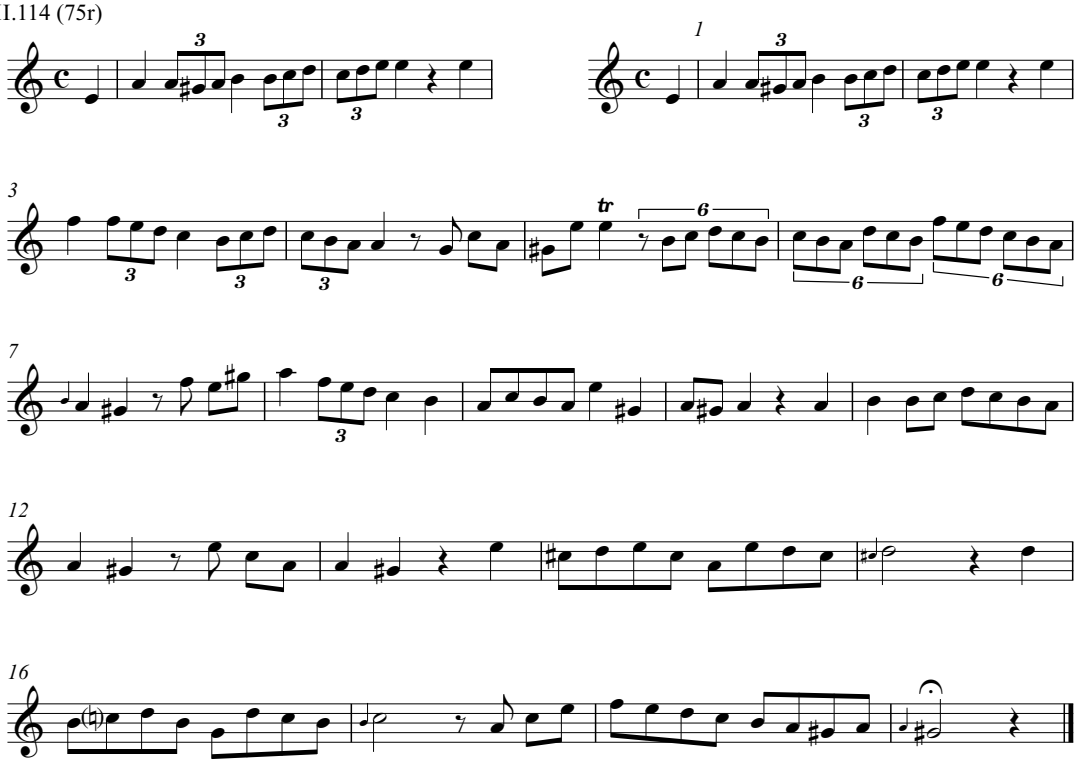

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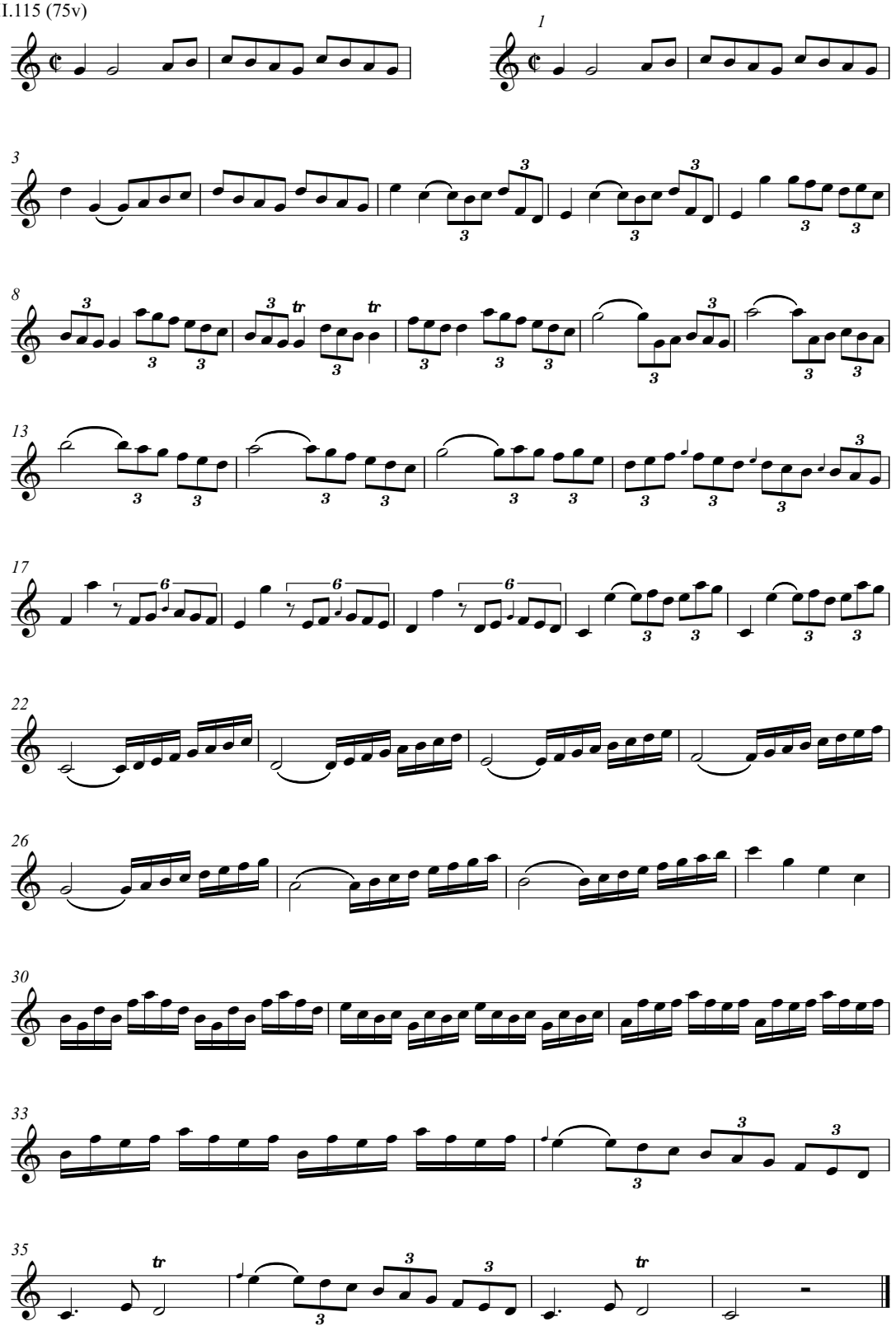

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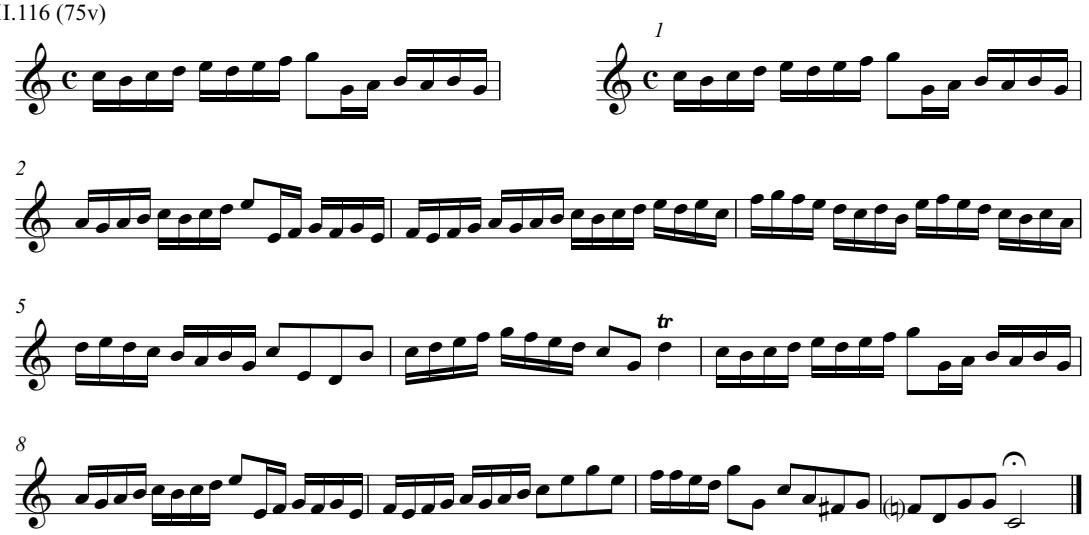

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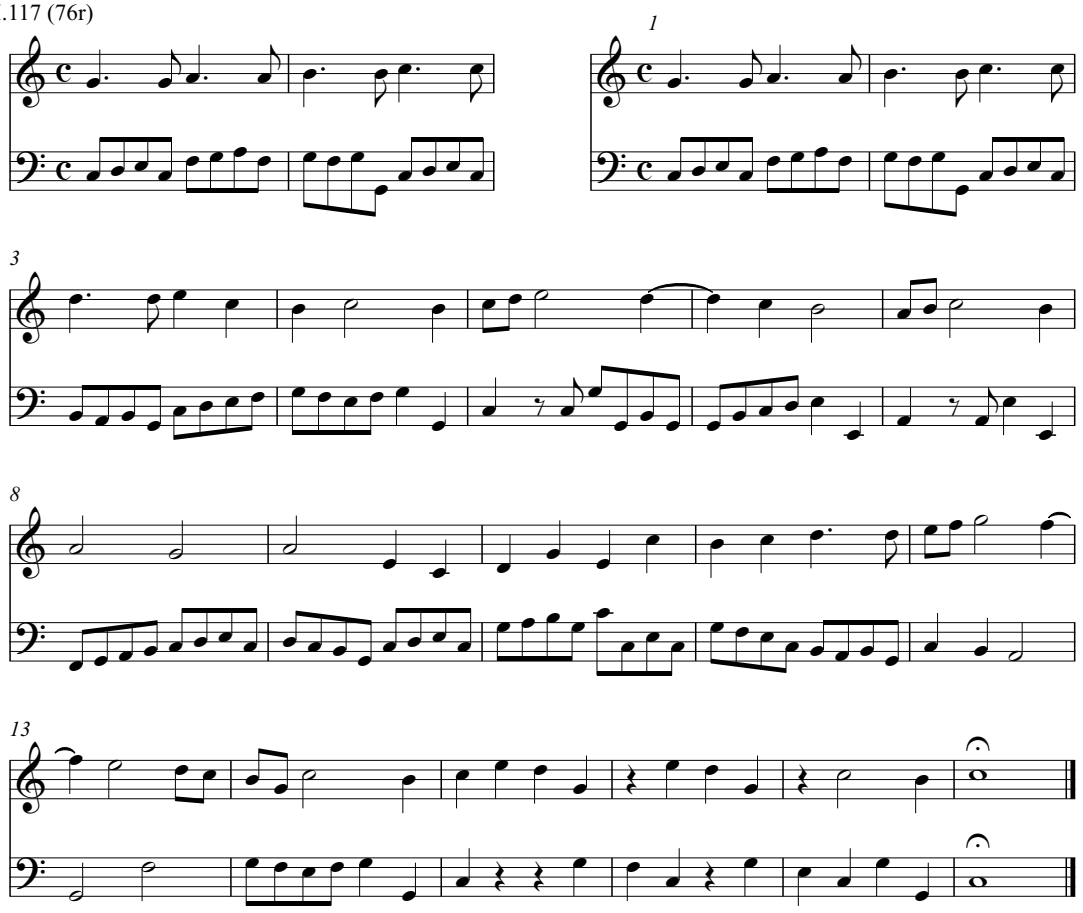

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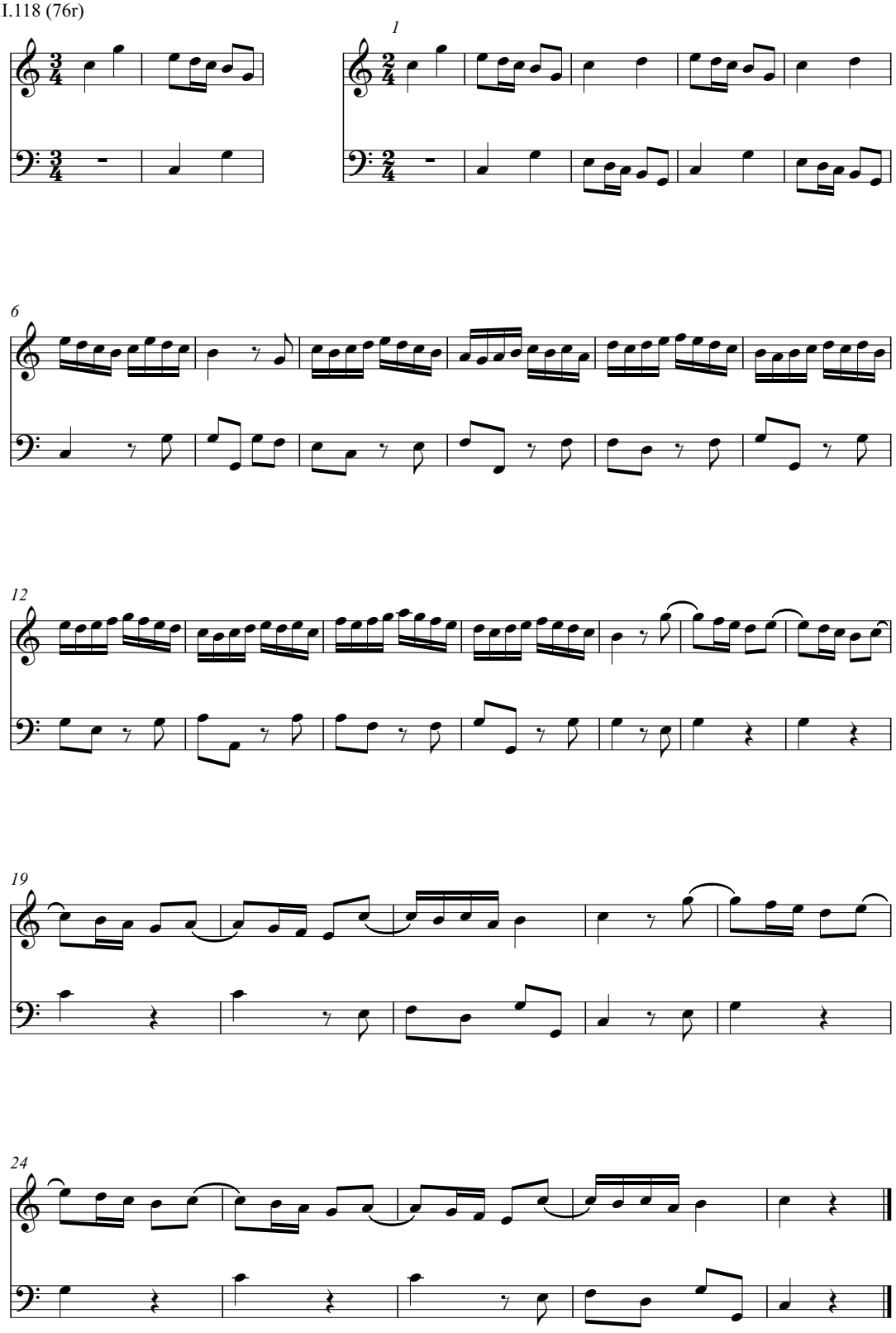

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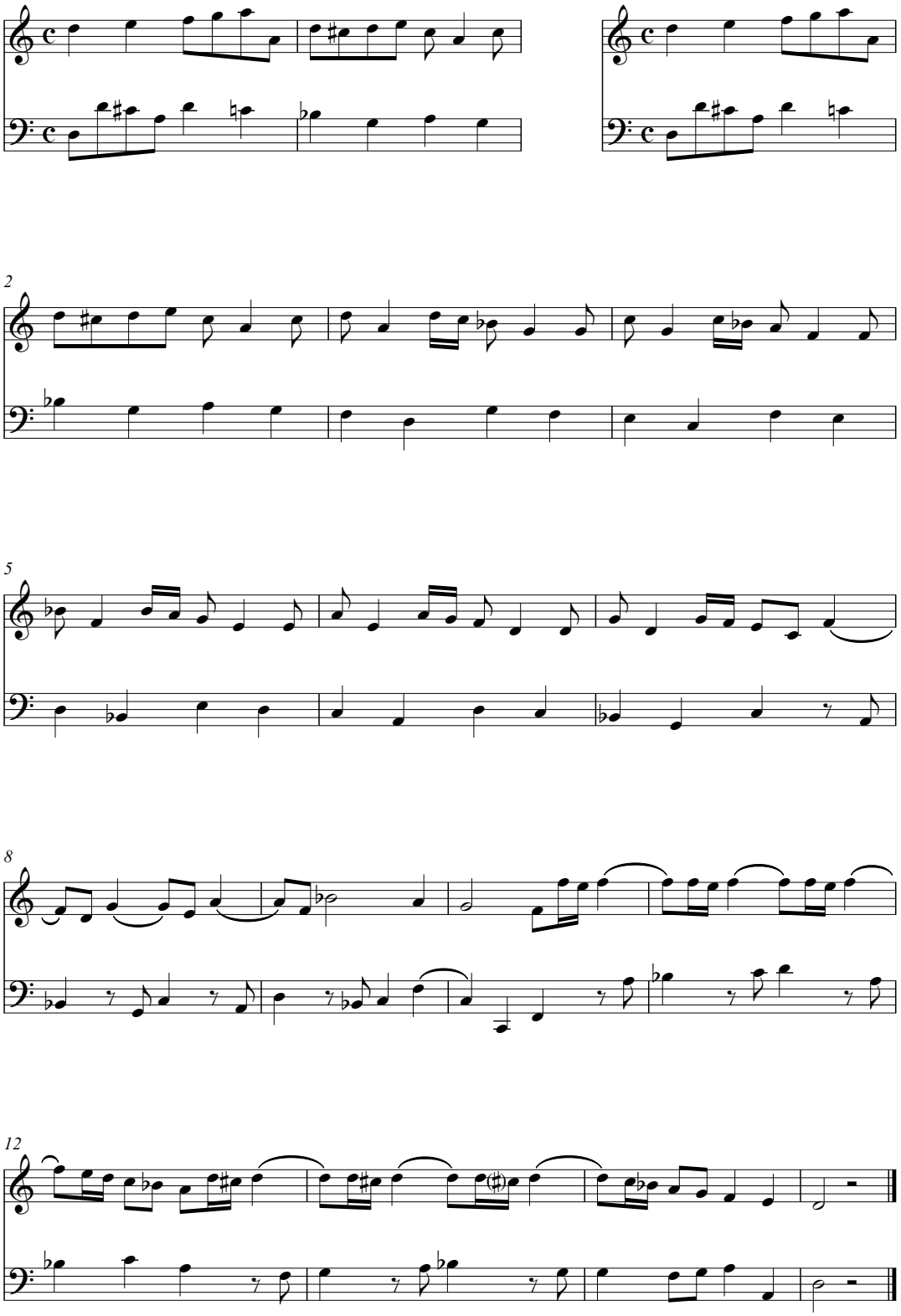

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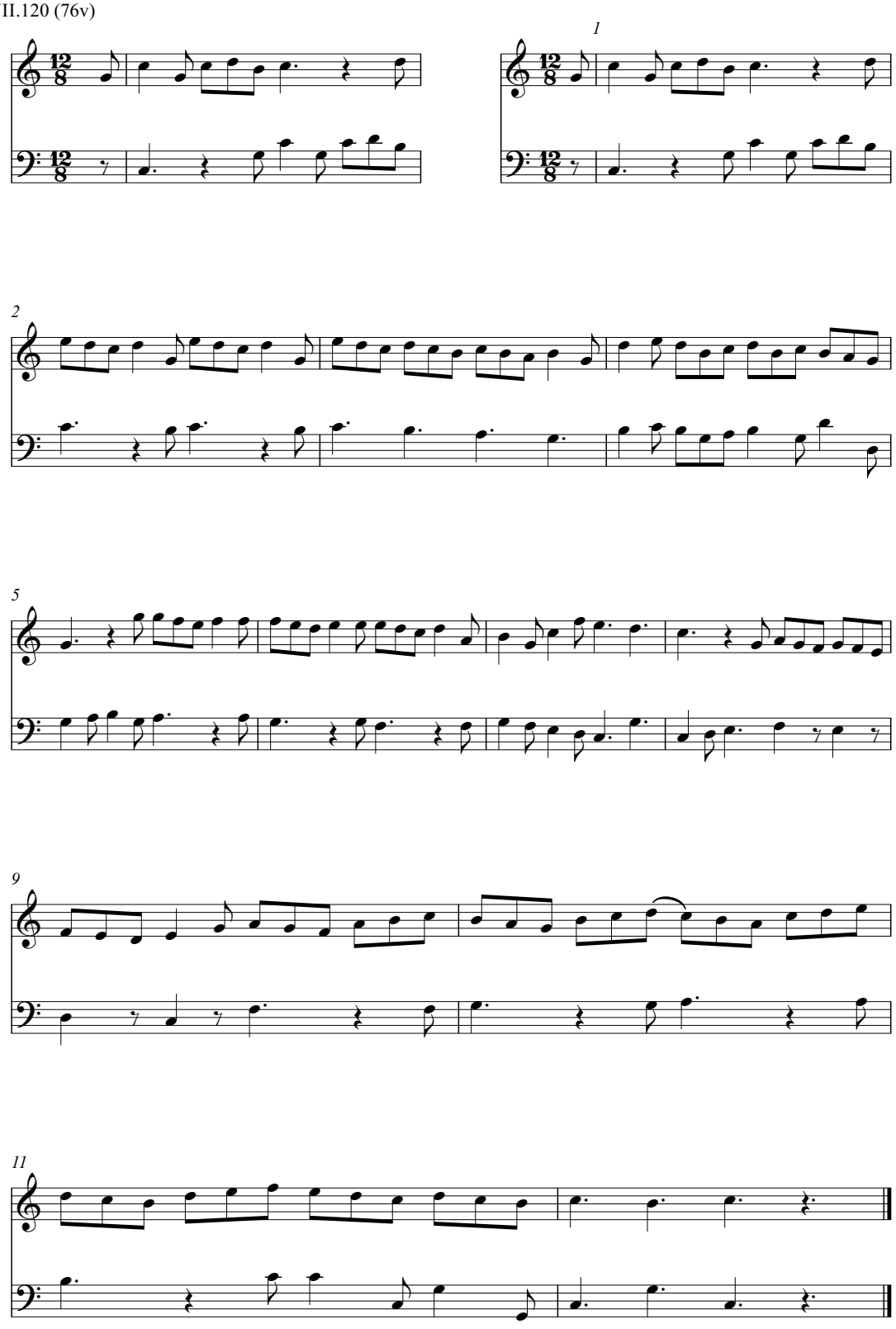

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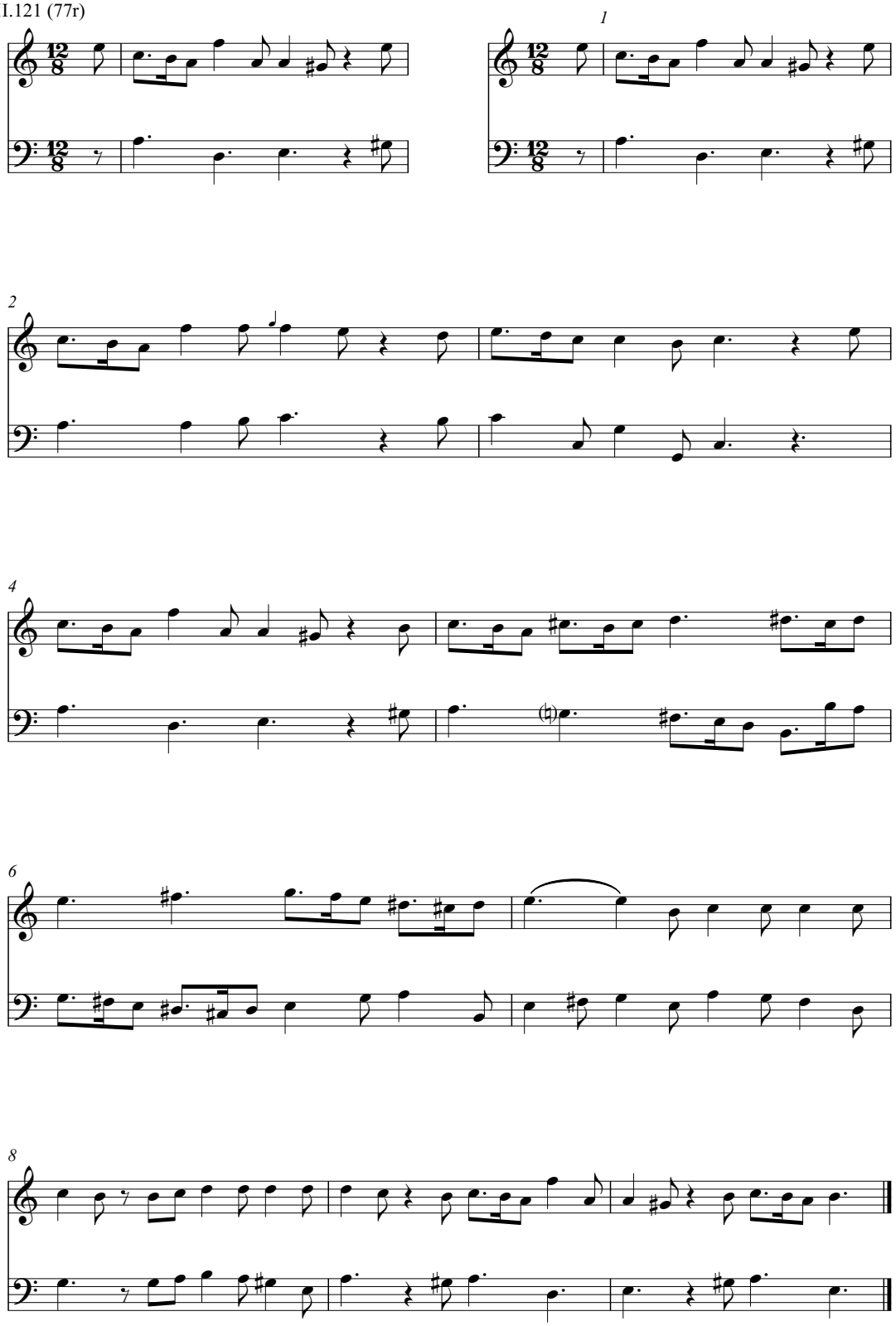

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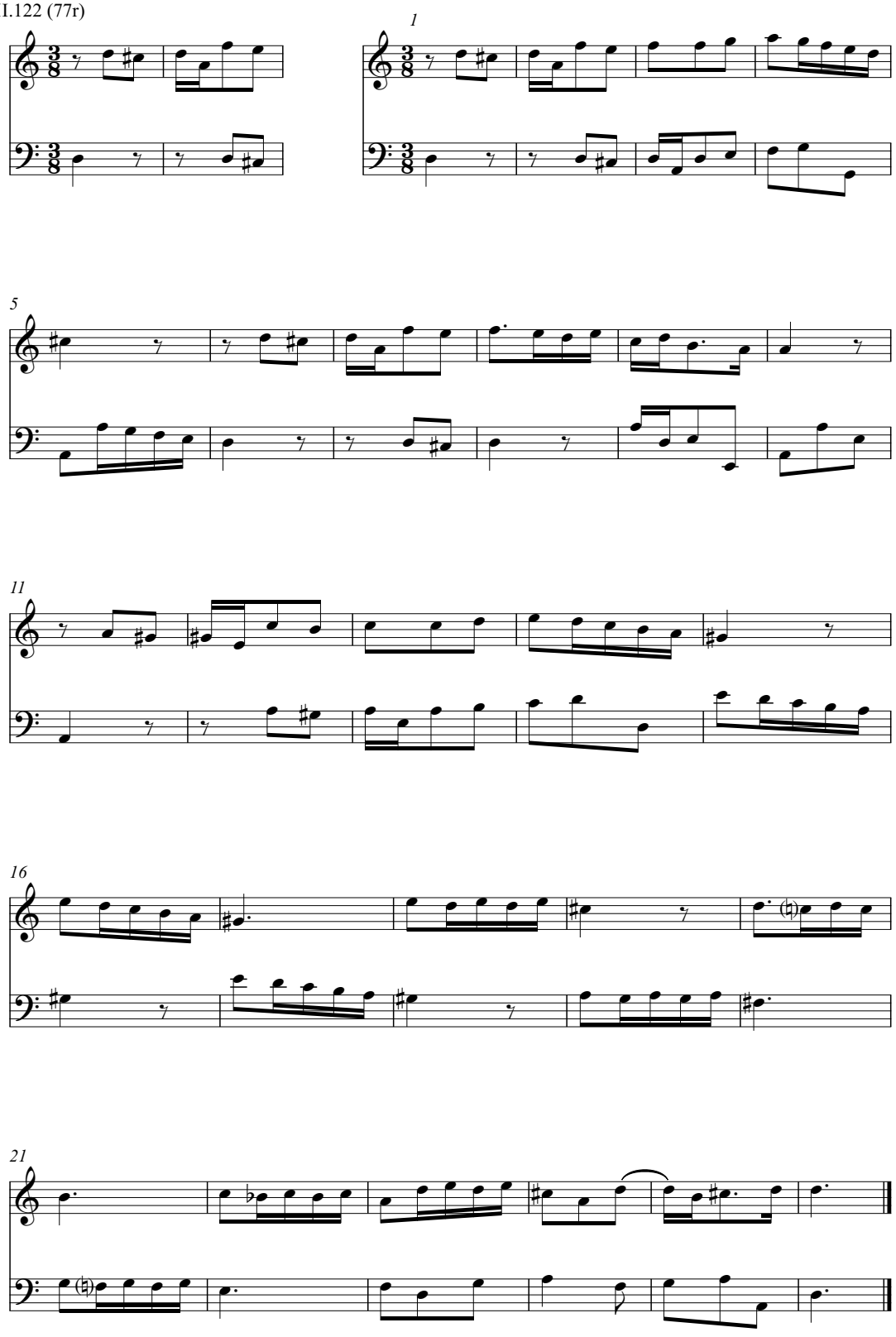

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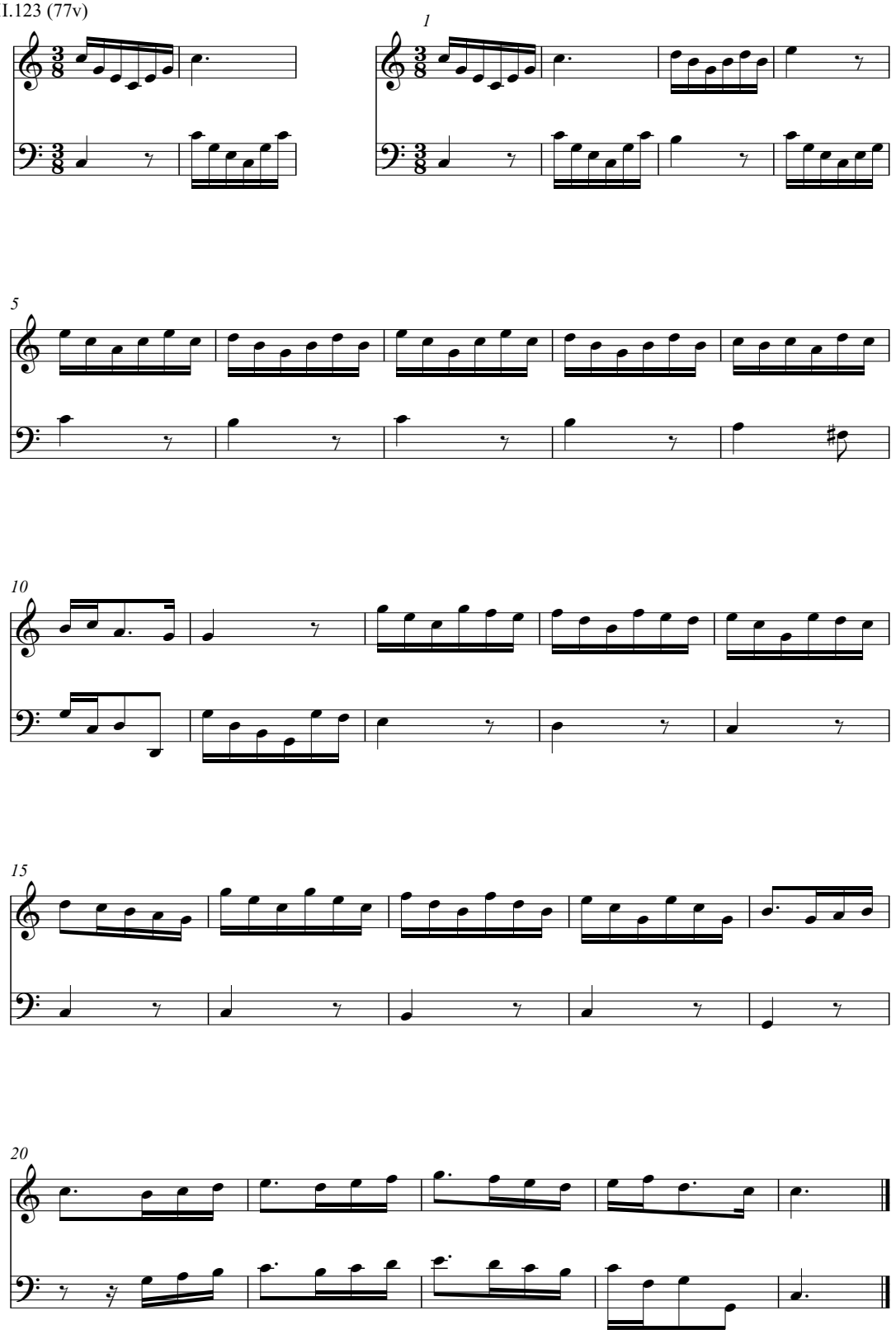

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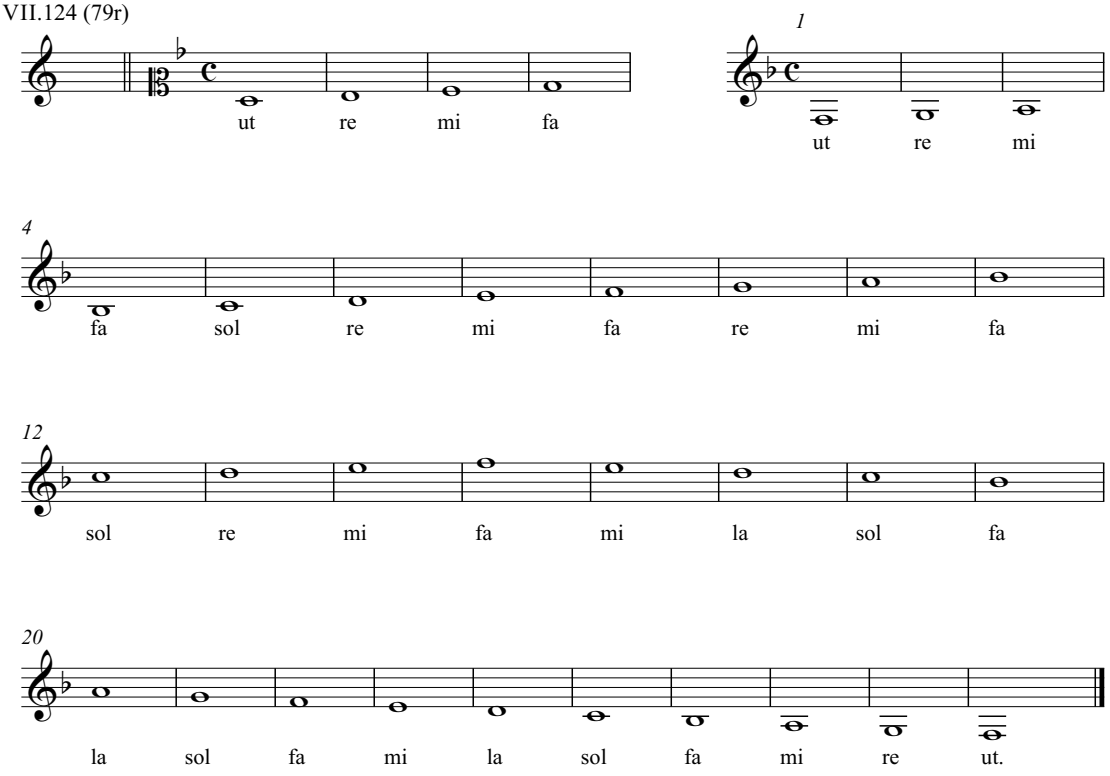

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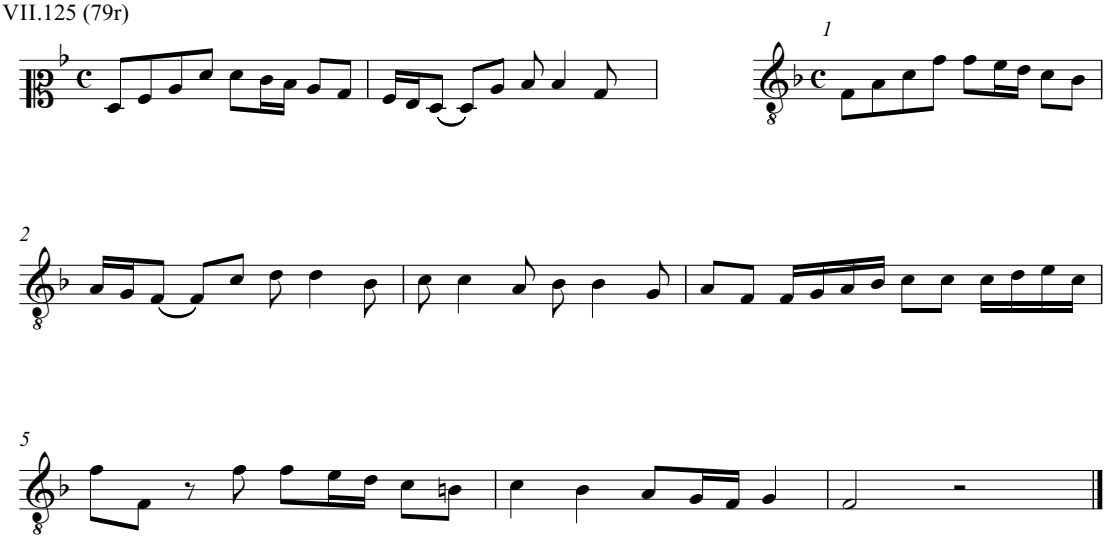

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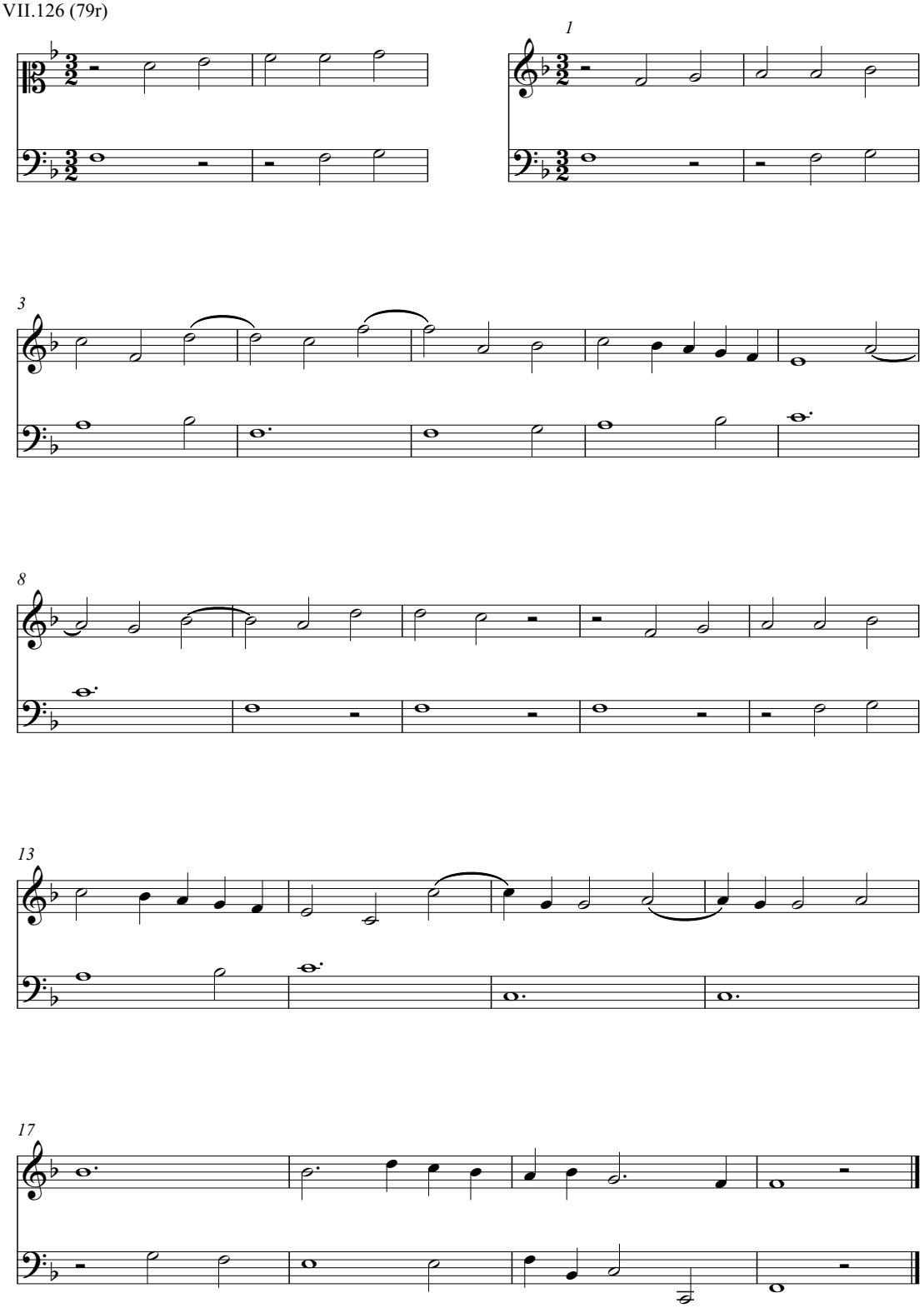

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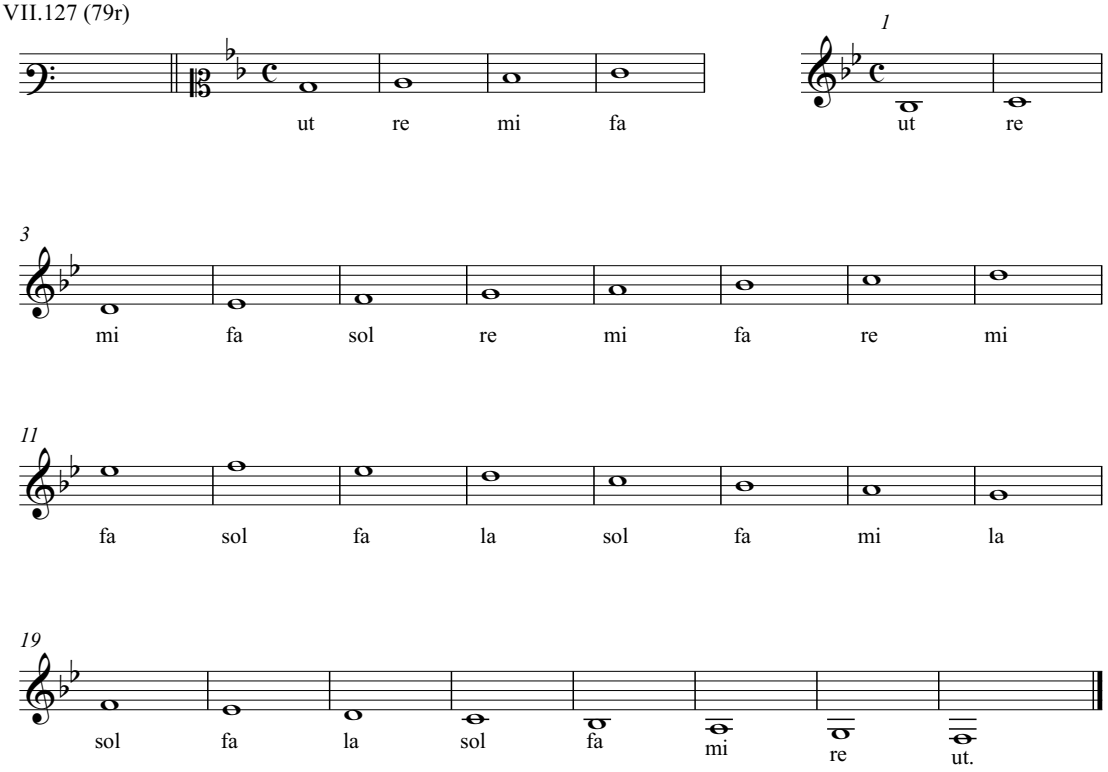

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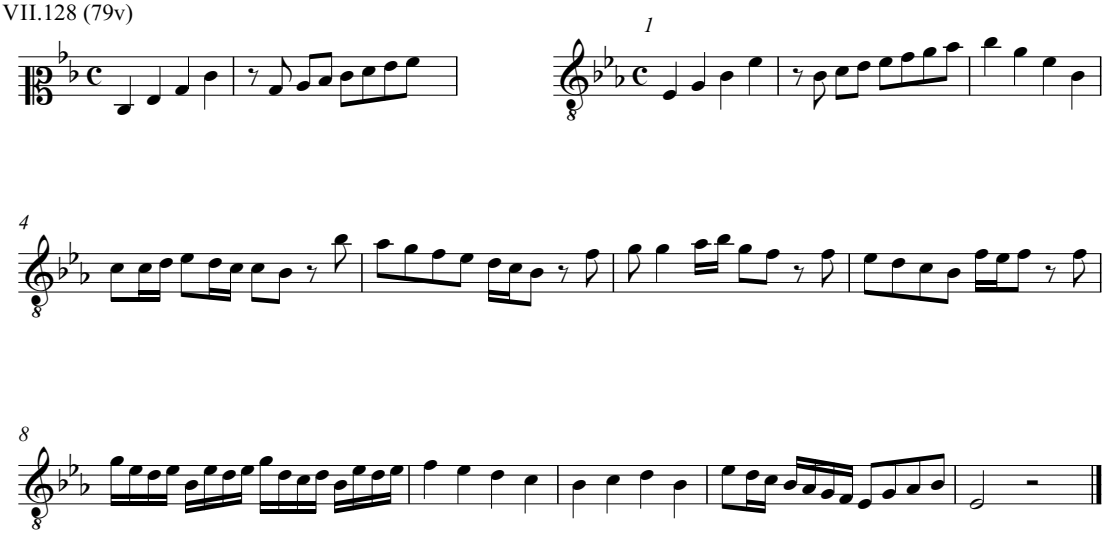

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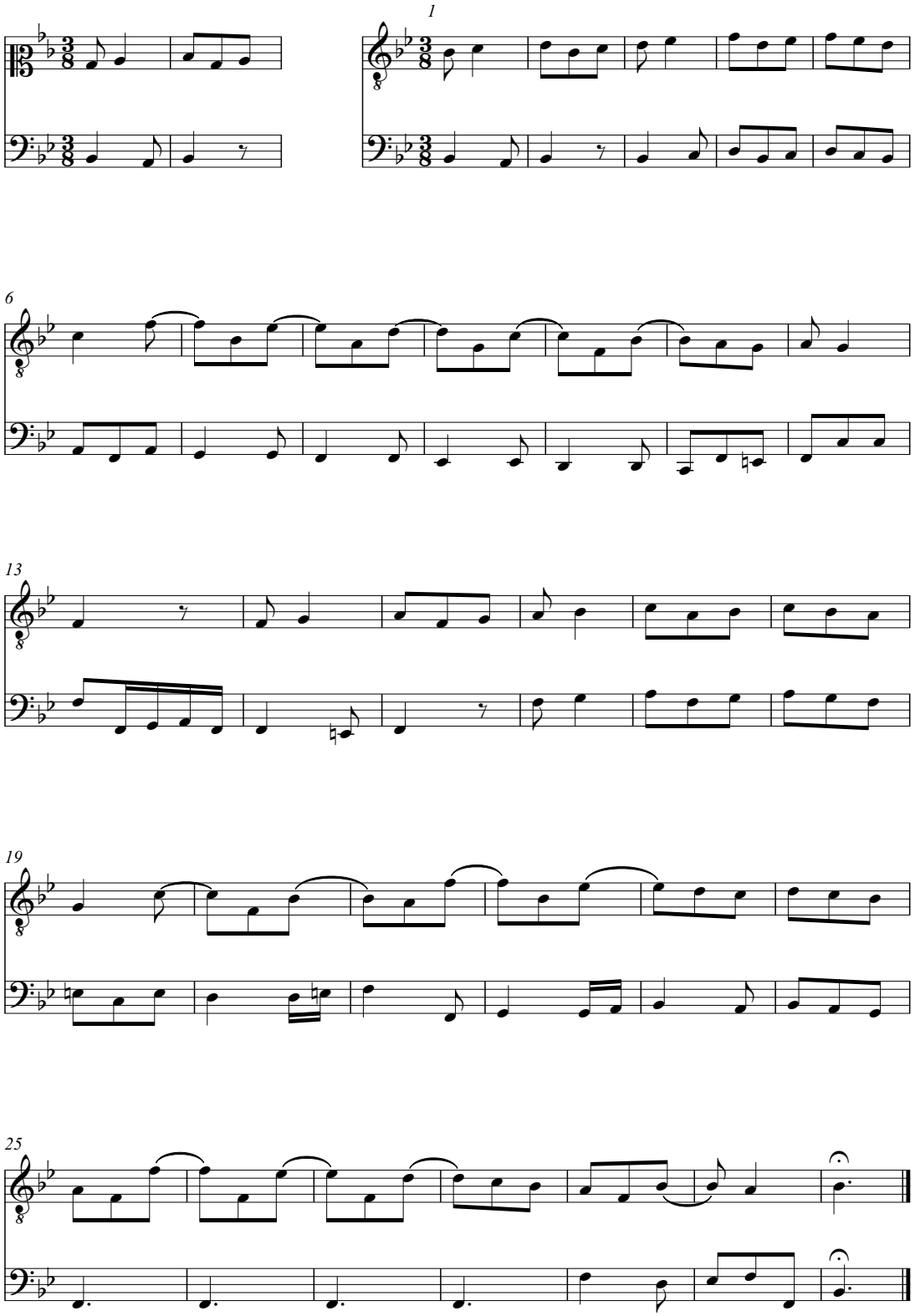

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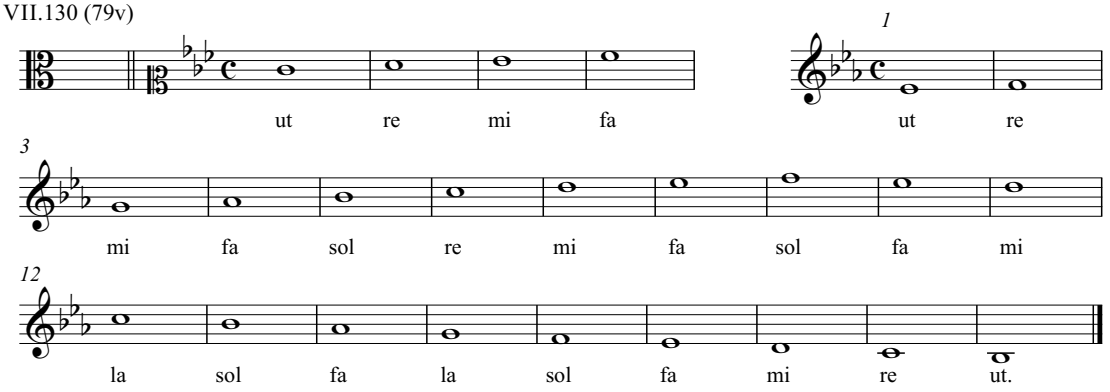

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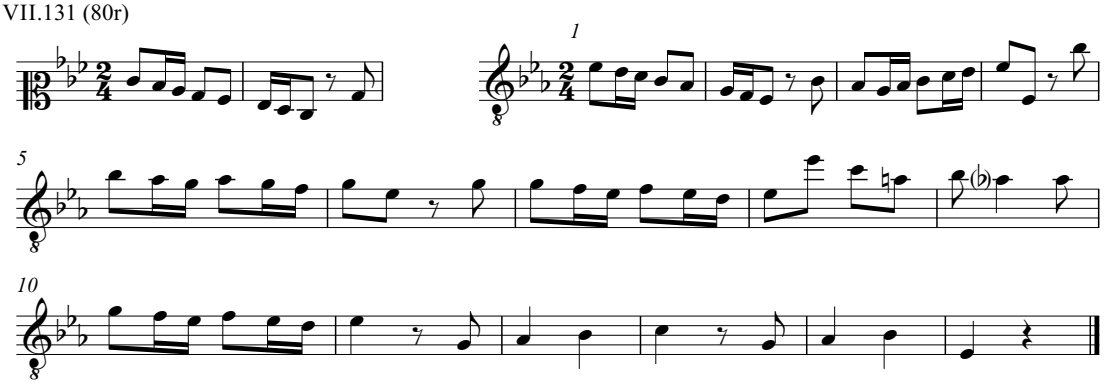

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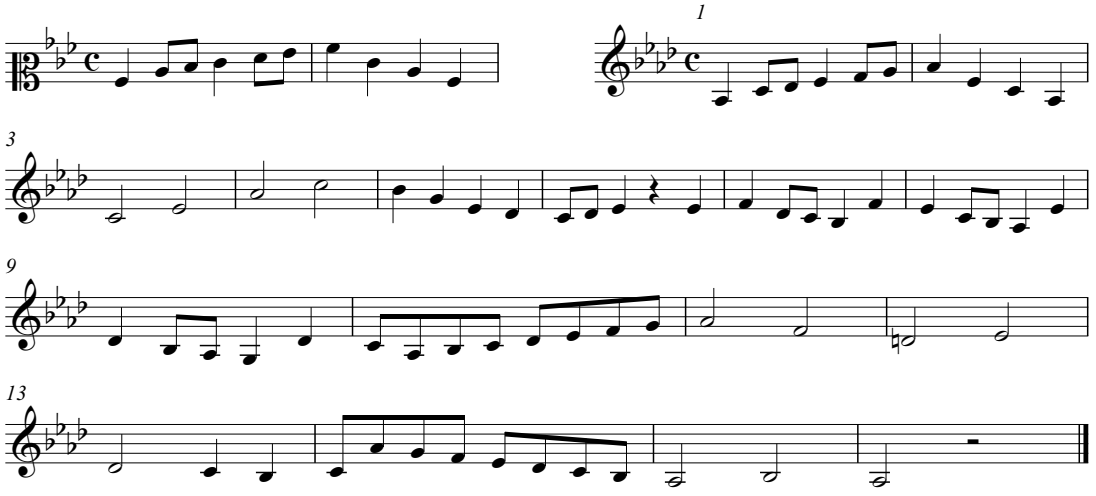

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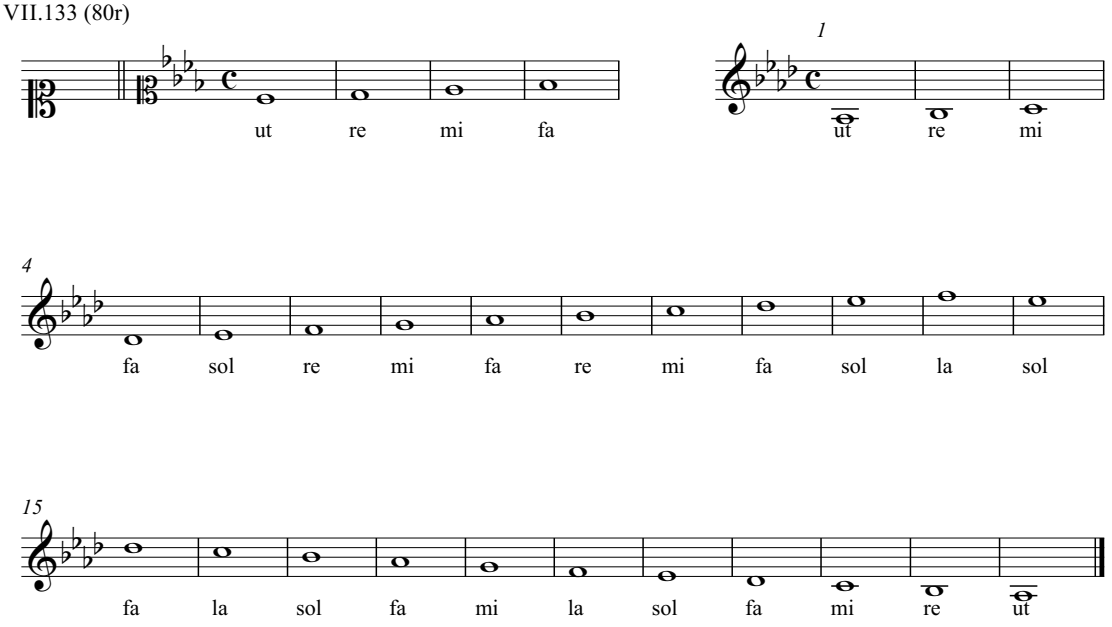

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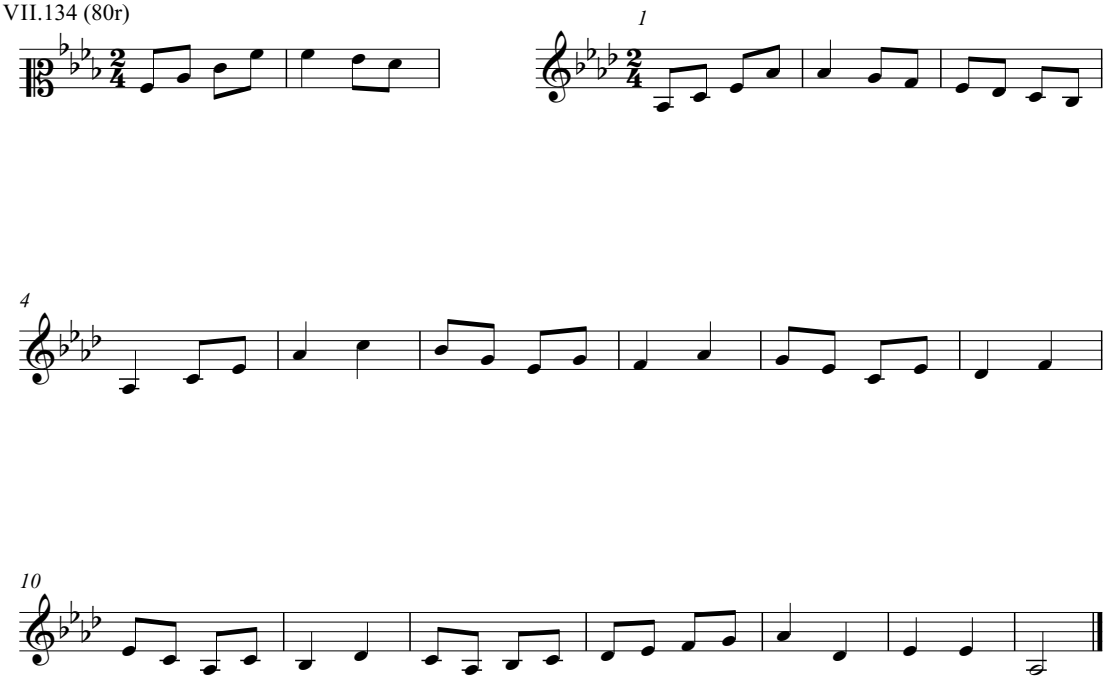

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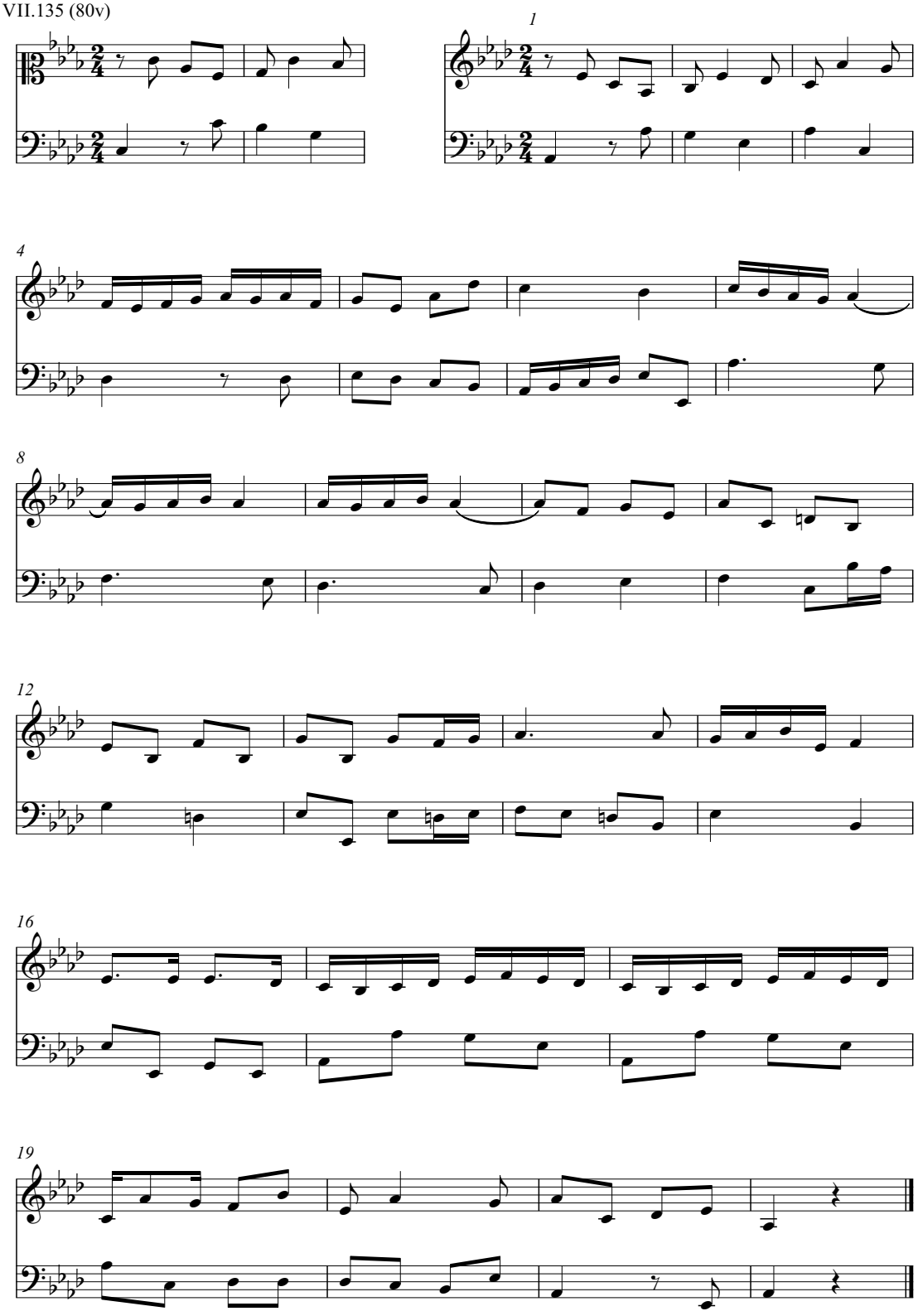

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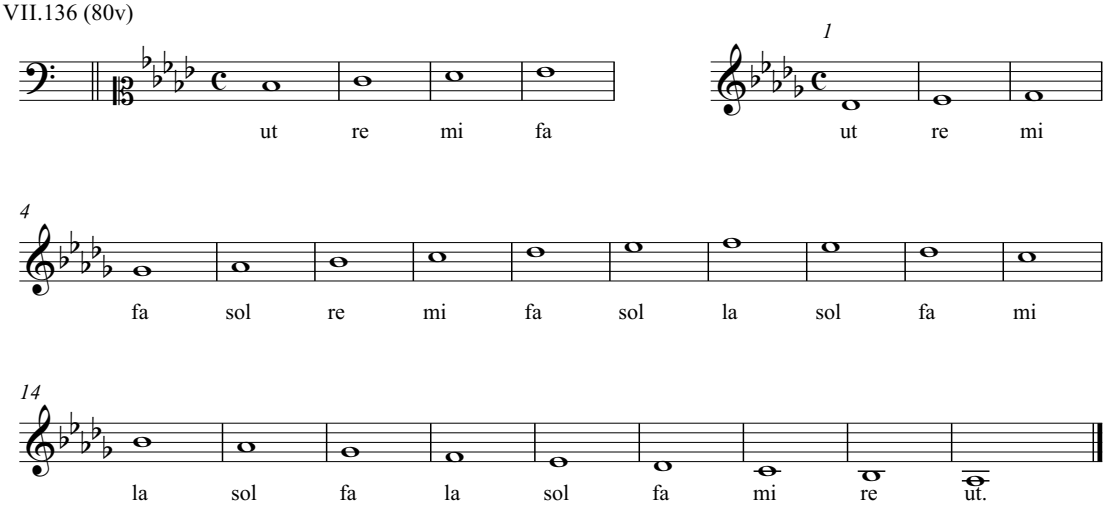

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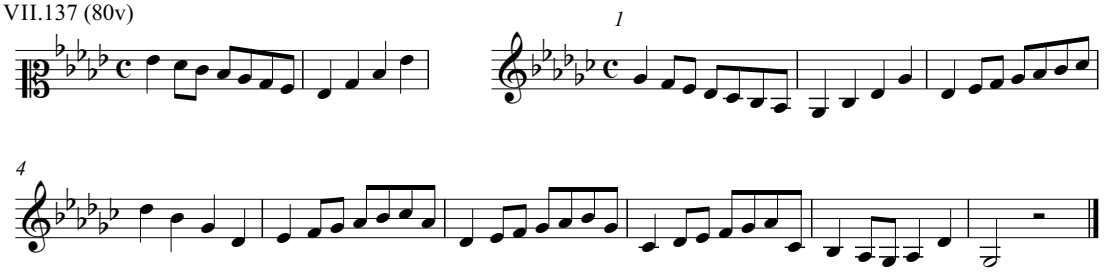

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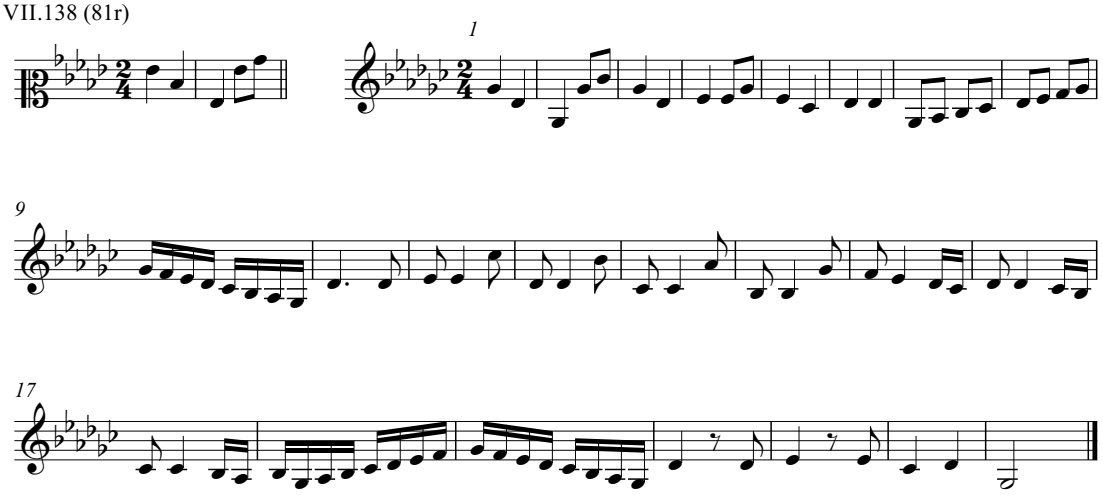

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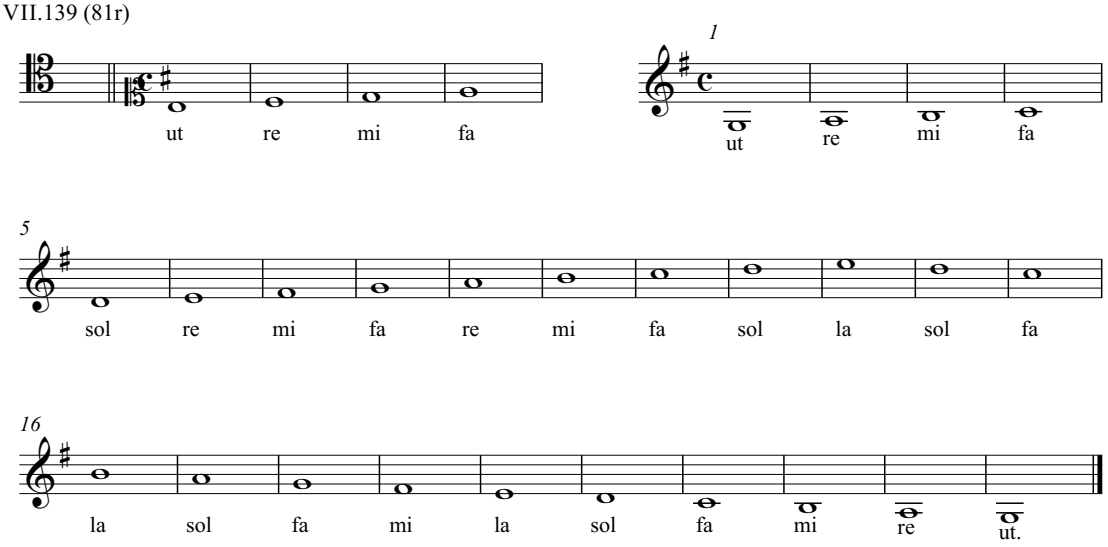

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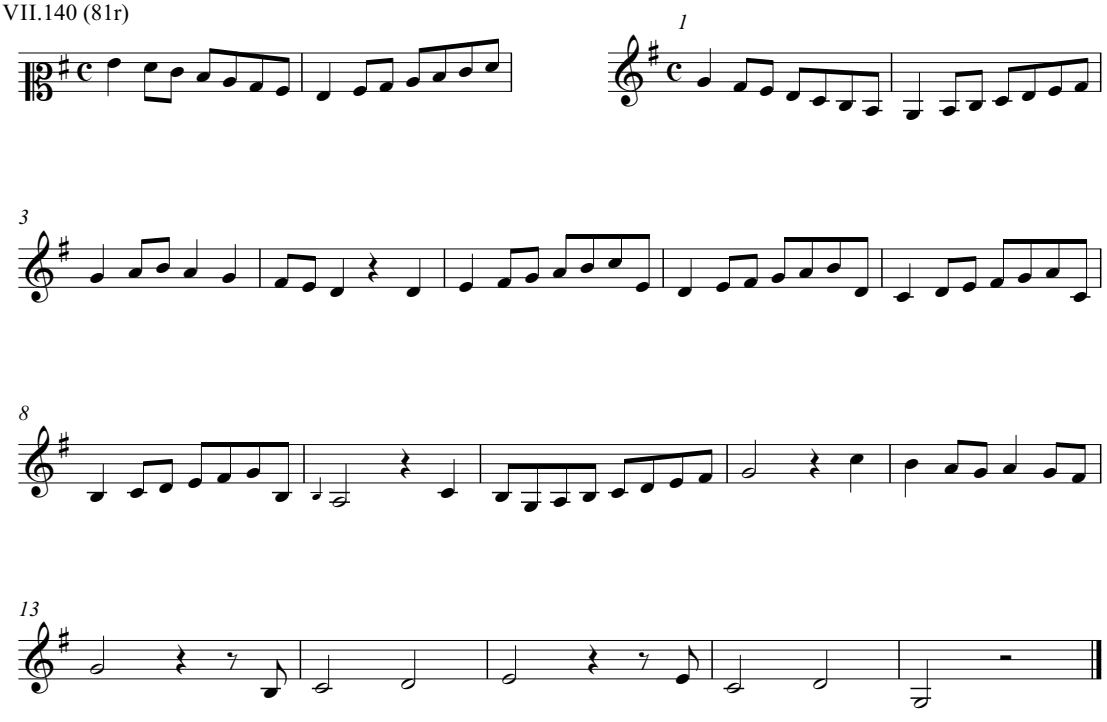

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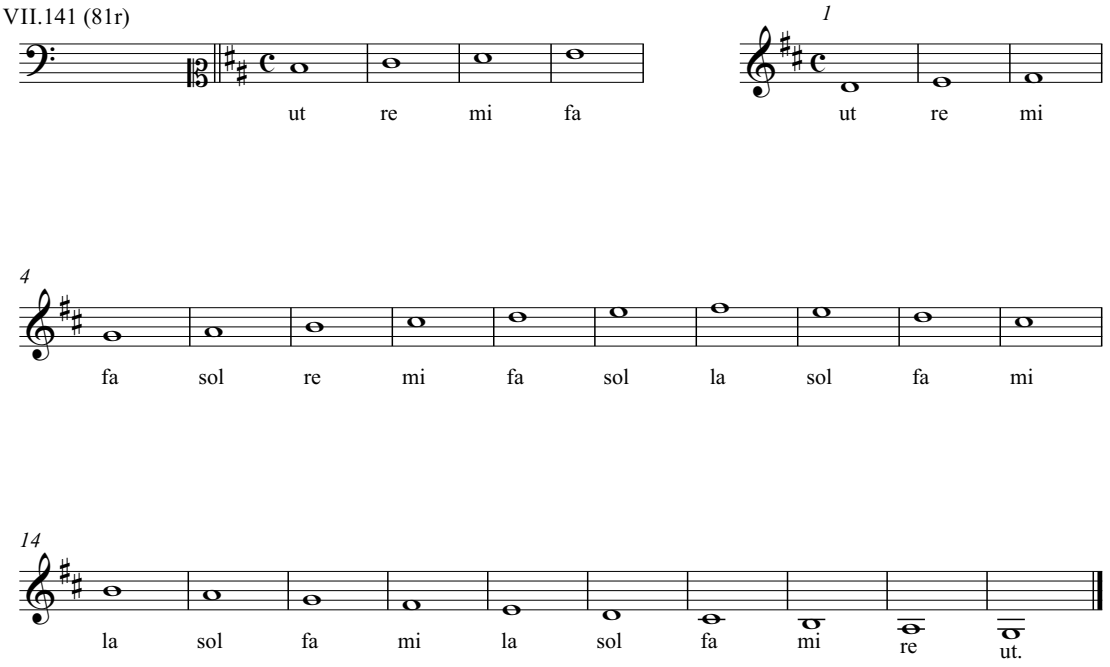

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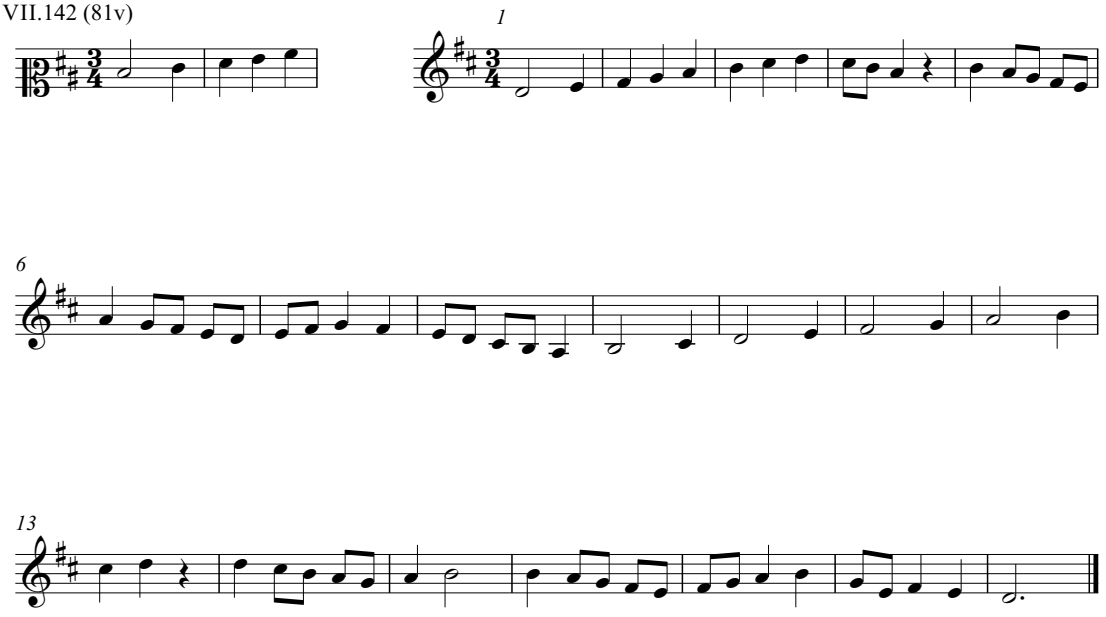

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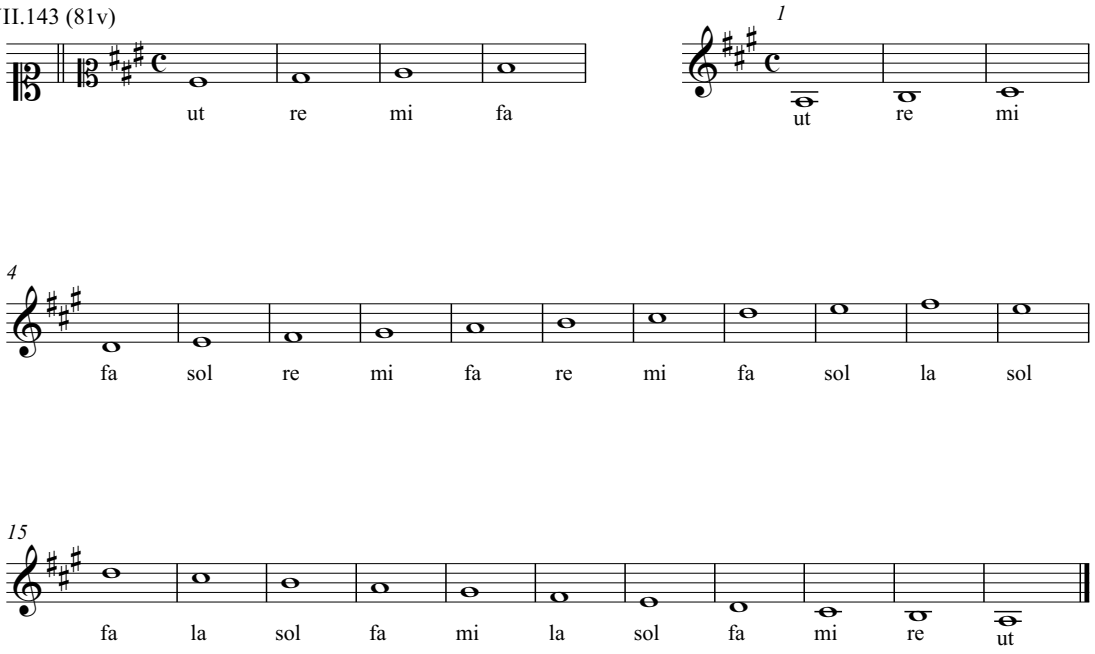

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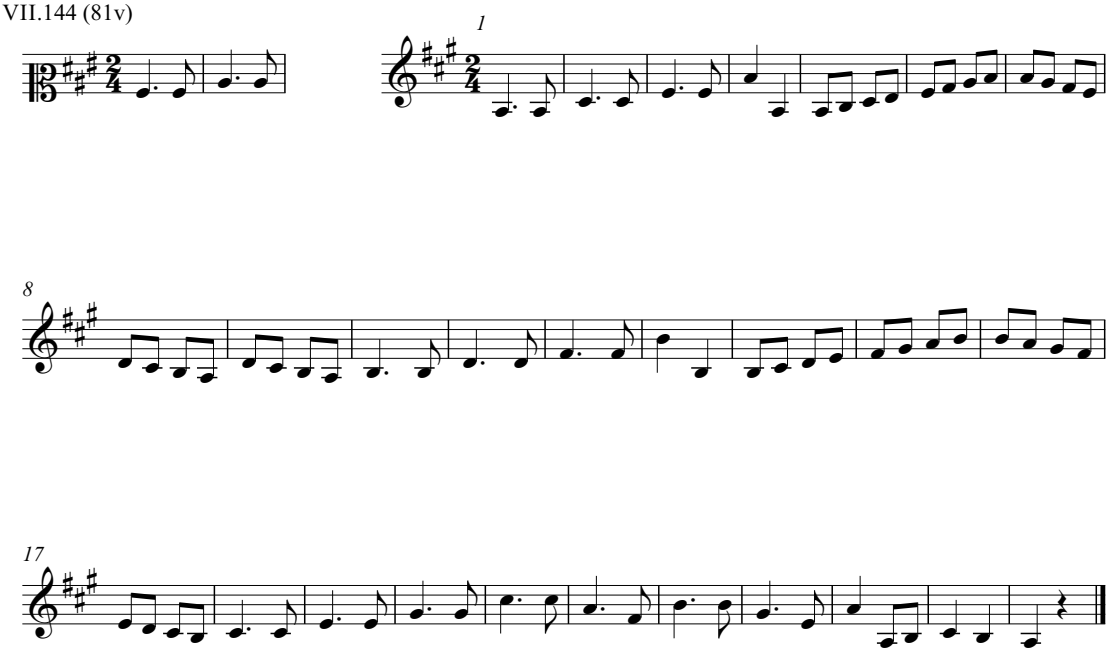
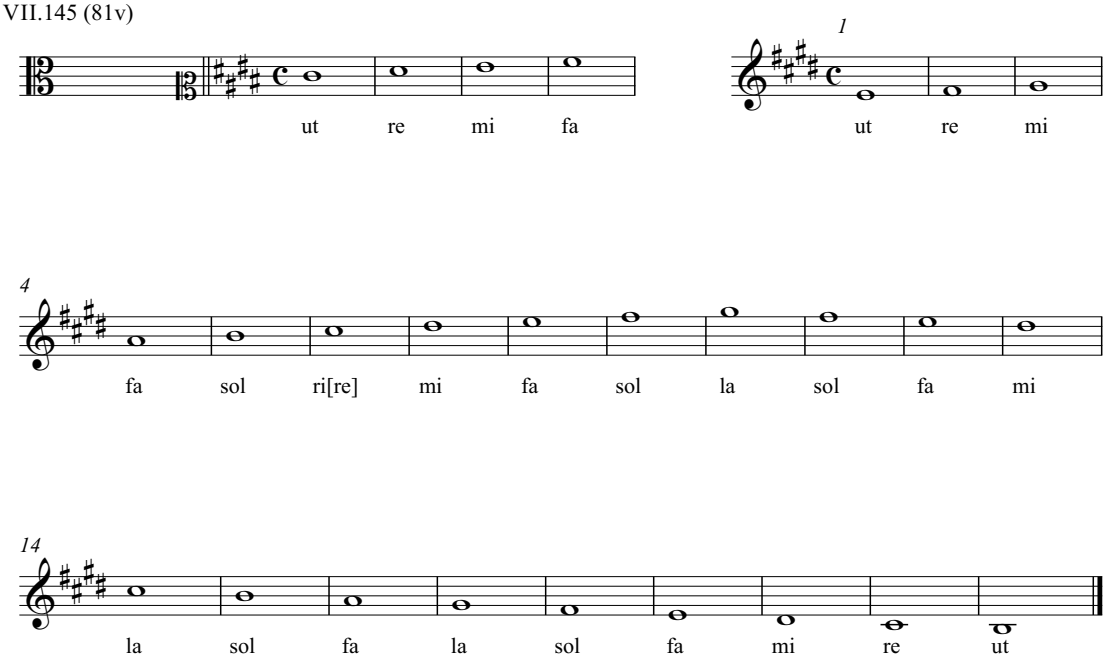
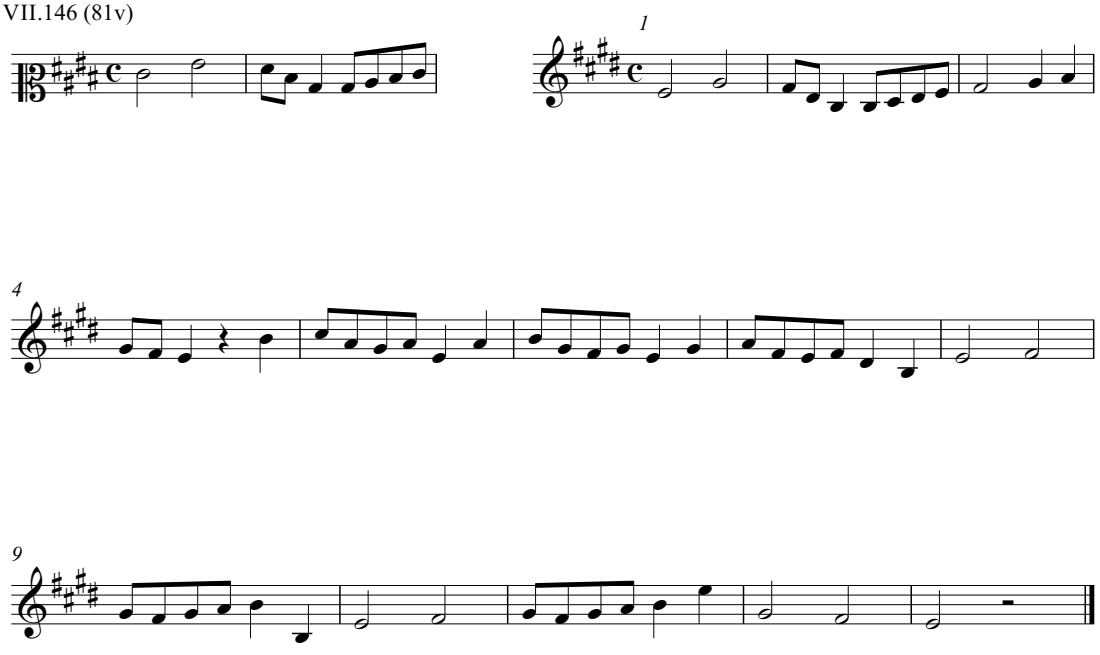


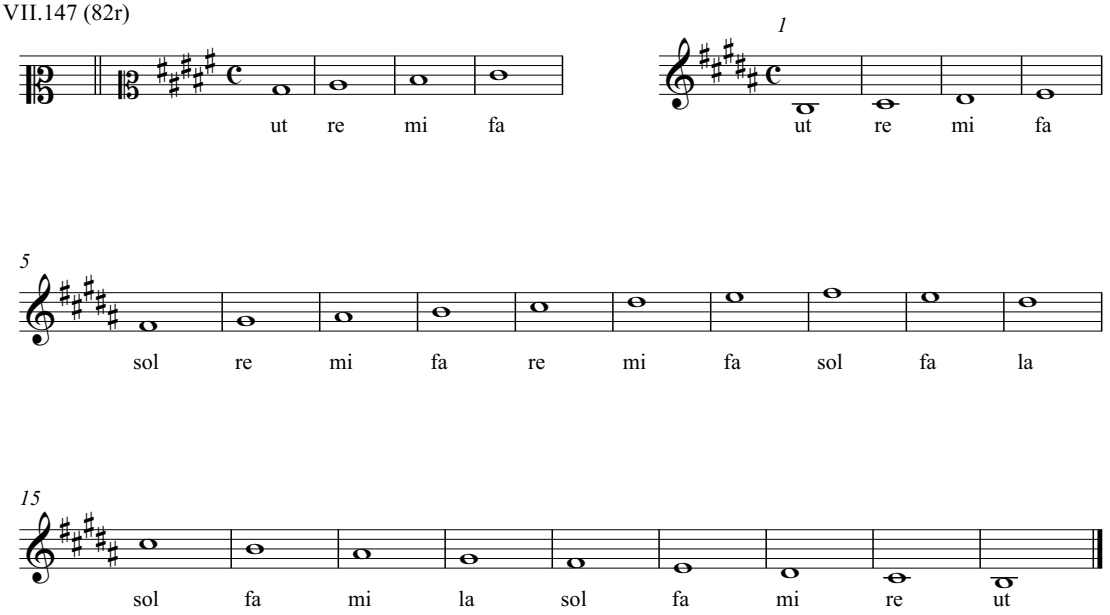
VII.145 (81v)



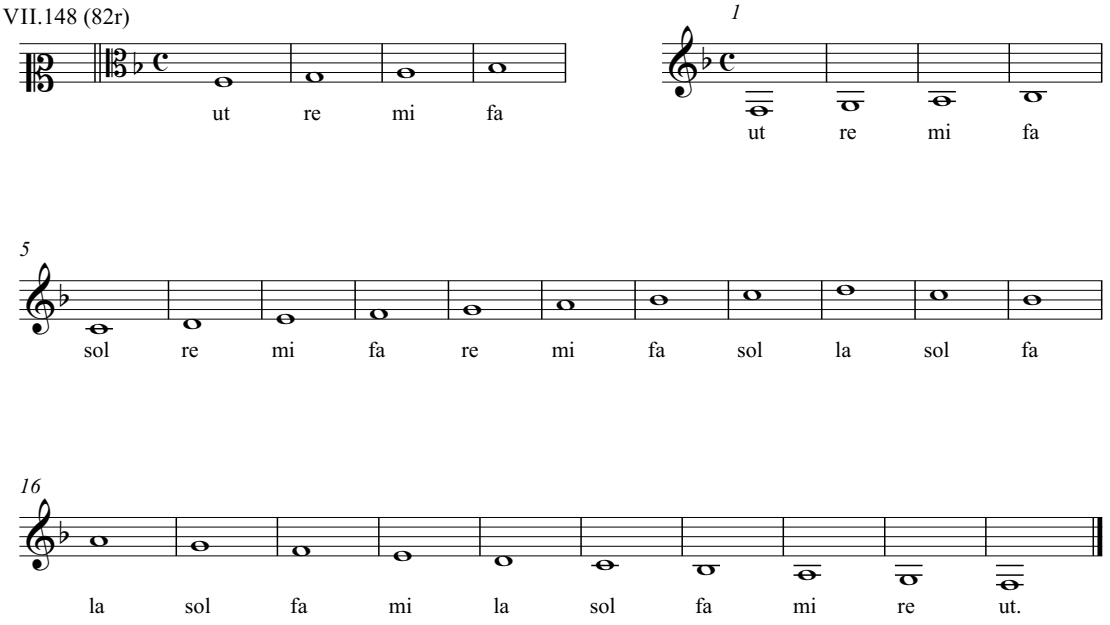
VII.146 (81v)



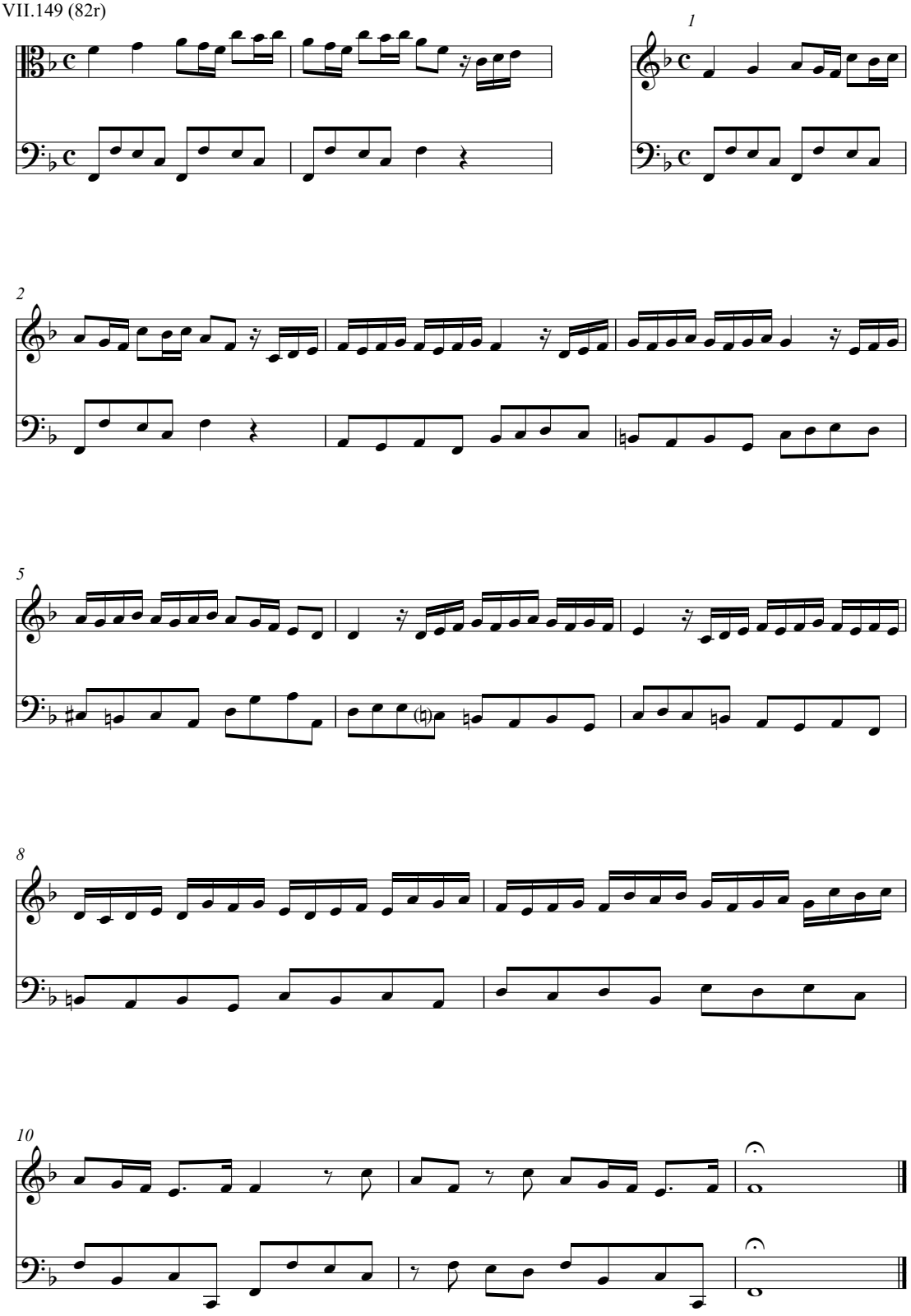
VII.147 (82r)



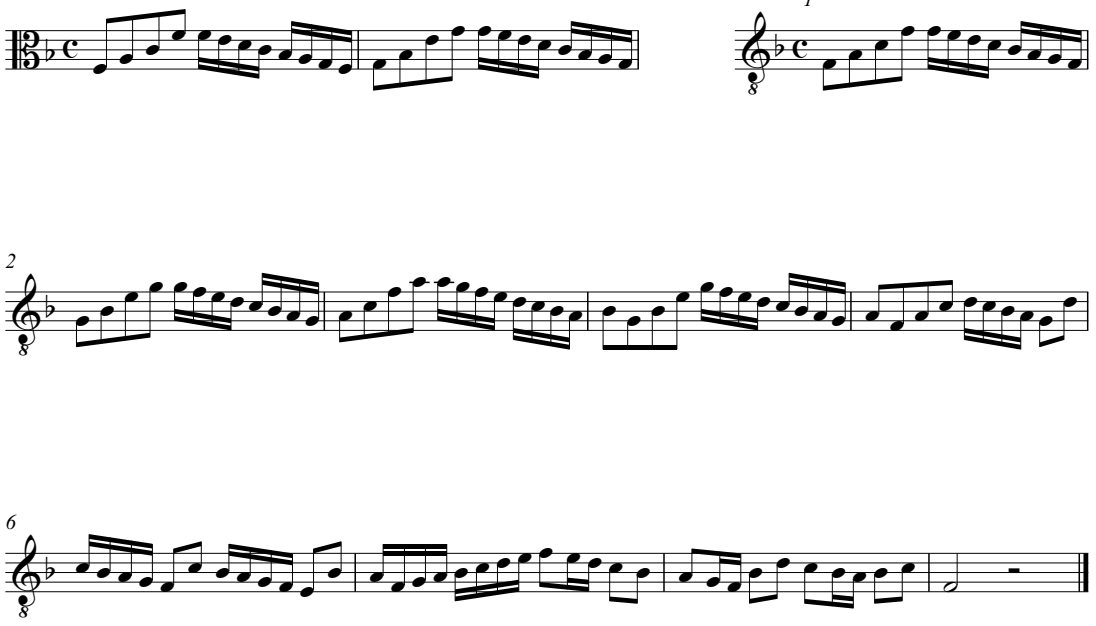
VII.148 (82r)



VII.149 (82r)



VII.150 (82v)



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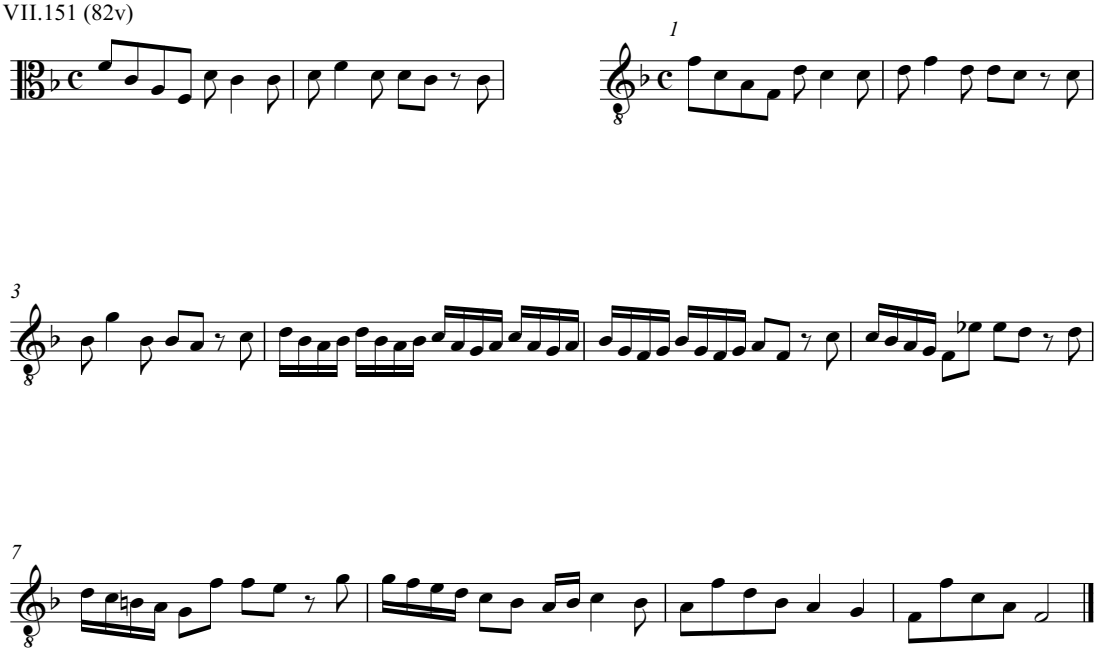

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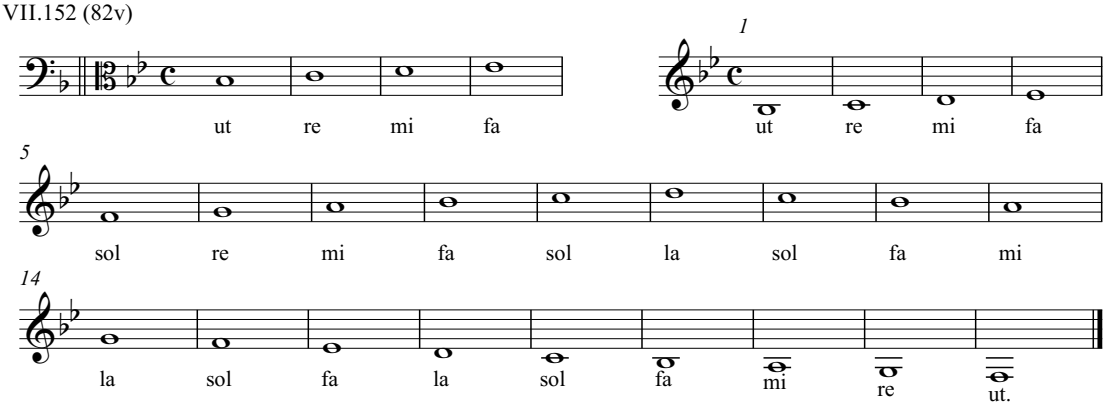
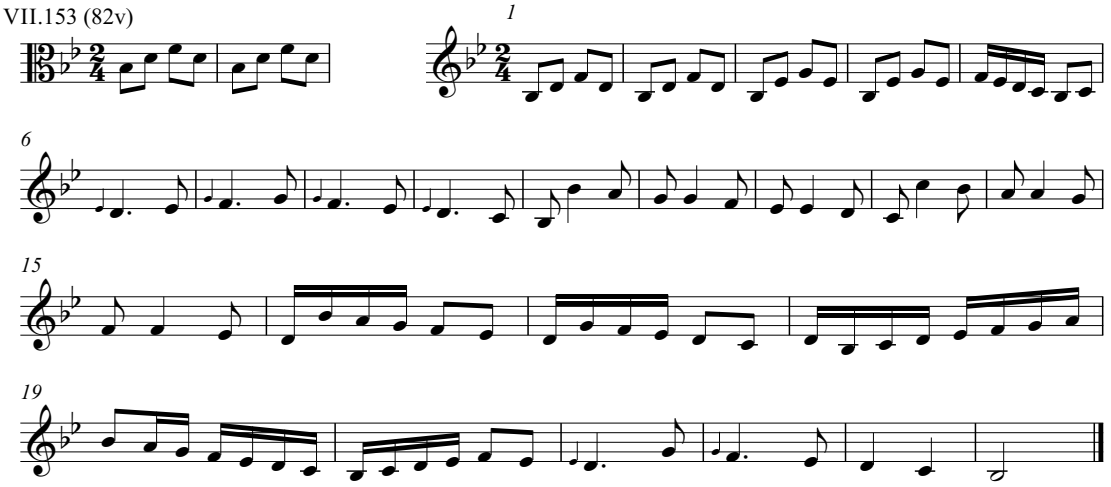
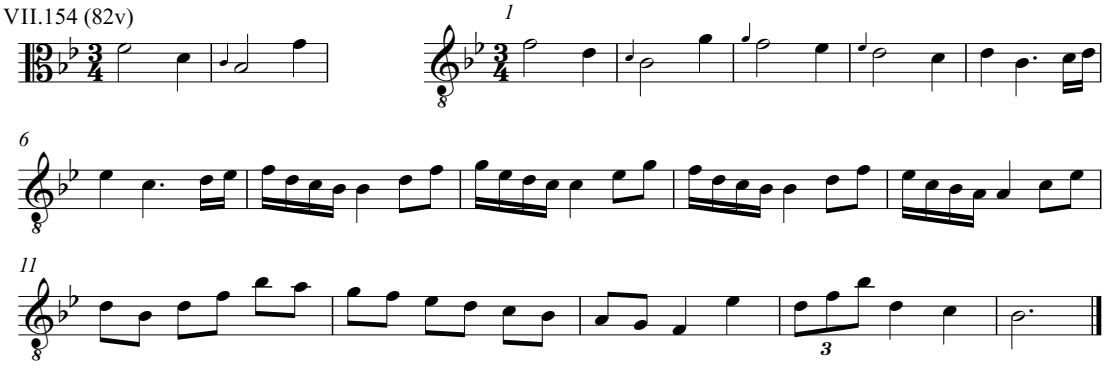


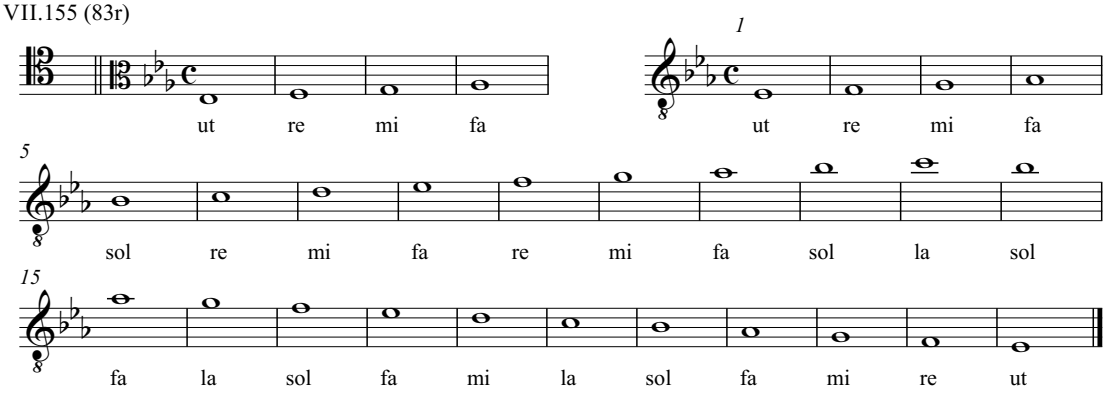
VII.153 (82v)



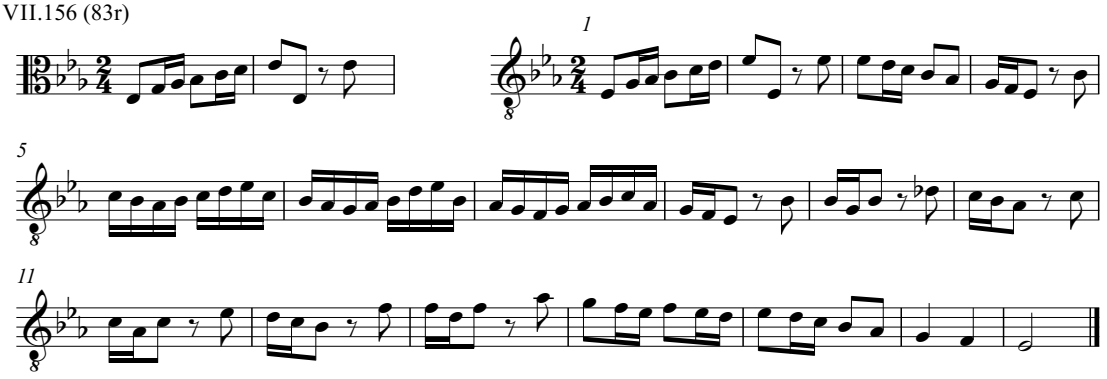
VII.154 (82v)



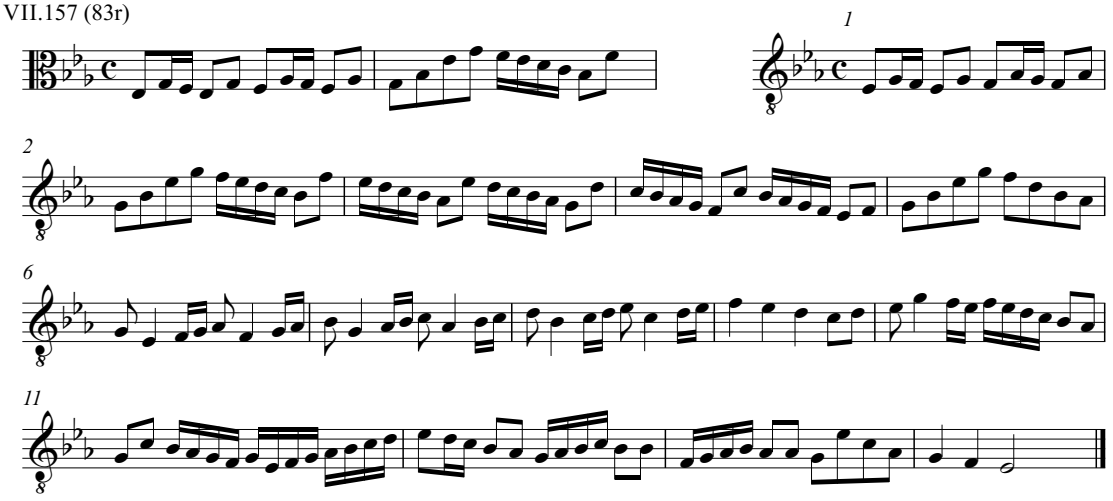
VII.155 (83r)



VII.156 (83r)



VII.157 (83r)



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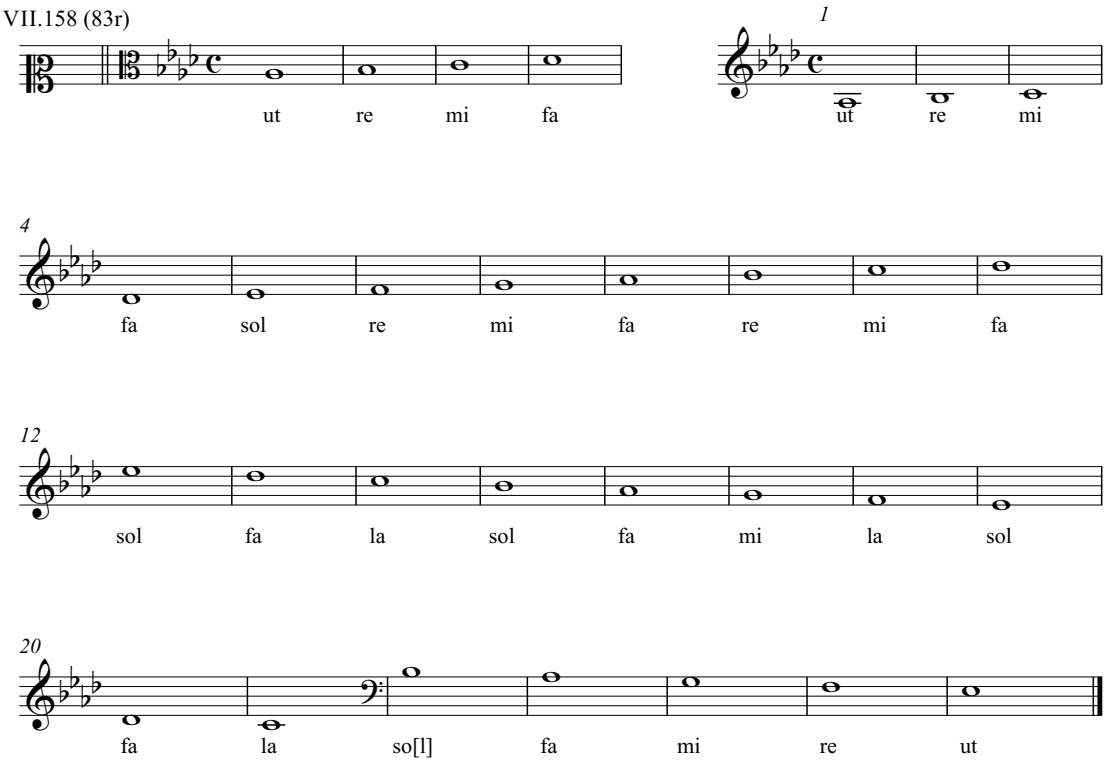

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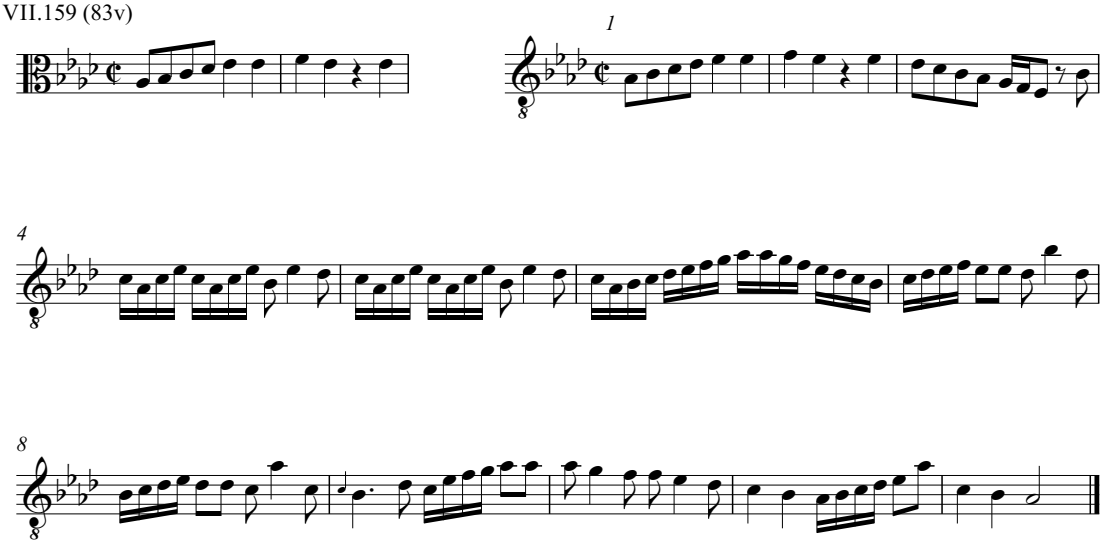

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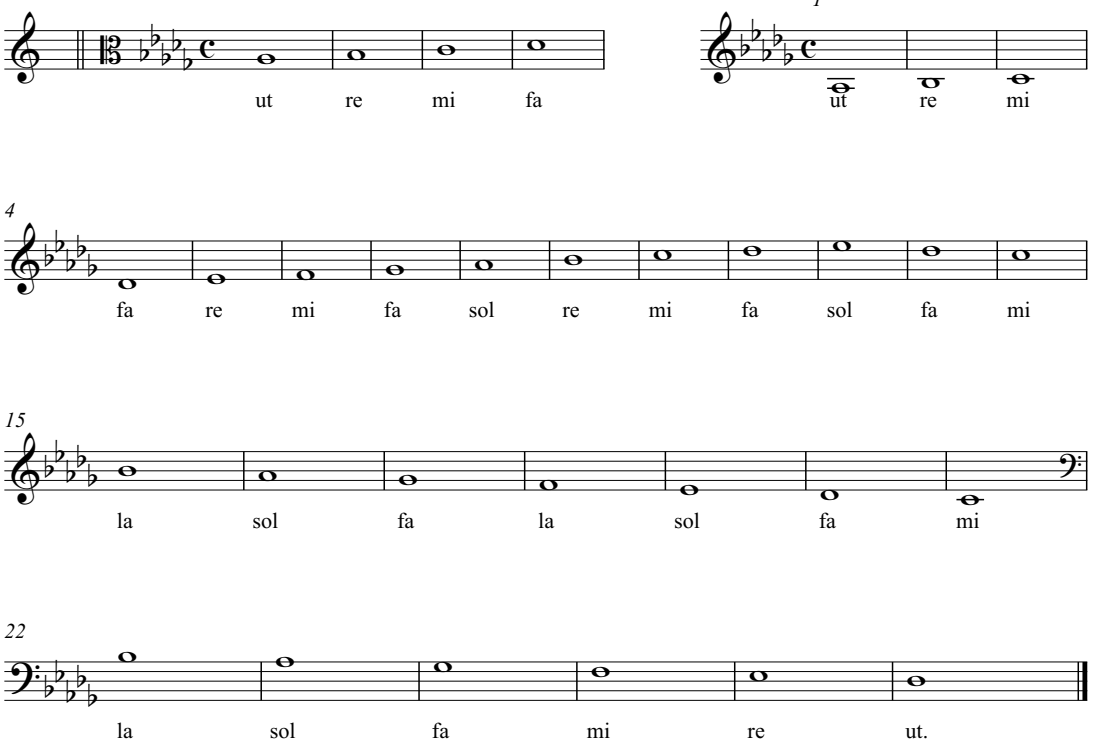

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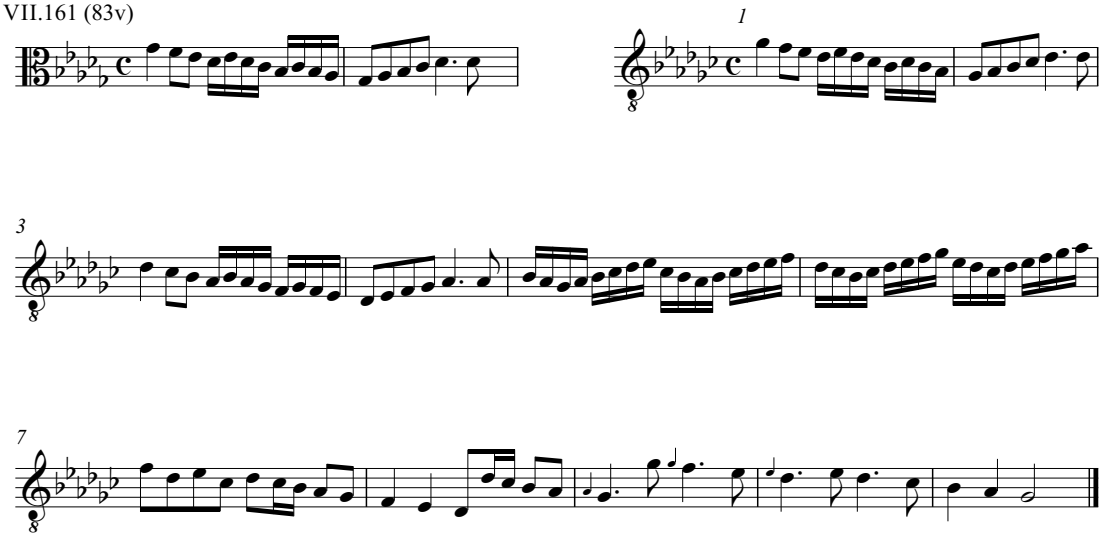

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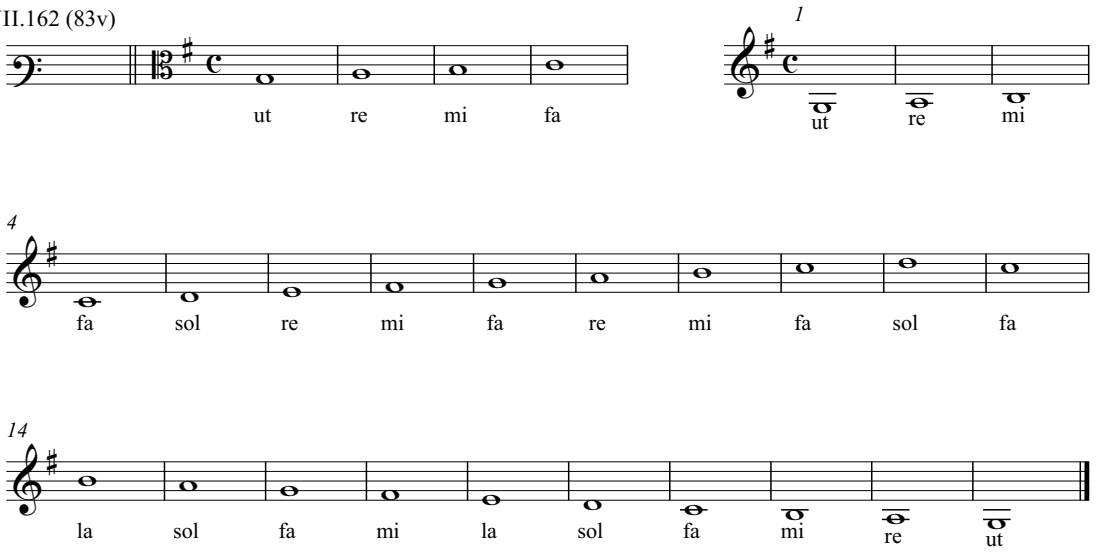

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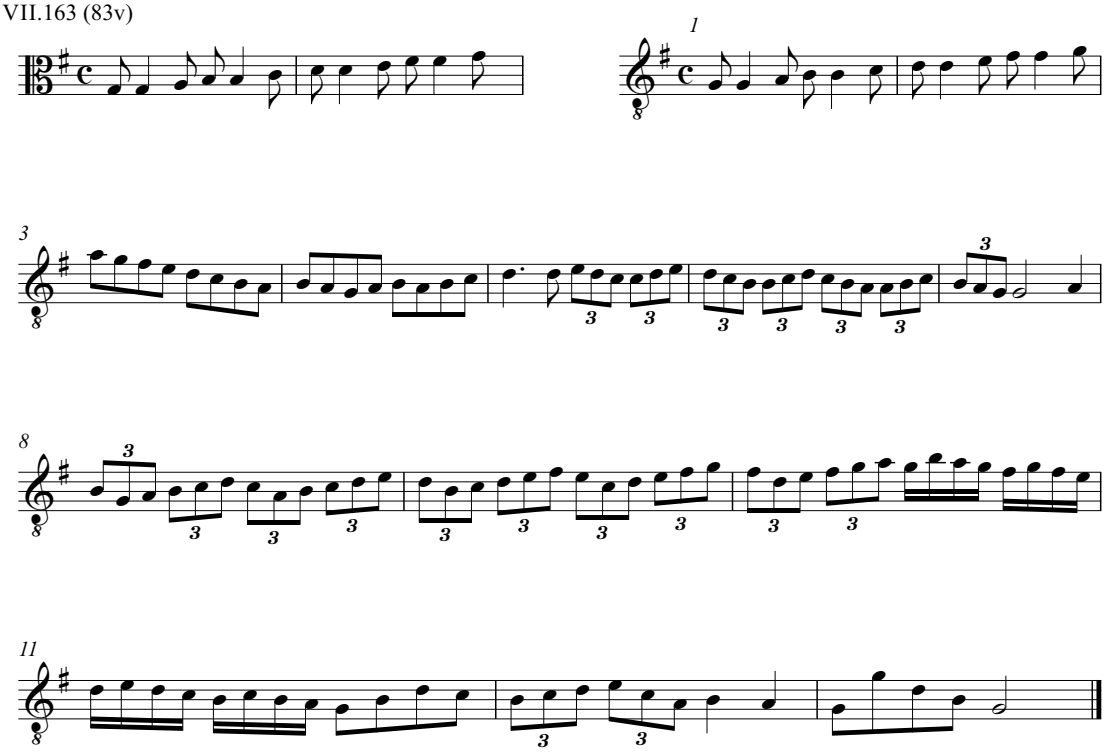
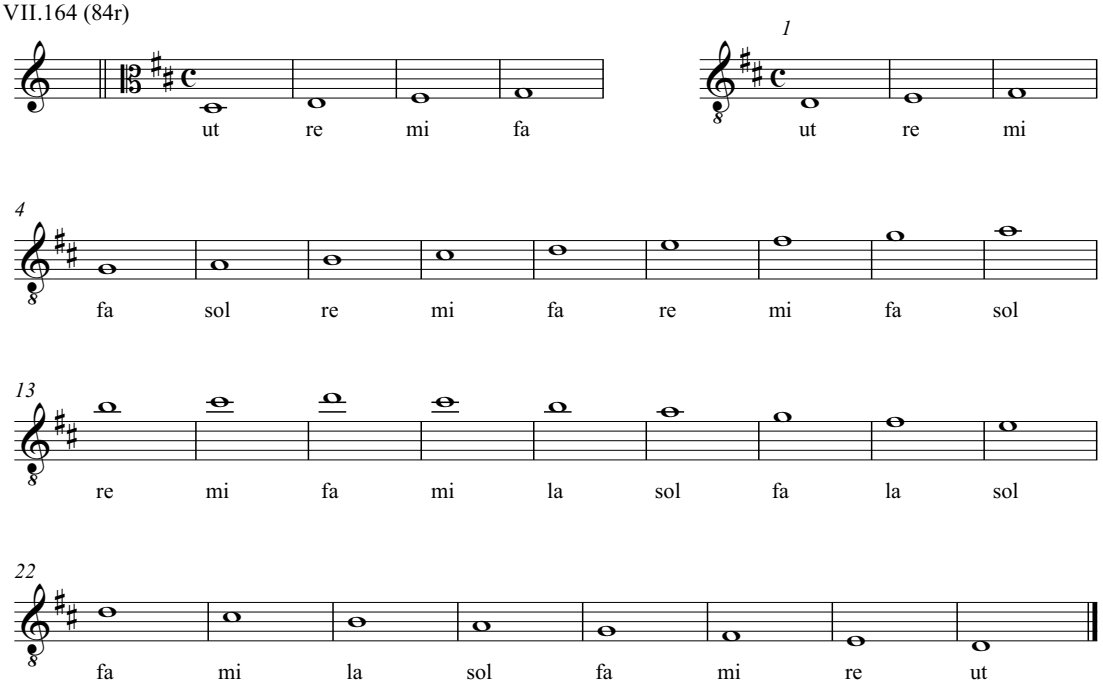


VII.164 (84r)



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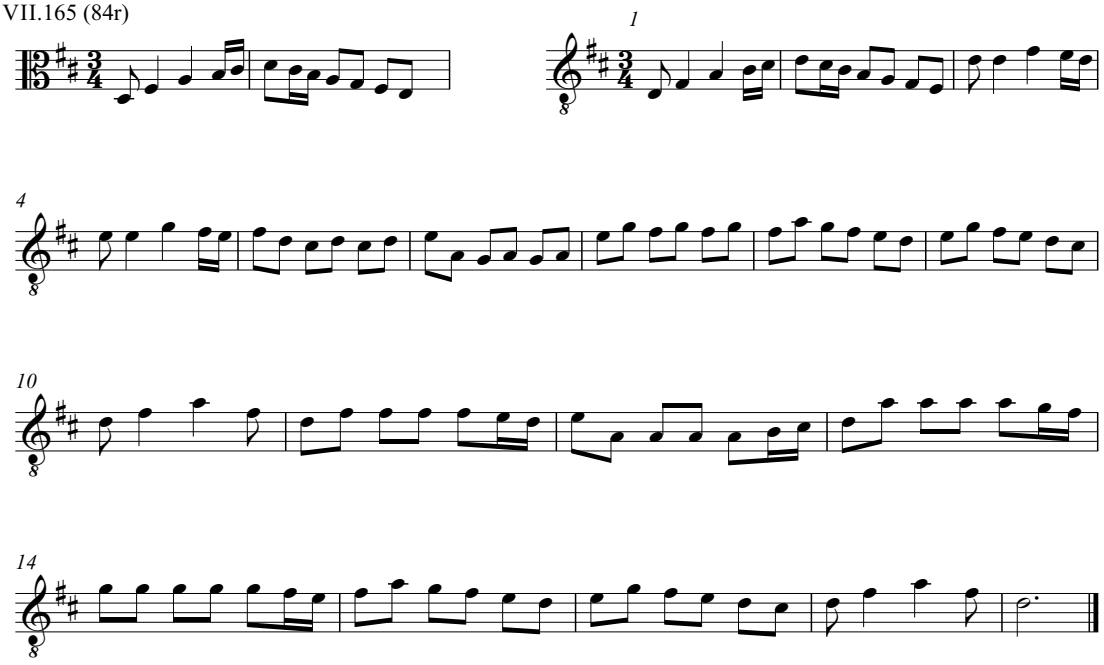

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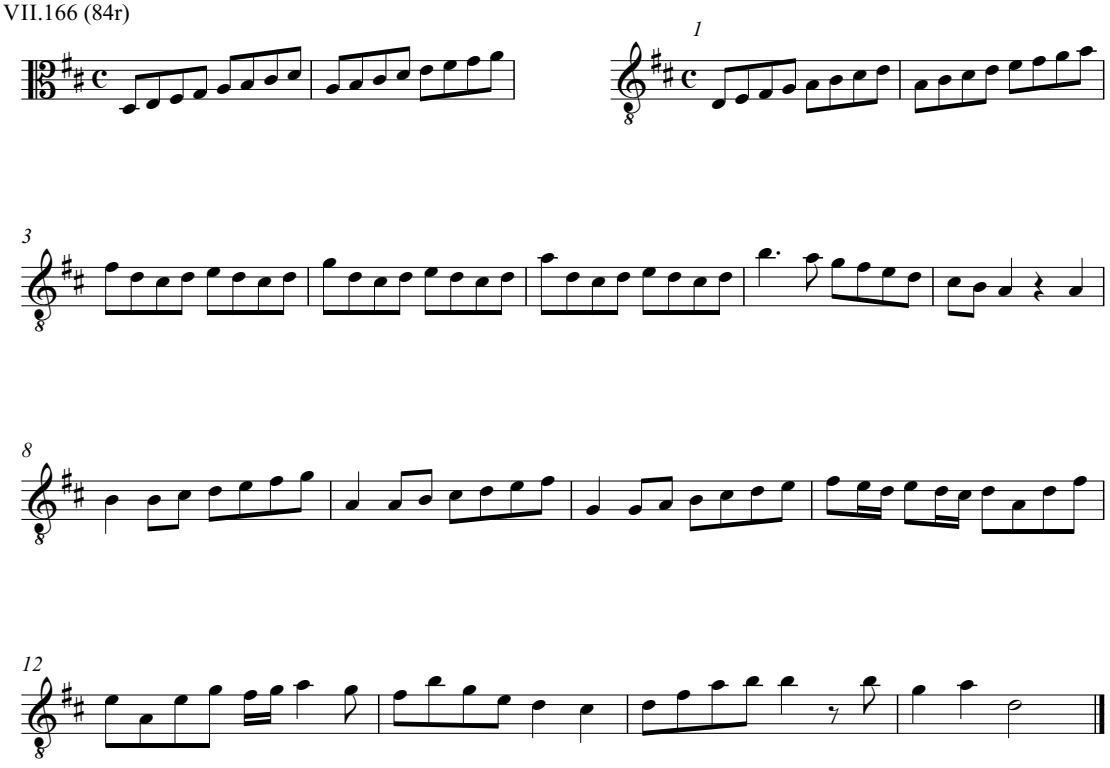

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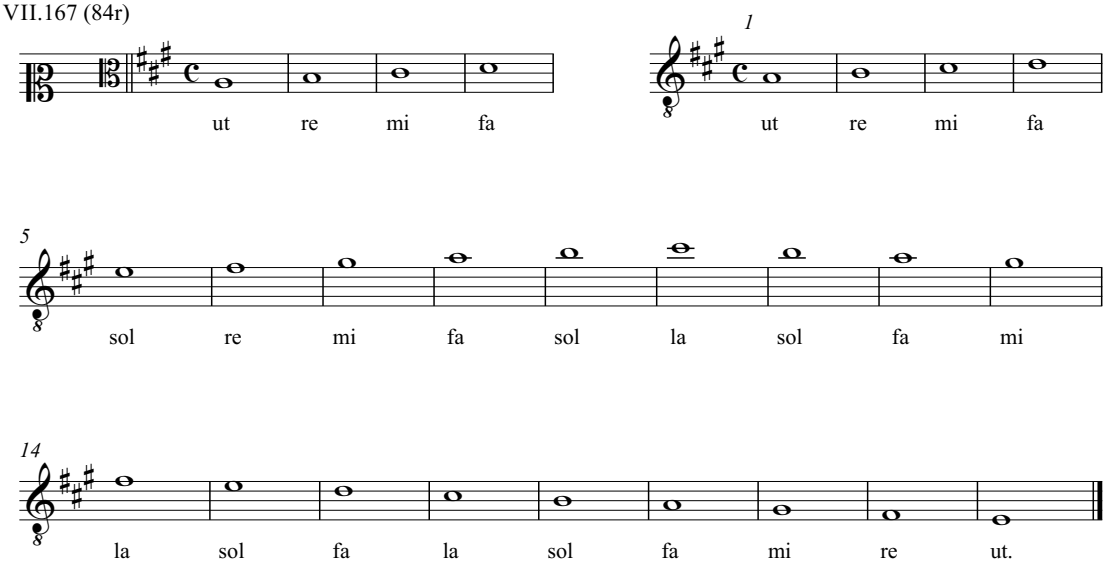

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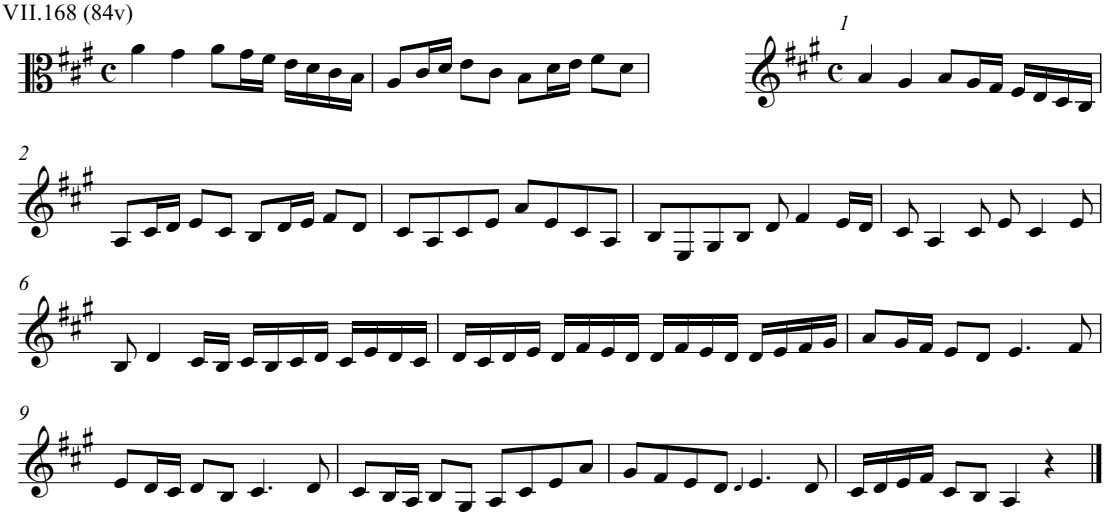

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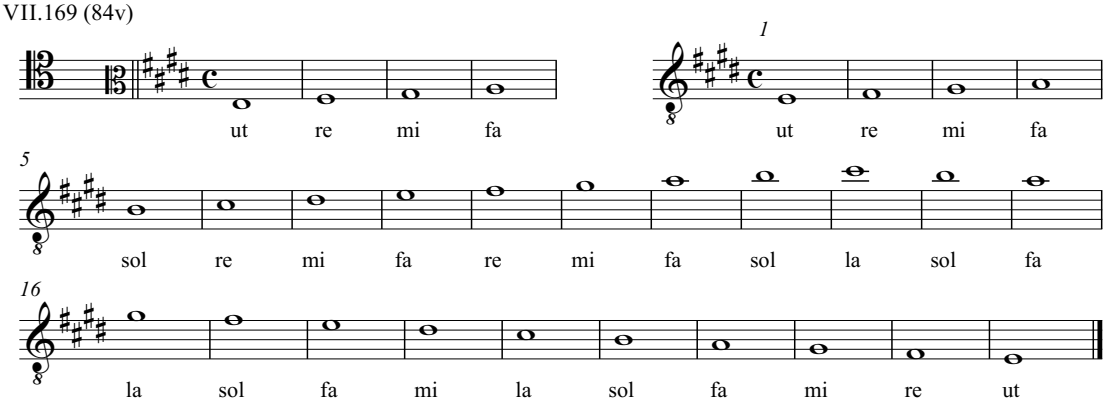

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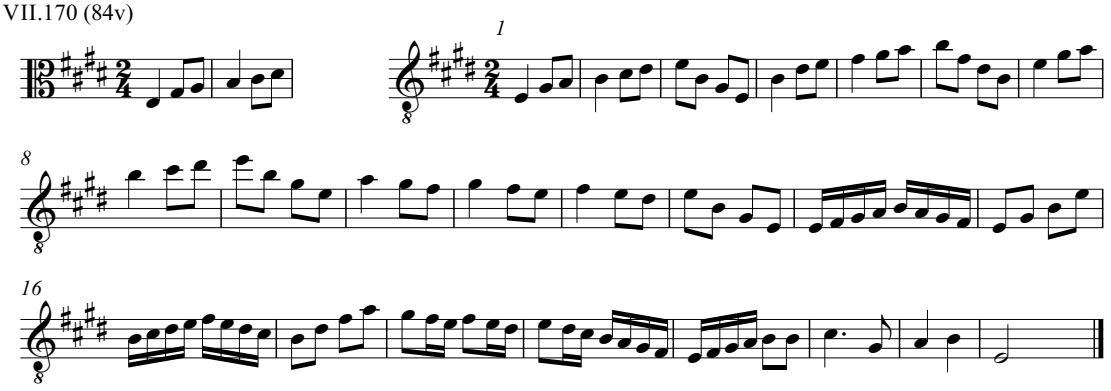

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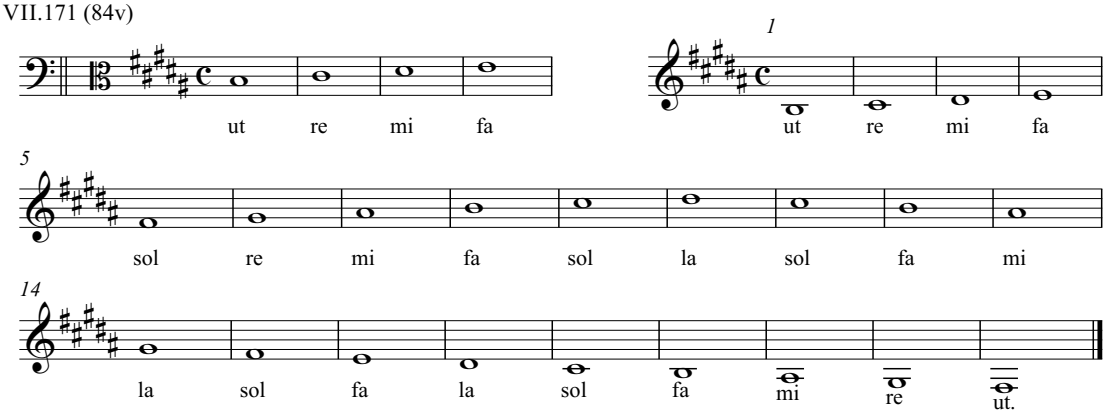

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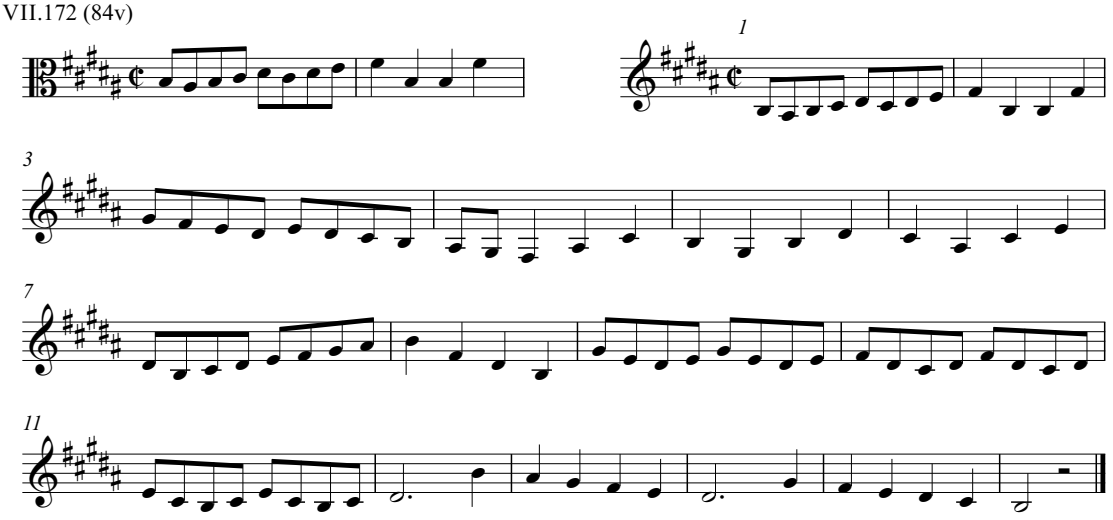

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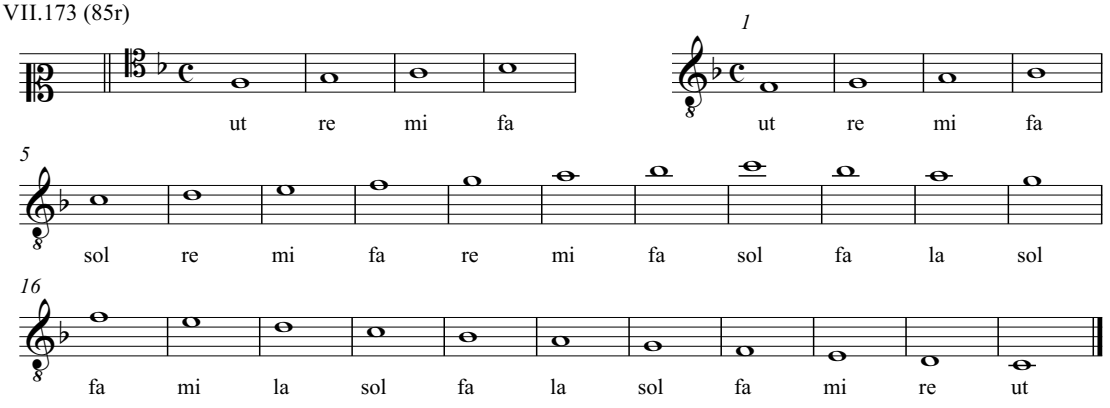

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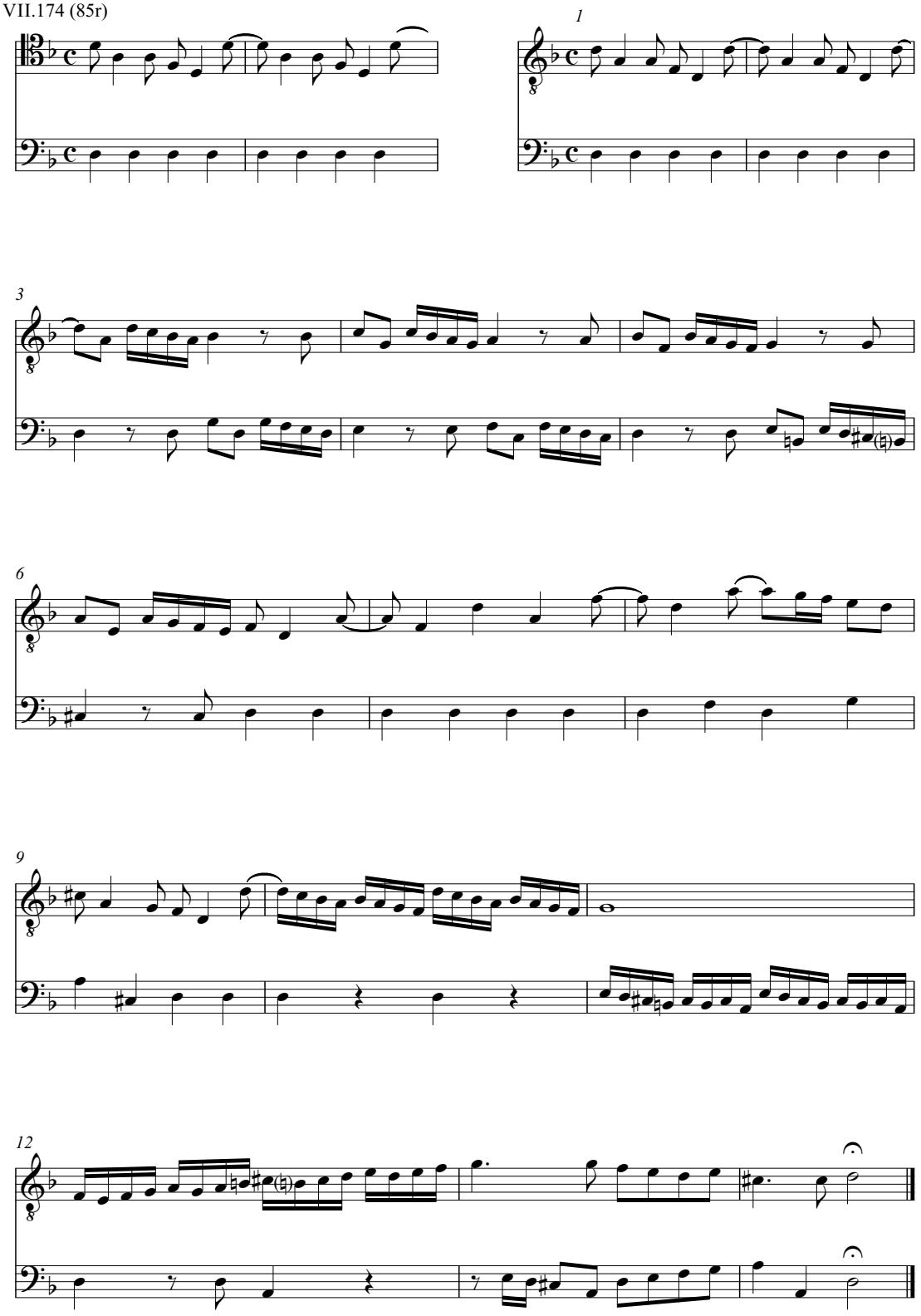

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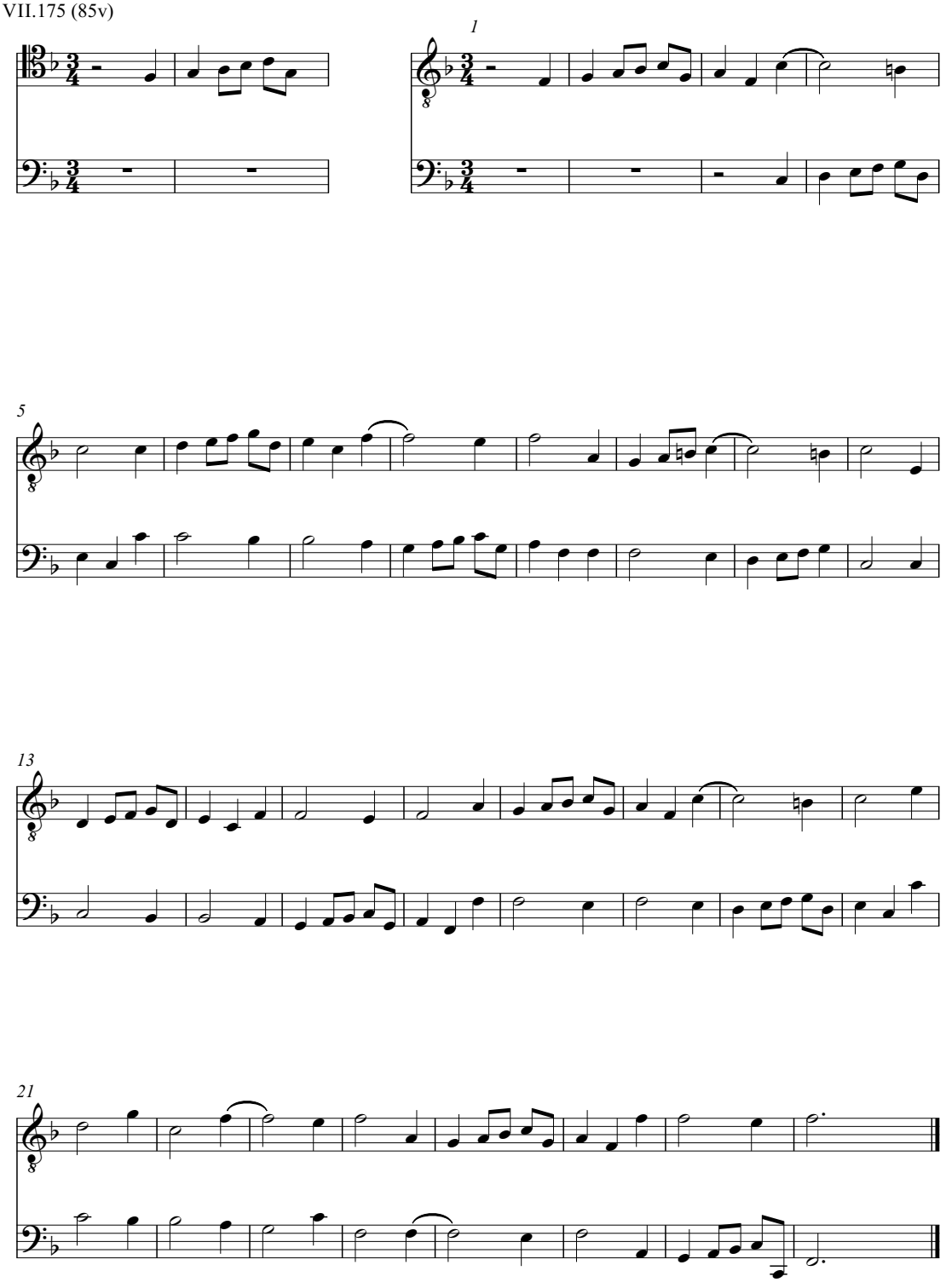

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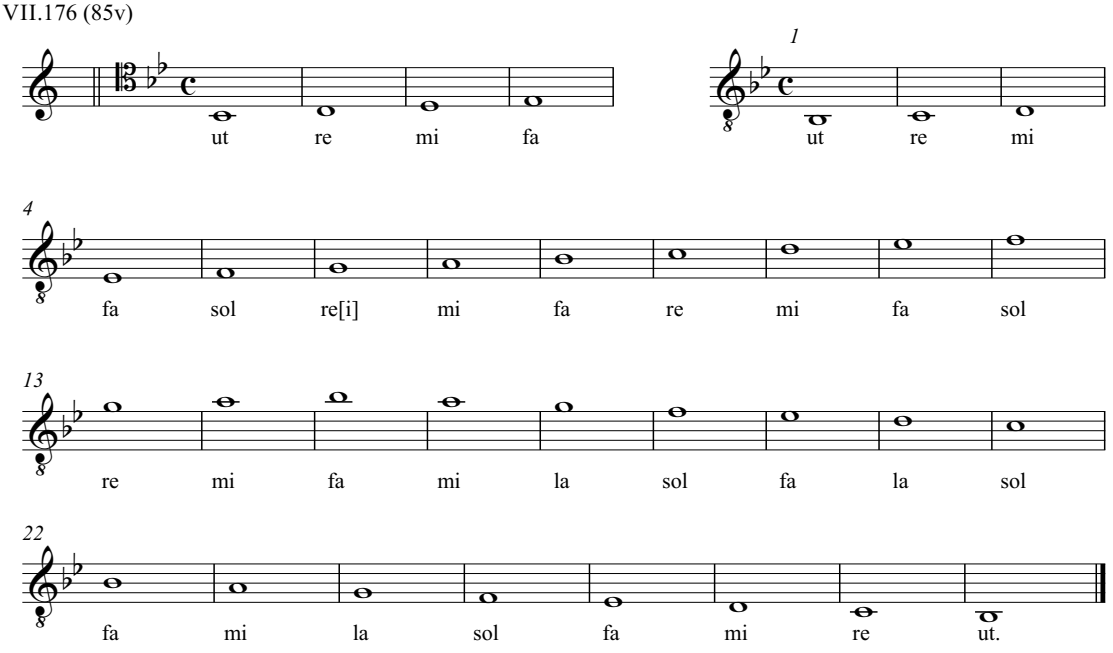

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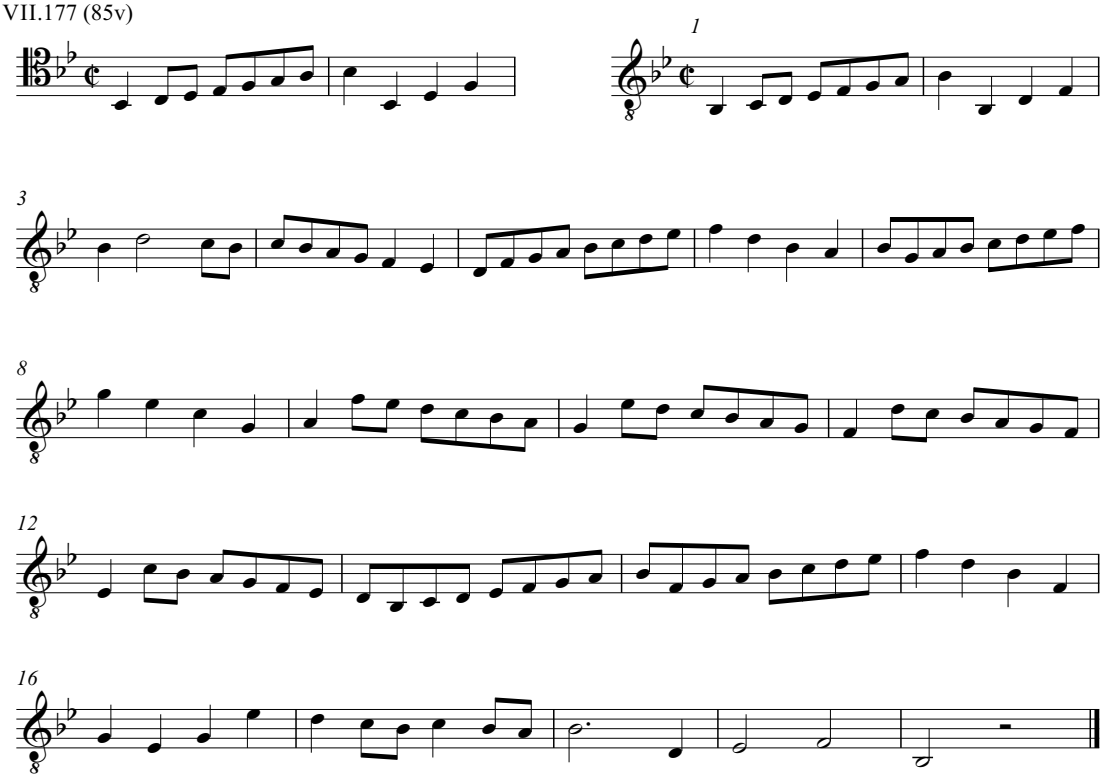

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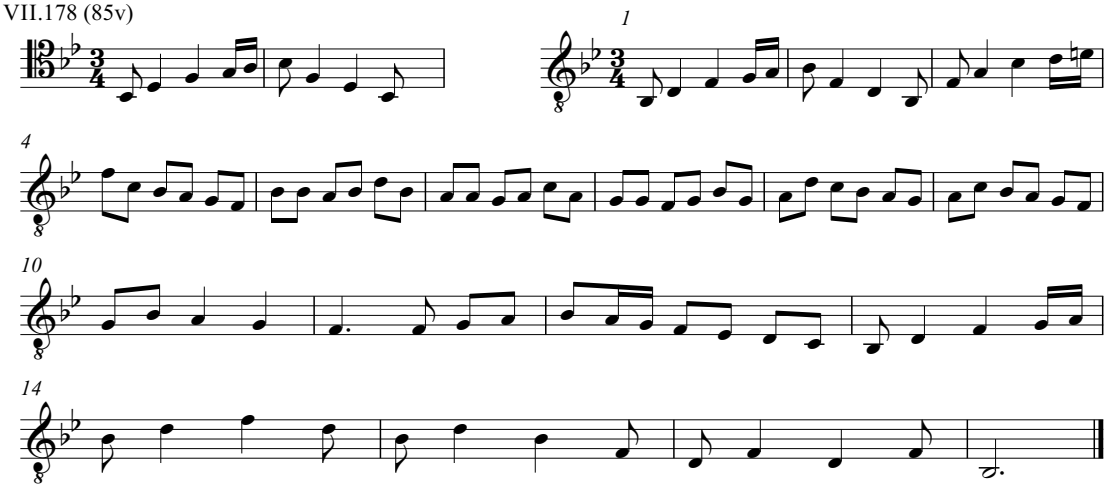
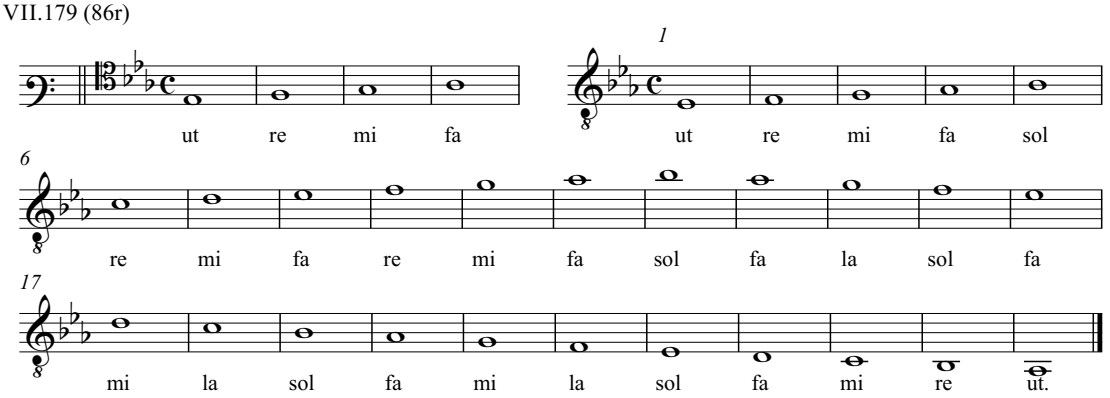


VII.179 (86r)



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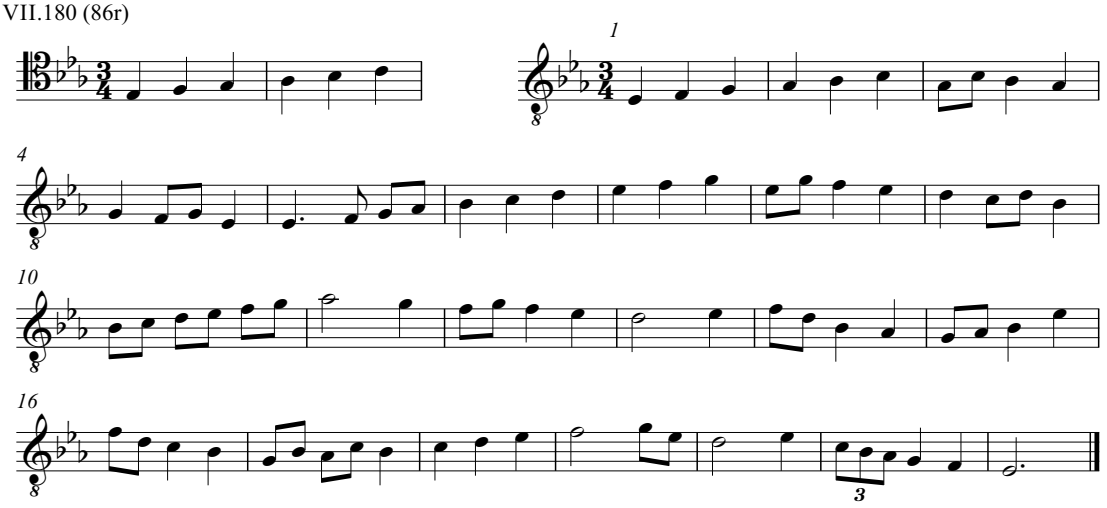

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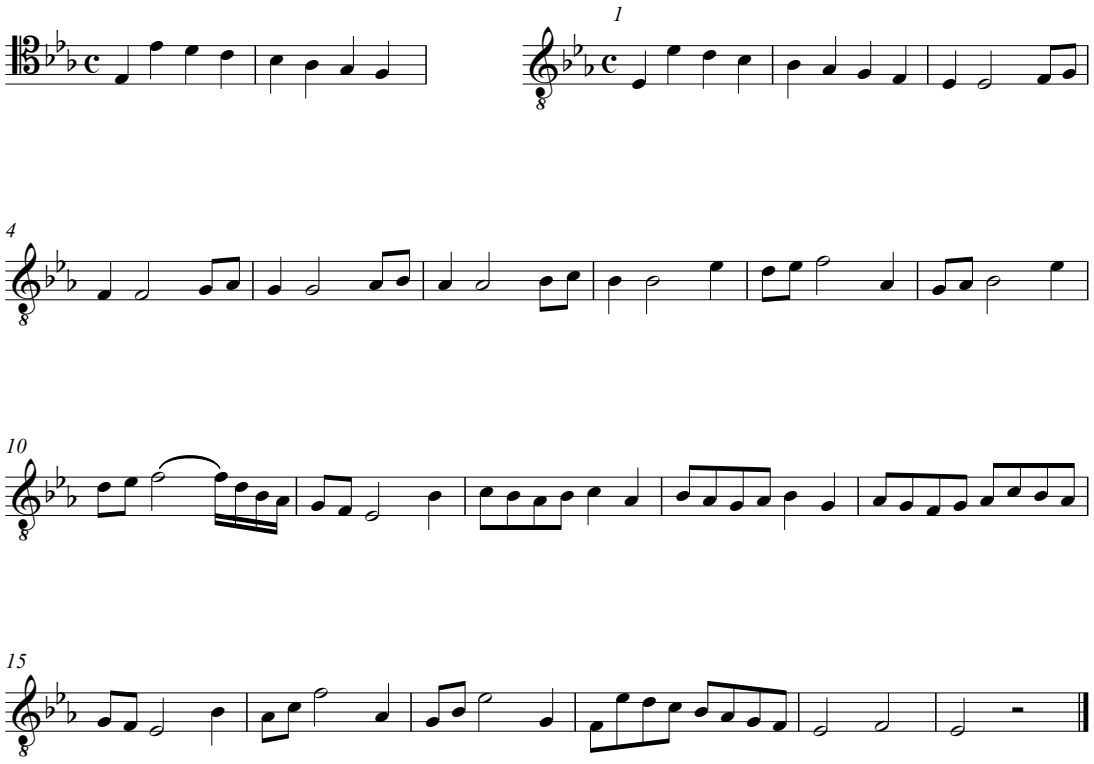

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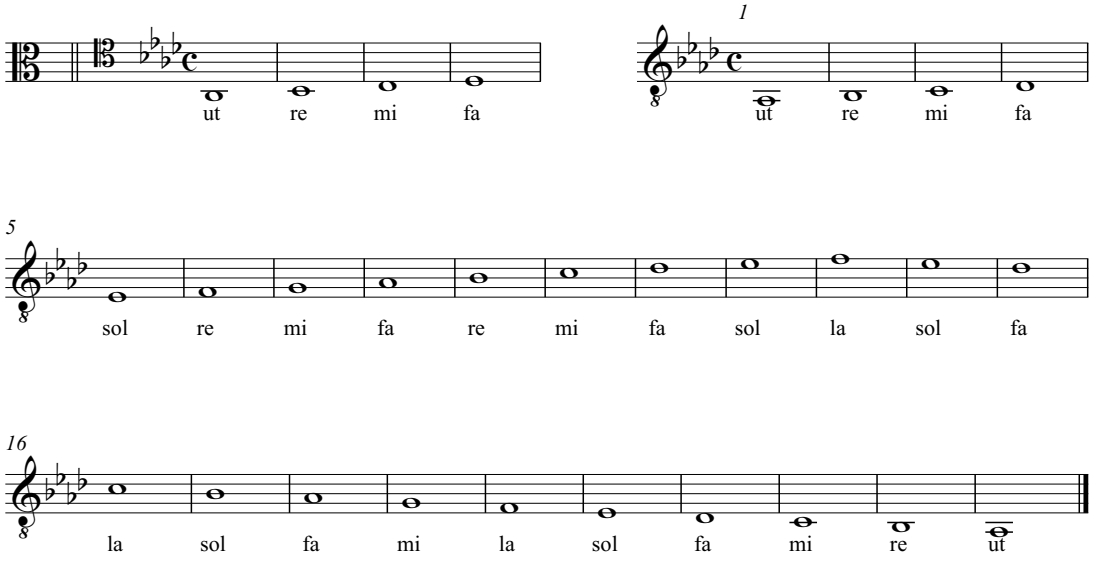

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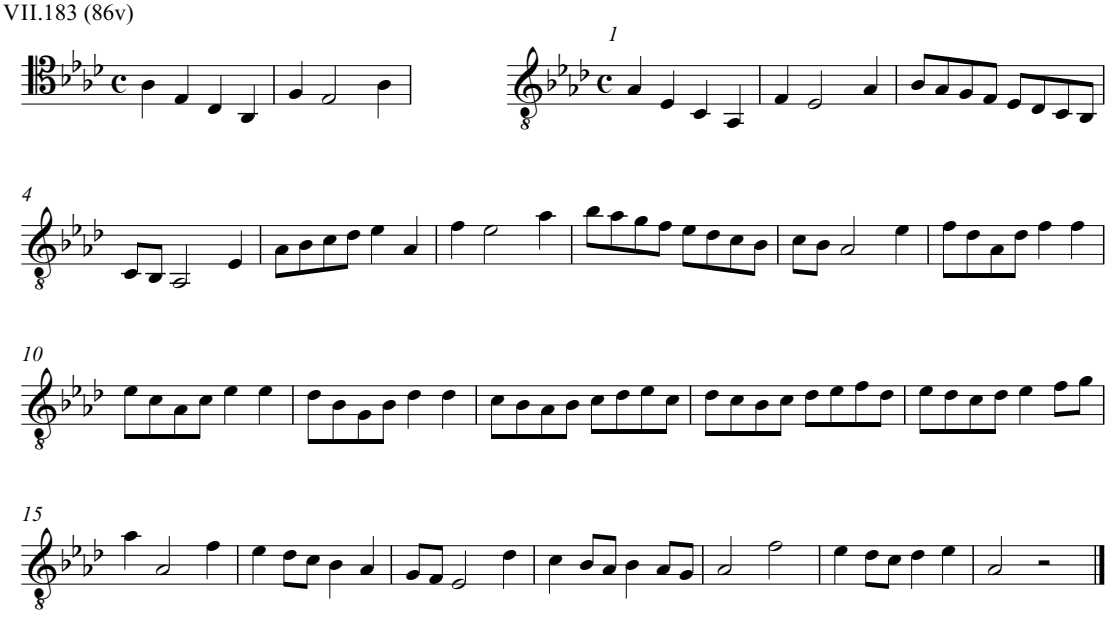

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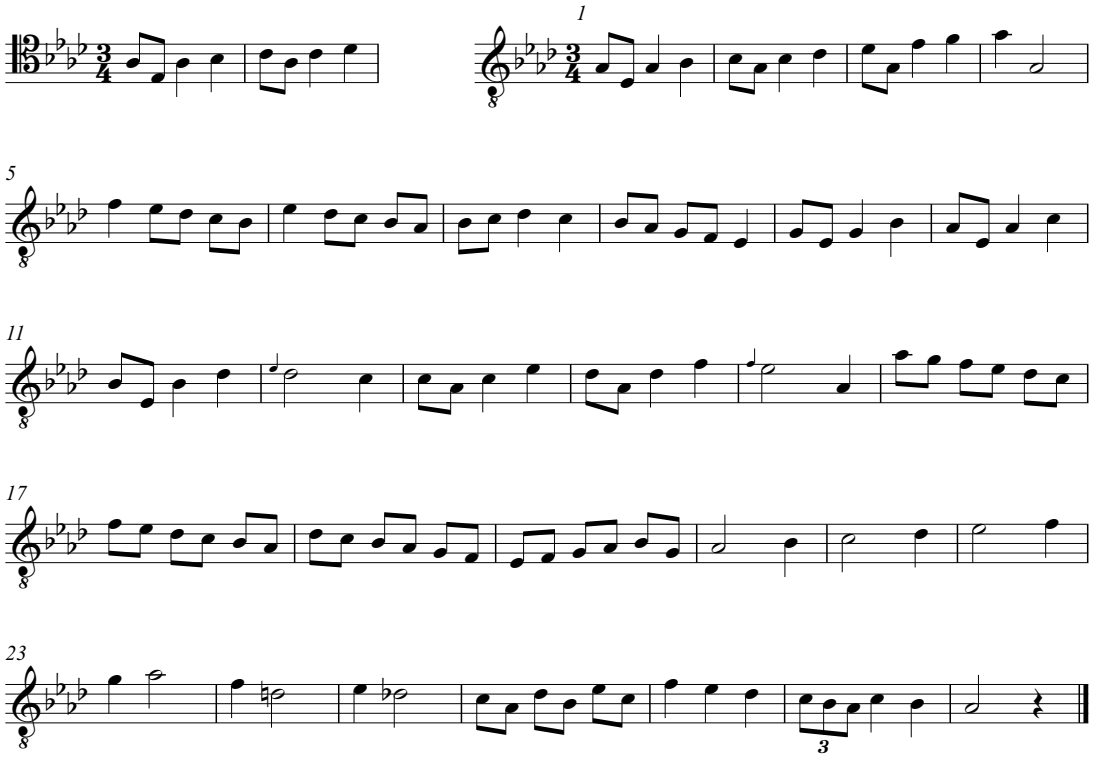

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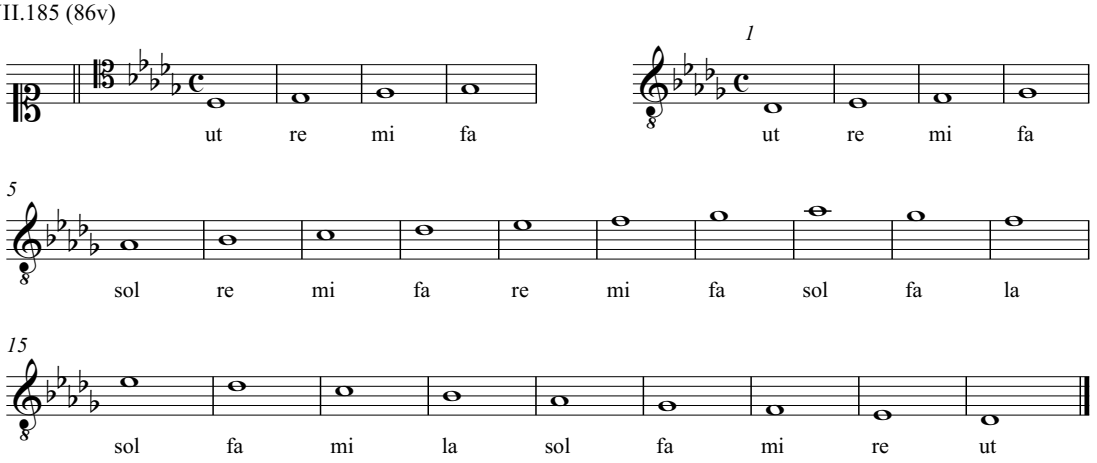

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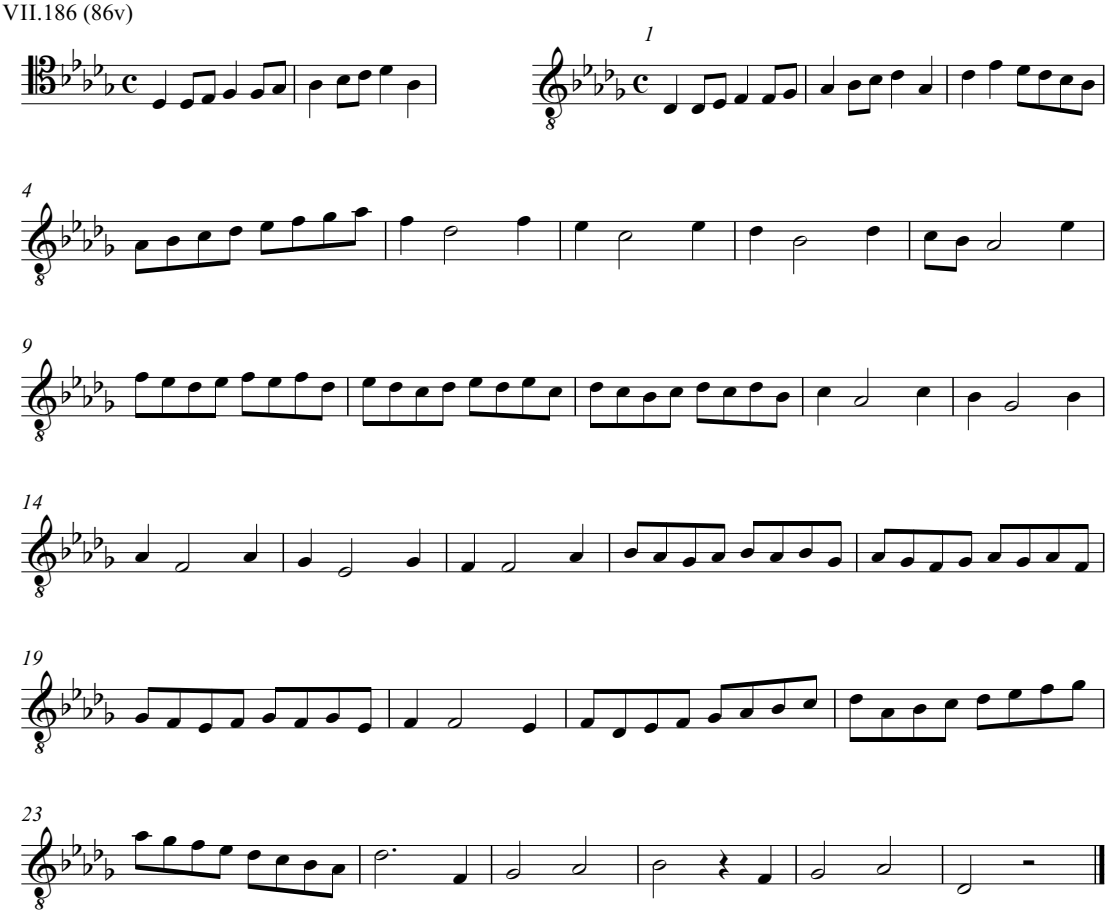

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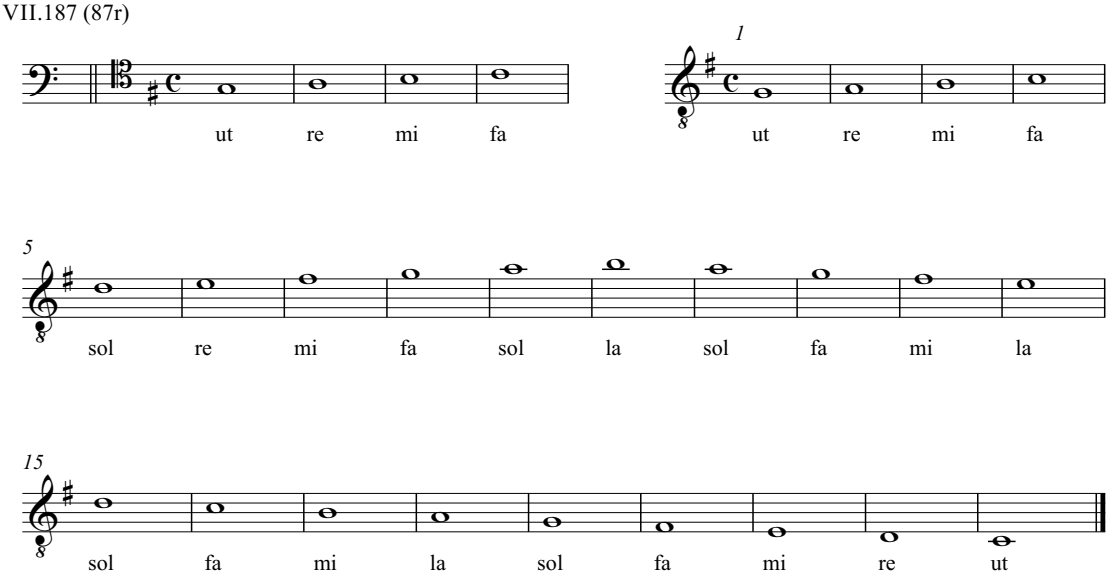

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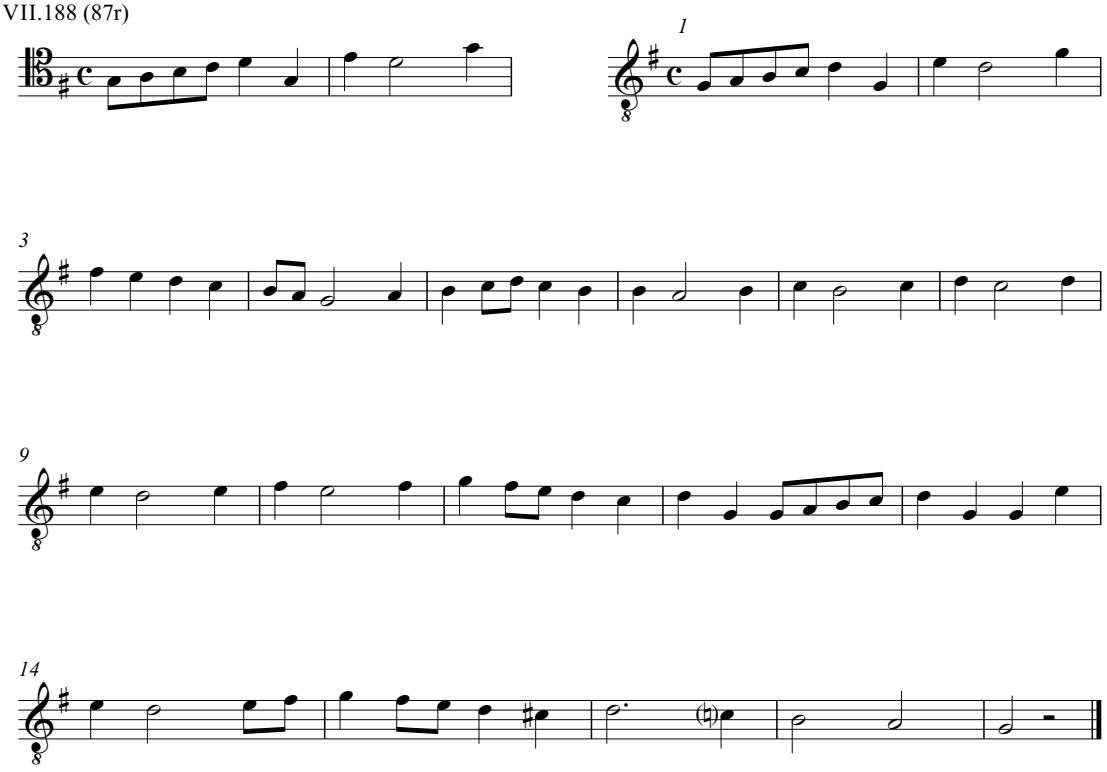

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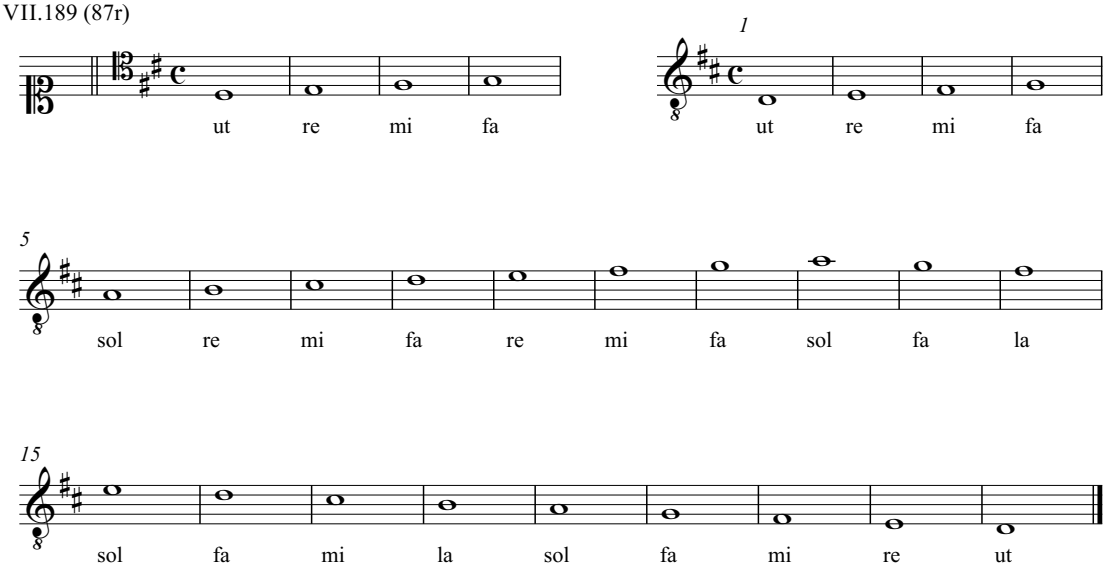

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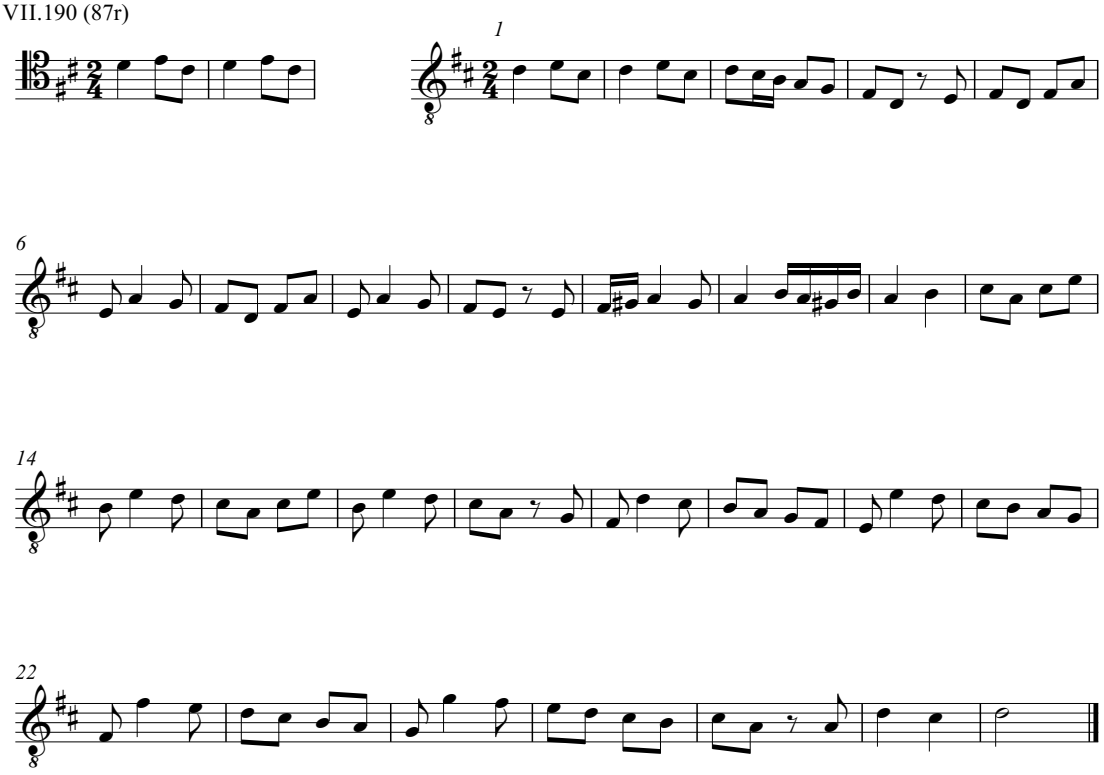

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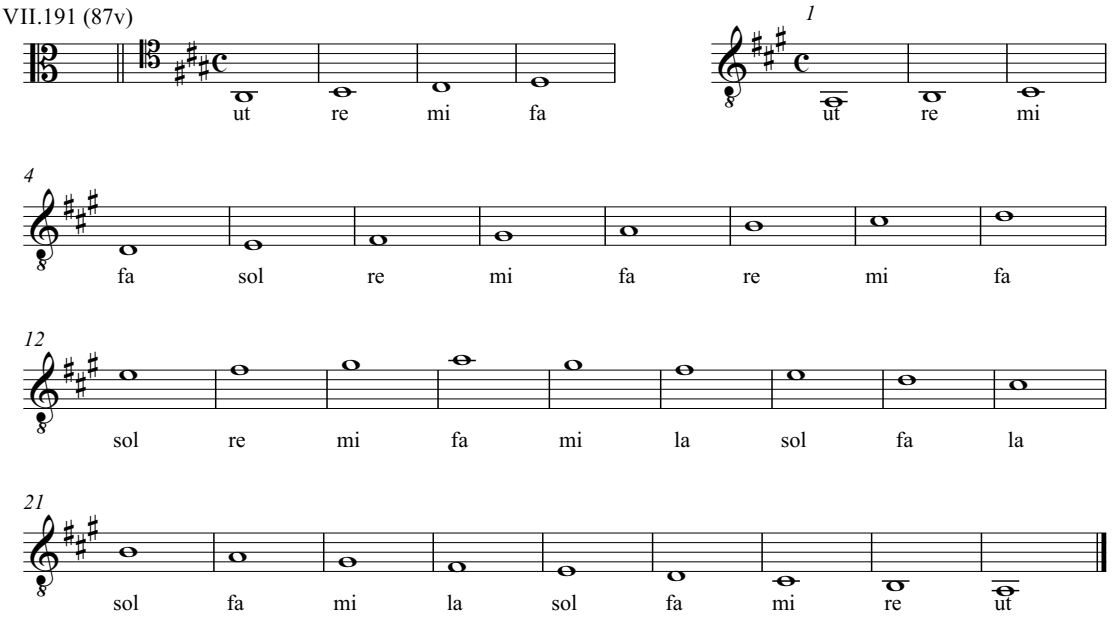

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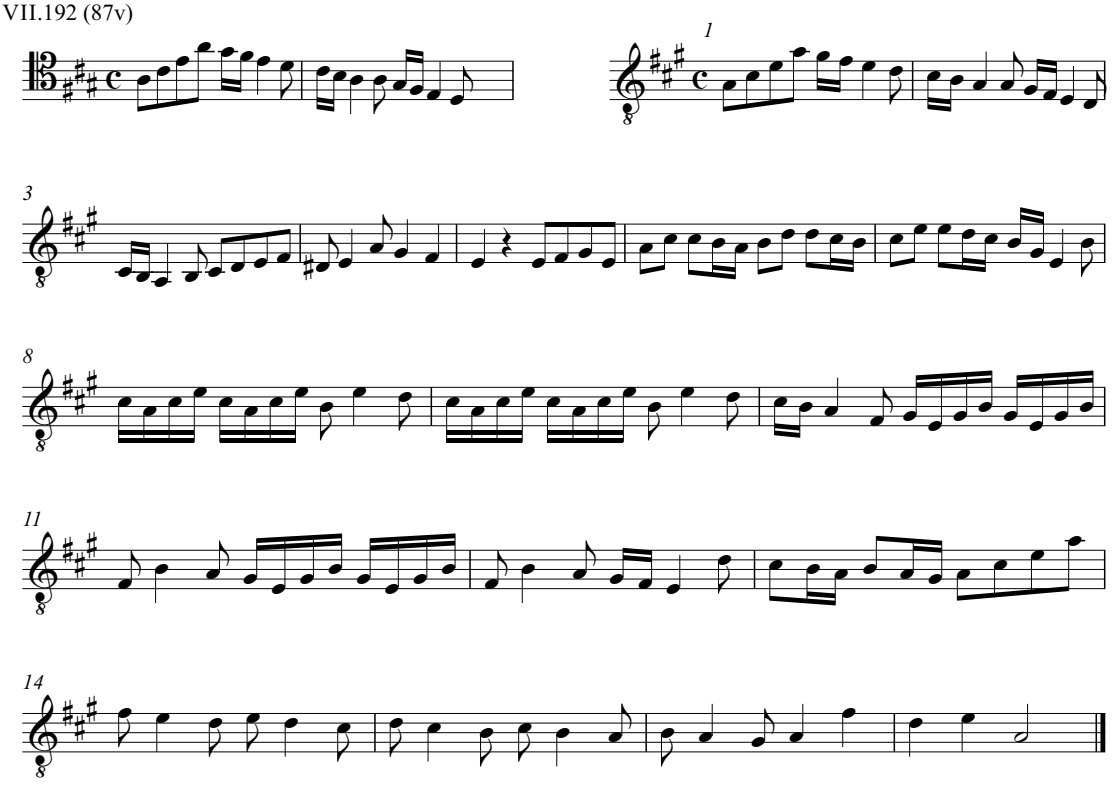

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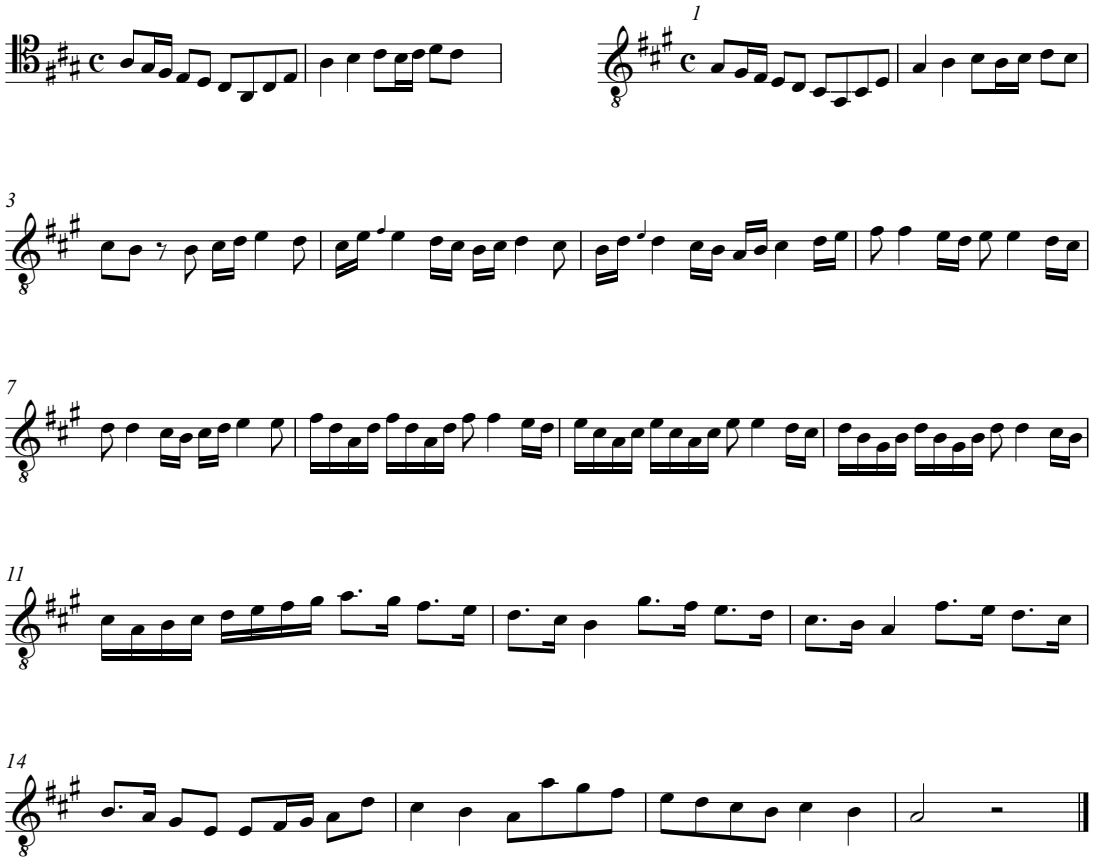

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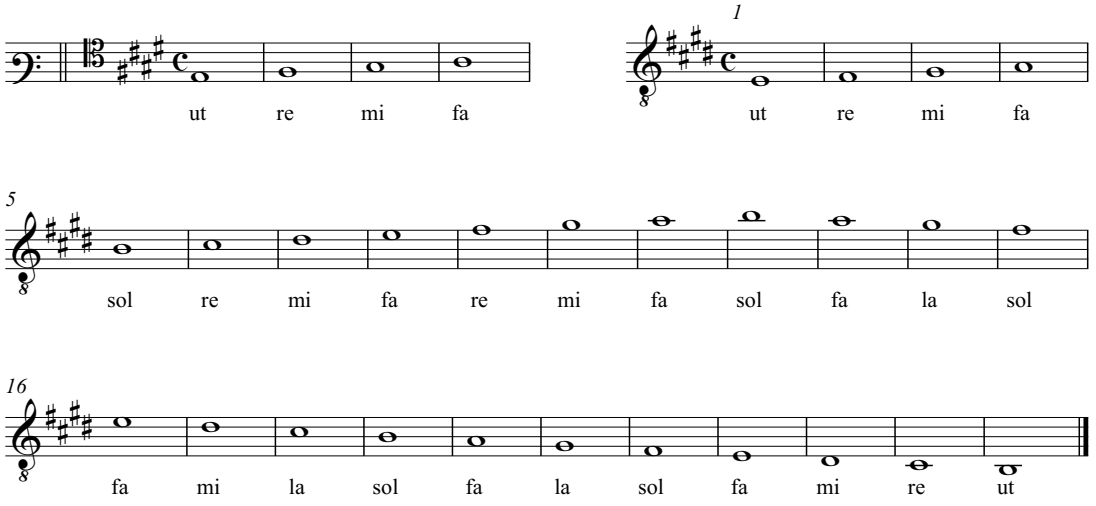

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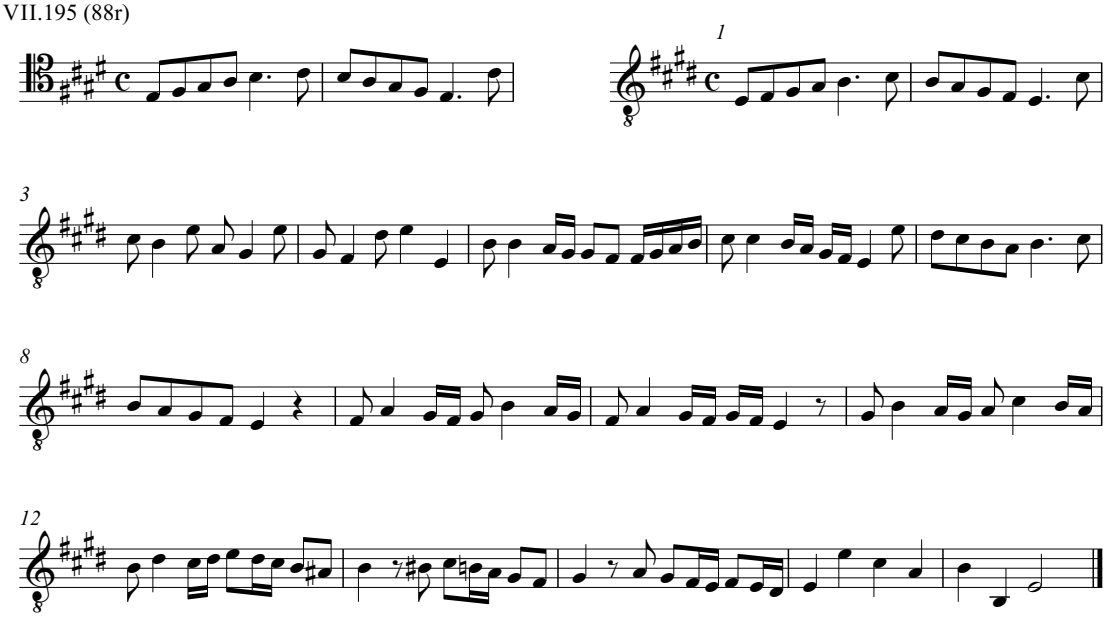

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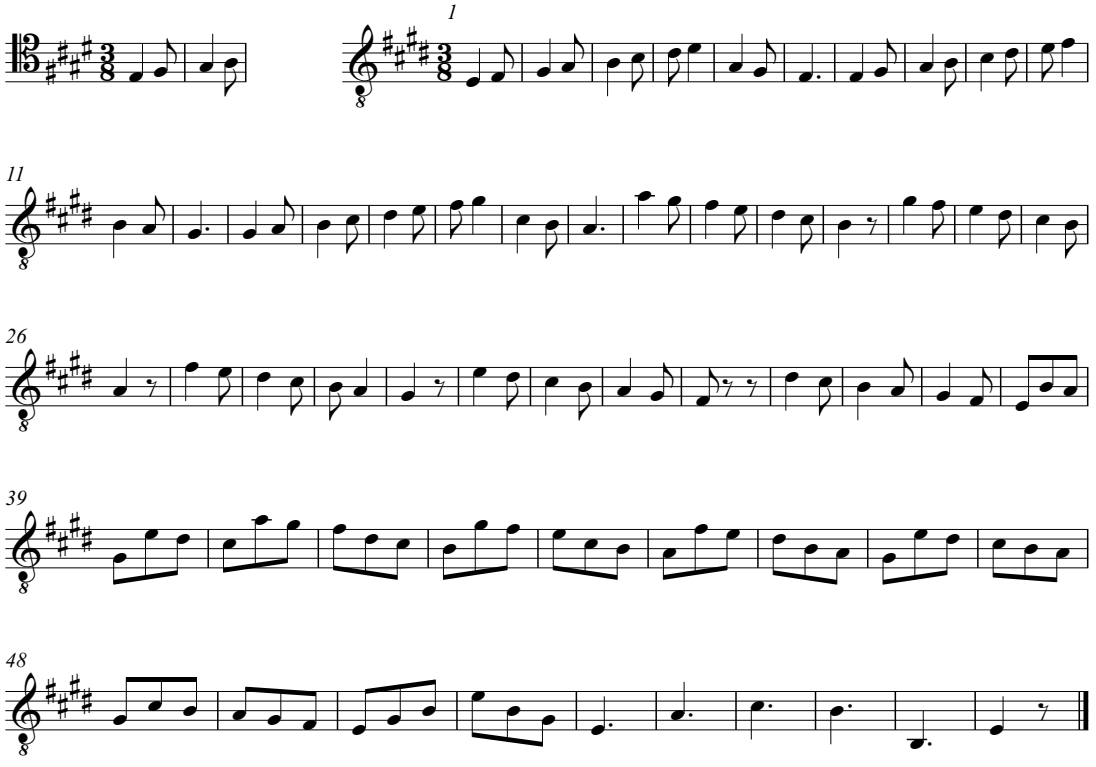

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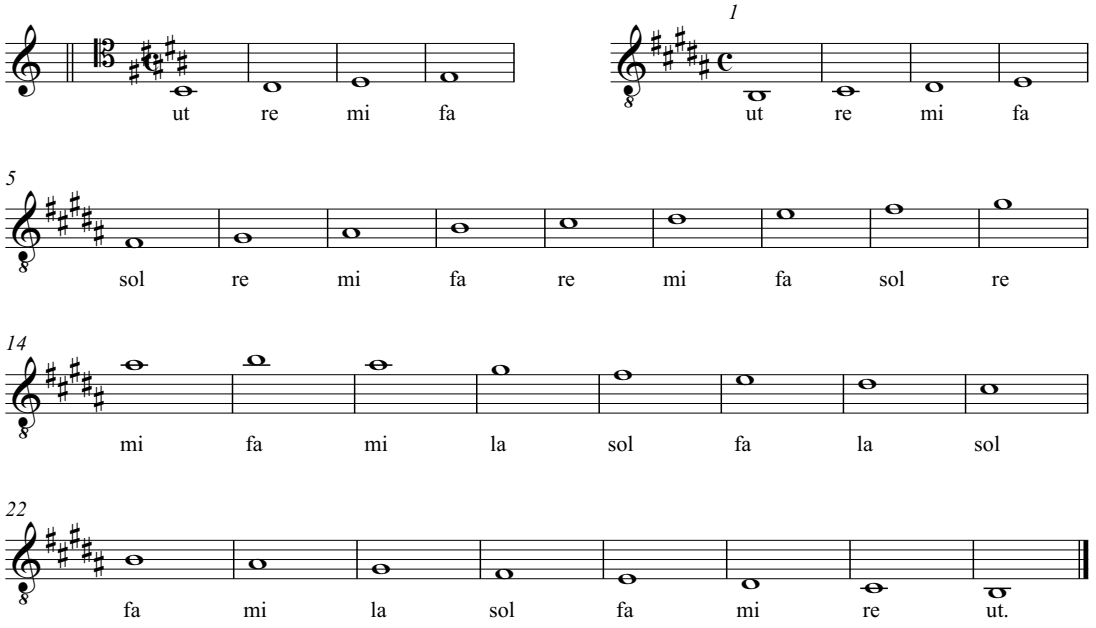
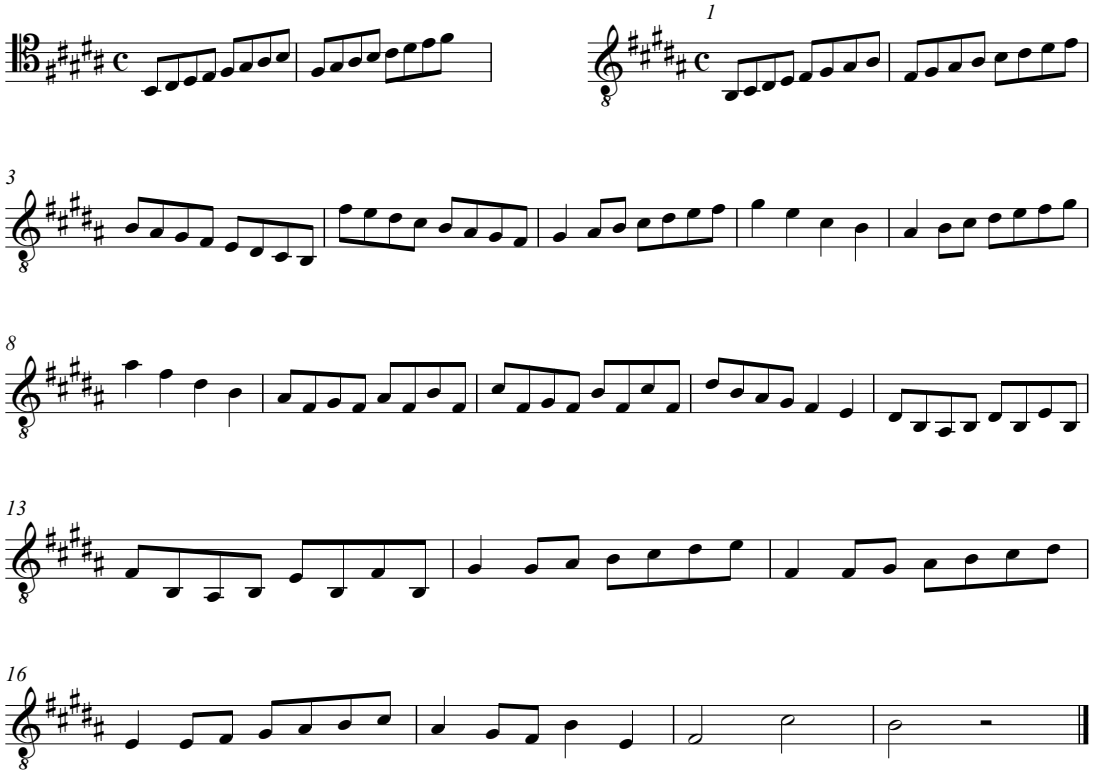
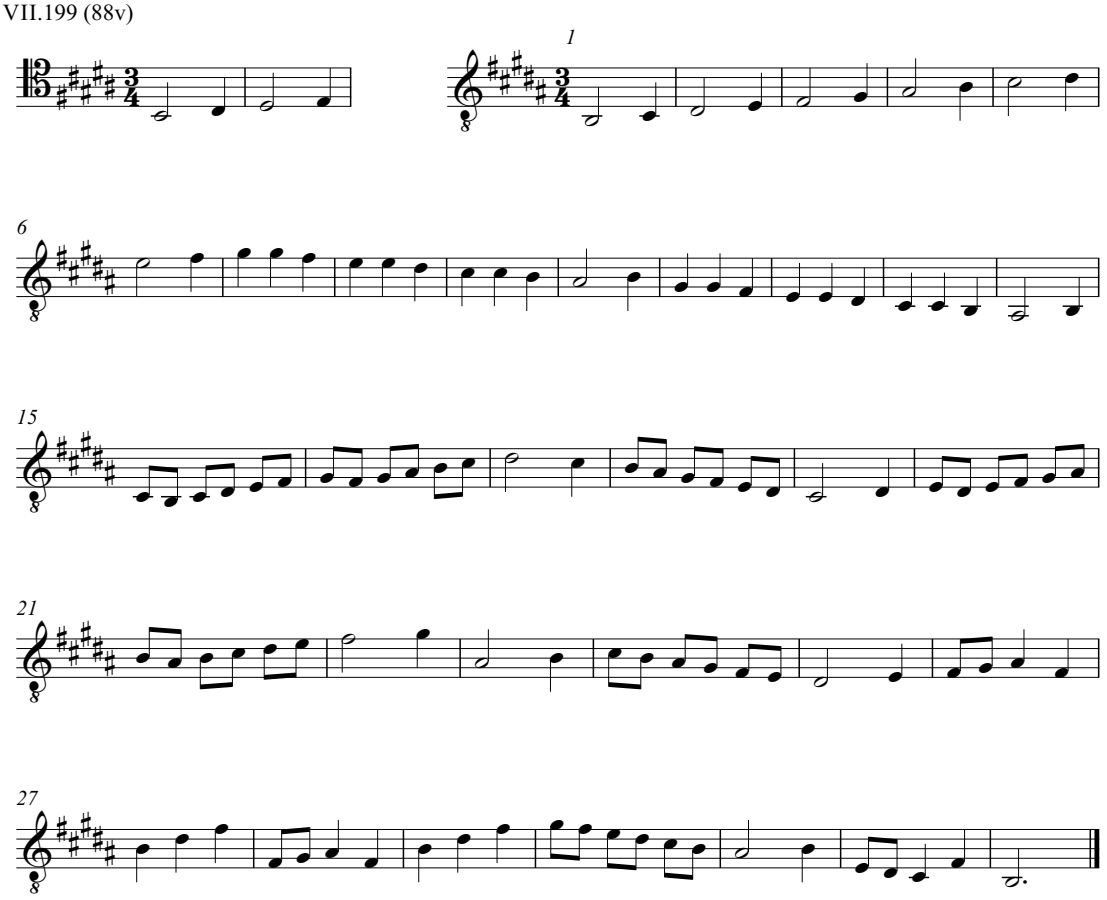


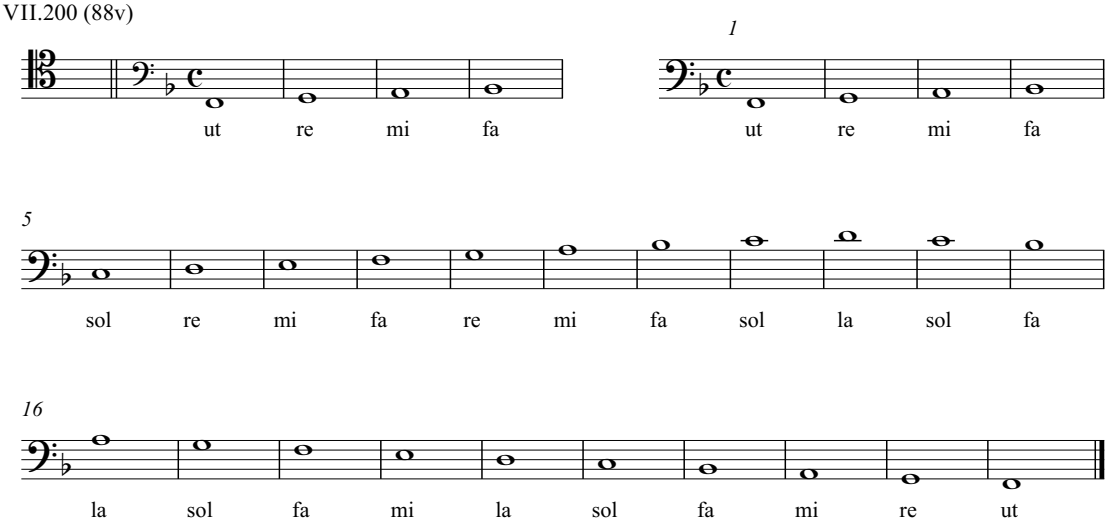
VII.198 (88v)



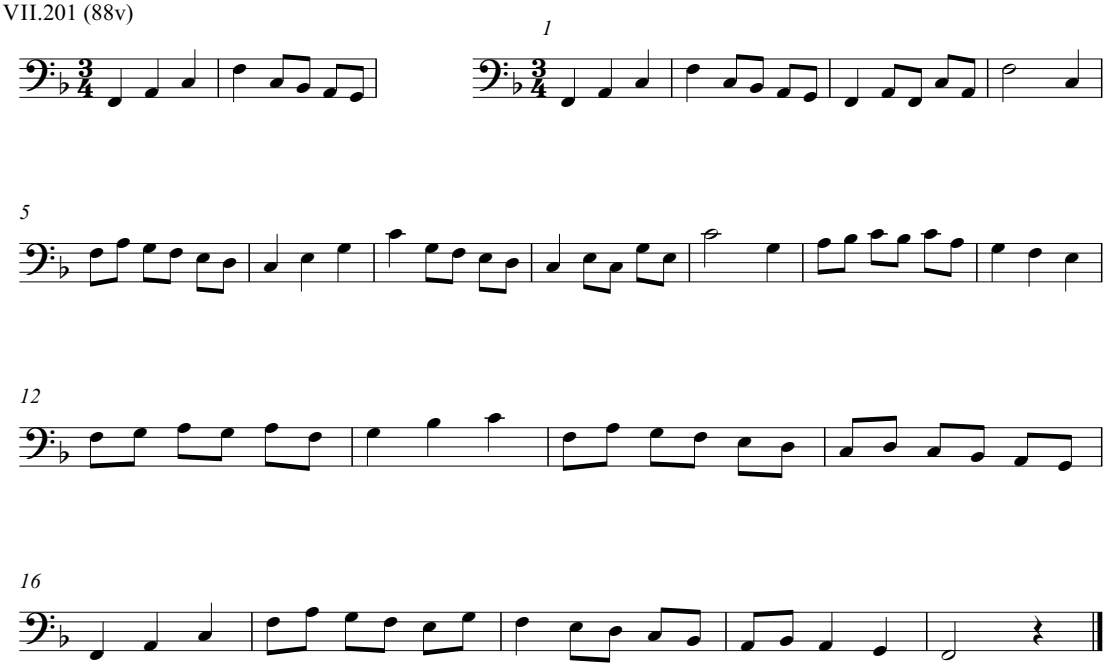
VII.199 (88v)



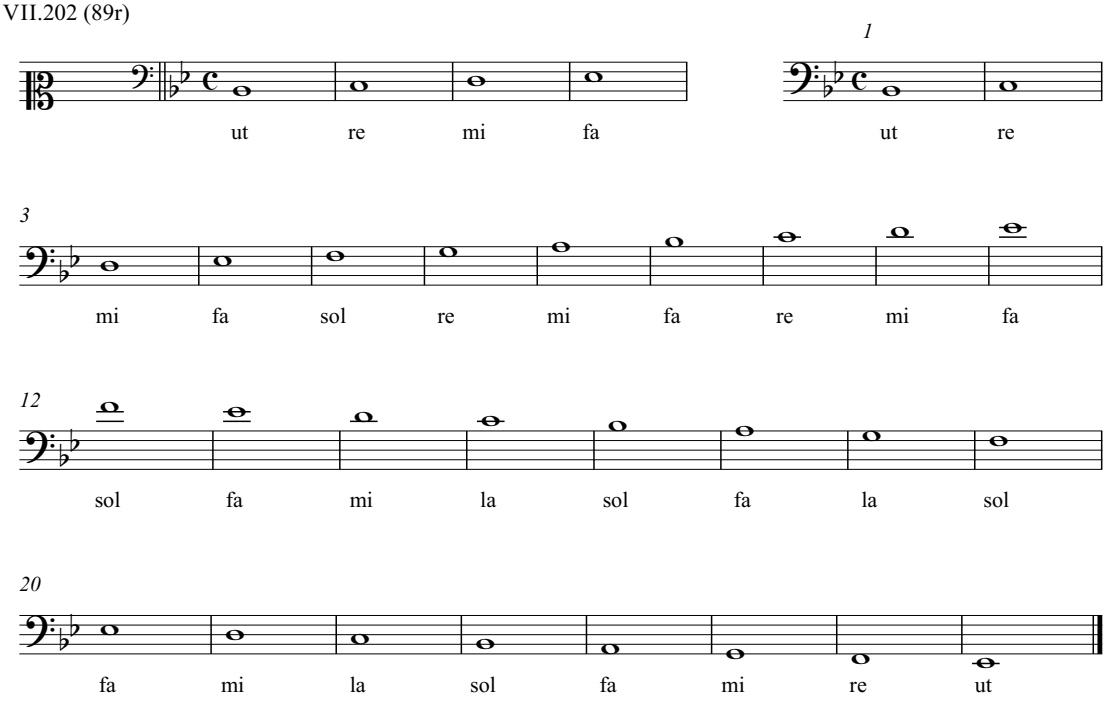
VII.200 (88v)



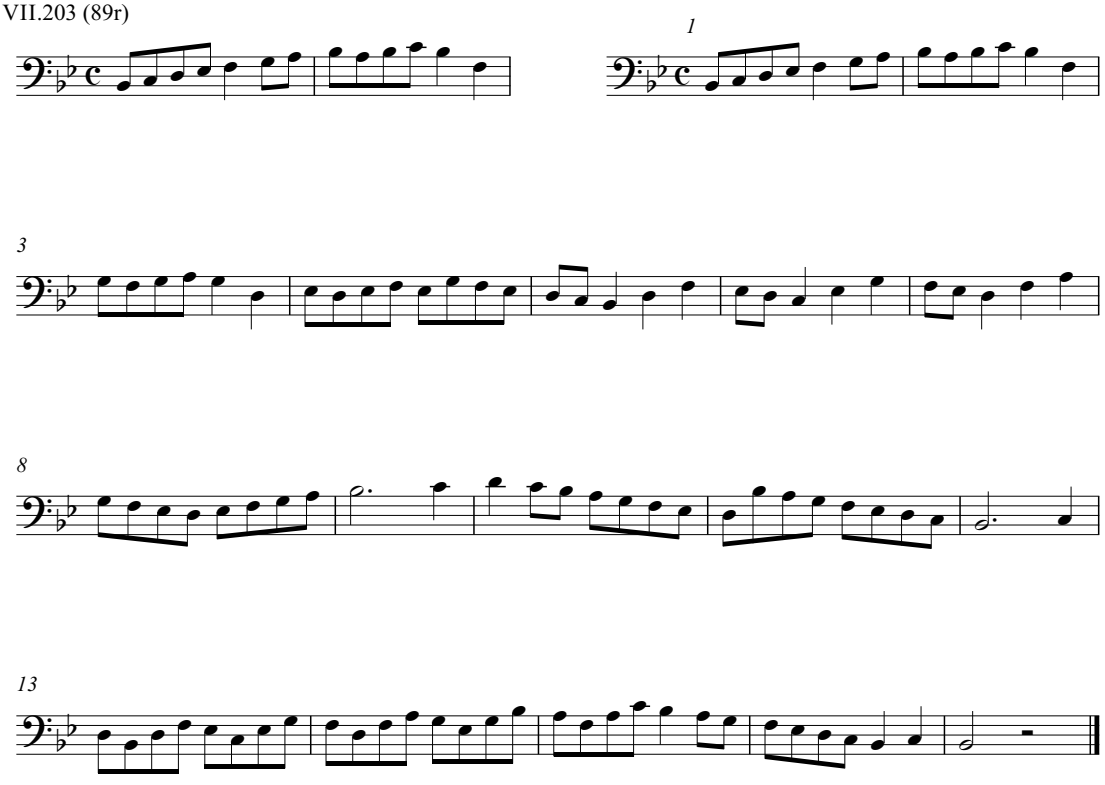
VII.201 (88v)



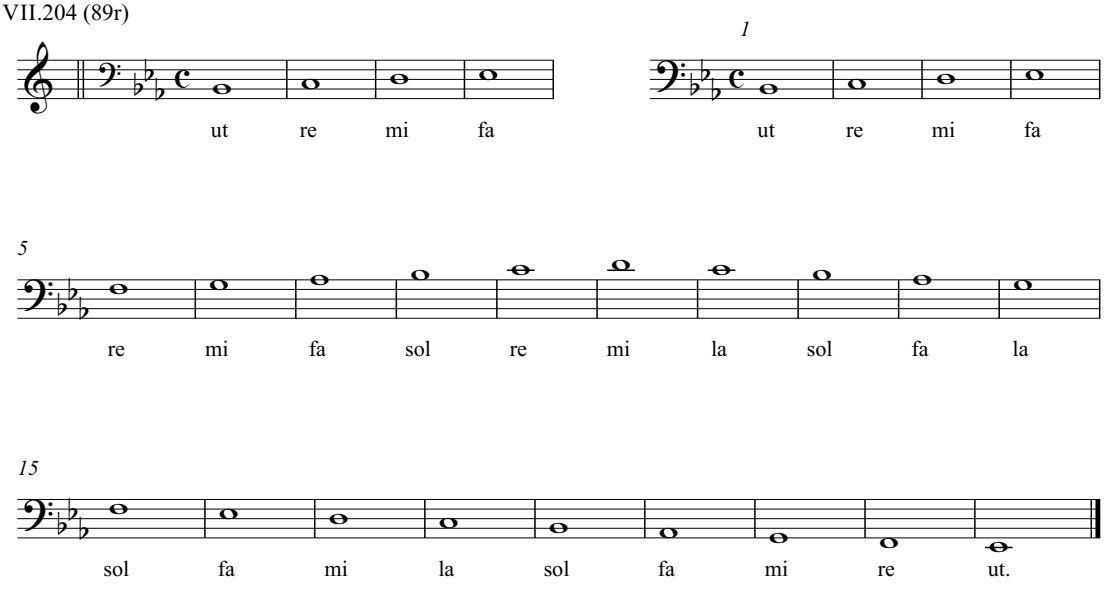
VII.202 (89r)



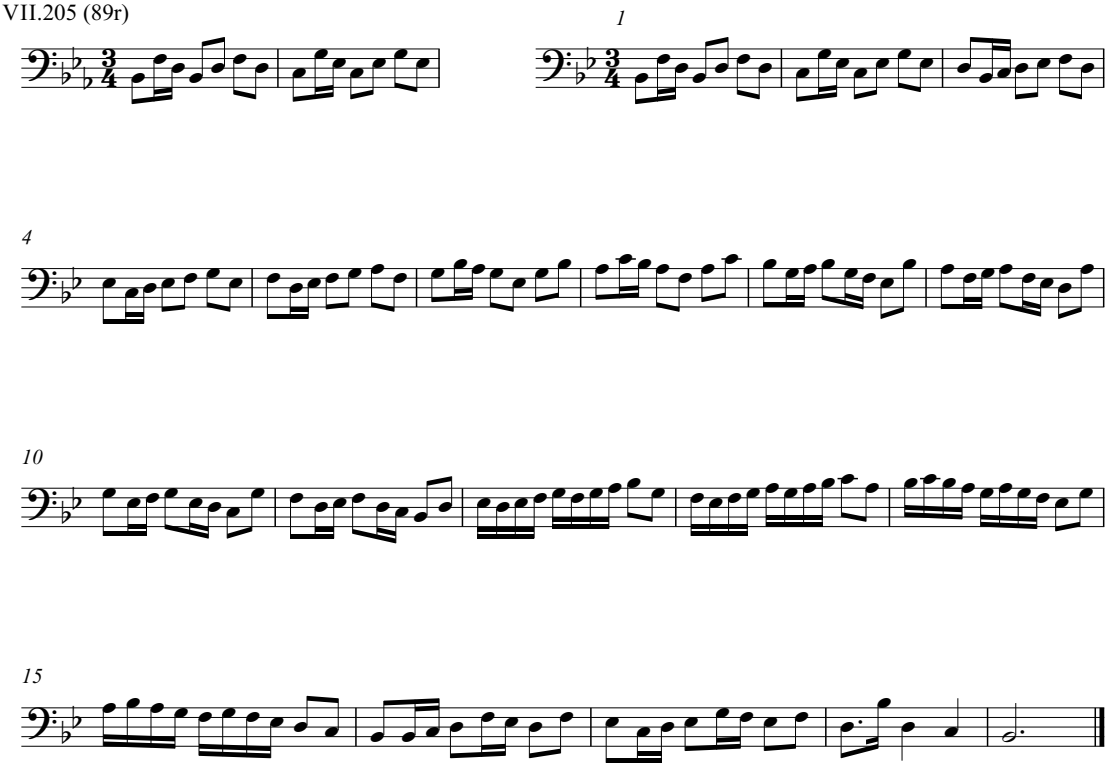
VII.203 (89r)



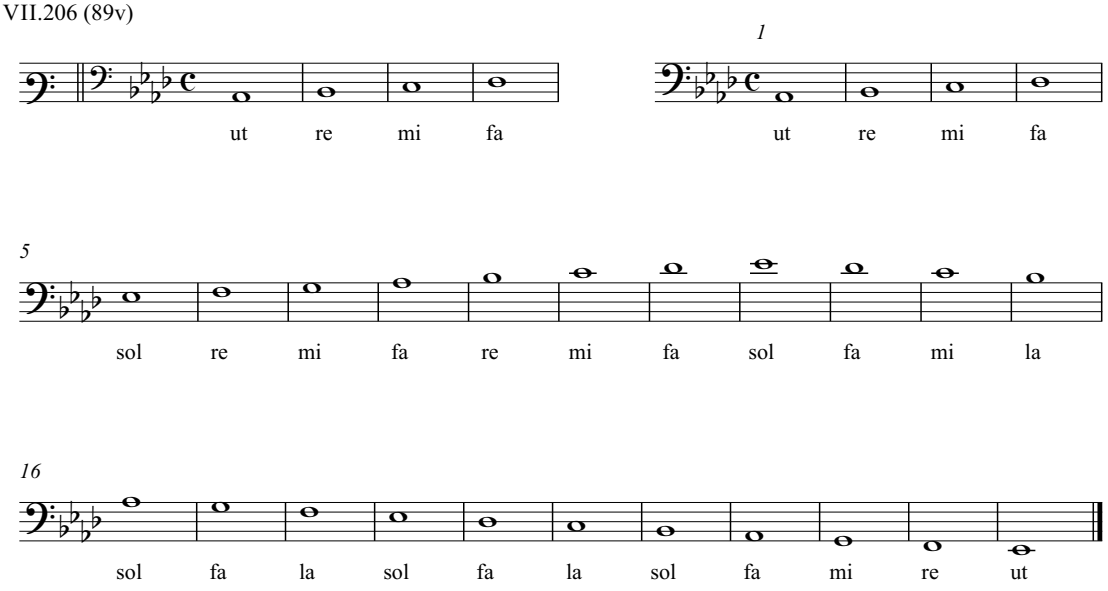
VII.204 (89r)



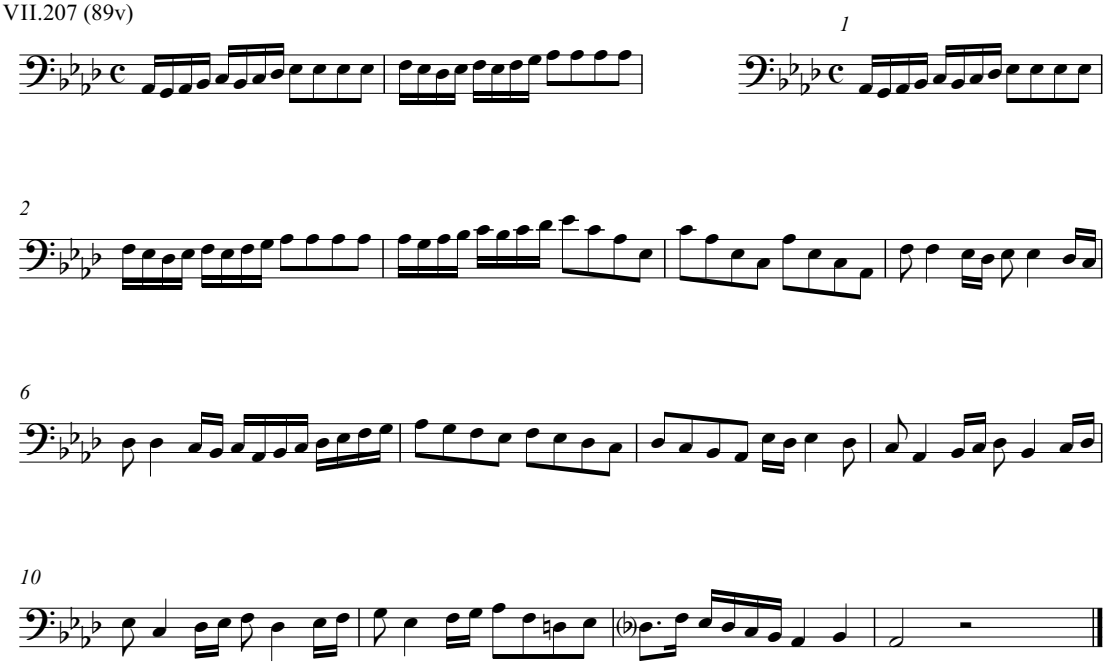
VII.205 (89r)



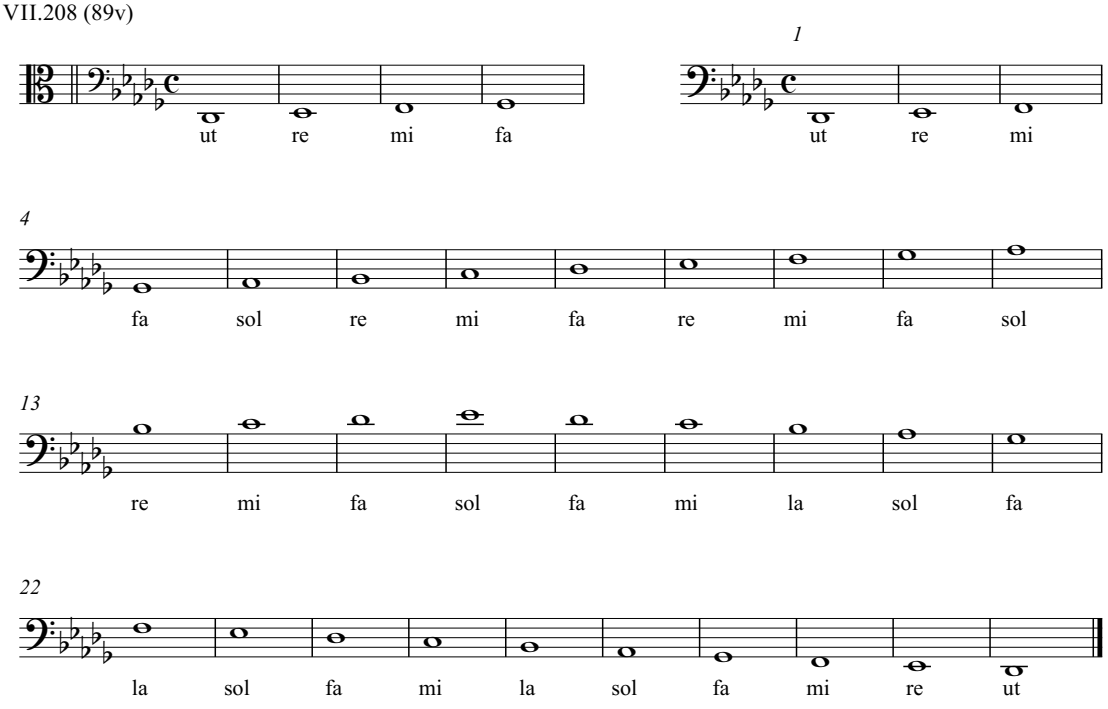
VII.206 (89v)



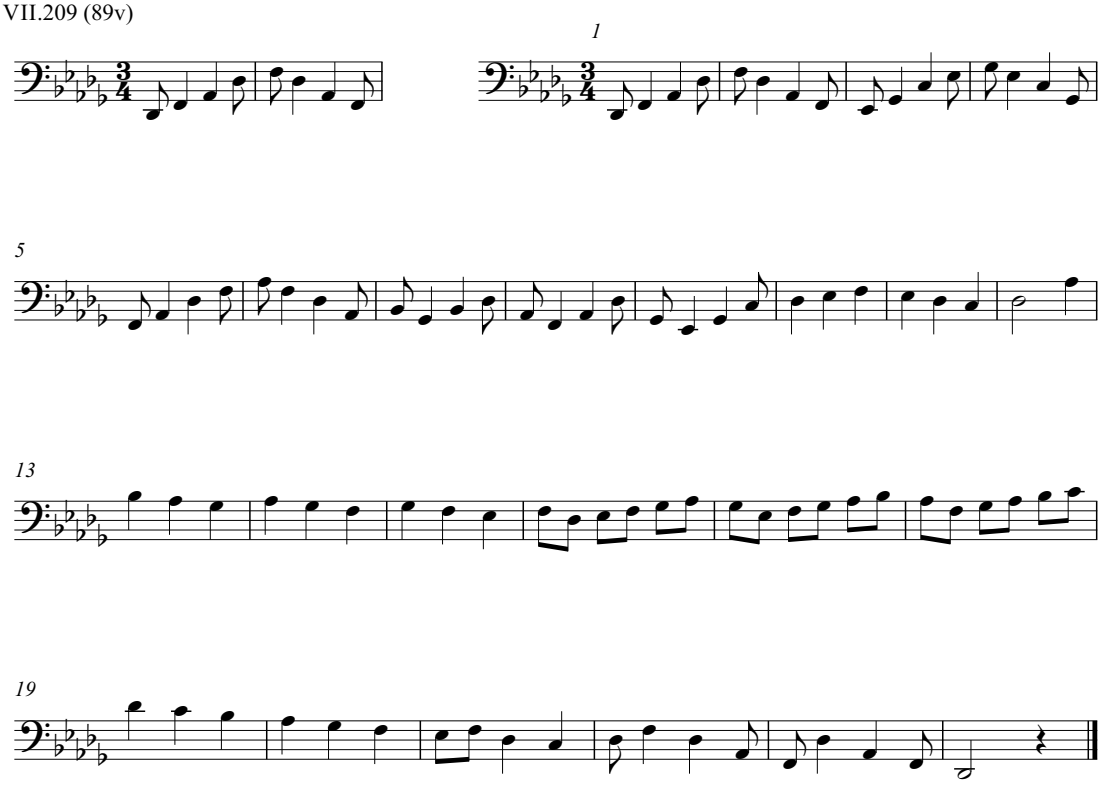
VII.207 (89v)



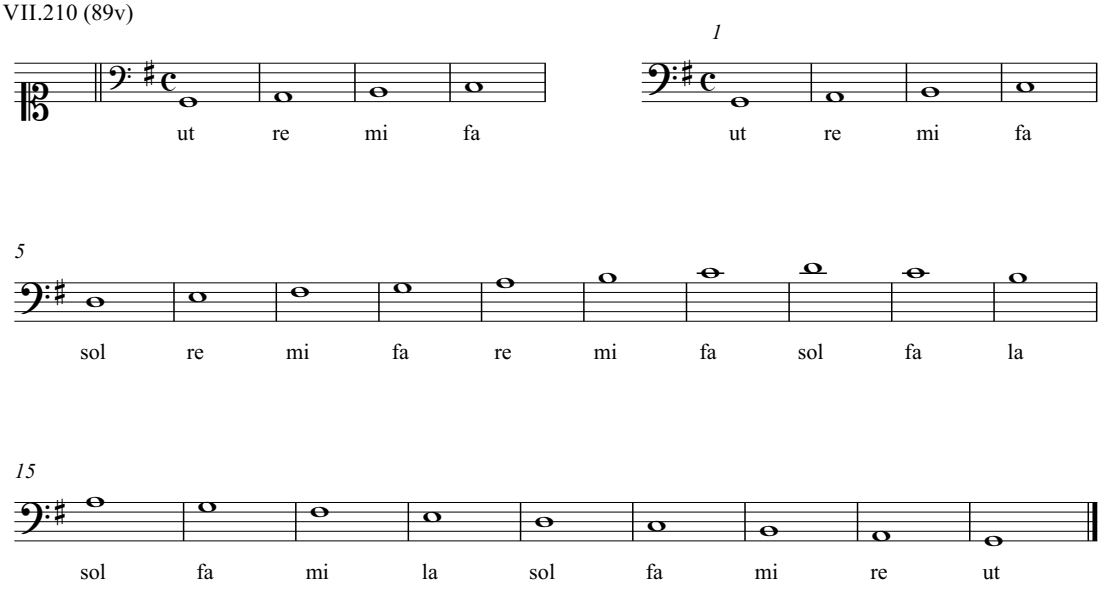
VII.208 (89v)



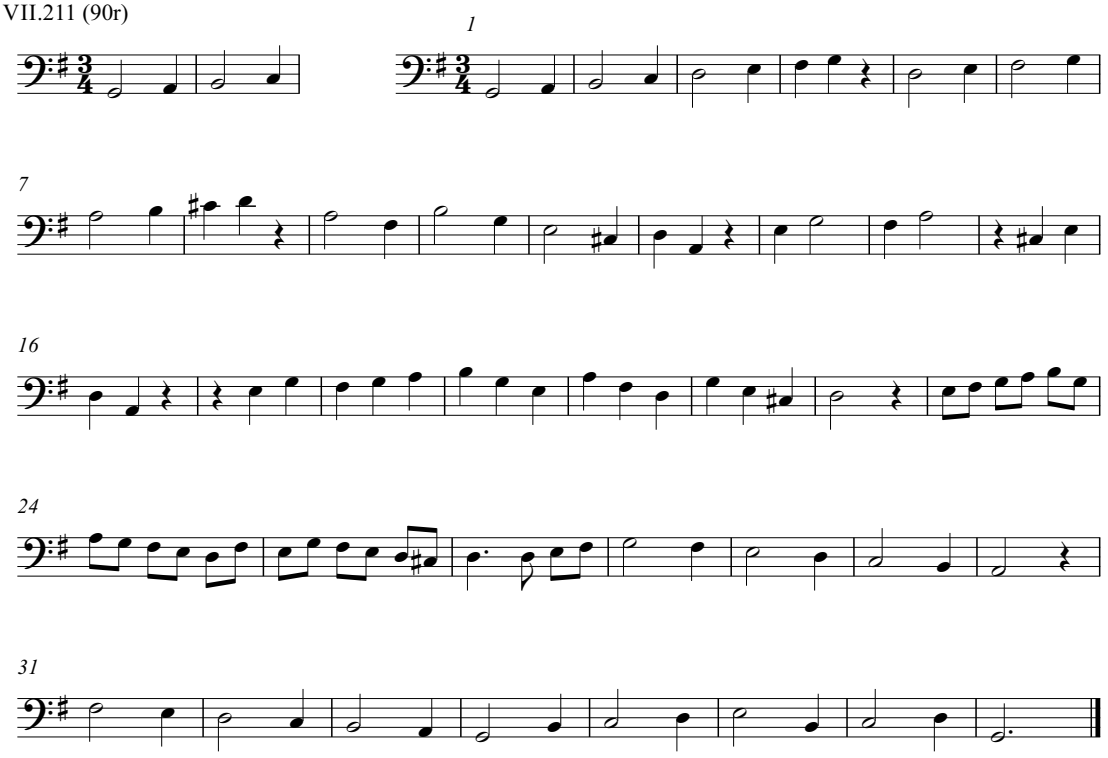
VII.209 (89v)



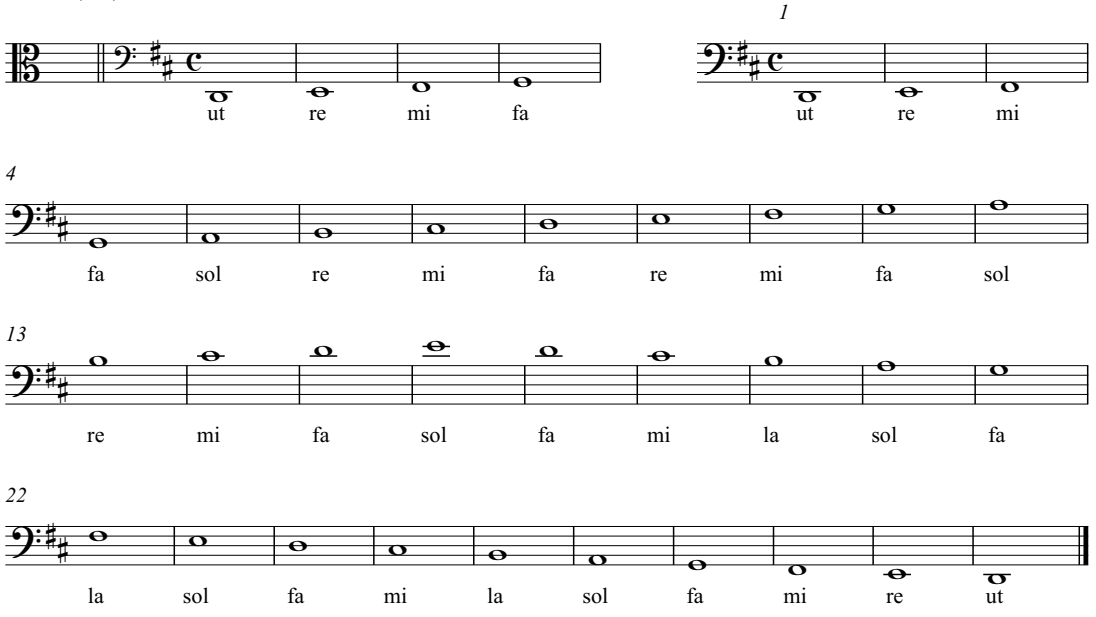
VII.210 (89v)



VII.211 (90r)



VII.212 (90r)



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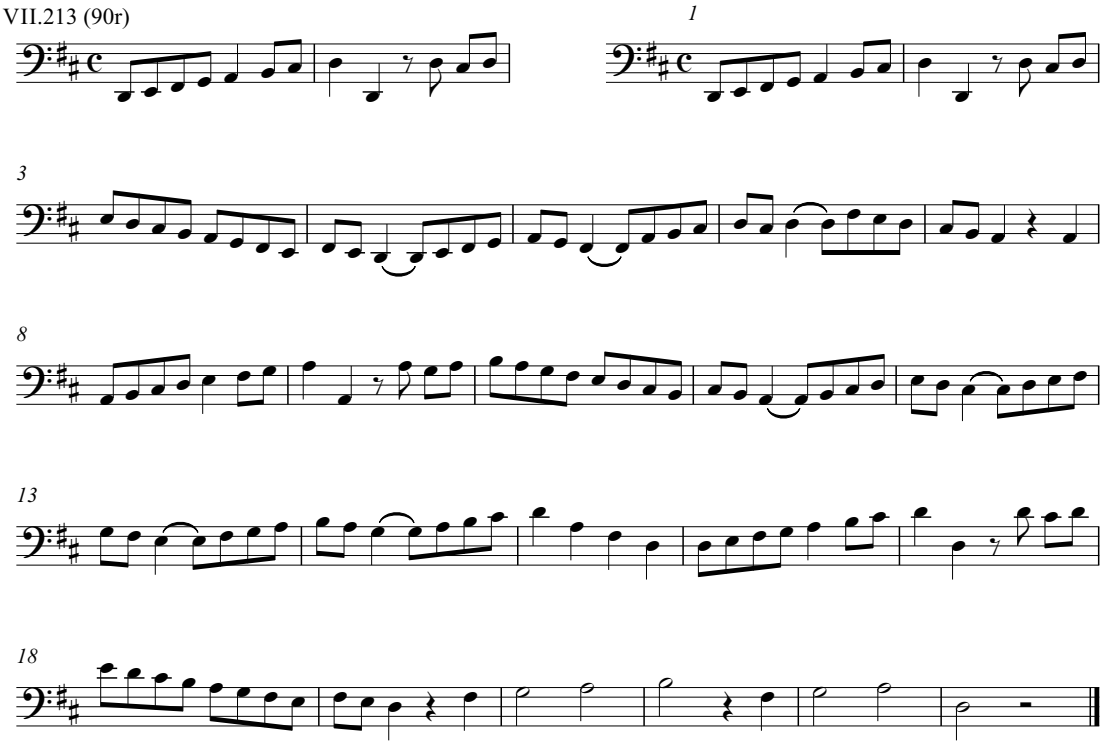
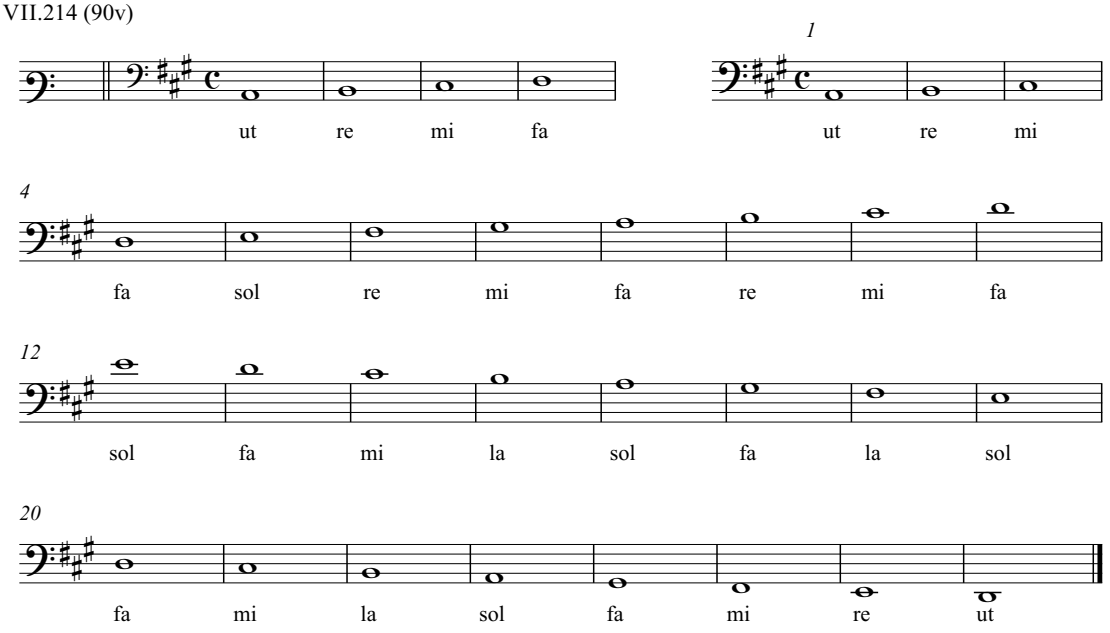
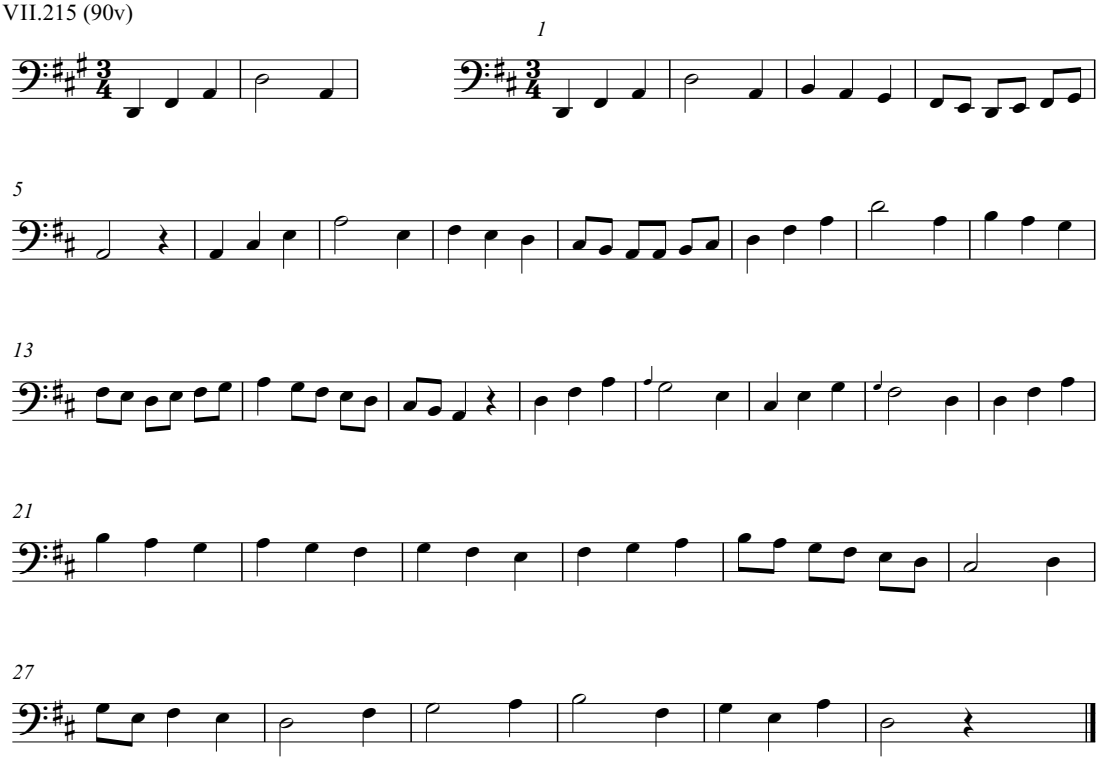


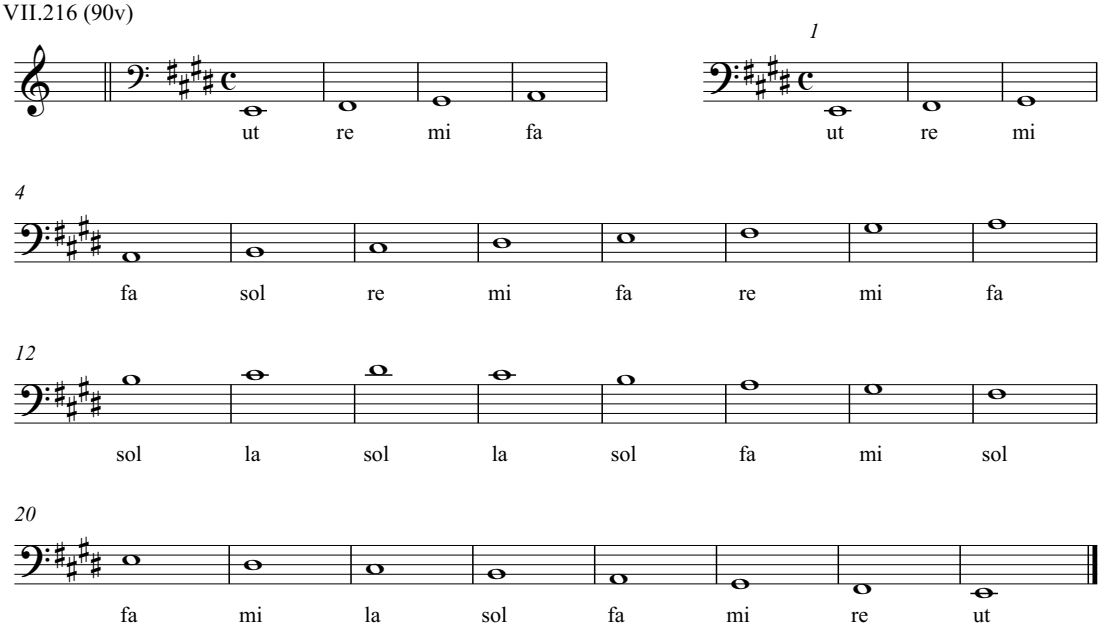
VII.214 (90v)



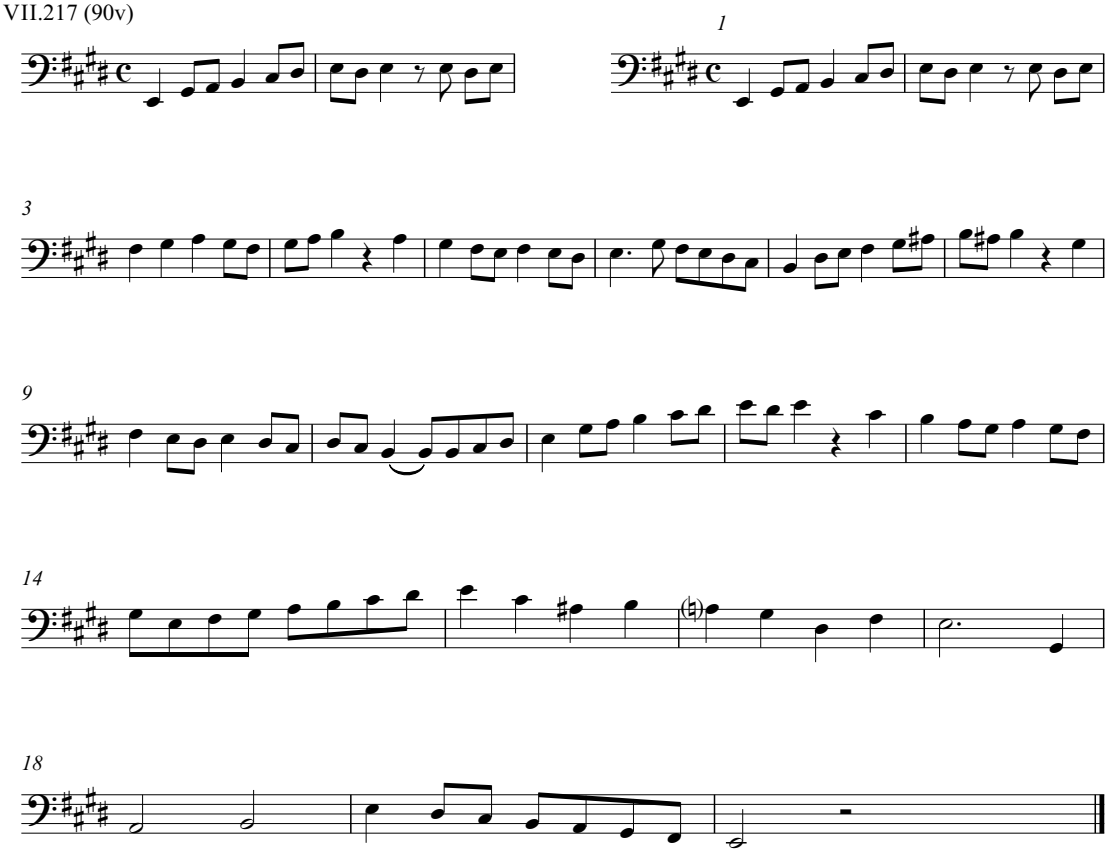
VII.215 (90v)



VII.216 (90v)



VII.217 (90v)



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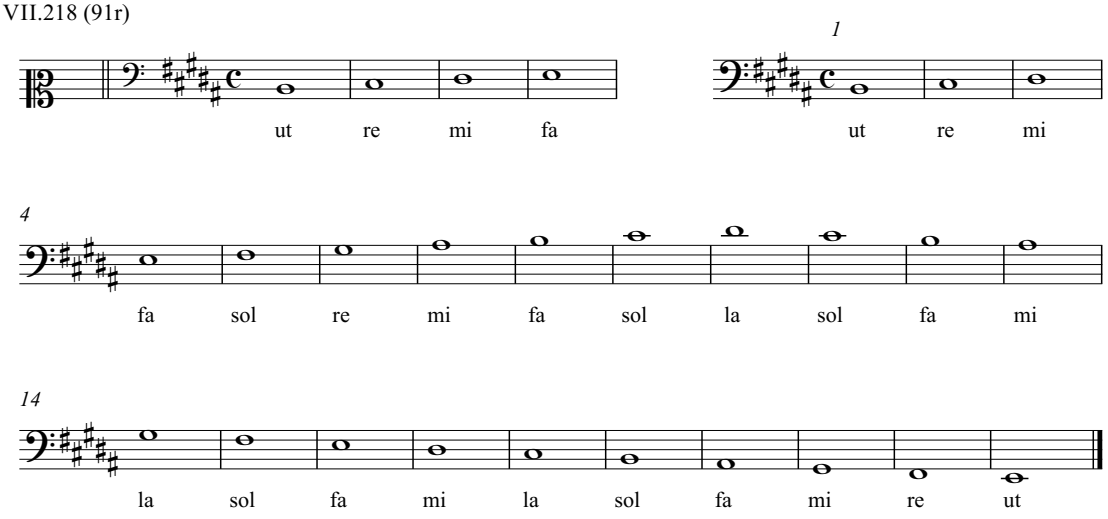
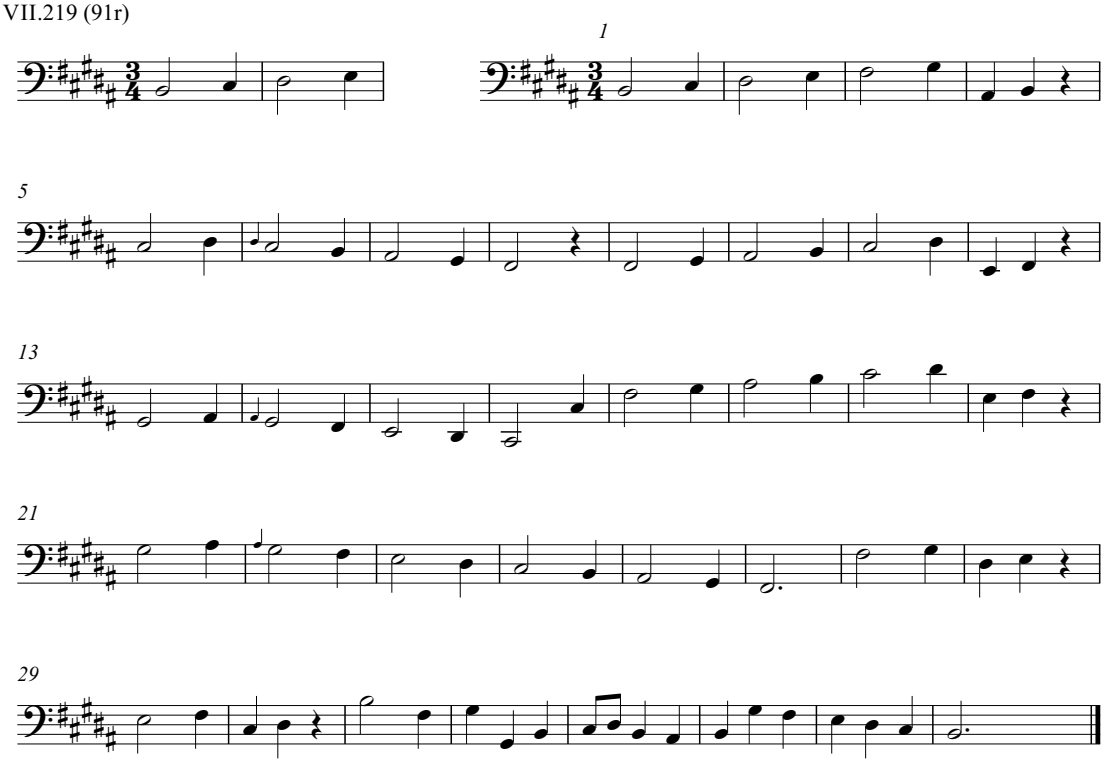
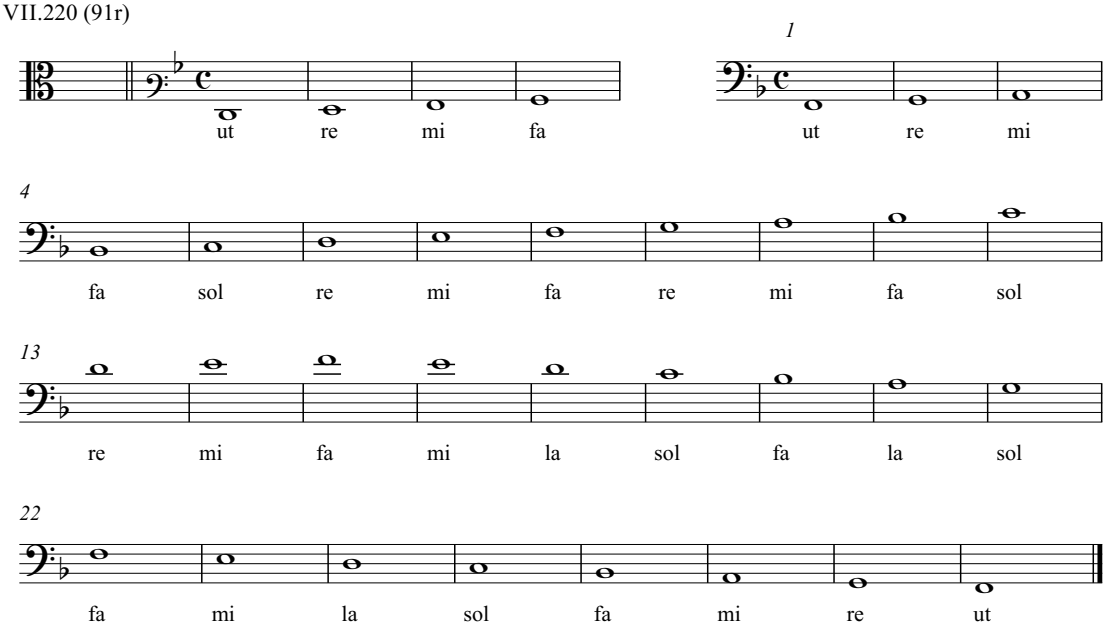


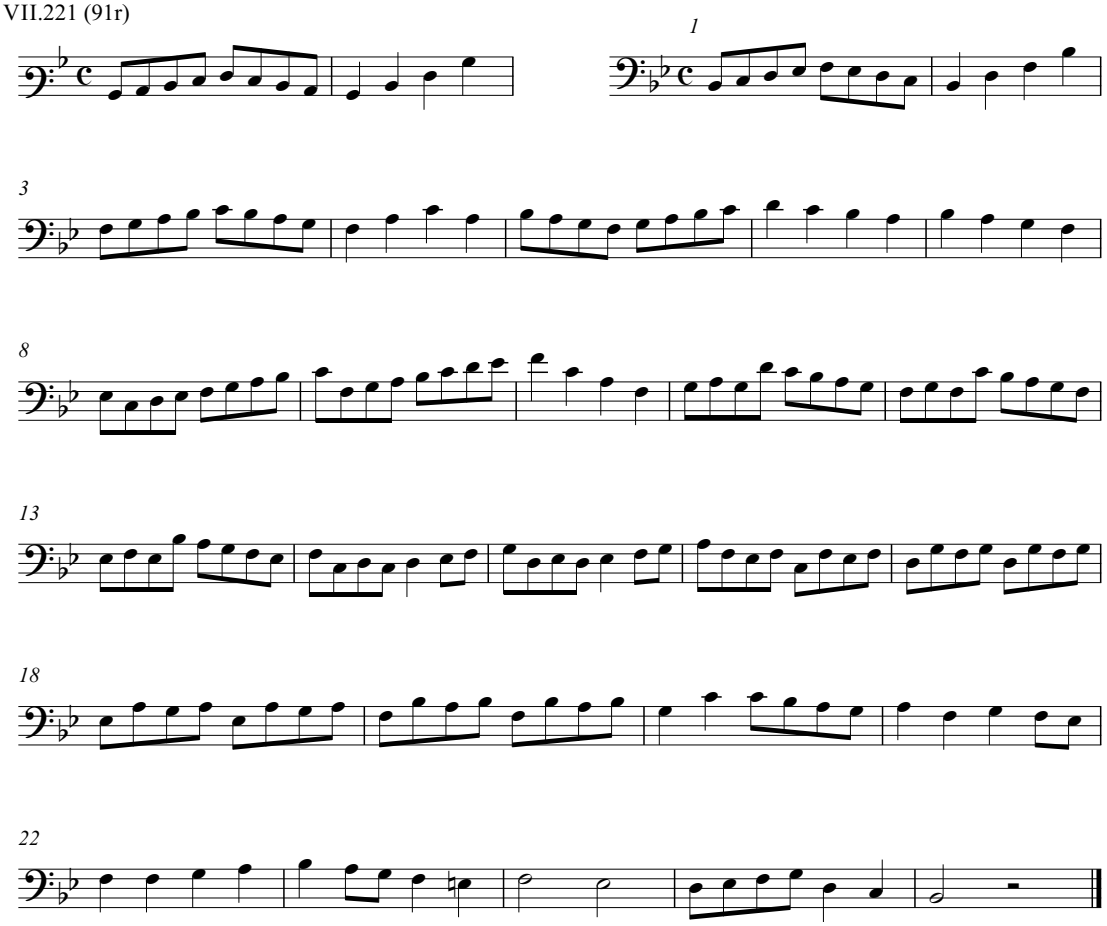
VII.219 (91r)



VII.220 (91r)



VII.221 (91r)



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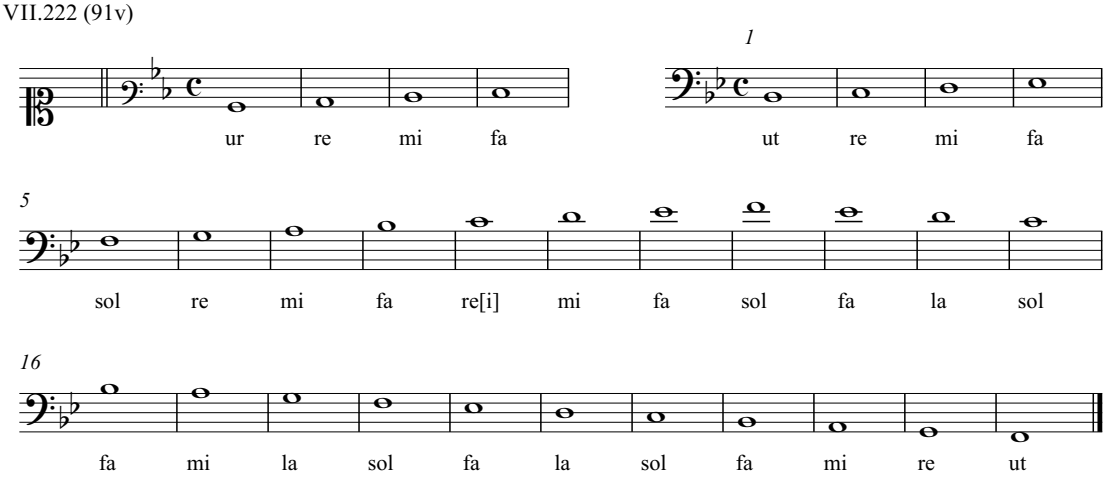
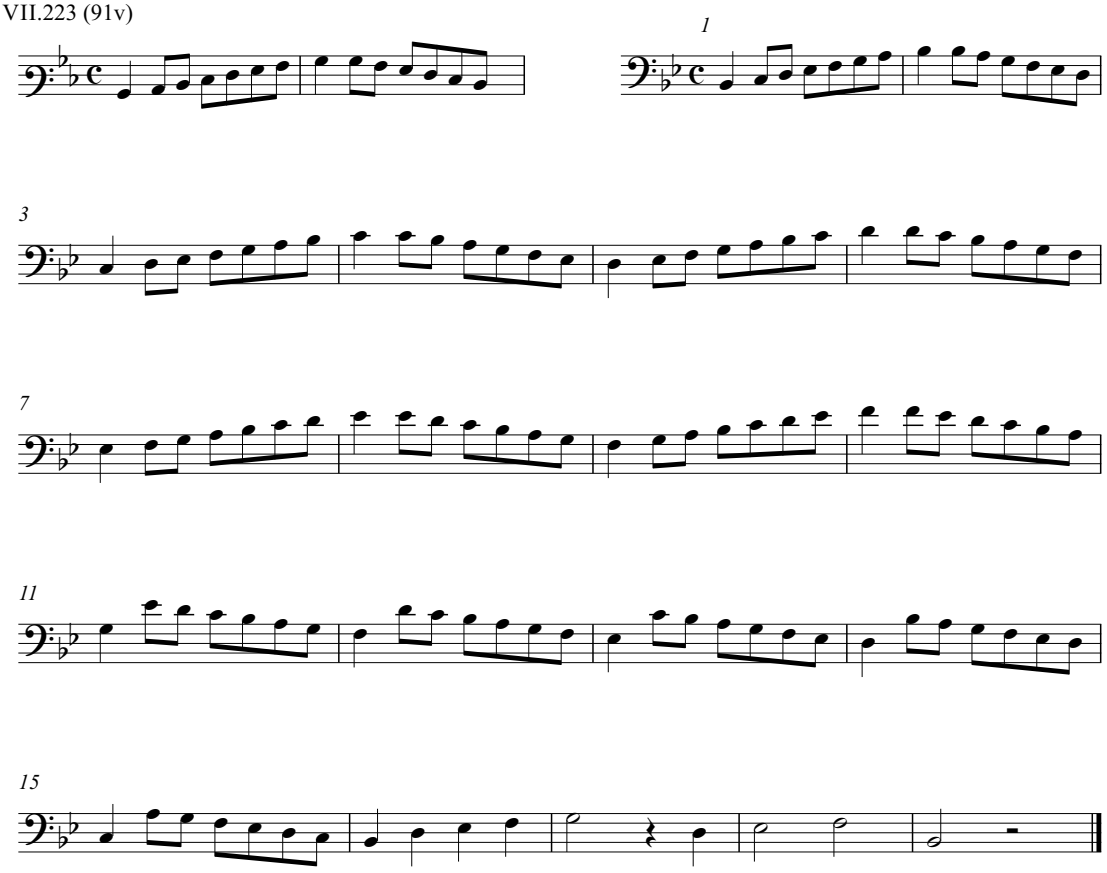


VII.223 (91v)



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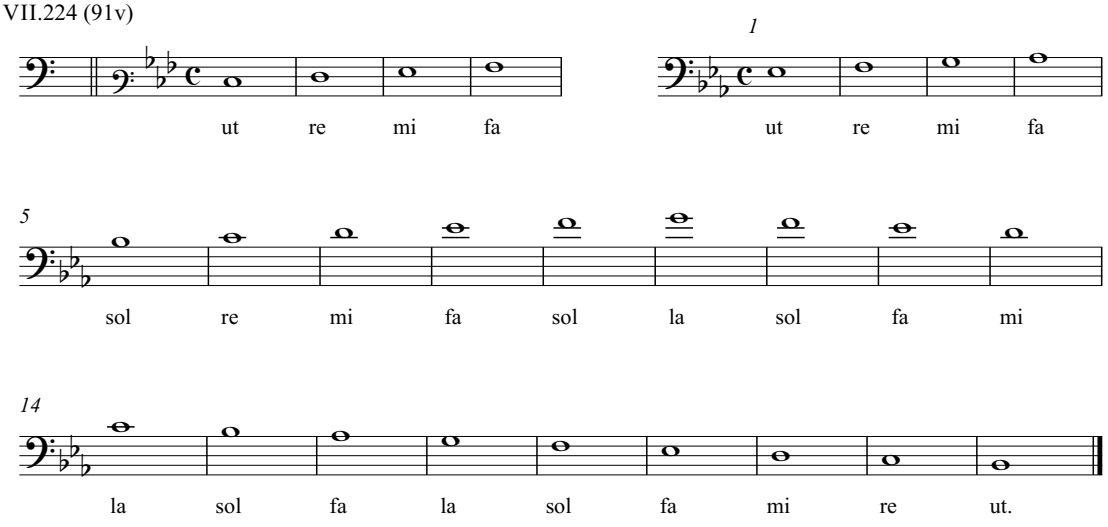

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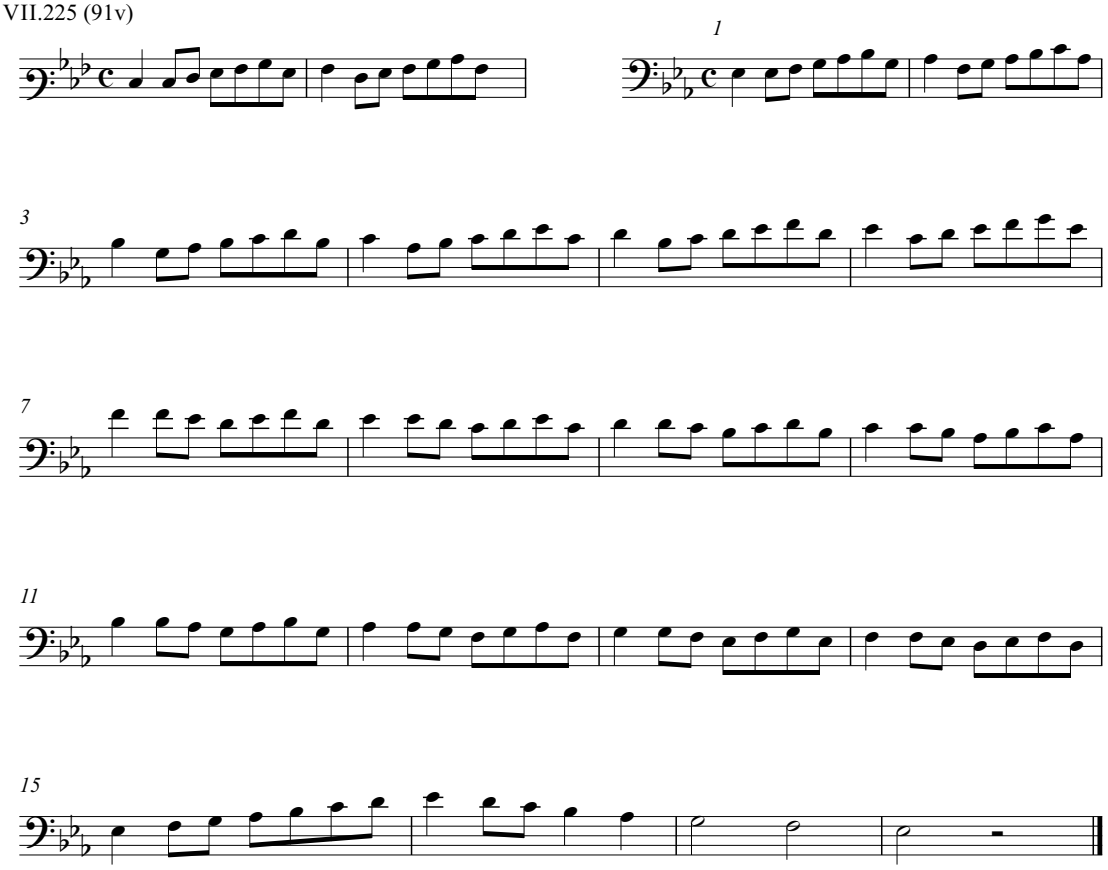

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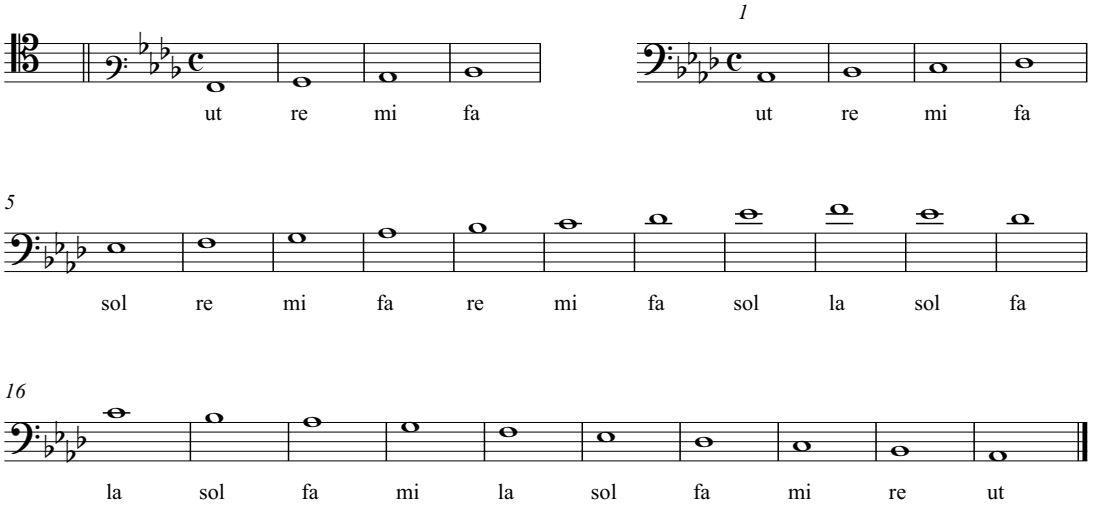

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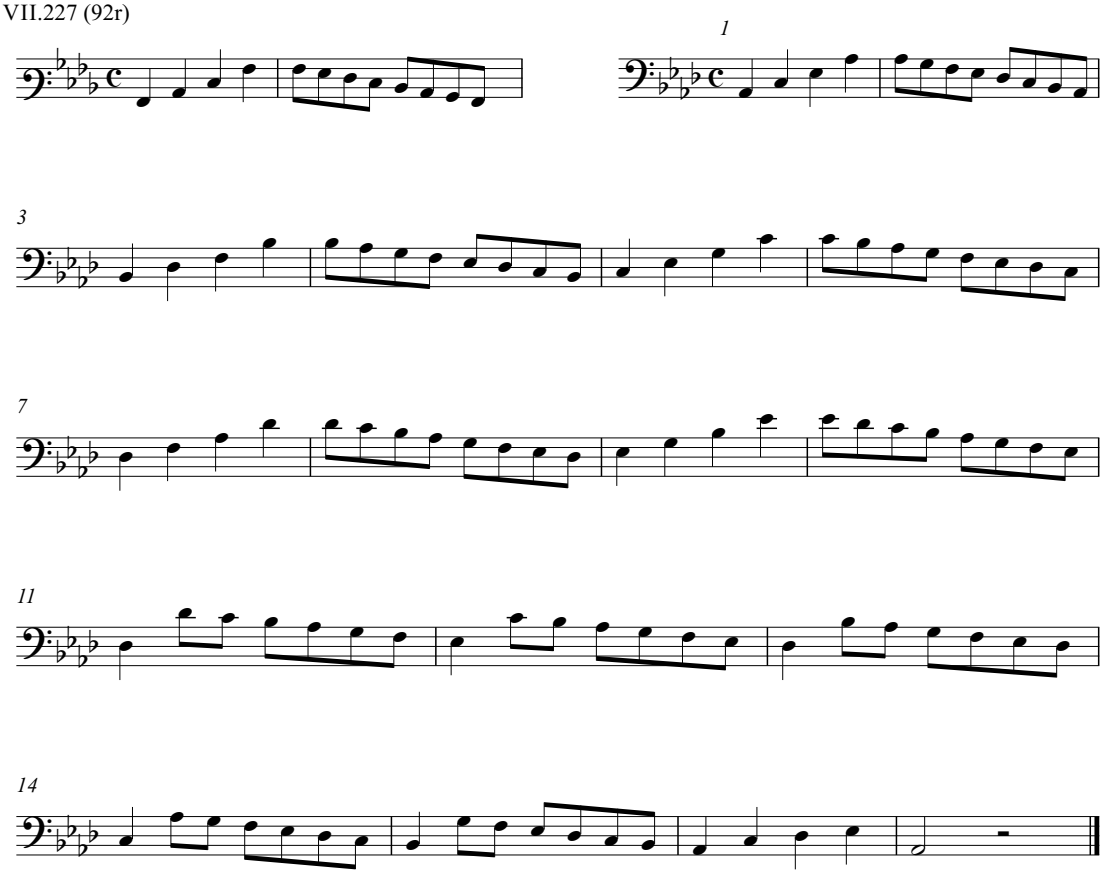

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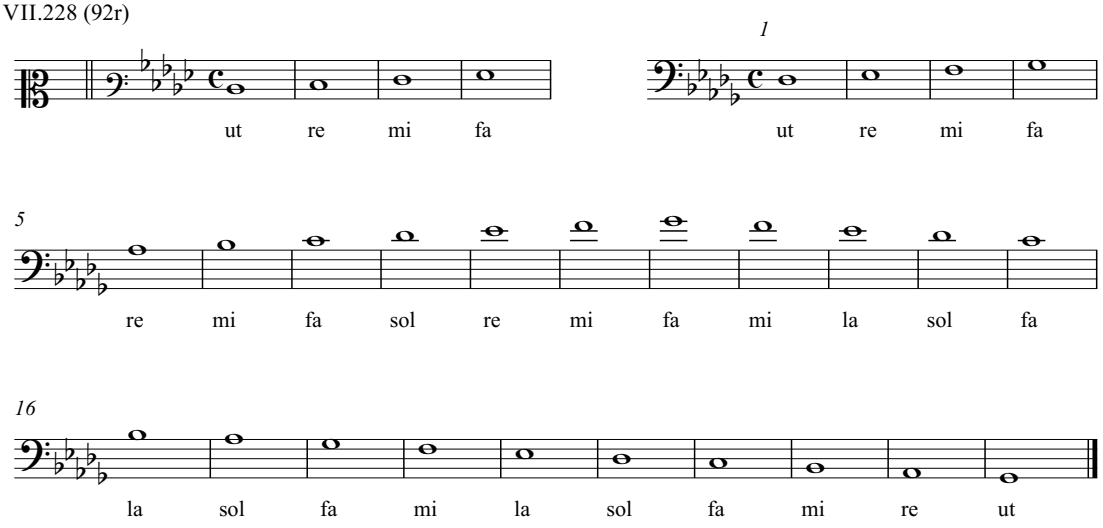

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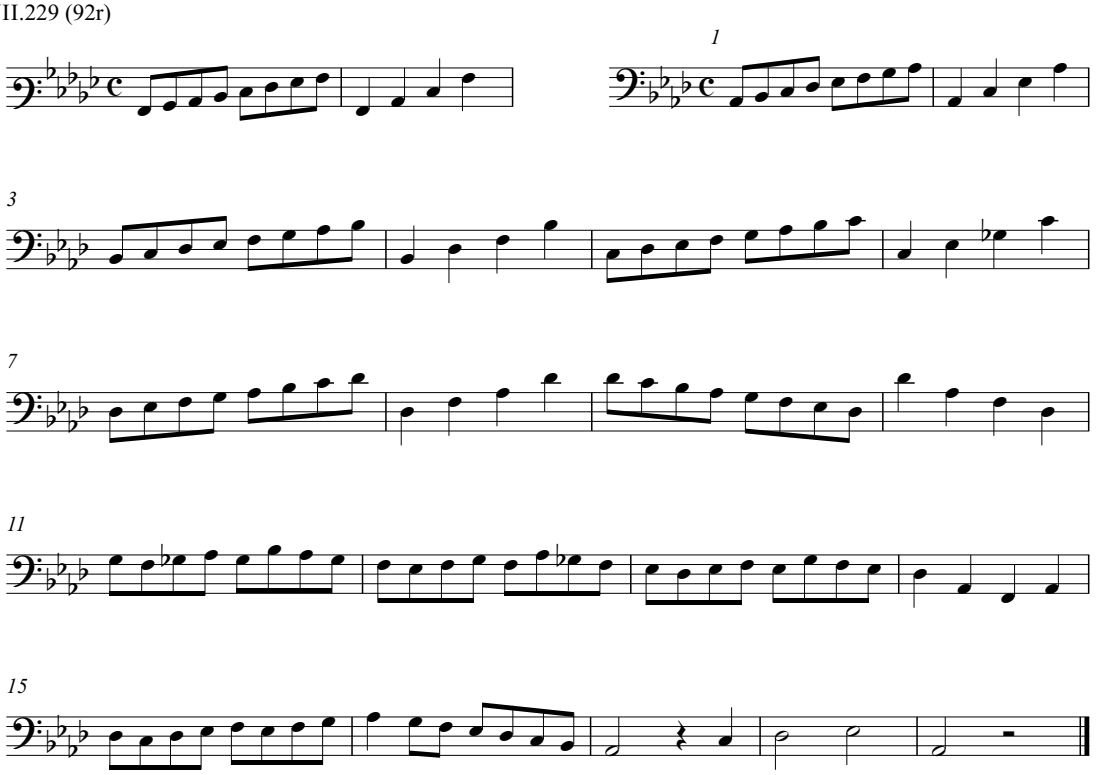

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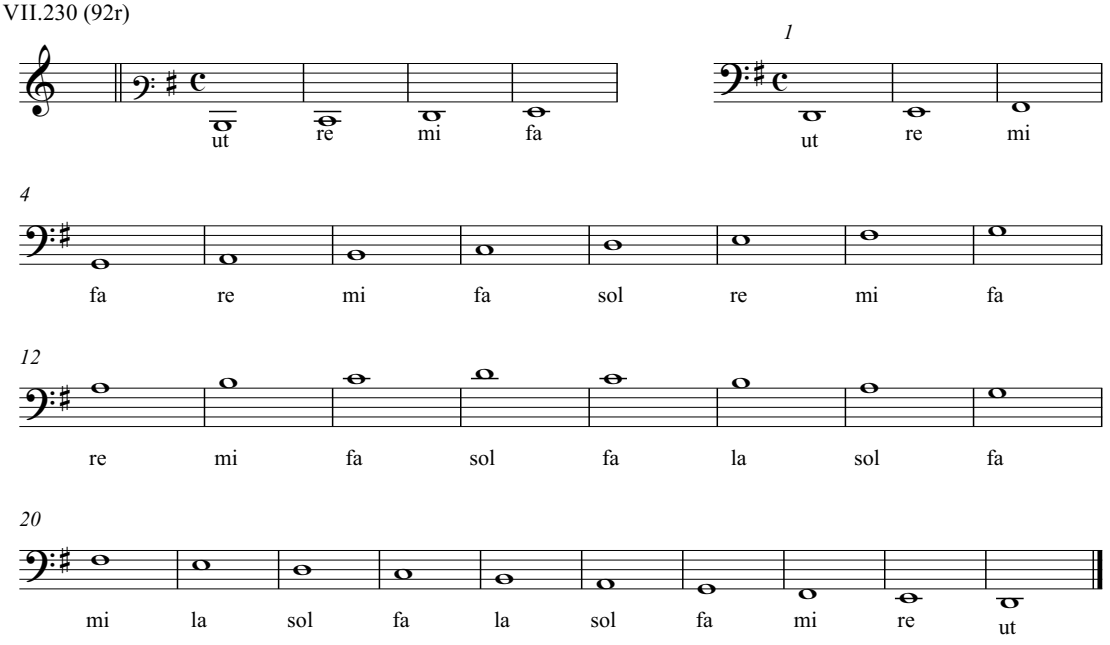

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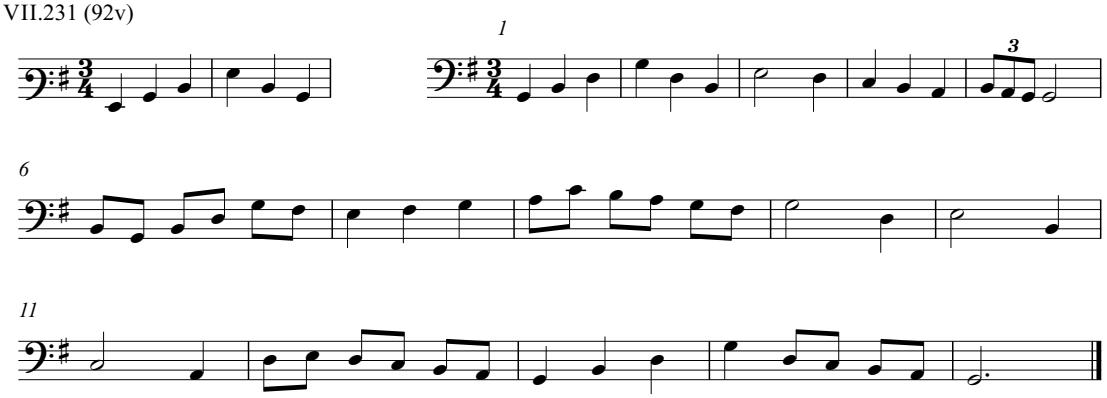

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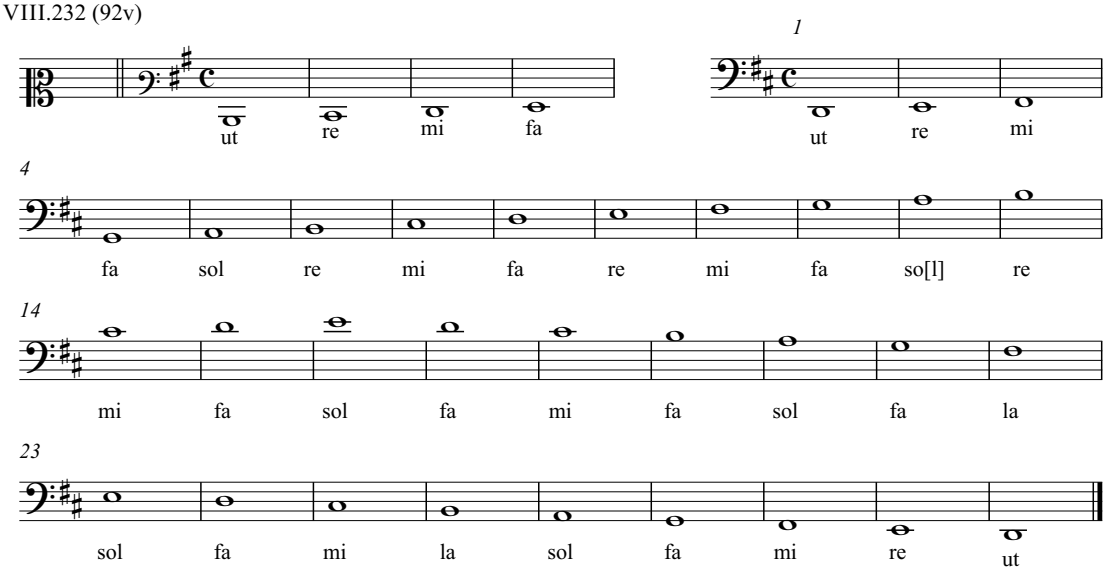

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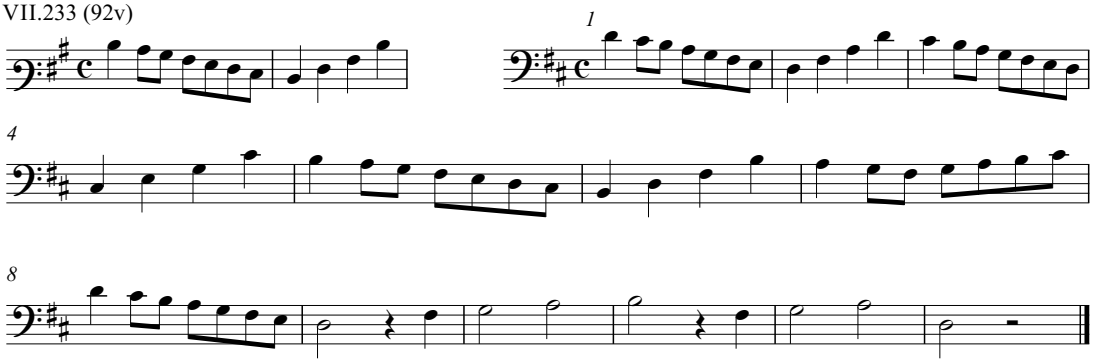

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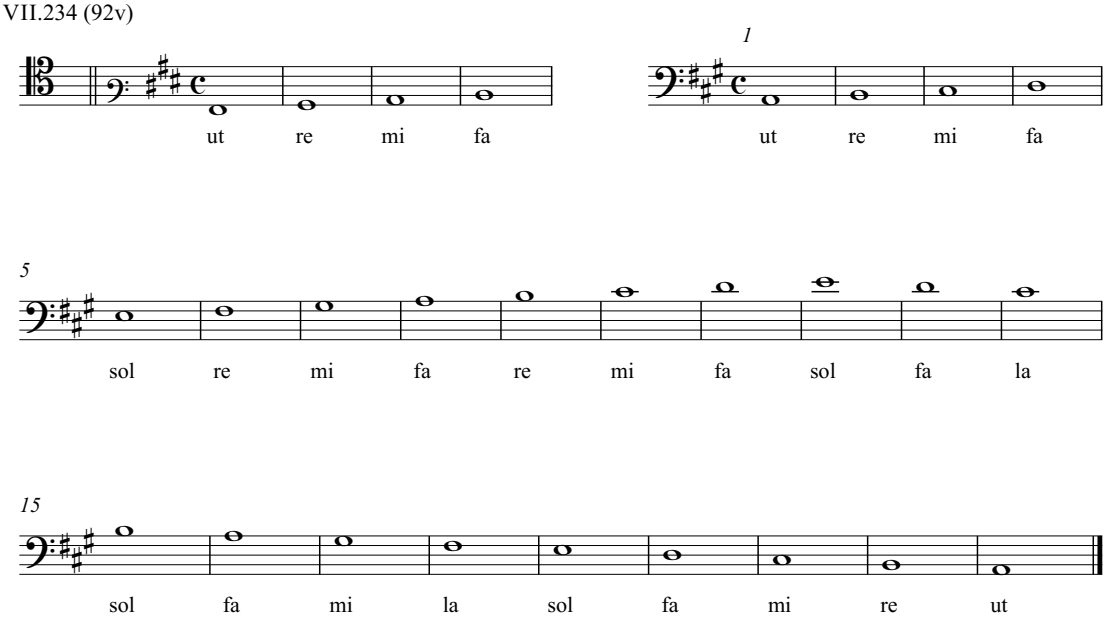

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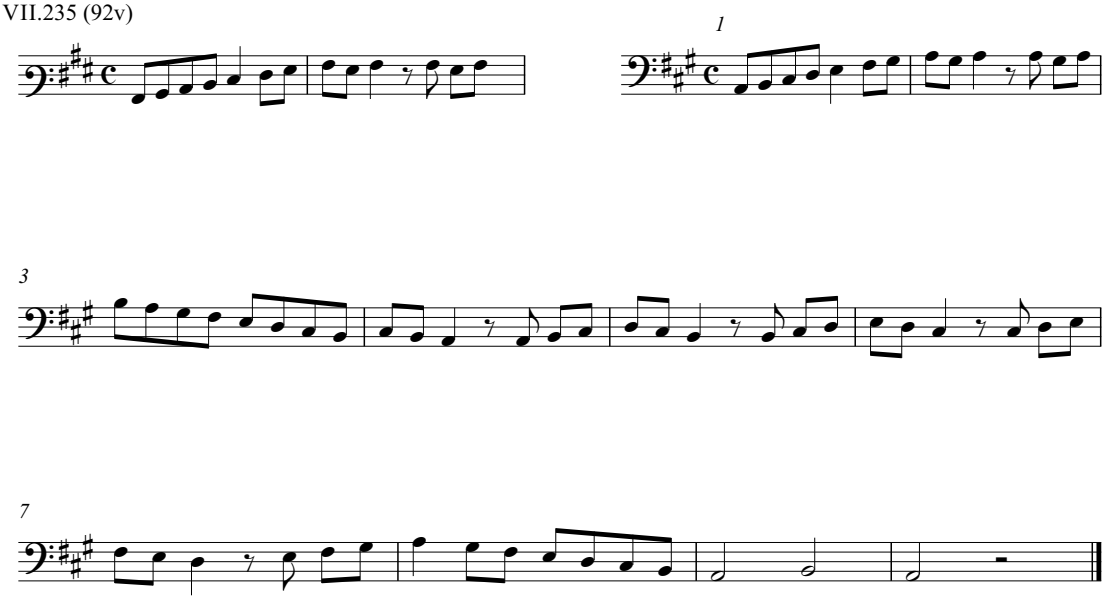

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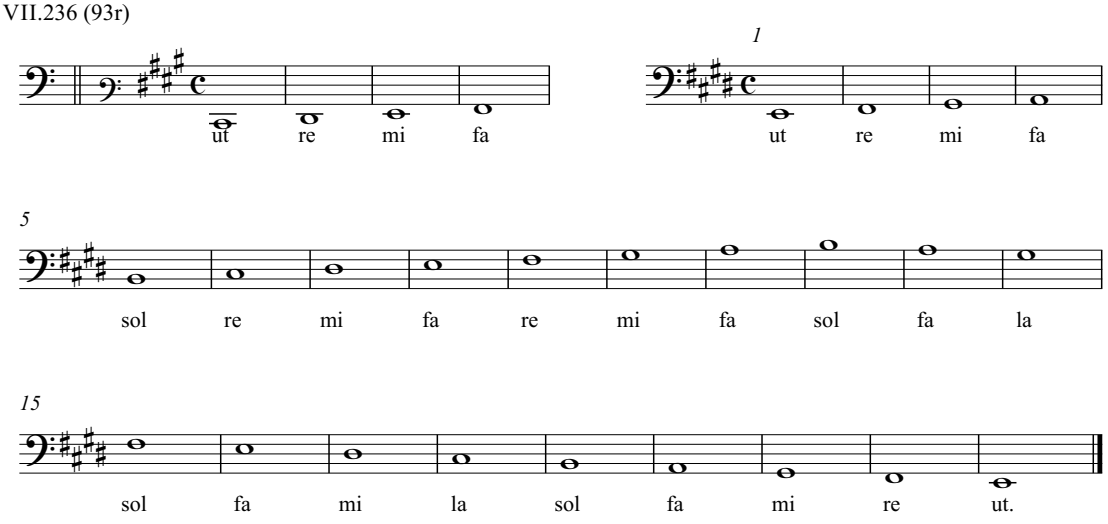

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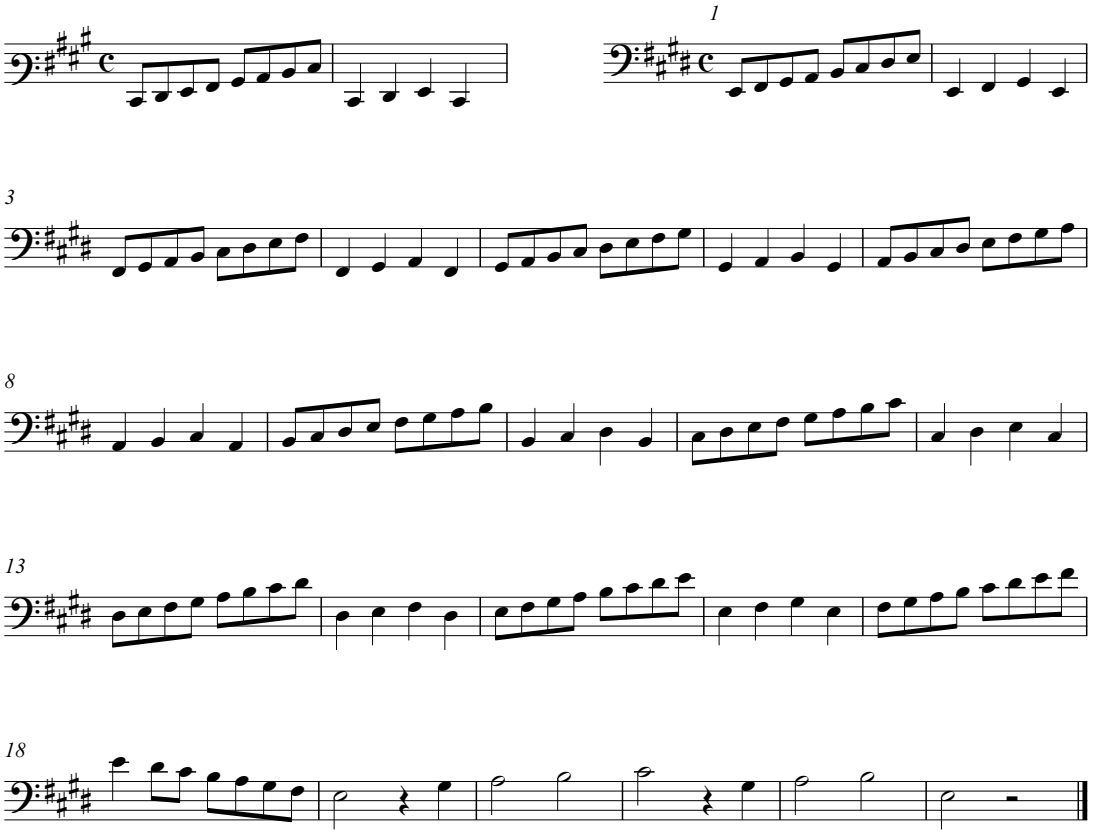

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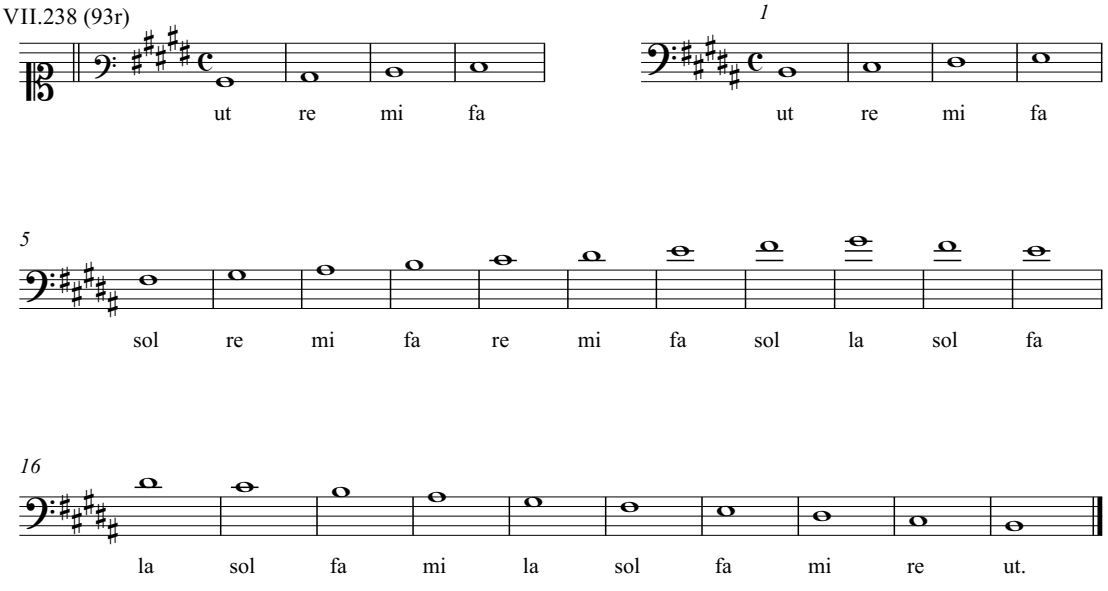

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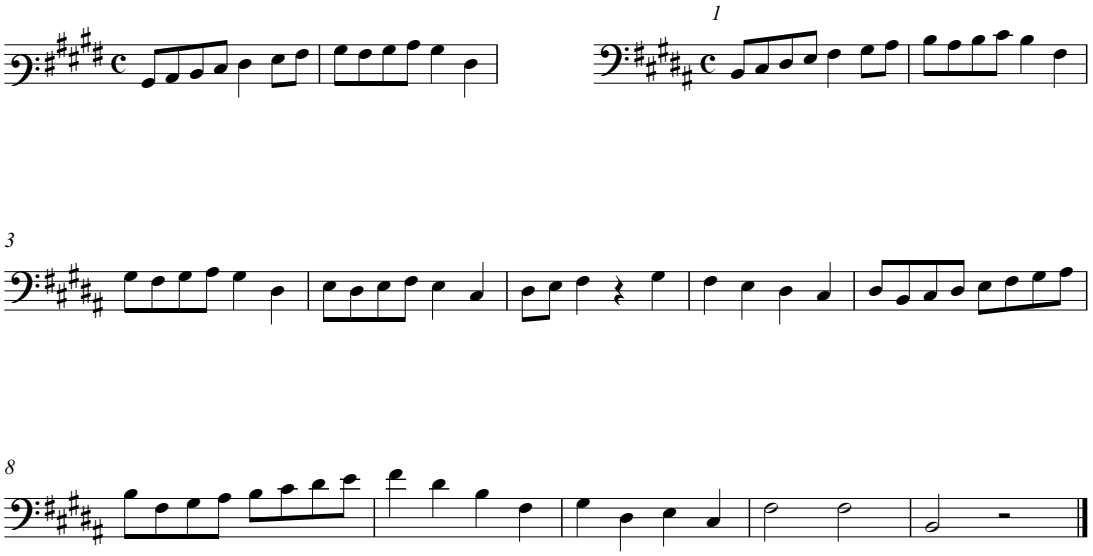

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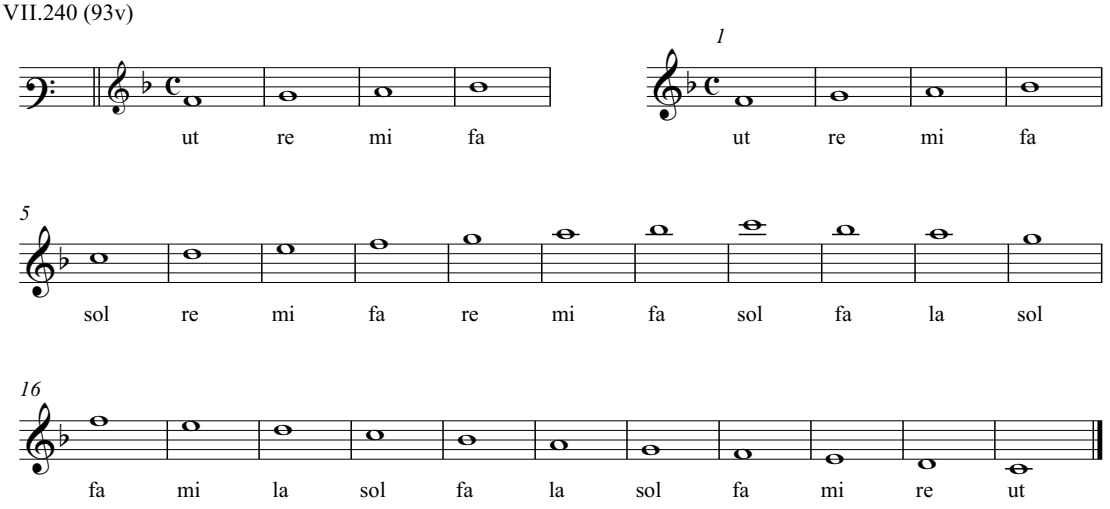

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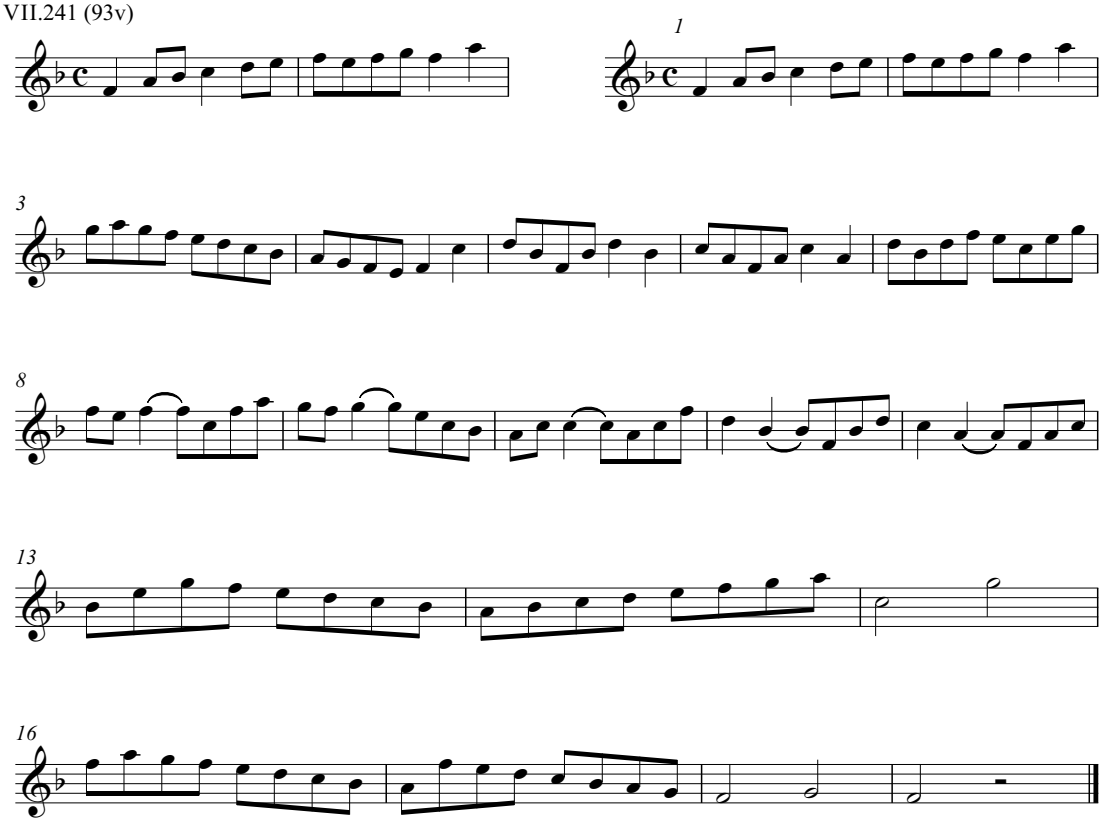

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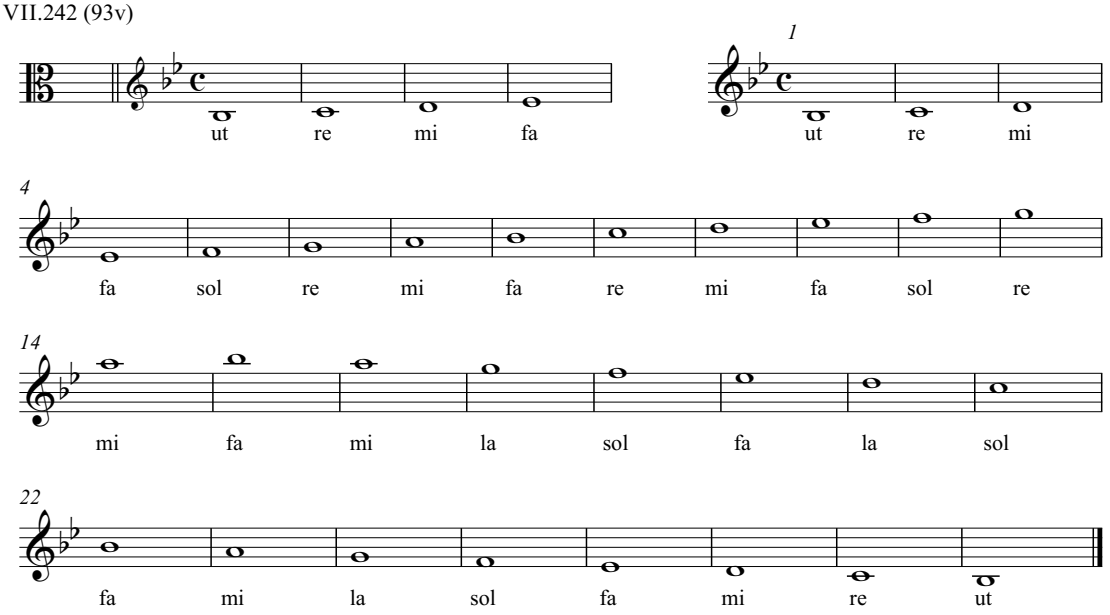

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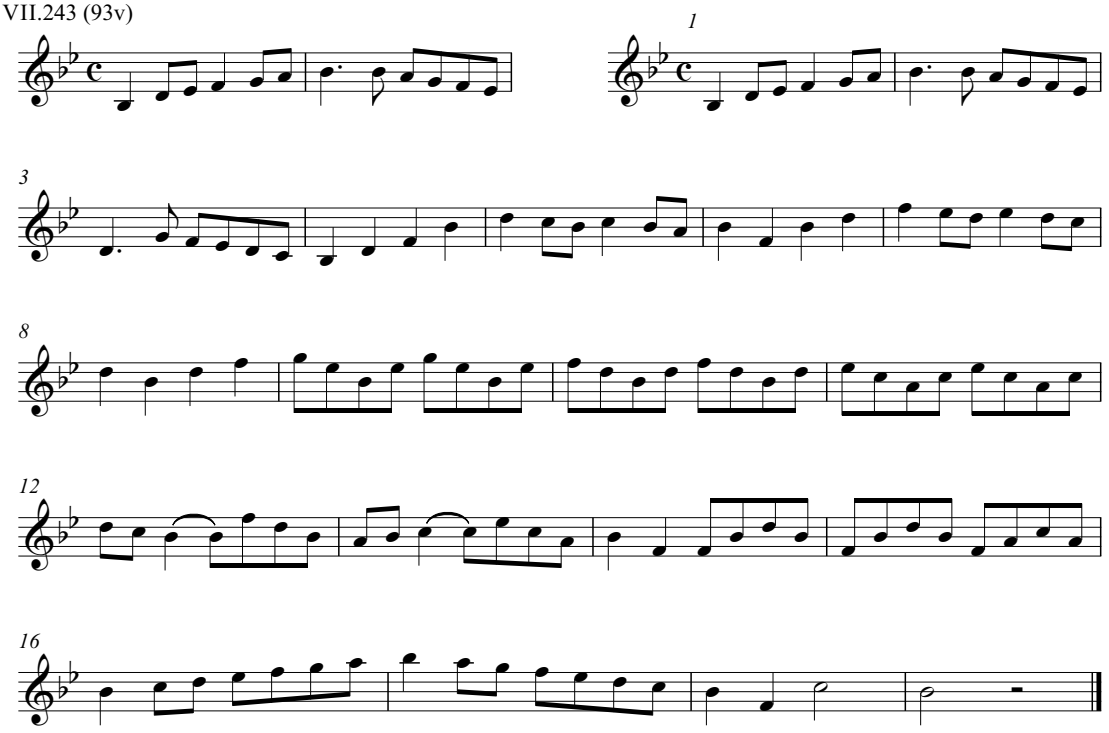

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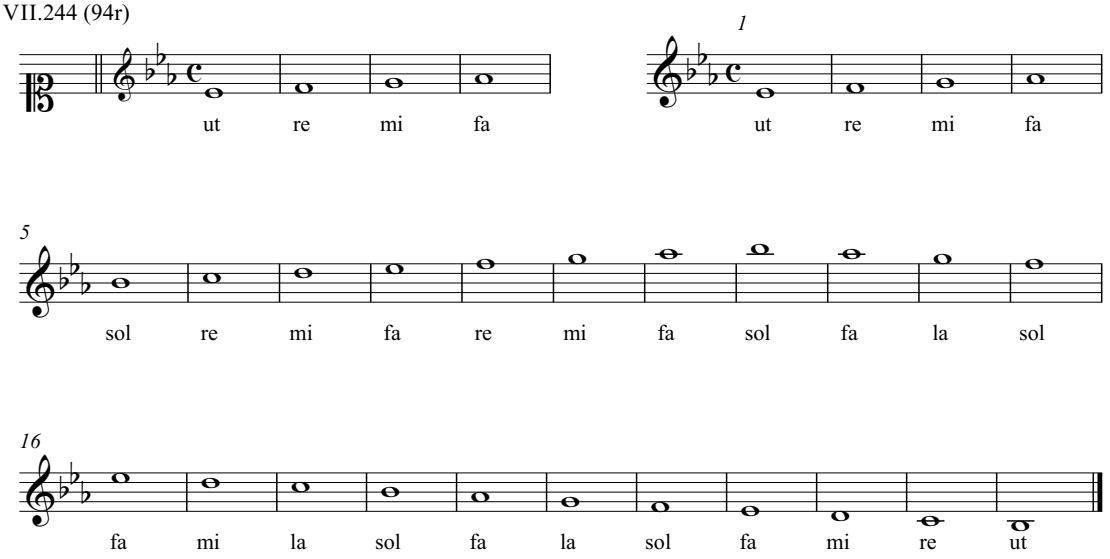

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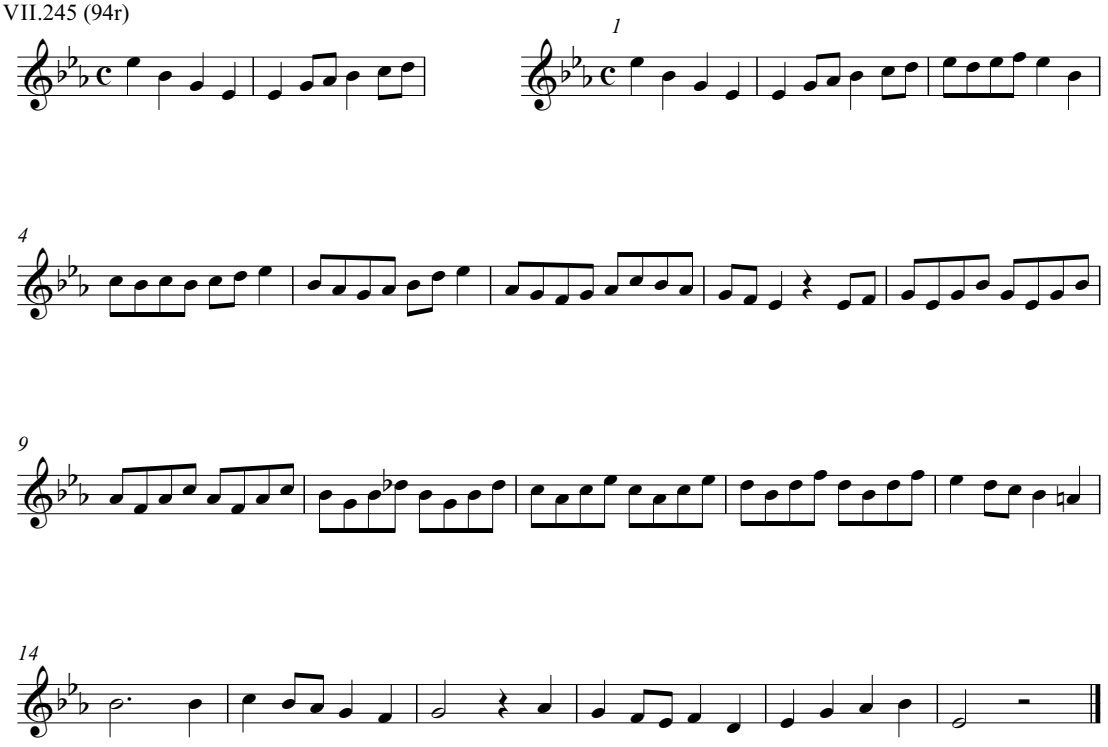

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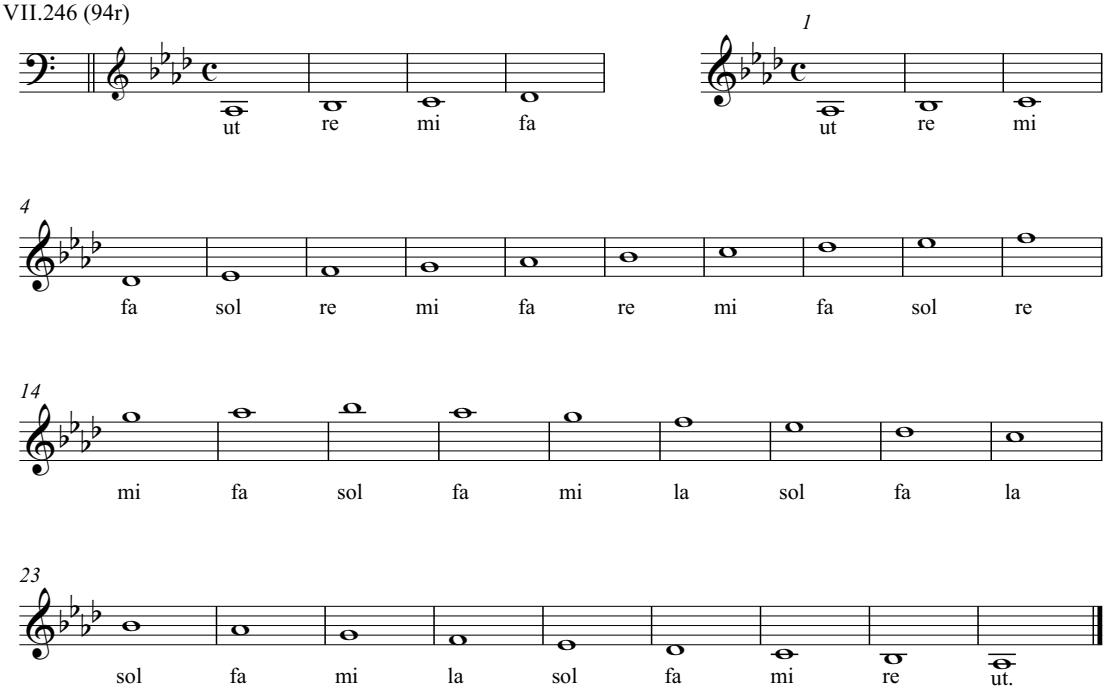

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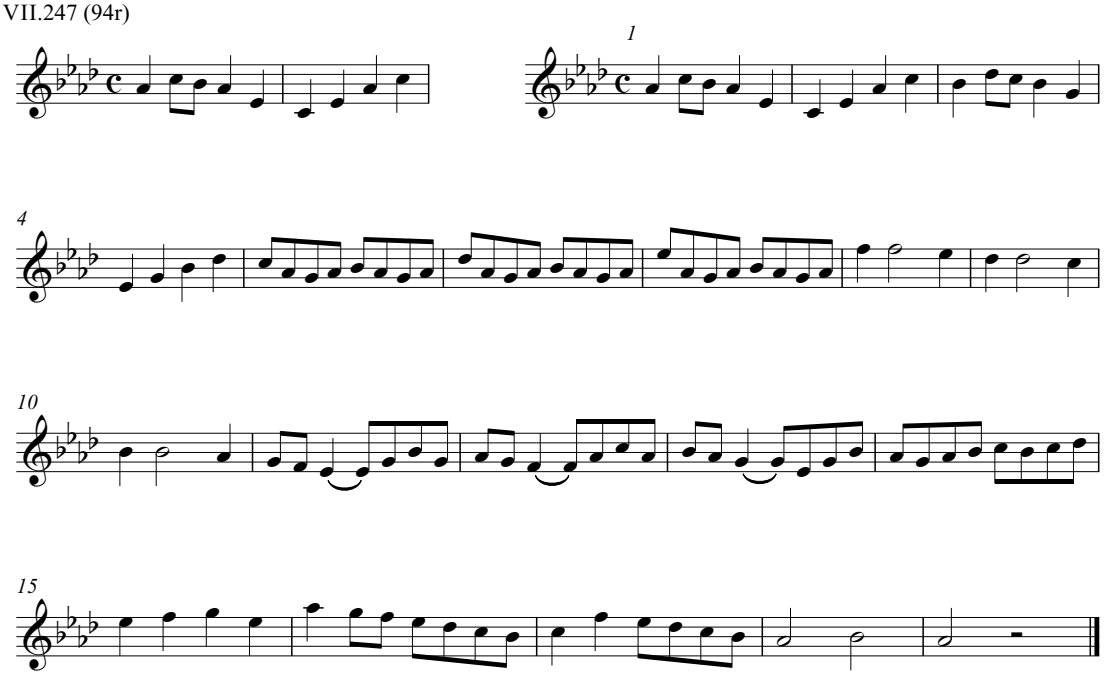

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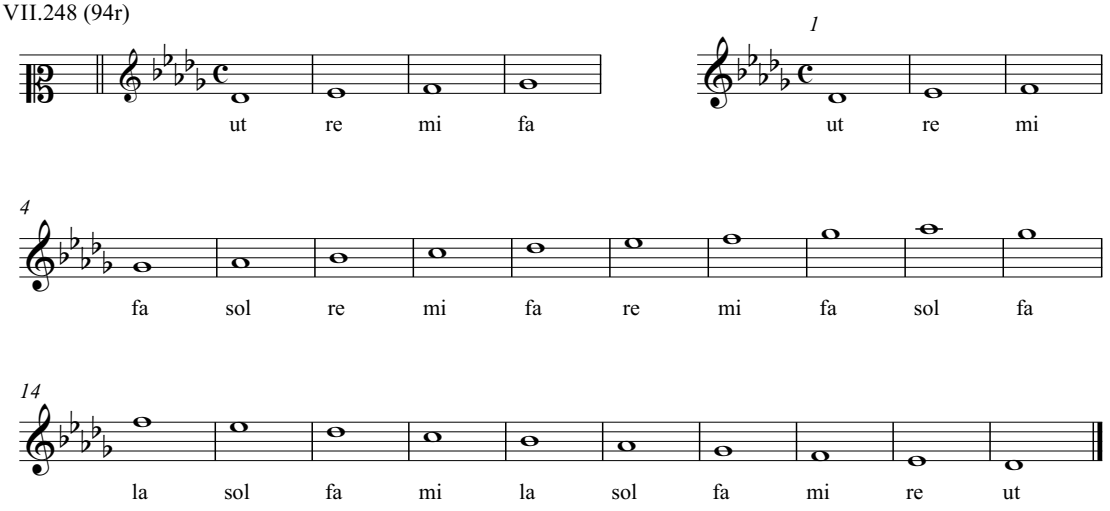

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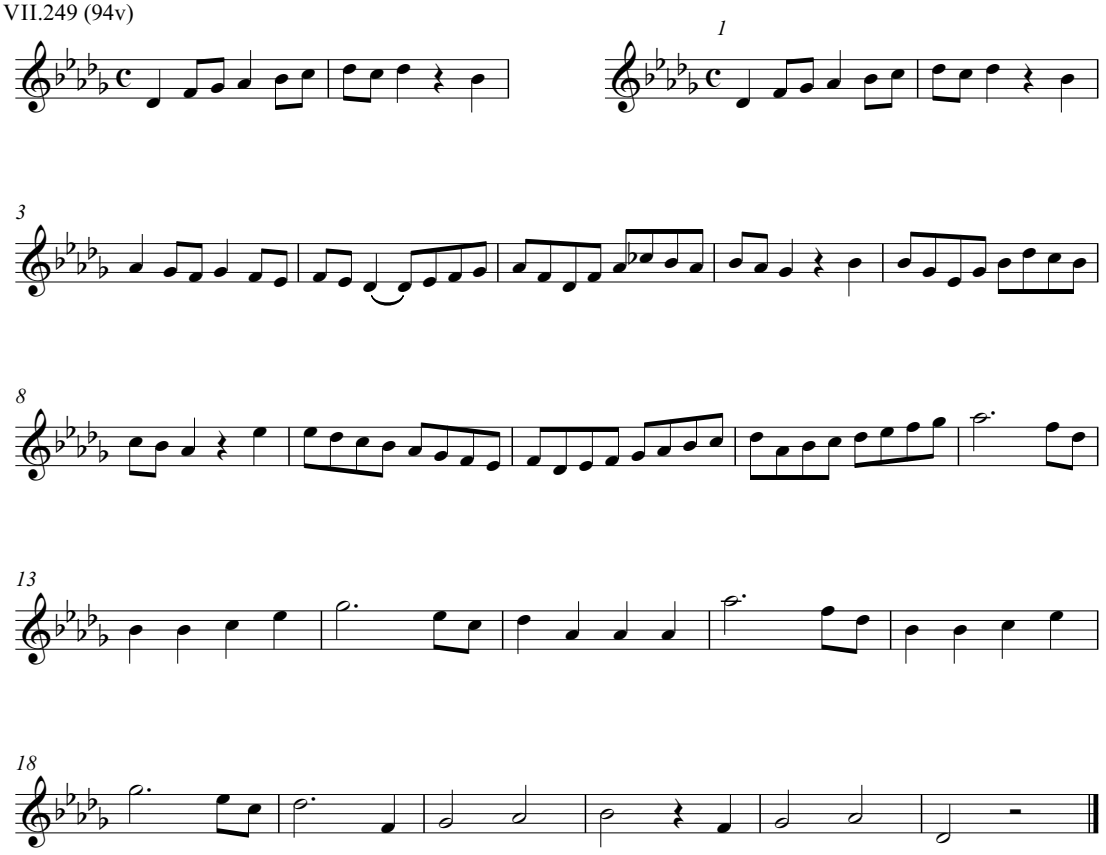

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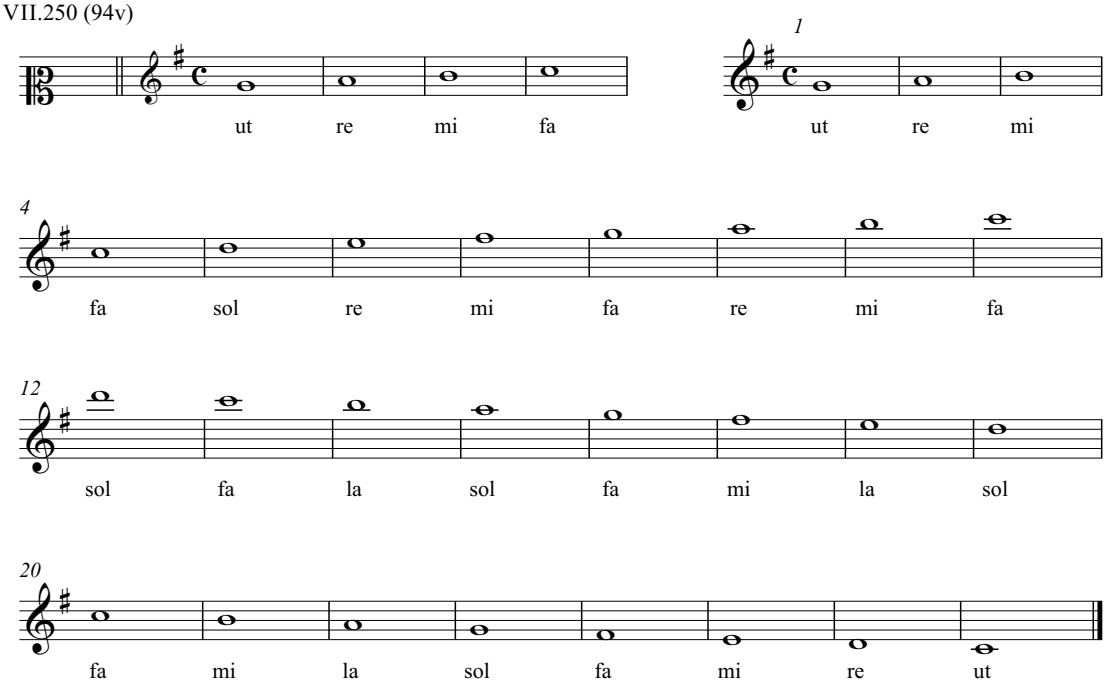
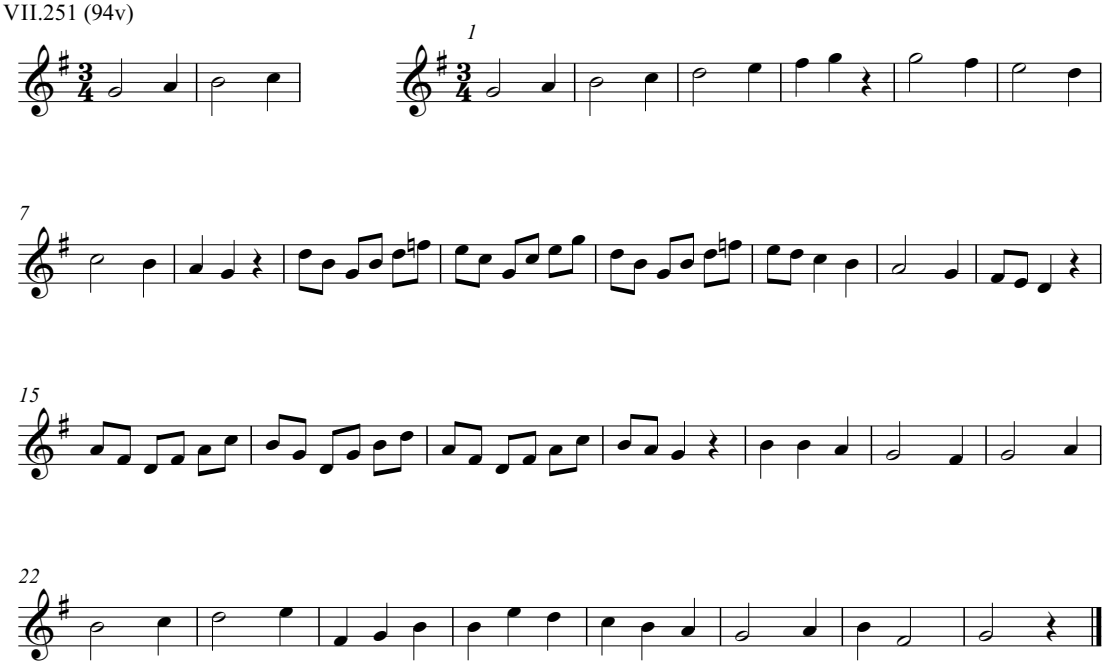
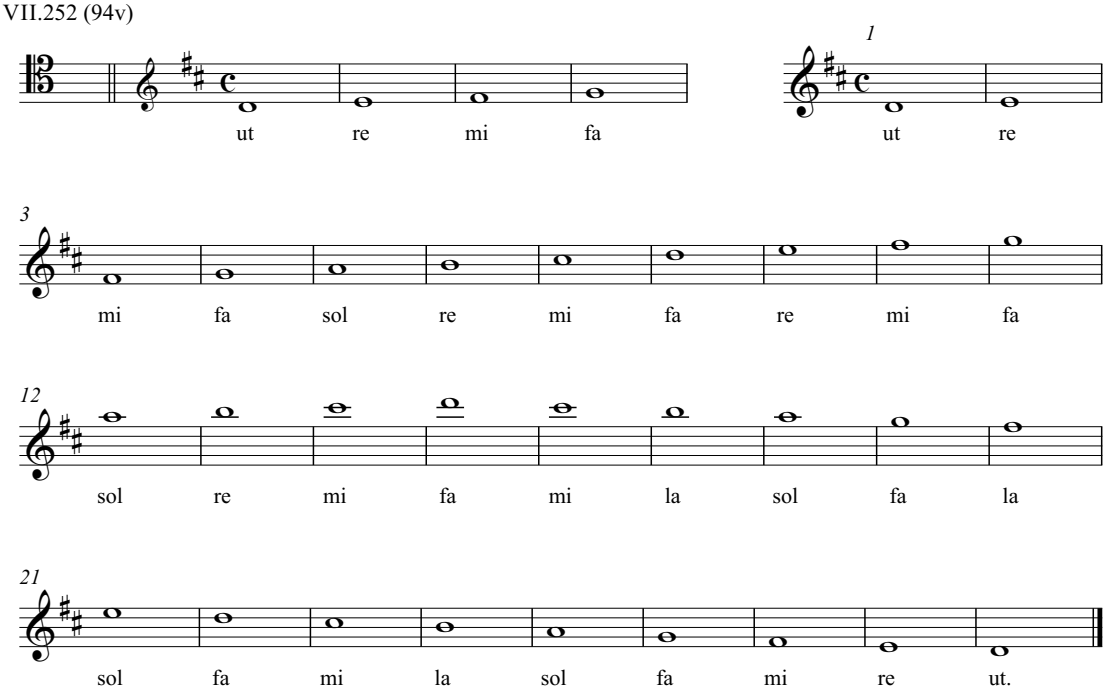


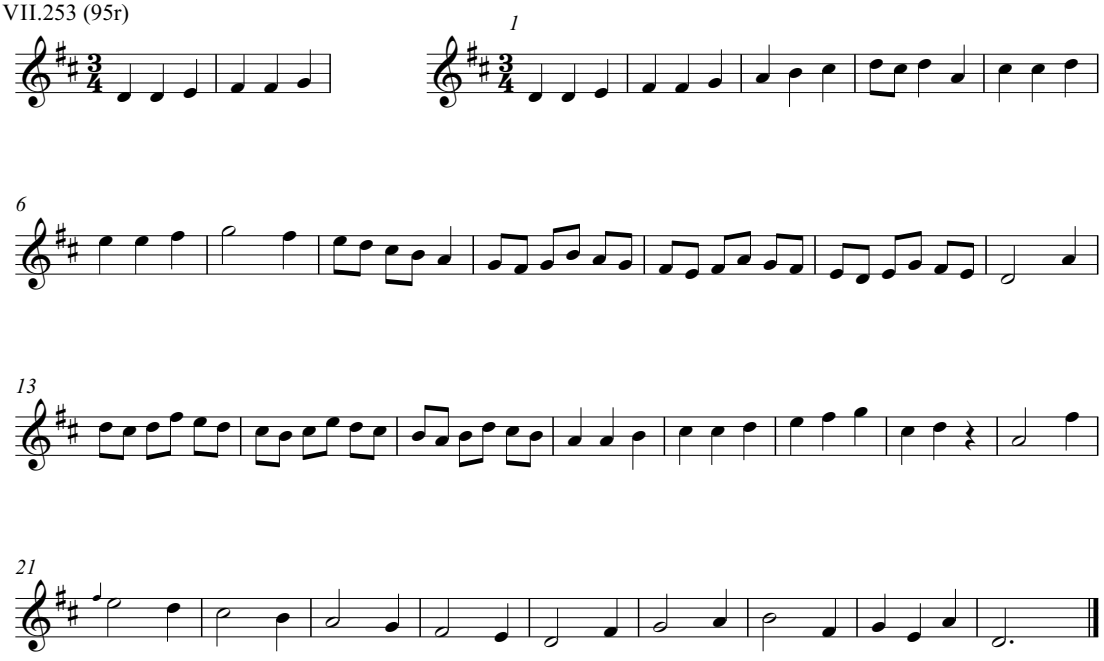
VII.251 (94v)



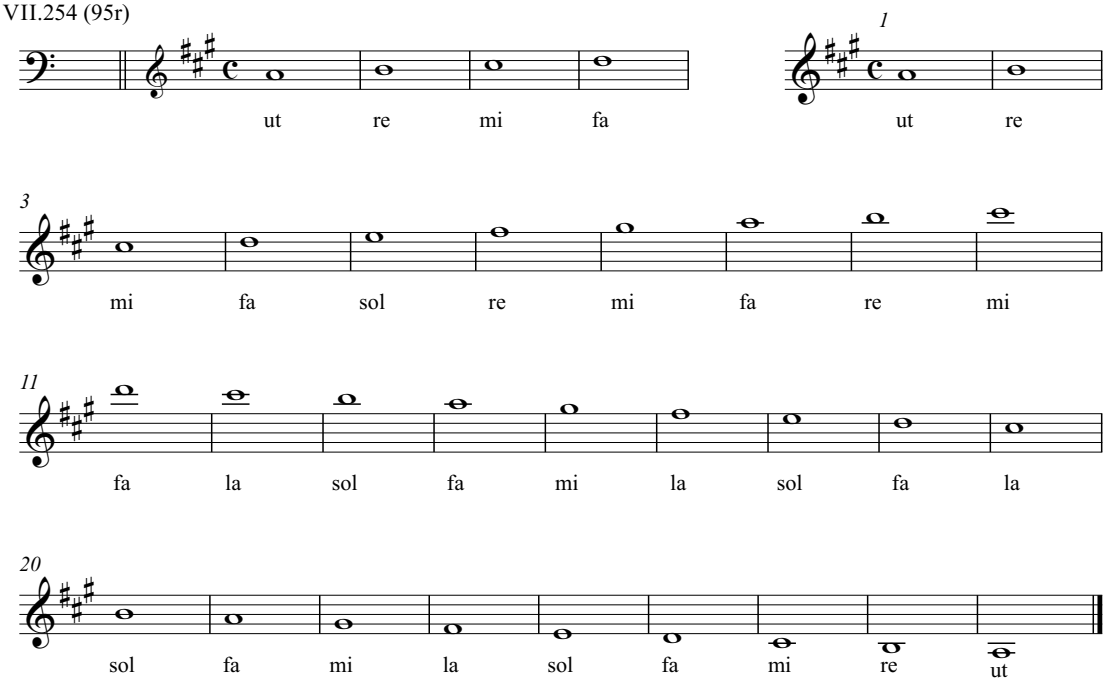
VII.252 (94v)



VII.253 (95r)



VII.254 (95r)



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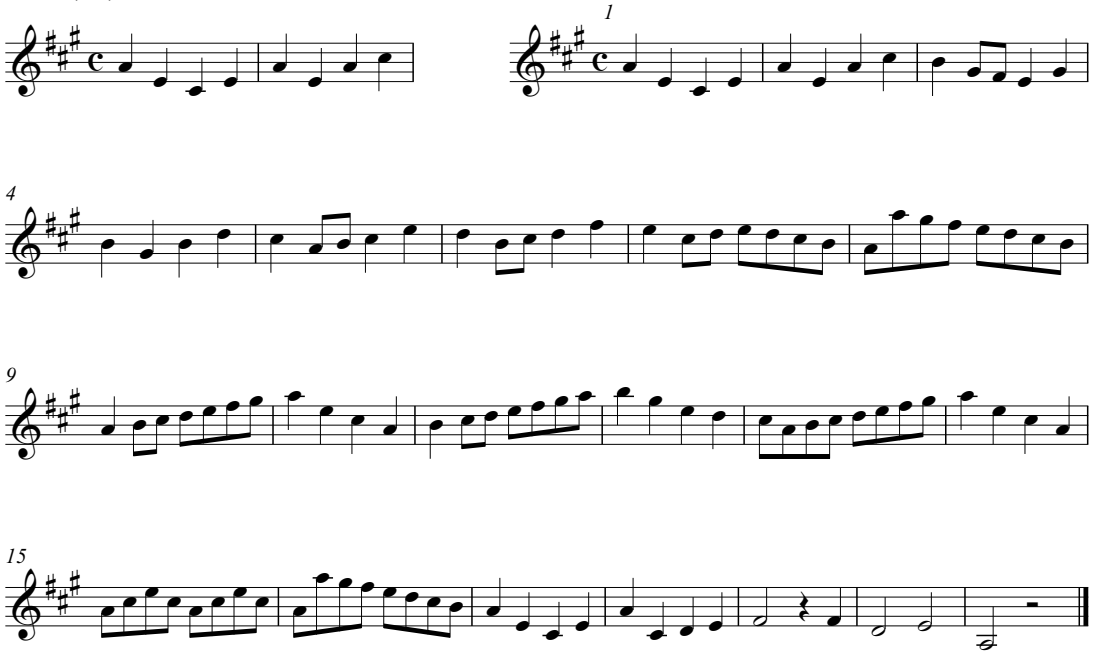
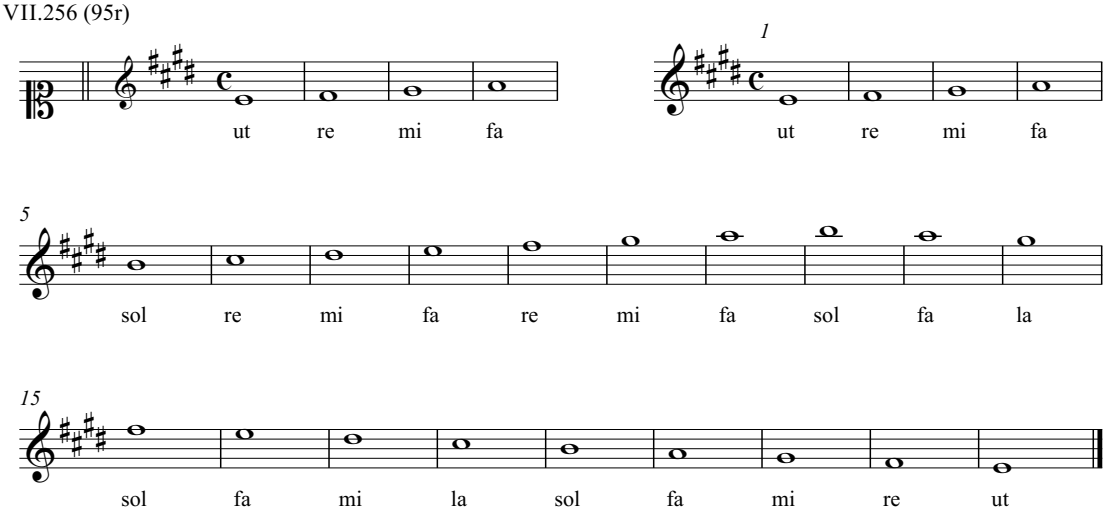


VII.256 (95r)



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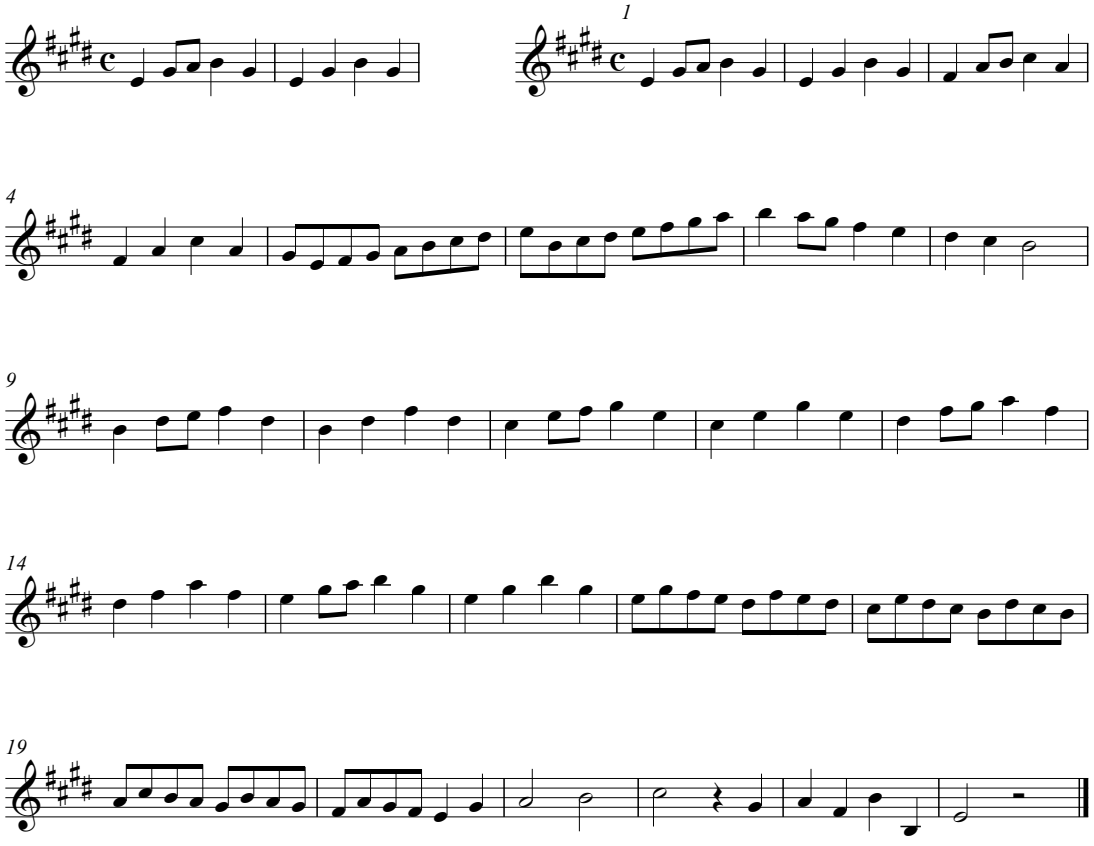

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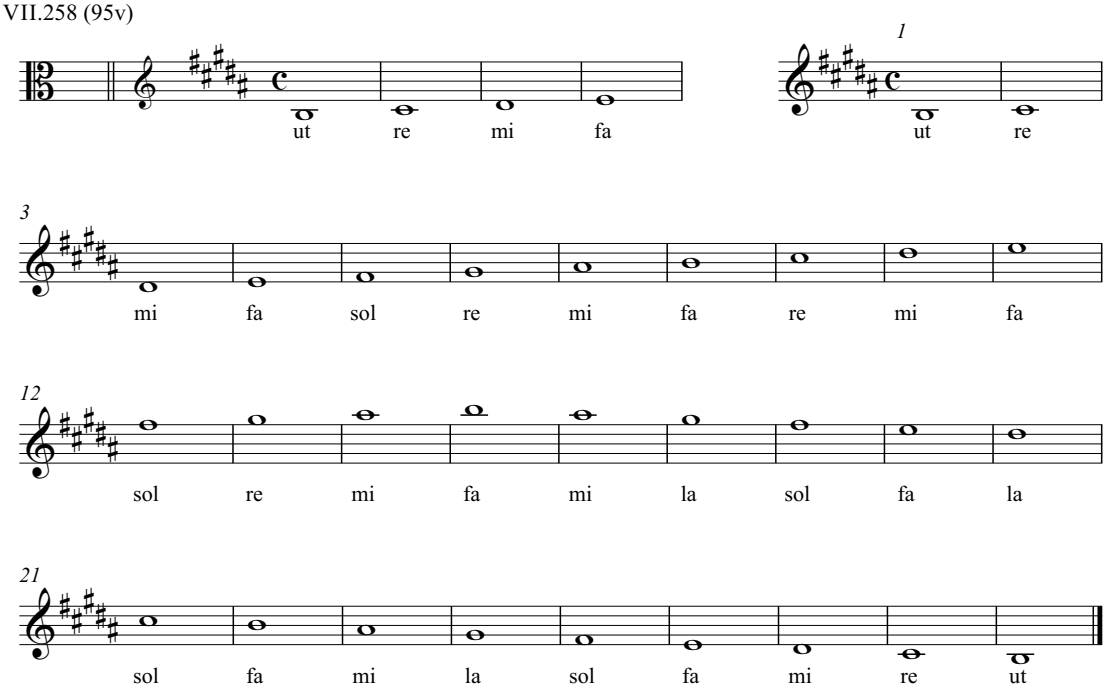
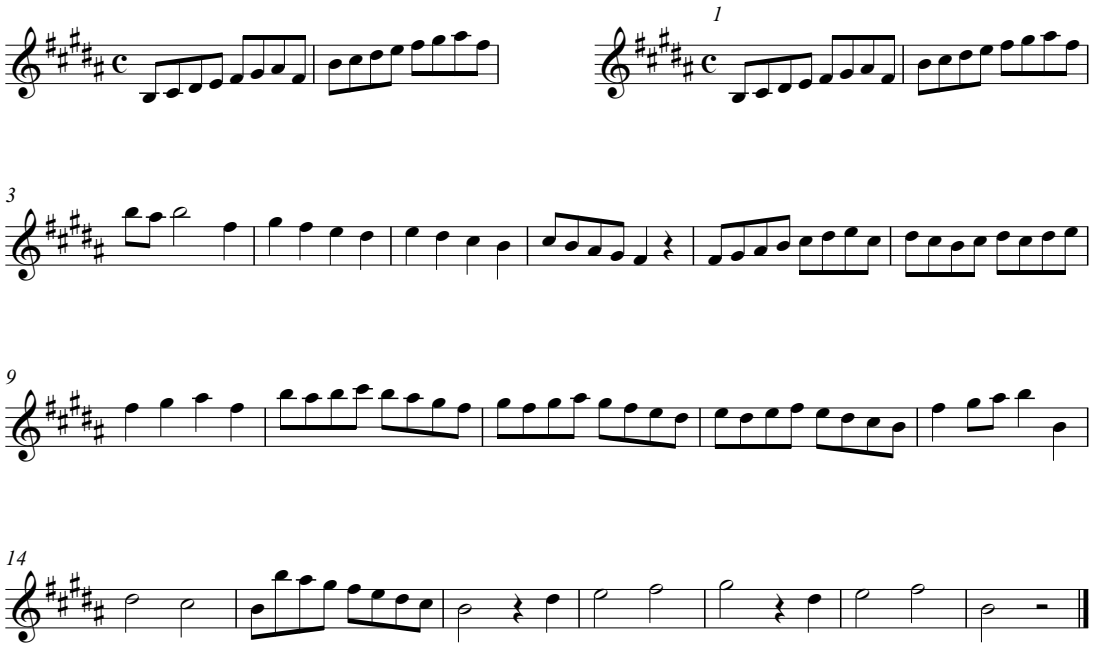


VII.259 (95v)



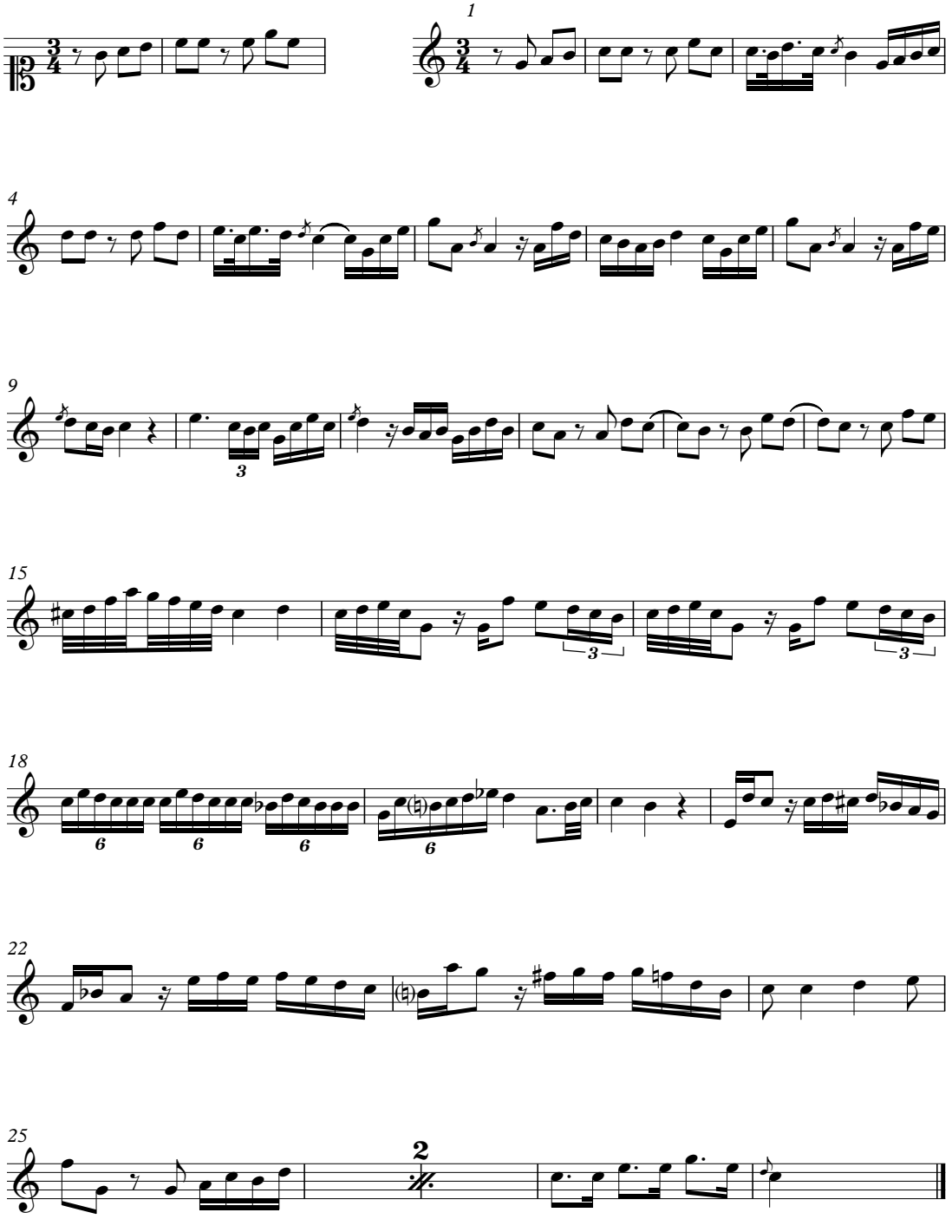
Manuscrito "J.M.J." del Colegio de Belem

AHCV 26-I-2-27

Solo 1 (1r)

Dia 21 de Agosto de 1807 a[ño]s

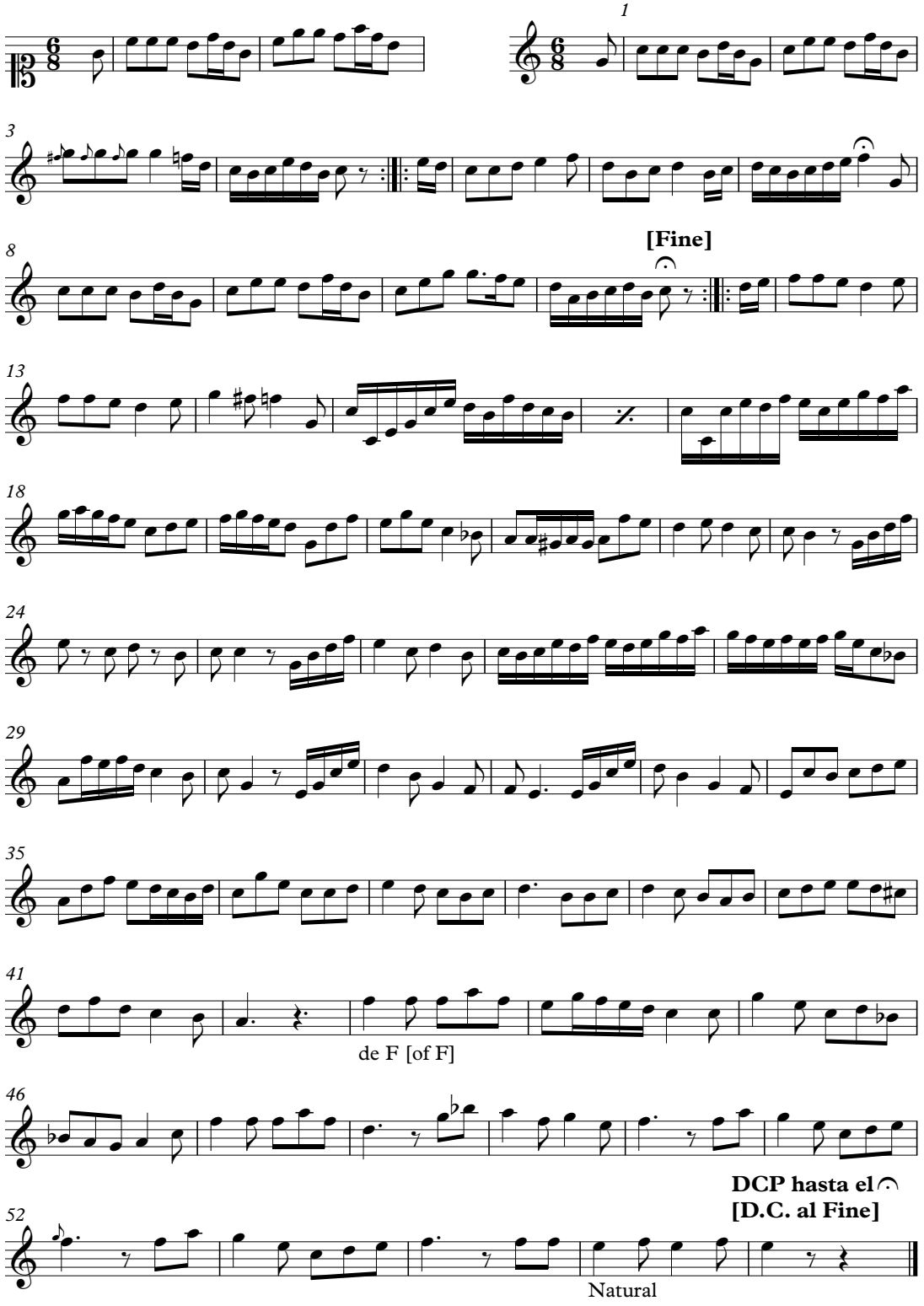
Aug. 21, 1807



Solo 2 (1r)

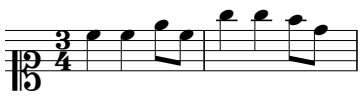
Dia 27

Aug. 27, 1807

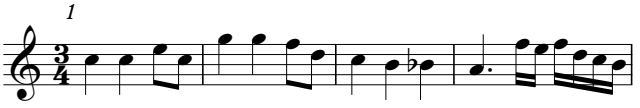


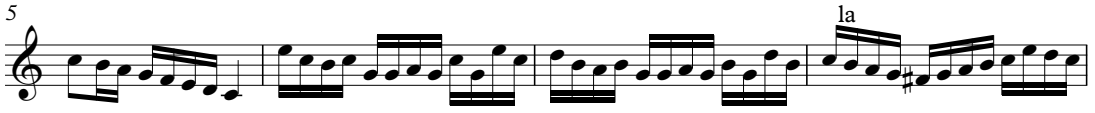
Solo 3 (2v)

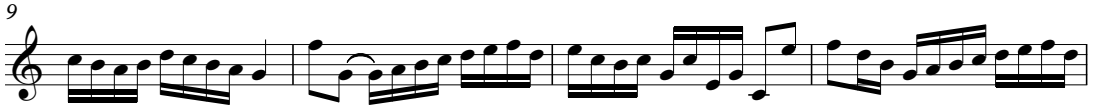
Dia 29

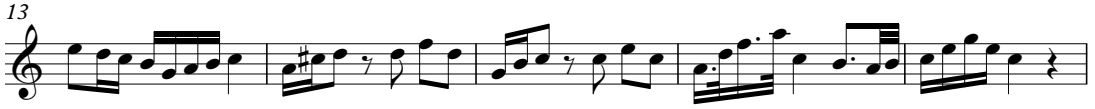


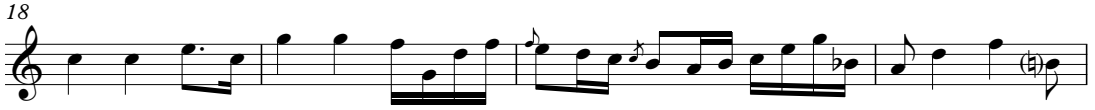
Aug. 29, 1807

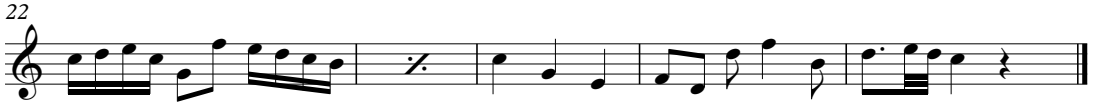








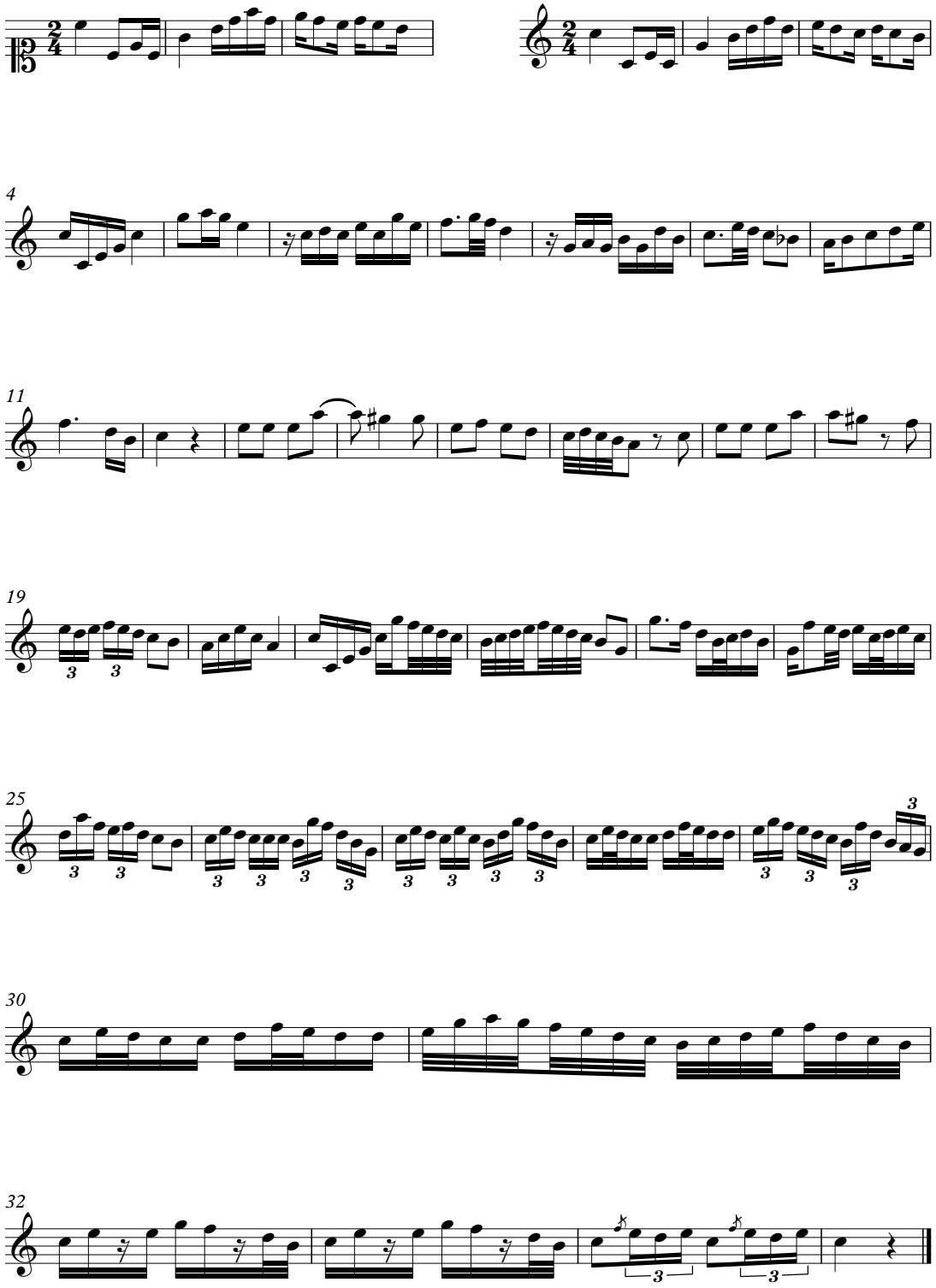




Solo 4 (2v)

Dia 31

Aug. 31, 1807



Duet 1 (2v–3r)

Lecceon a duo

Dia 2 de [sep]t[iem]bre

Dia 3 de [sep]t[iem]bre

Lesson for two

1

Sept. 2, 1807

Sept. 3, 1807

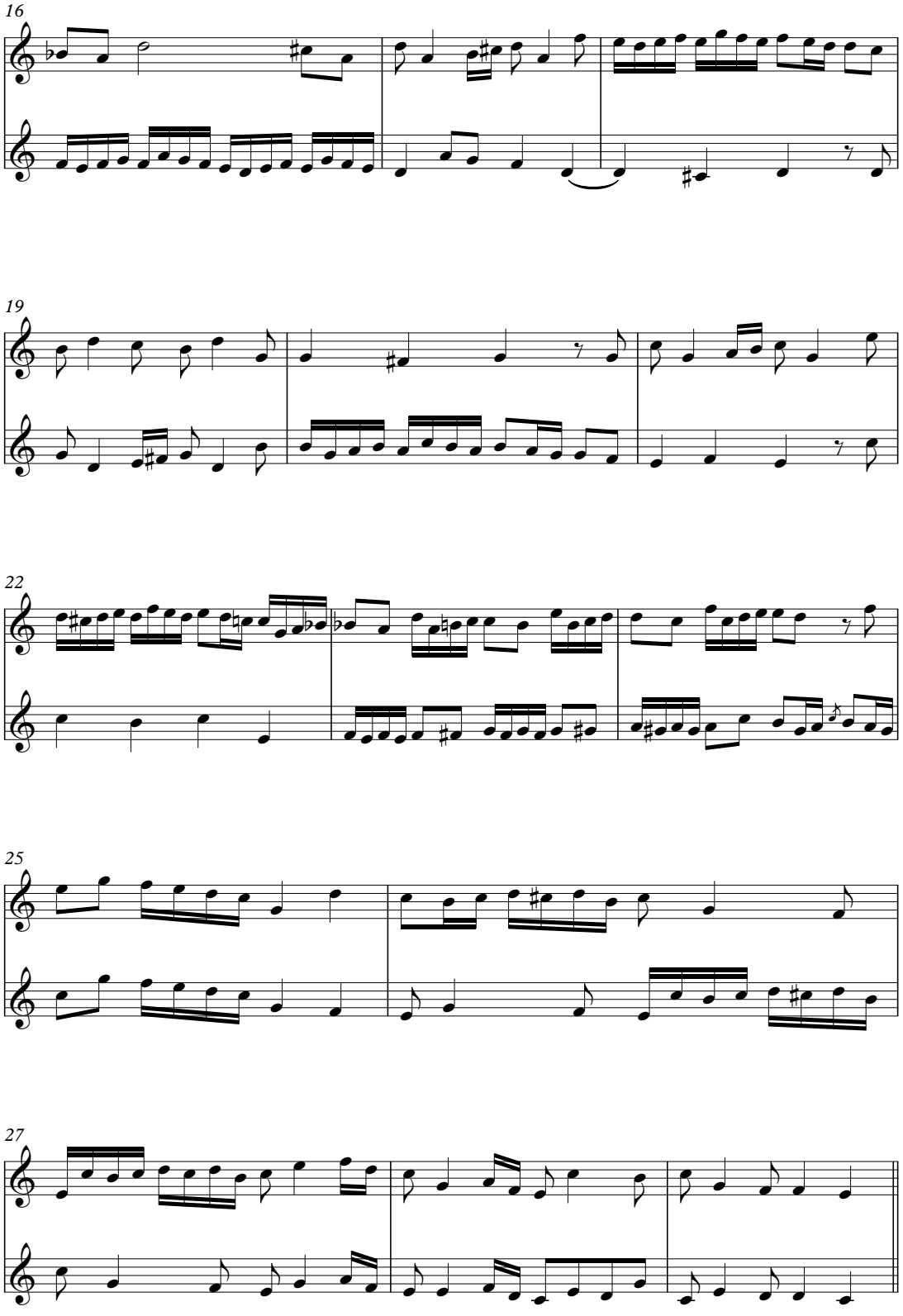
2

6

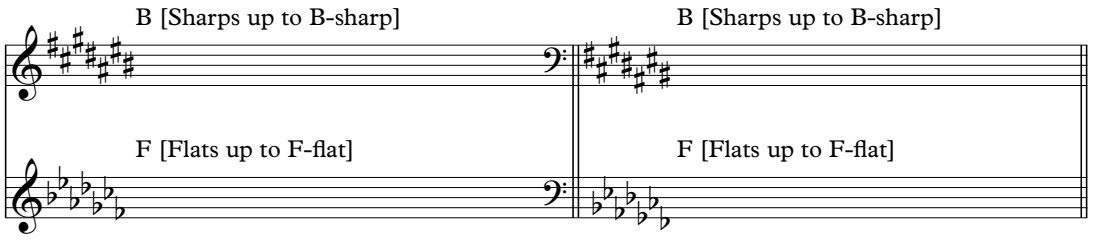
la

9

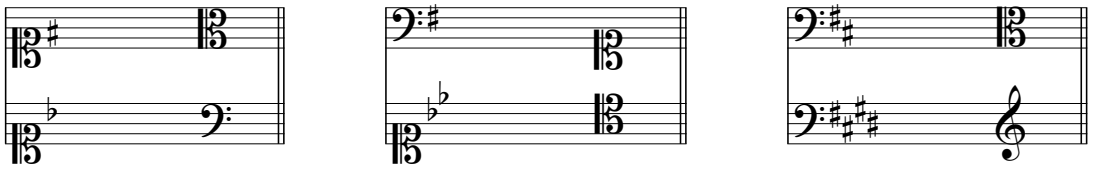
13


16
19
22
25
27

Theory 1 (3r)

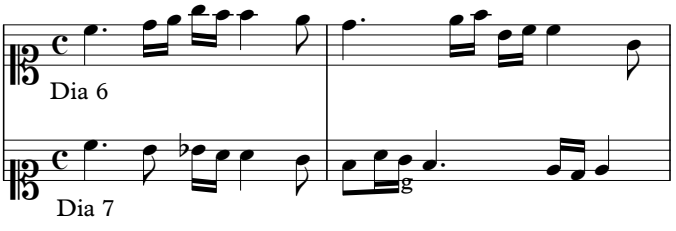


[Pairs of clefs illustrating how to transpose to the key of C major by changing the clef.
See Chapter 5 for further explanation.]

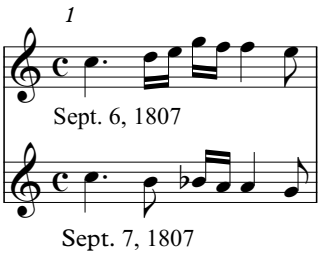


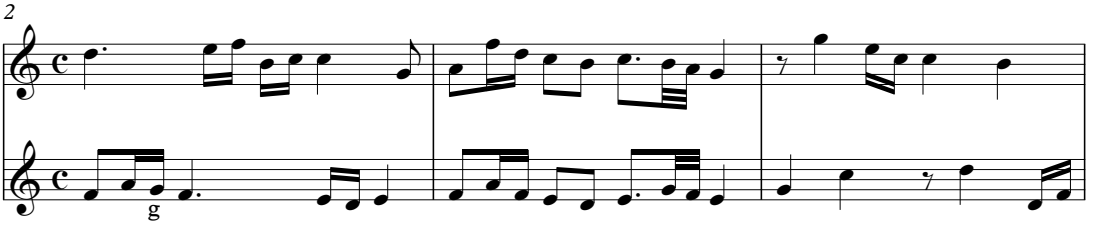
Duet 2 (3v)

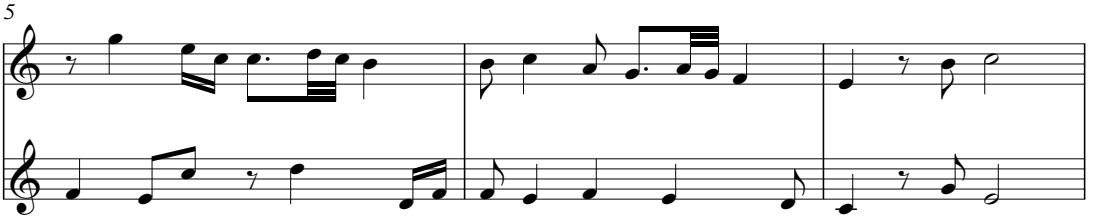
Duo

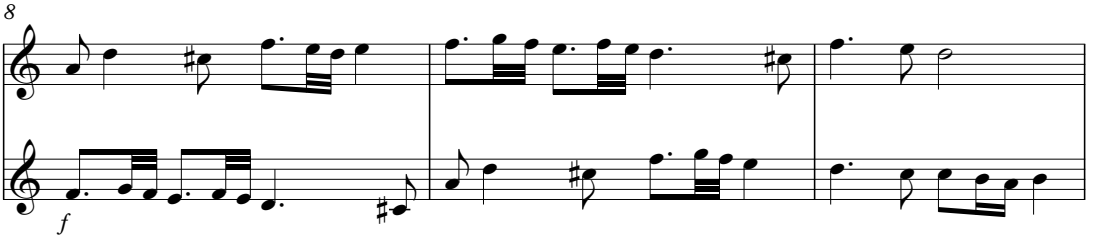


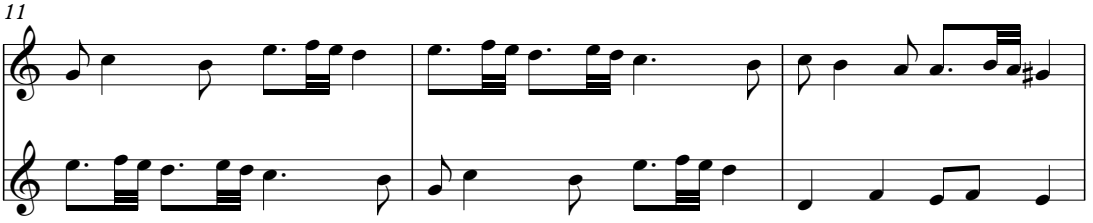
Duet

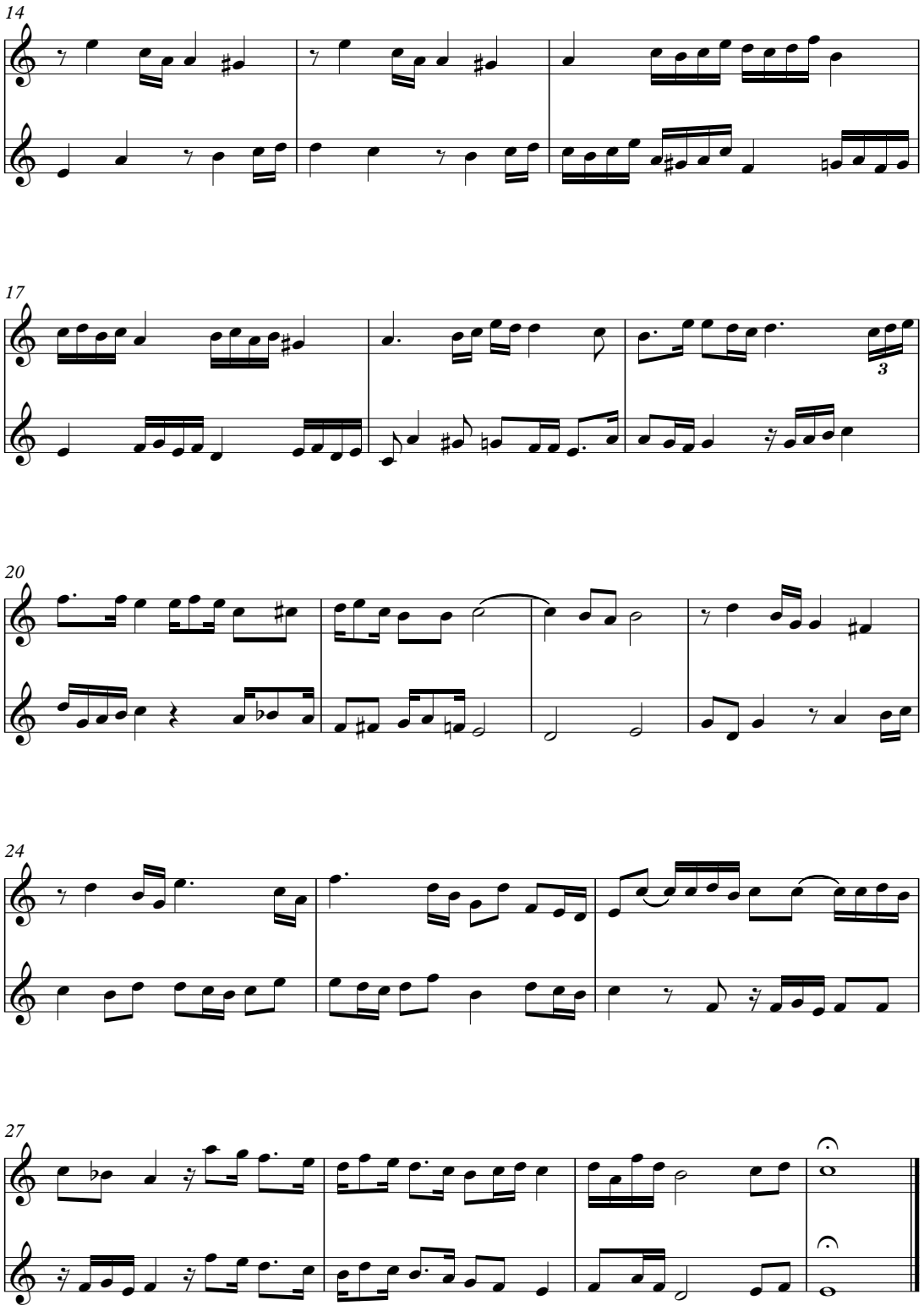








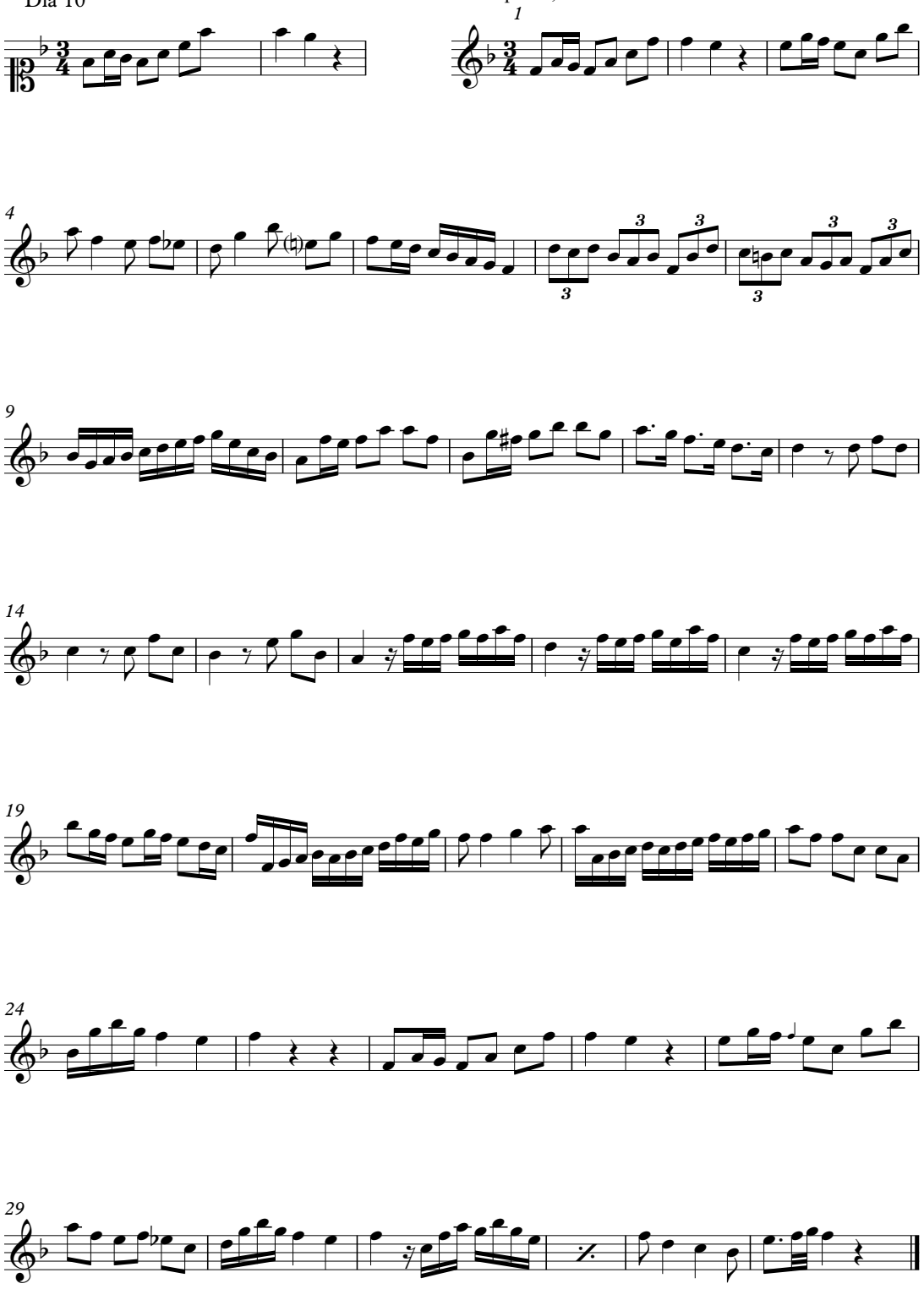



14
17
3
20
24
27

Solo 5 (4r)

Dia 10

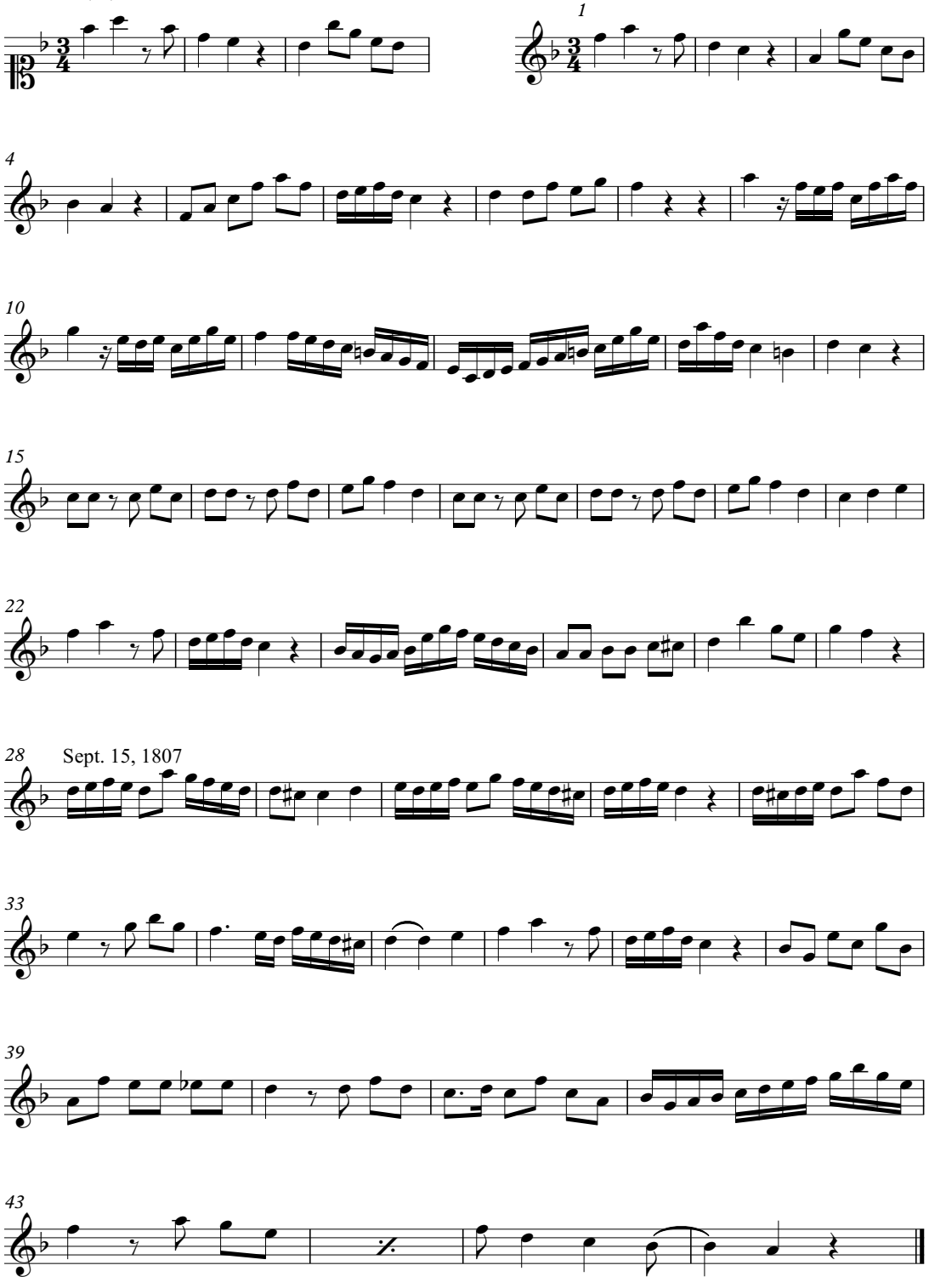
Sept. 10, 1807



Solo 6 (4r)

Dia 14 (4r)

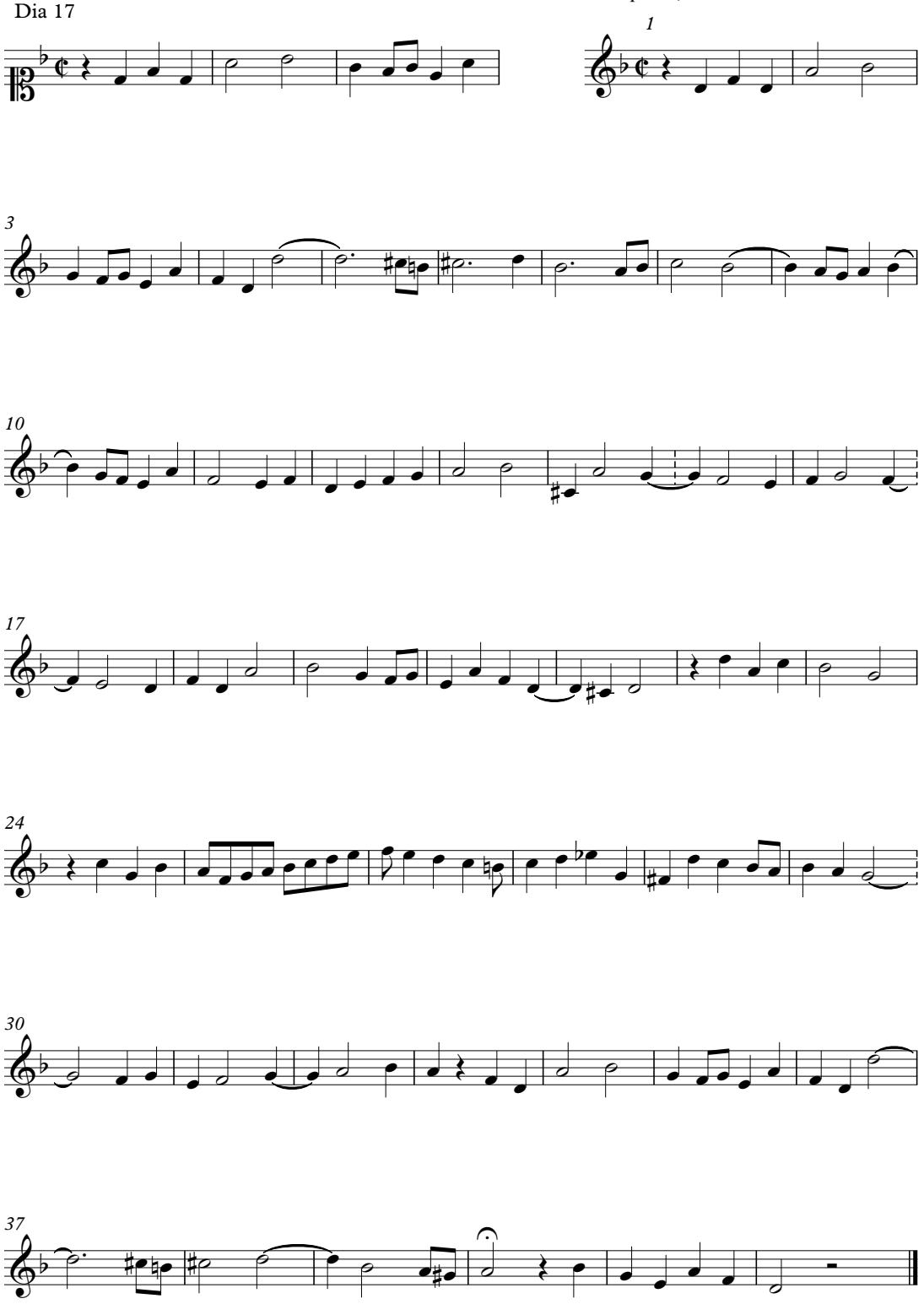
Sept. 14, 1807



Solo 7 (4v)

Dia 17

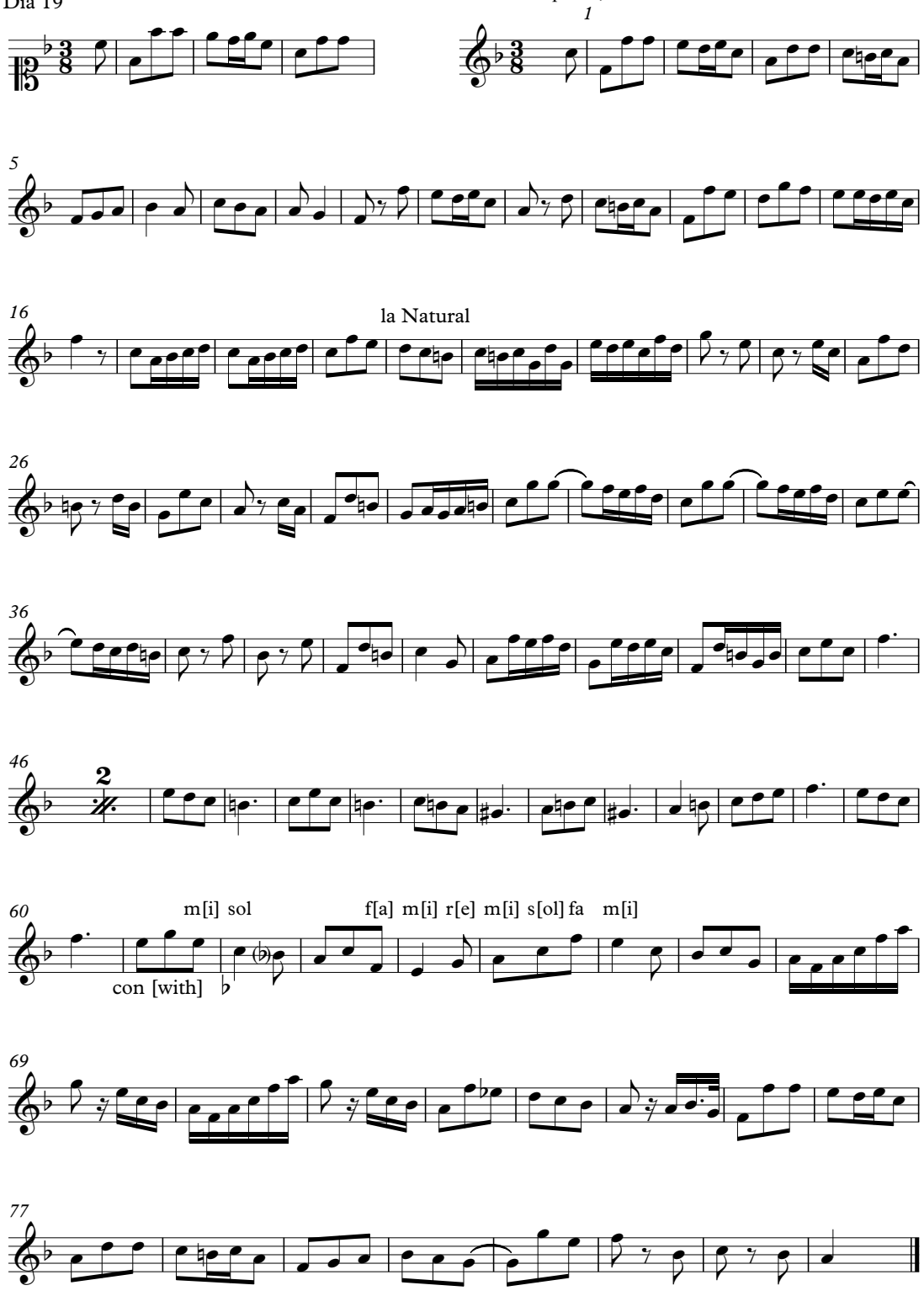
Sept. 17, 1807



Solo 8 (4v)

Dia 19

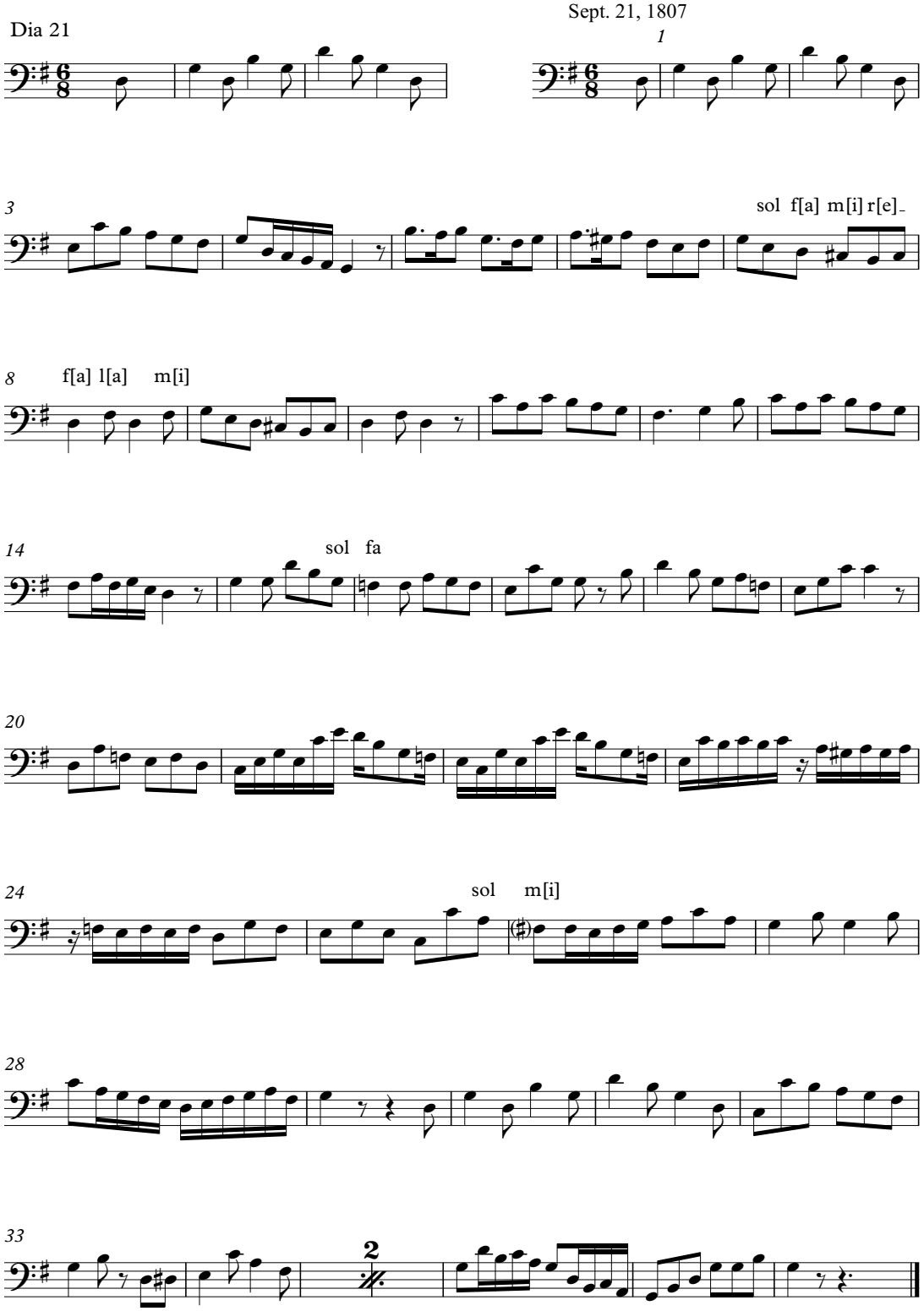
Sept. 19, 1807



Solo 9 (5r)

Dia 21

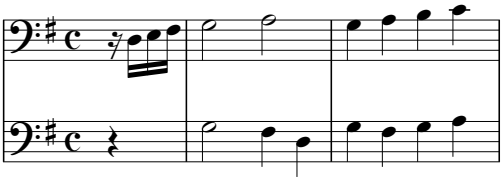
Sept. 21, 1807



Duet 3 (5r)

Dia 22
Duo

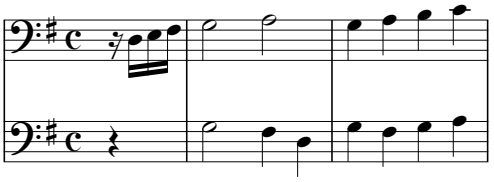
All[egr]o y mo[dera]to



Sept. 22, 1807

Allegro moderato

1



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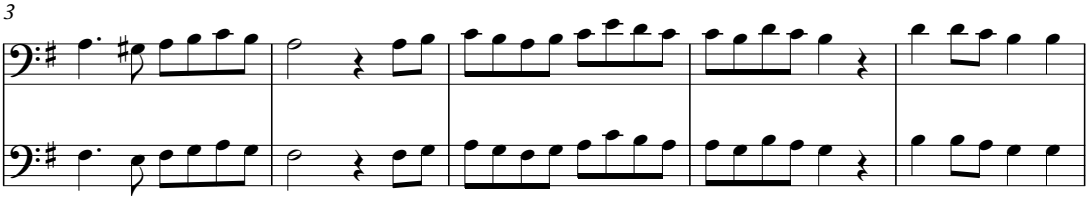

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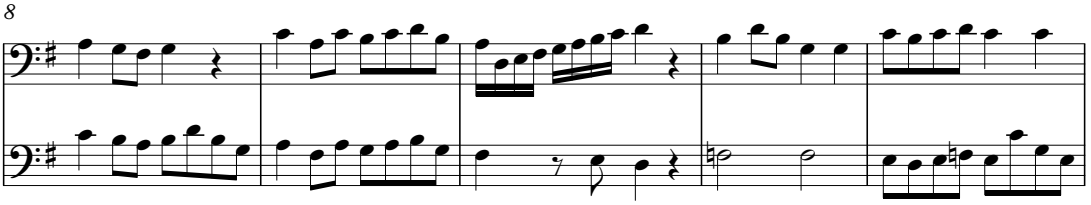

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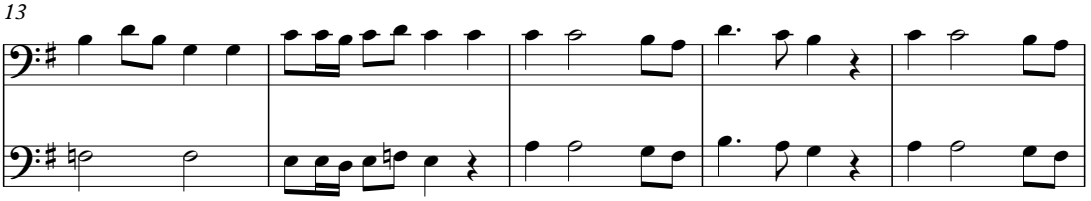

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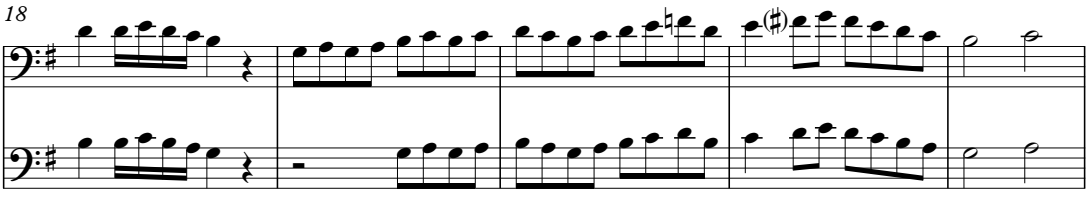

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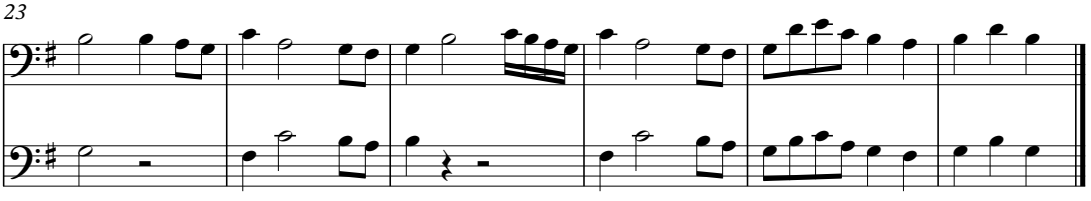
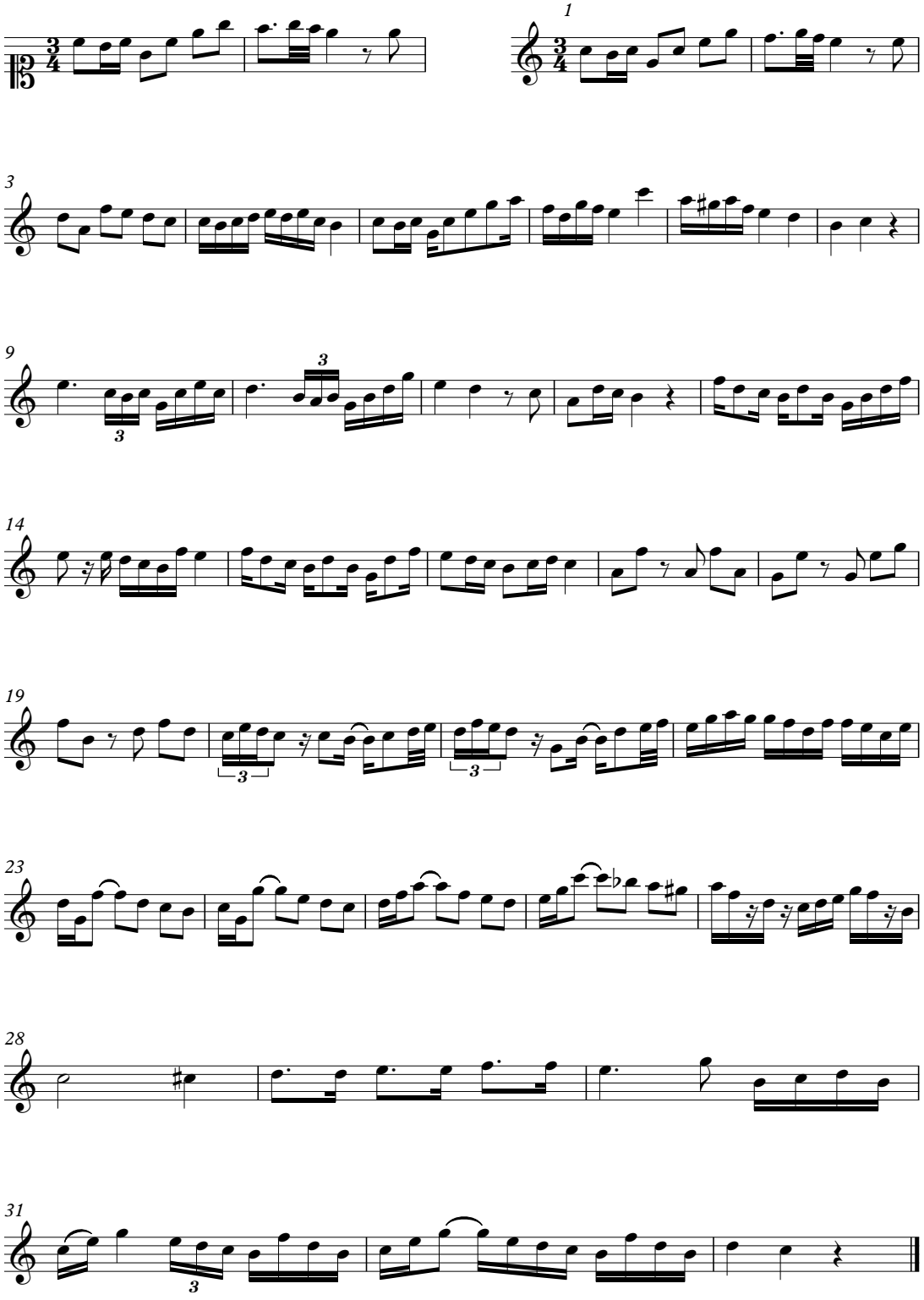


Solo 10 (5v)

Dia 25

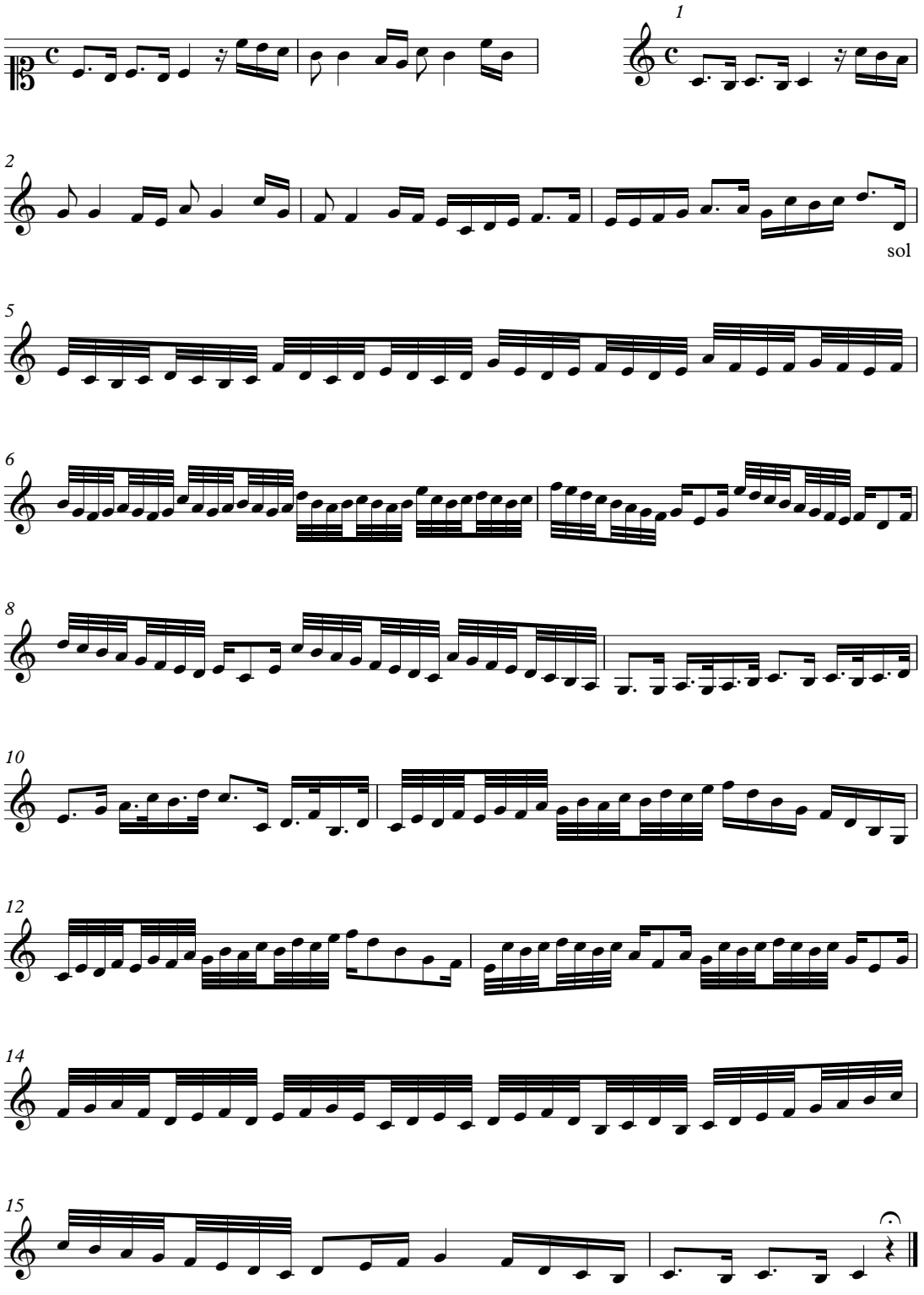
Sept. 25, 1807



Solo 11 (5v)

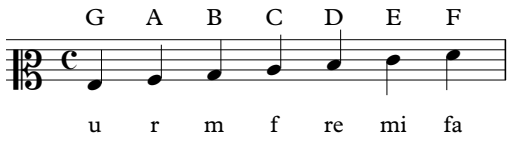
Dia 28 de d[ic]ho

Sept. 28, 1807

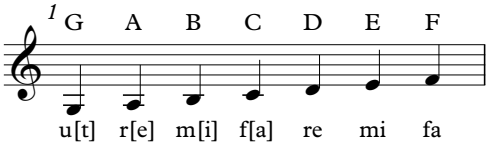


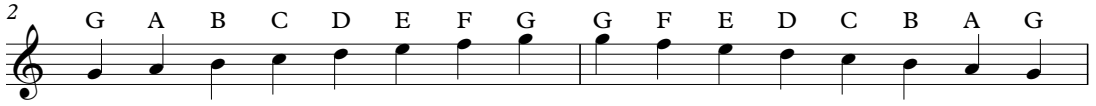
Theory 2 (6r)

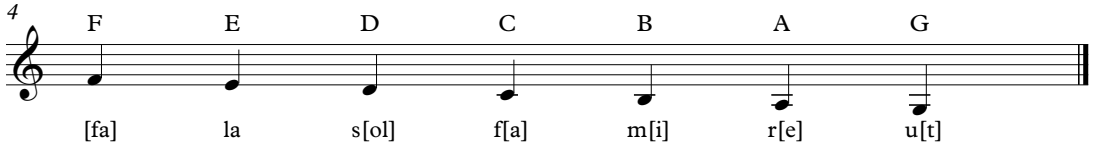
Dia 3 de 8bre



Oct. 3, 1807

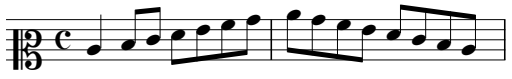




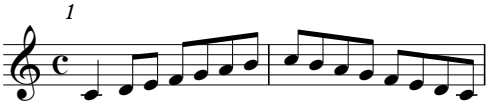


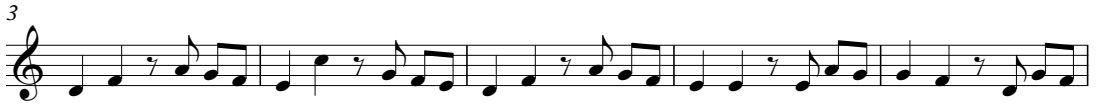
Solo 12 (6r)

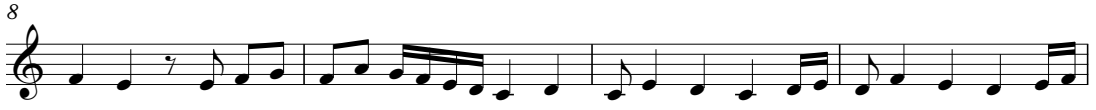
Dia 5 de d[ic]ho

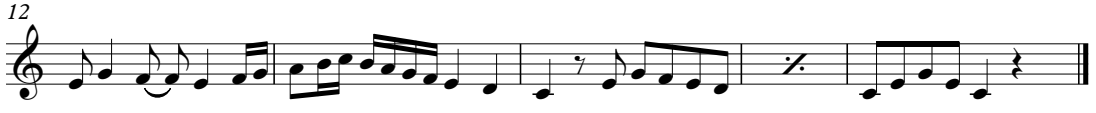


Oct. 5, 1807





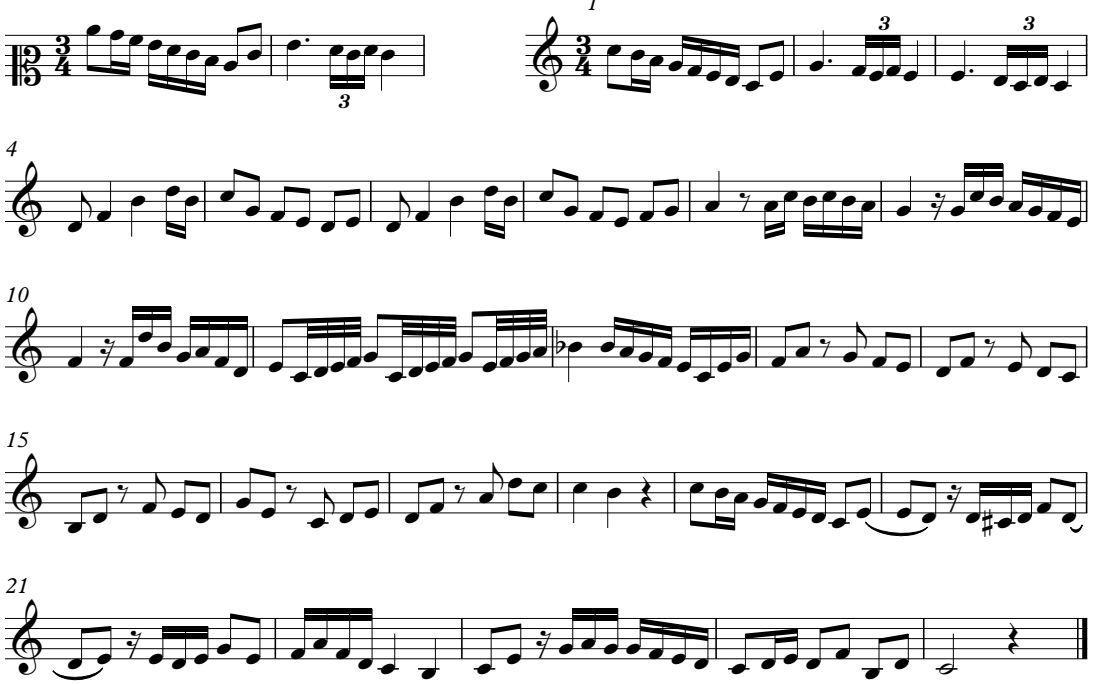




Solo 13 (6r)

Dia 6

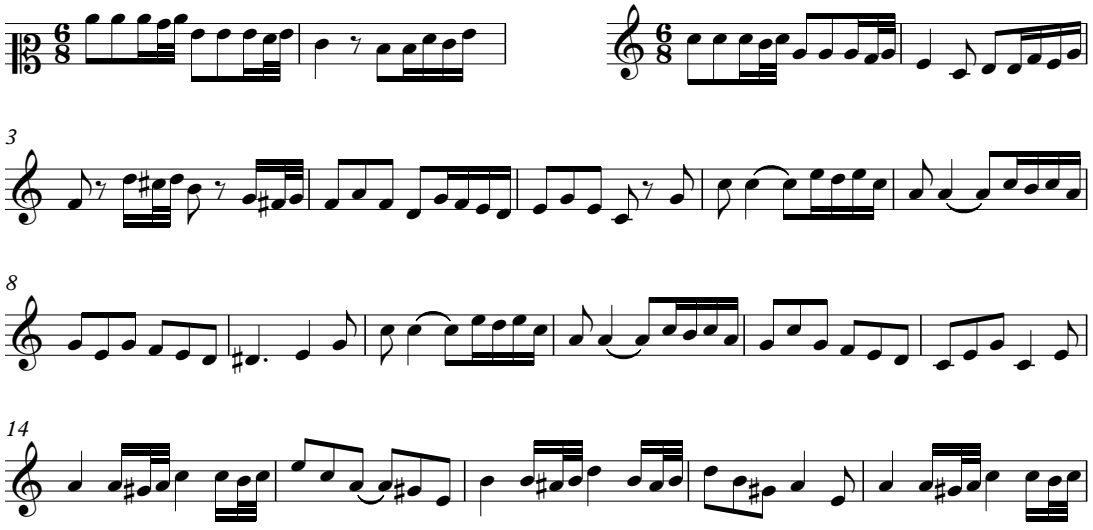
Oct. 6, 1807

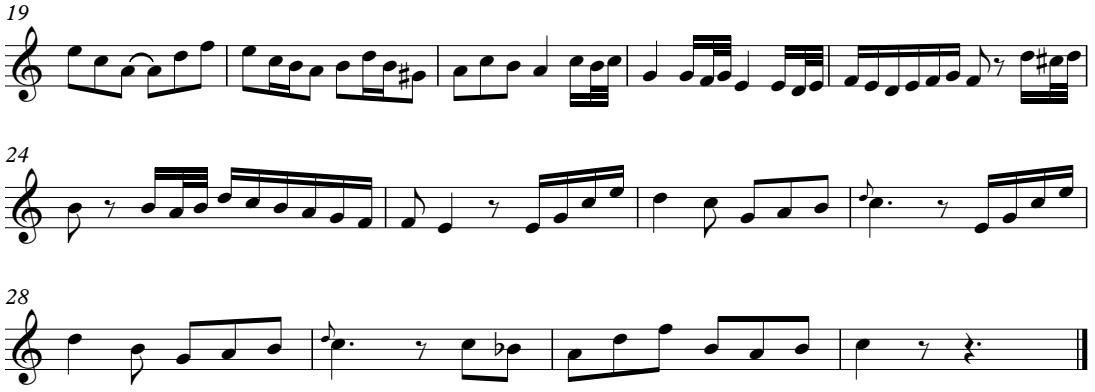


Solo 14 (6r)

Dia 9

Oct. 9, 1807





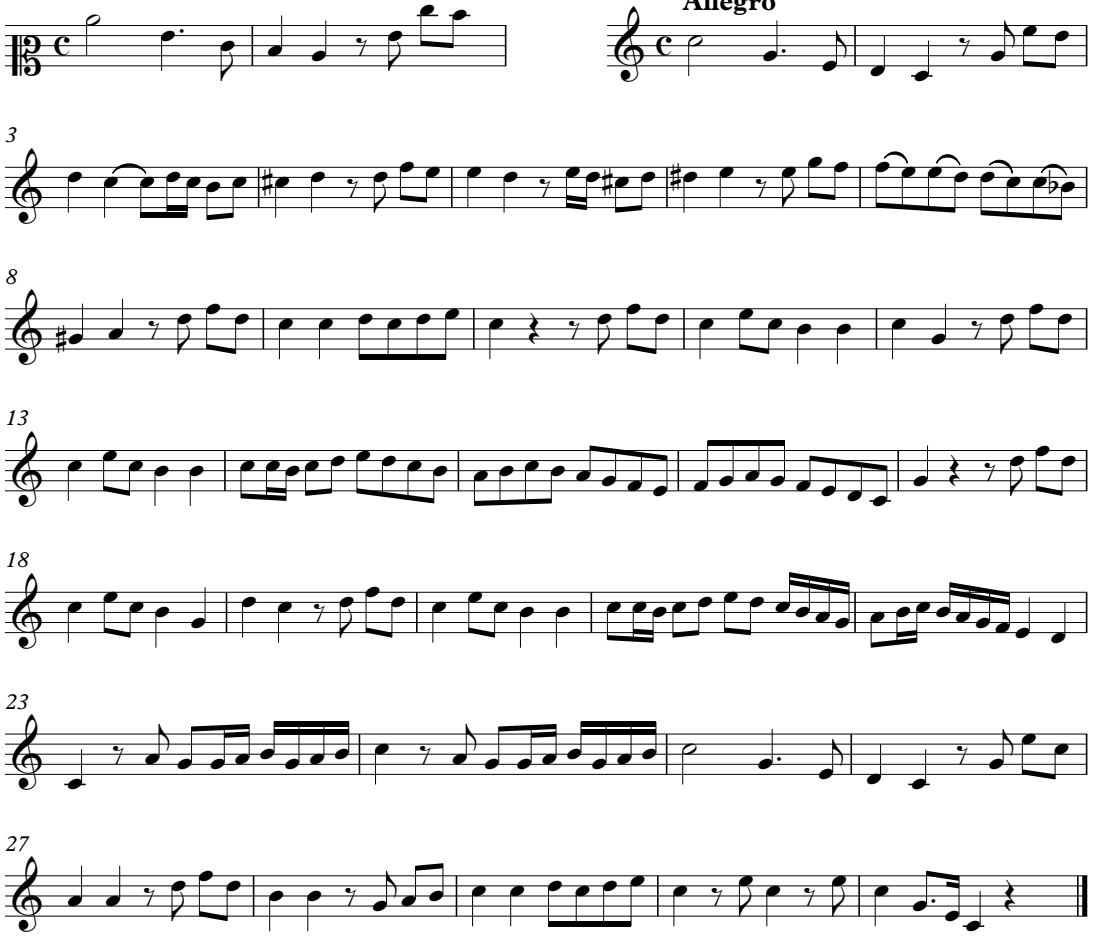
Solo 15 (6v)

Dia 11

All[e]g[r]o

Oct. 11, 1807

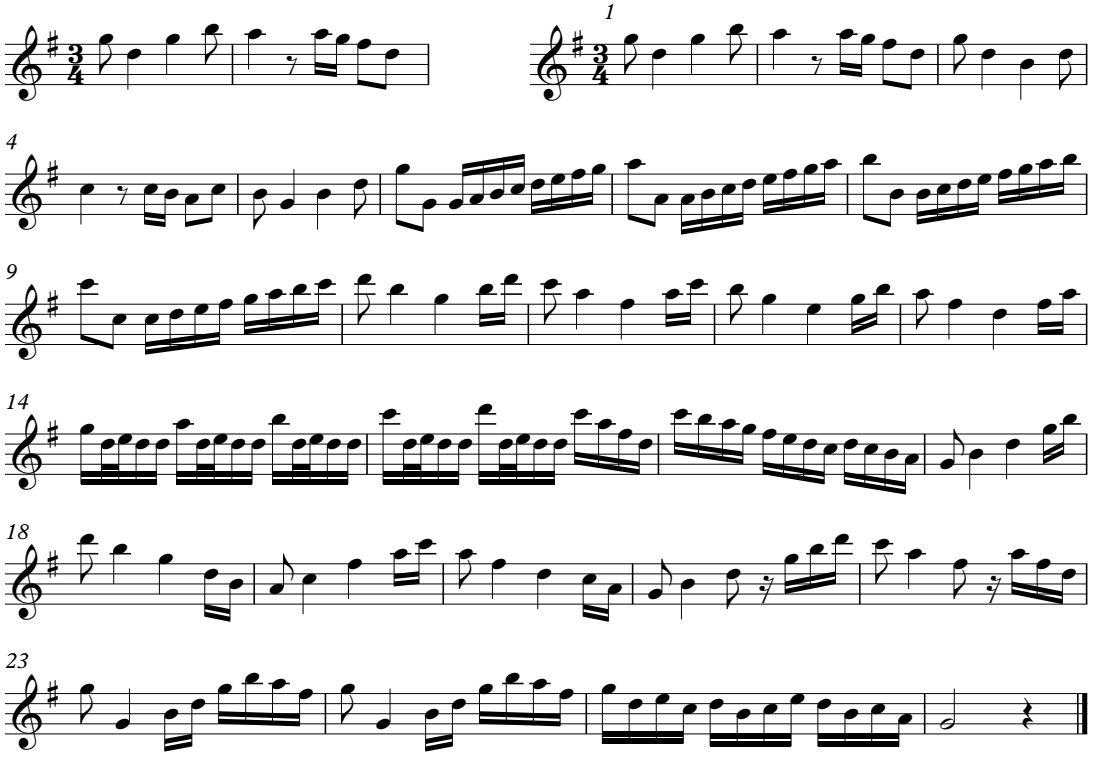
1 **Allegro**



Solo 16 (6v)

Dia 13

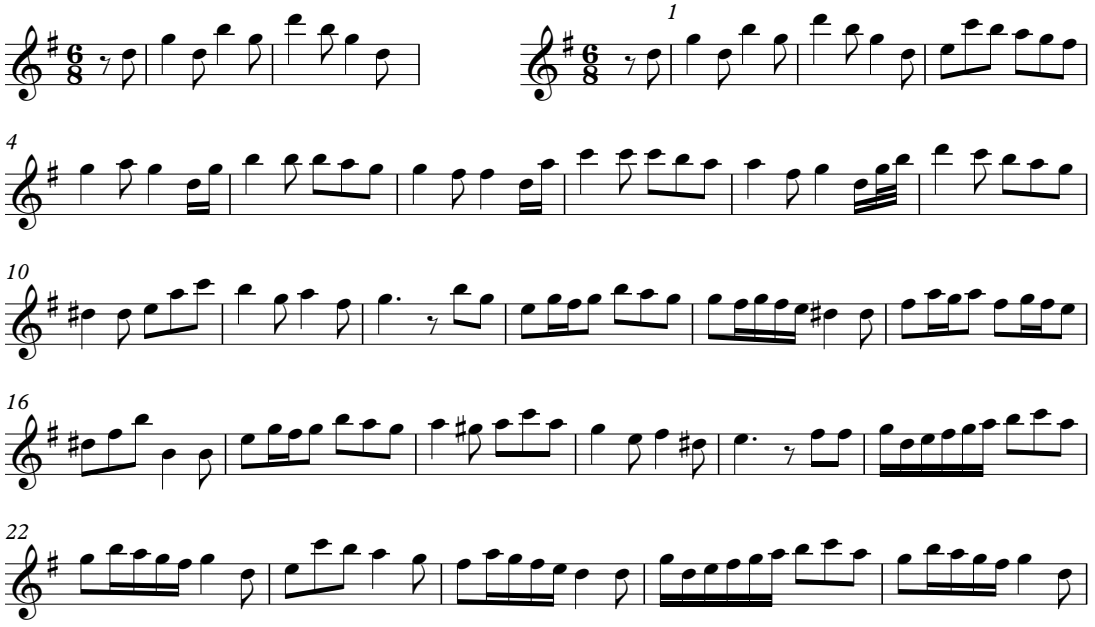
Oct. 13, 1807

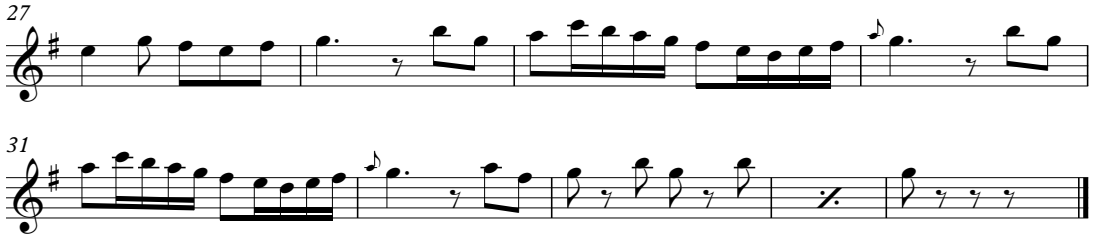


Solo 17 (6v–7r)

Dia 16

Oct. 16, 1807

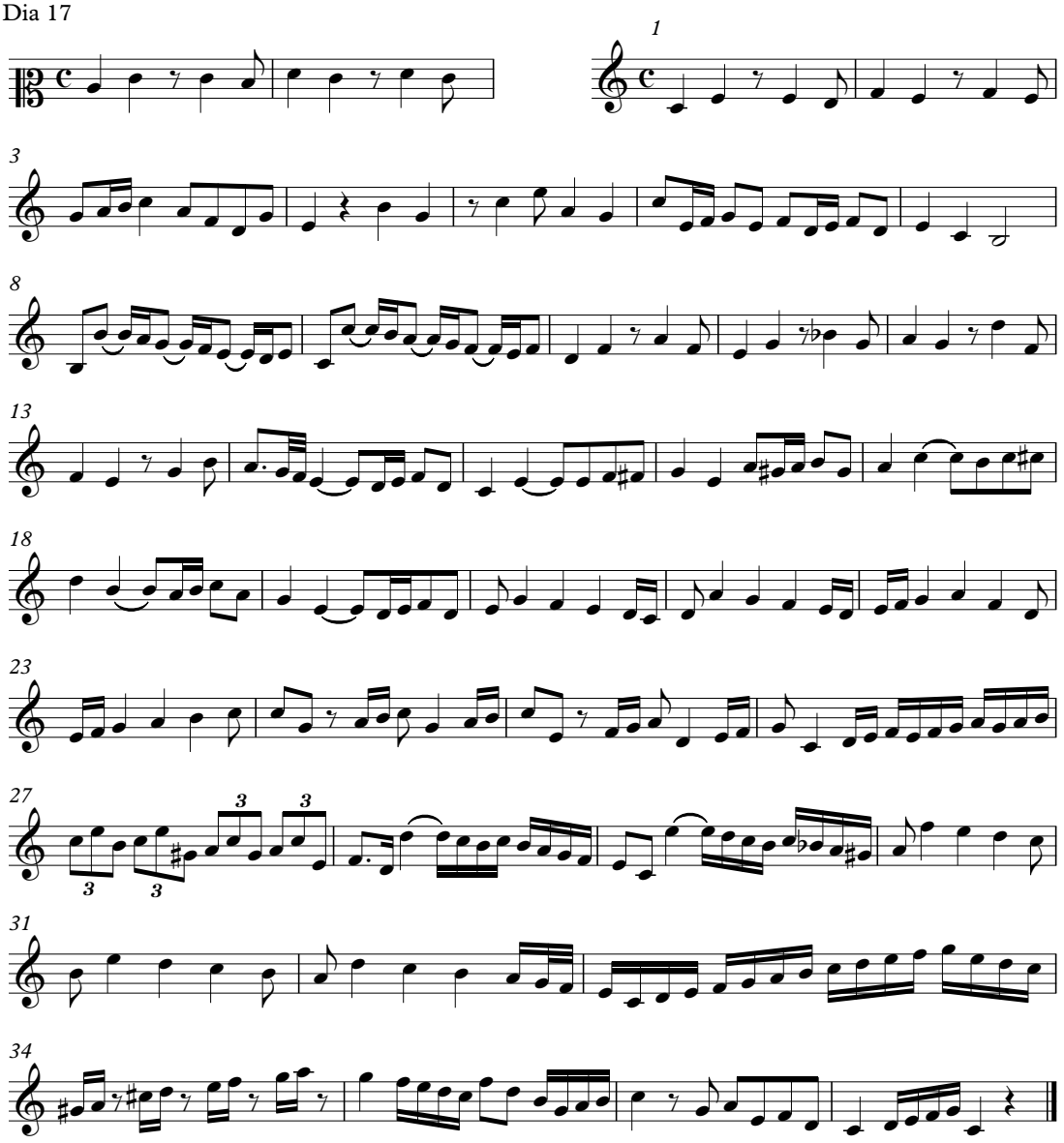




Solo 18 (7r)

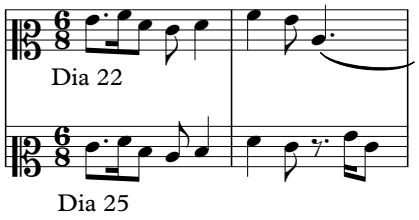
Oct. 17, 1807

Dia 17

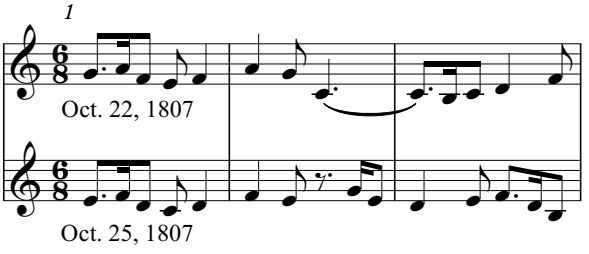


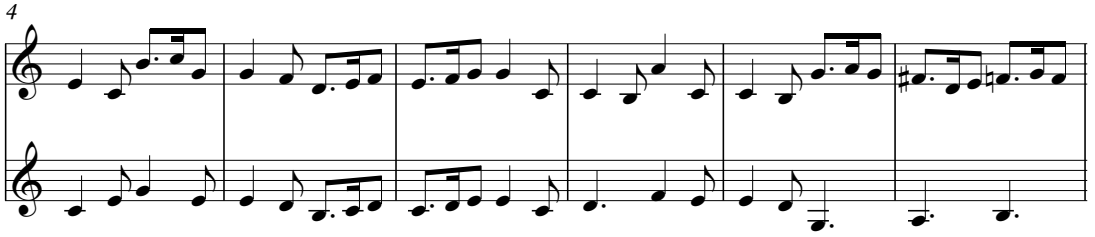
Duet 4 (8r)

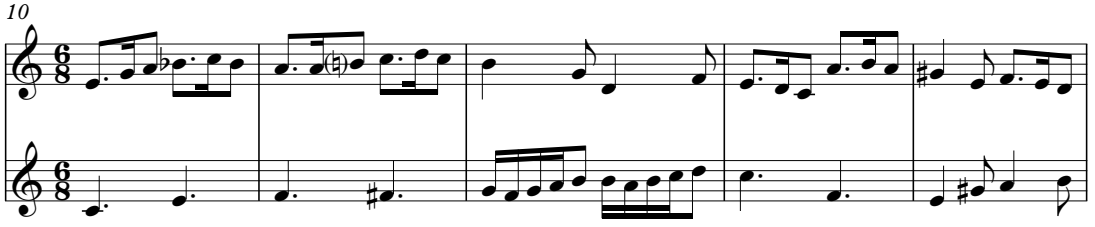
Duo

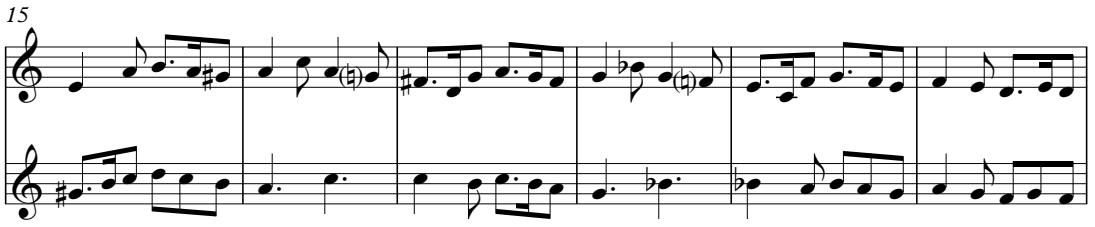


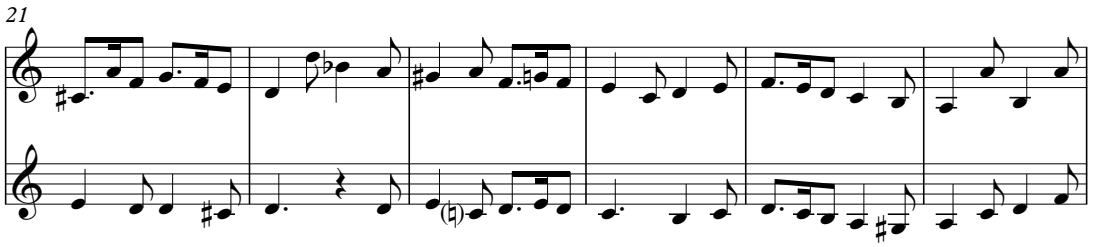
Duet

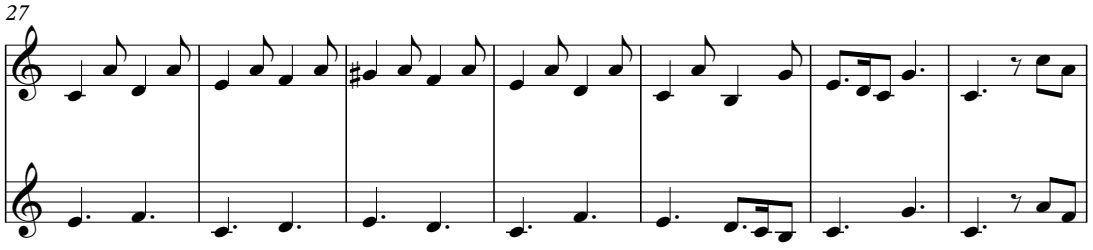


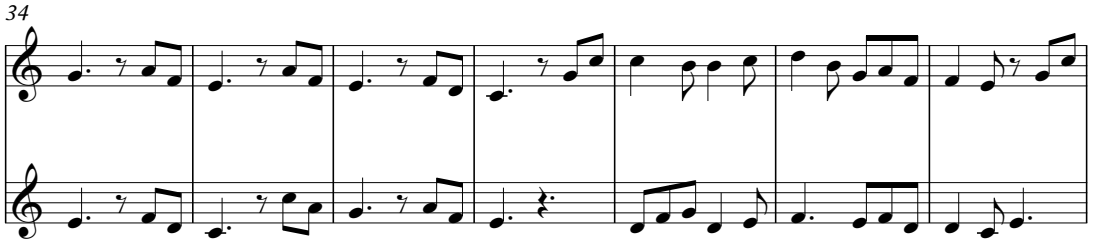









27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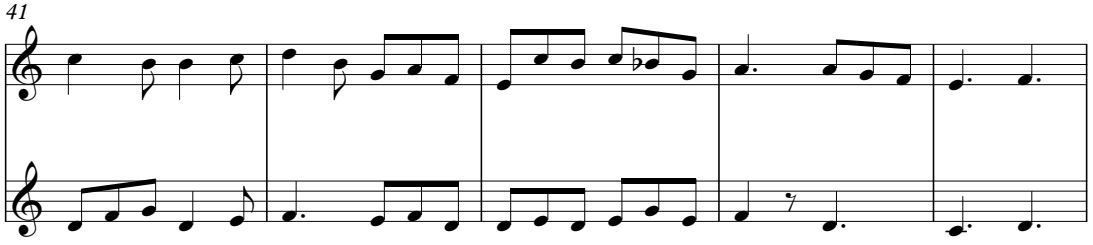
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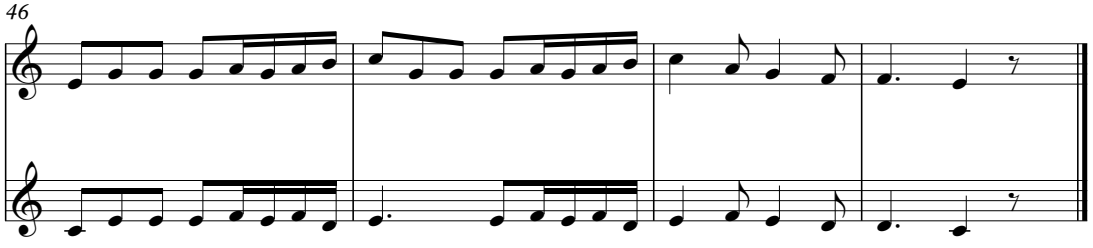
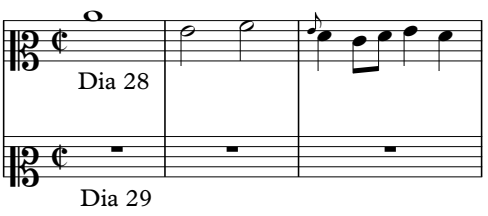
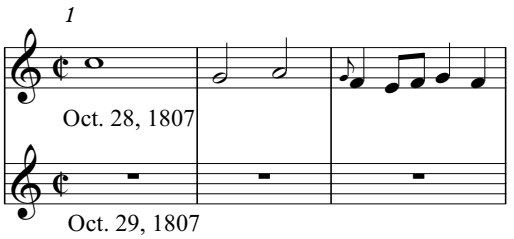

46

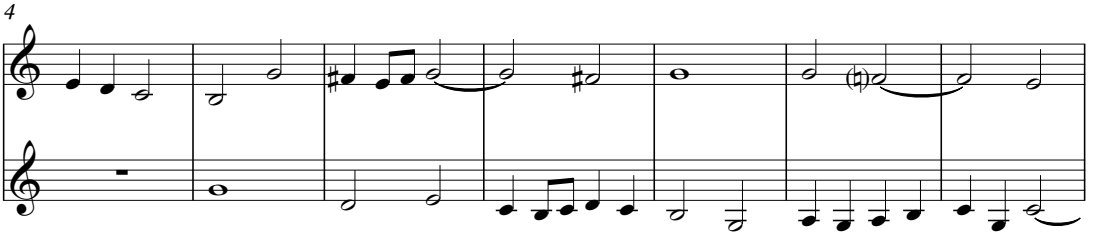
Duet 5 (8v)

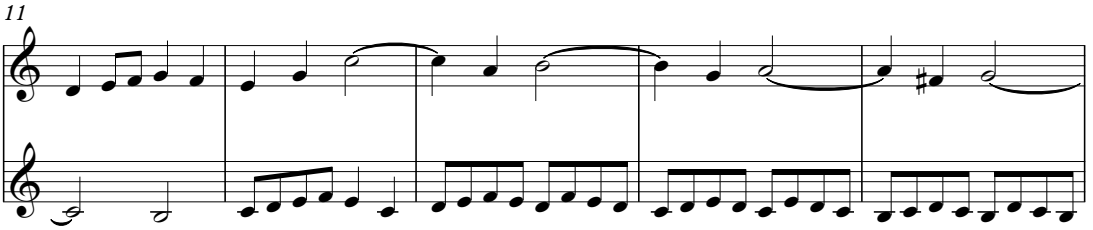
Duo

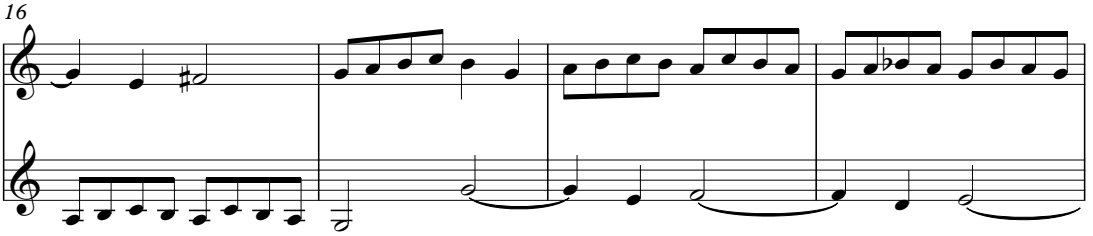


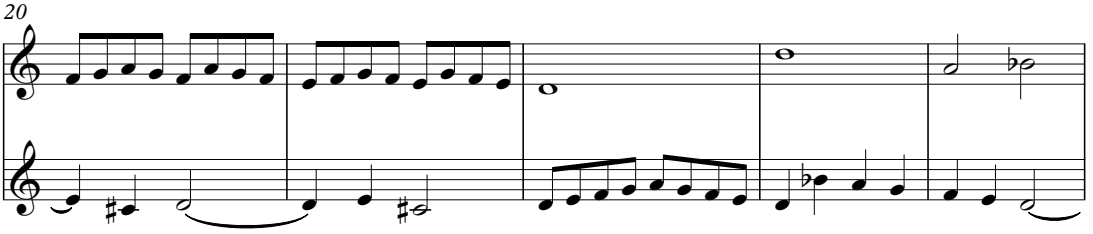
Duet

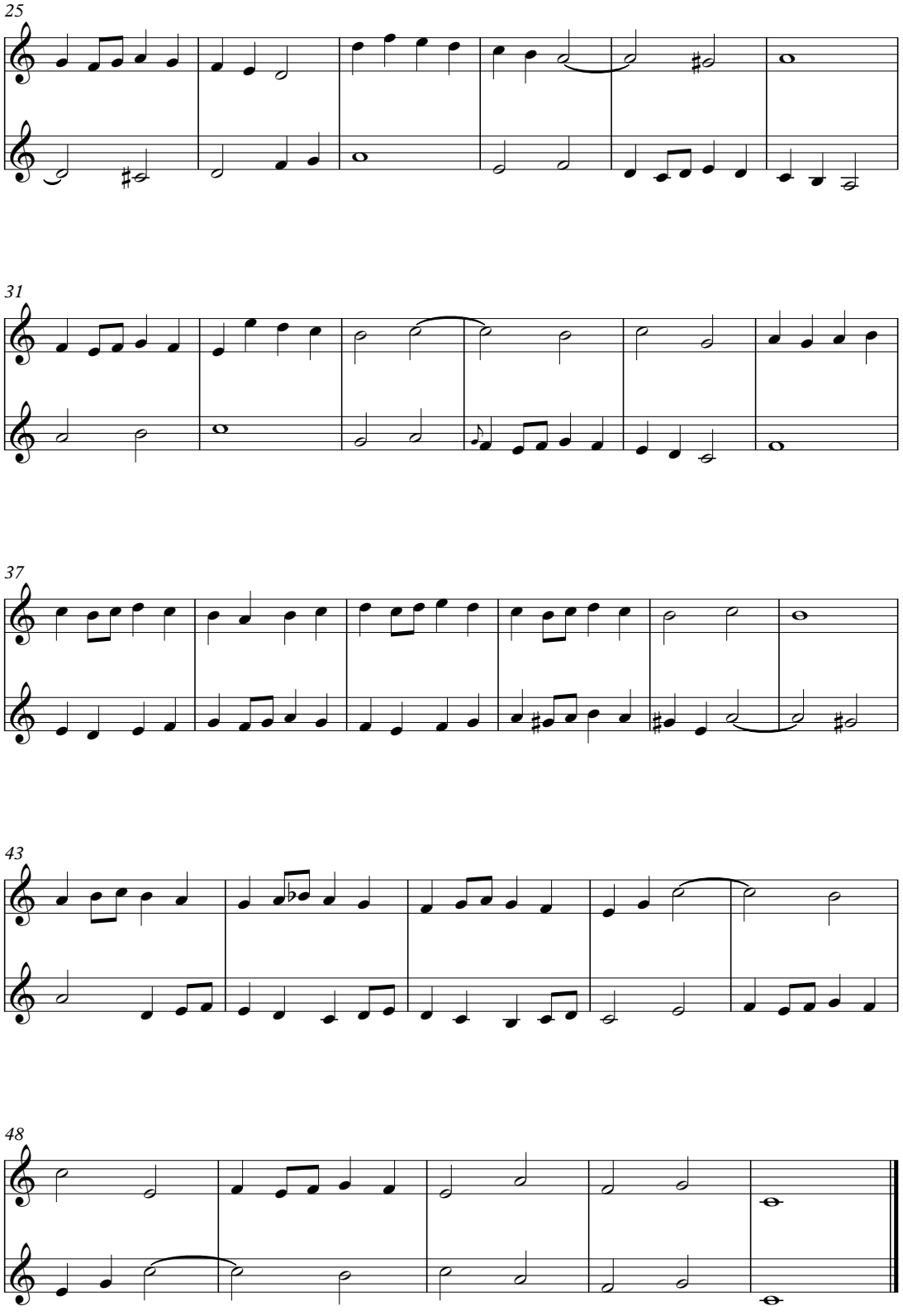






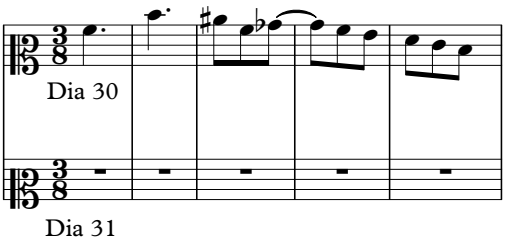




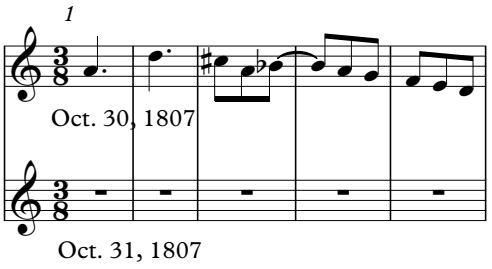

25
31
37
43
48

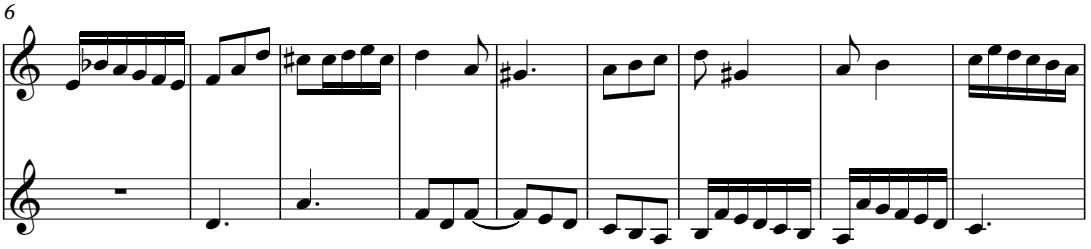
Duet 6 (9r)

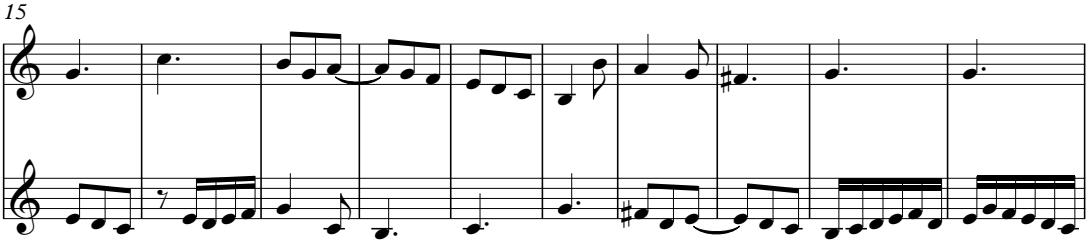
Duo

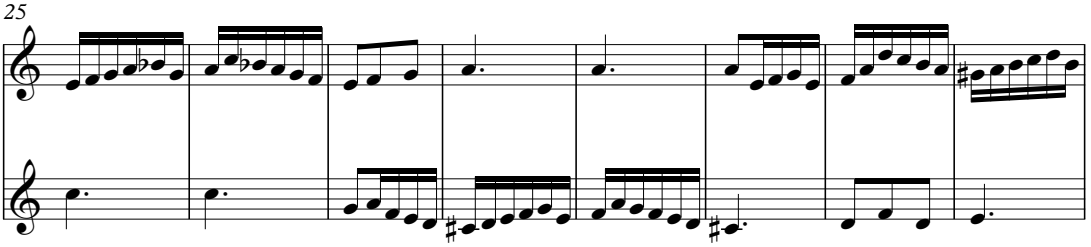


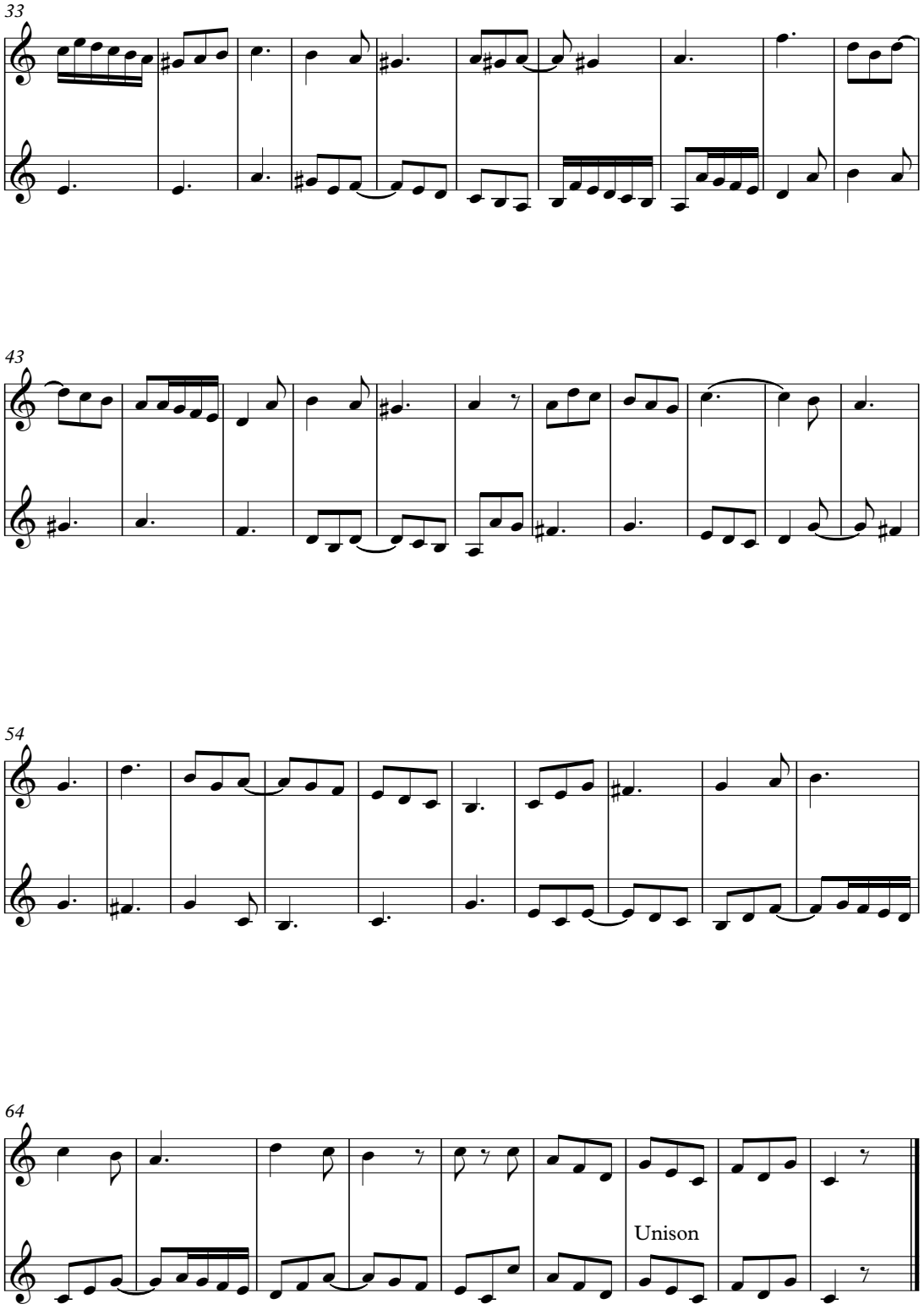
Duet







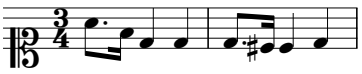



33
43
54
64
Unison

Solo 19 (9v)

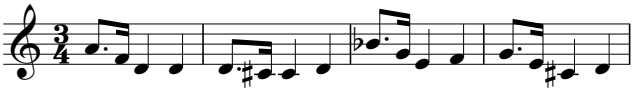
Dia 3 de 9bre
D menor 1o tono

And[an]te



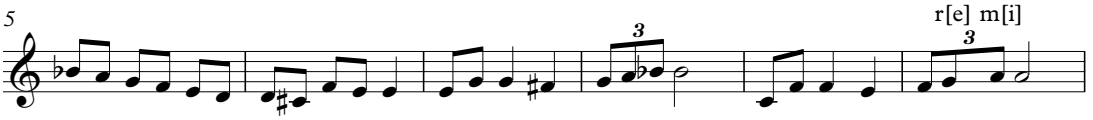
Nov. 3, 1807
D minor, Tone 1

1 **Andante**



5

r[e] m[i]



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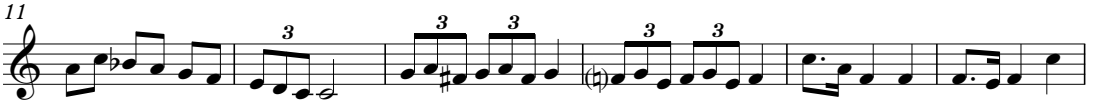
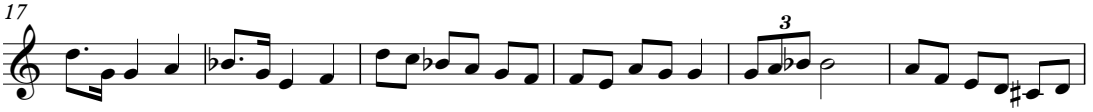
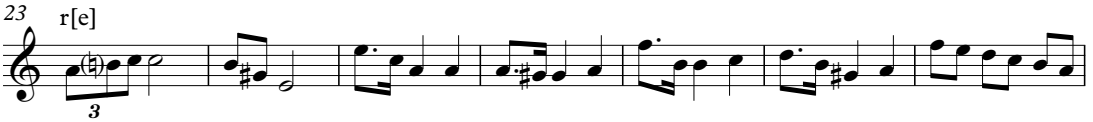


17



23 r[e]



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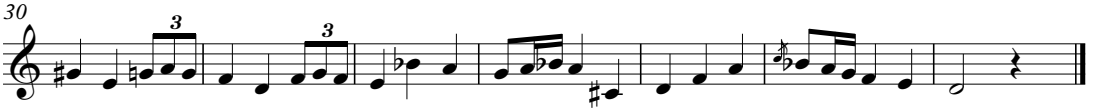


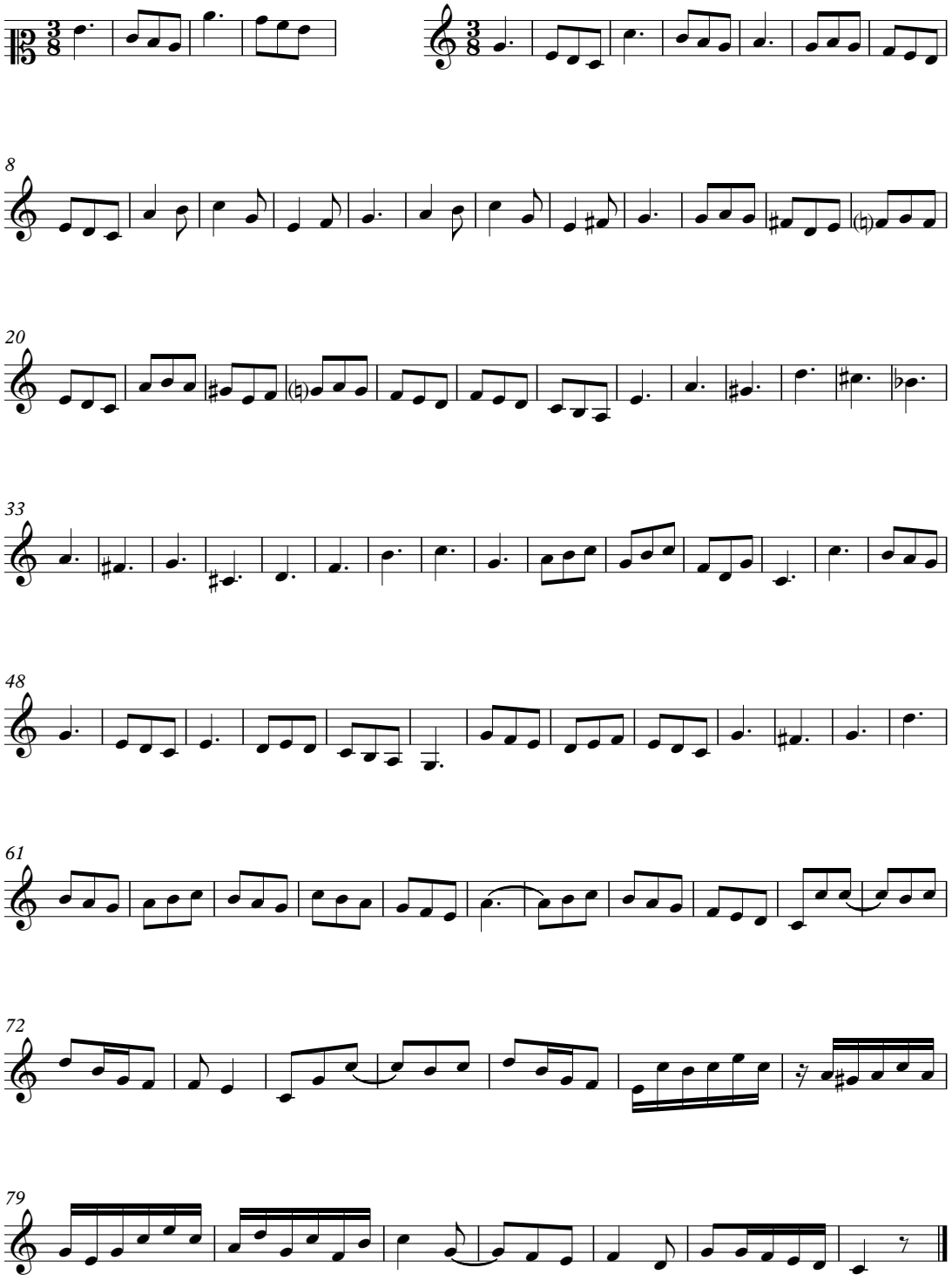
Solo 20 (9v)

Dia 5 de d[ic]ho

All[e]g[r]o

Nov. 5, 1807

Allegro



Theory 3 (10v)

Dia 8 de 9bre (10v)

Nov. 8, 1807

Graves

C D E F

u r m fa

Graves [Low]

C D E F

u[t] r[e] m[i] fa

G A B

sol r[e] mi fa

Agudos [High]

r[e] [mi] [fa]

Sobreagudos [Very high]

G A B

sol r[e] m[i] fa r[e] mi fa [fa] la [sol] [fa] [mi] la [sol]

[fa] la [sol] [fa] [mi] la [sol] [fa] [mi] [re] ut

Solo 21 (10v)

1

2

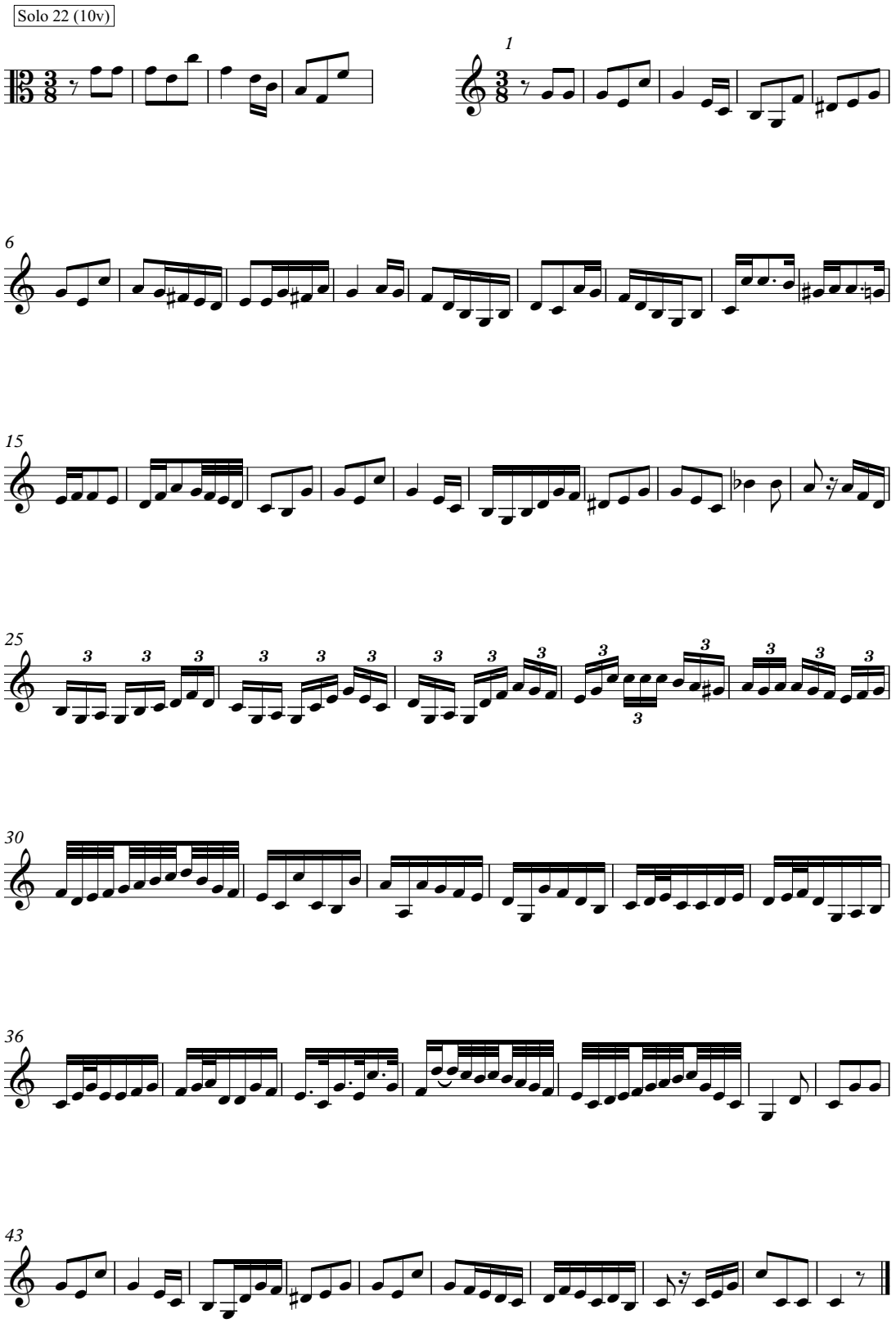
7

3

11

15

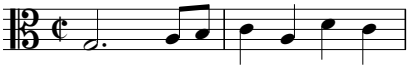
18


Solo 22 (10v)
1
6
15
25
30
36
43

Solo 23 (11r)

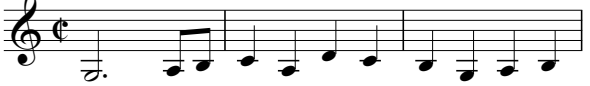
Dia 18

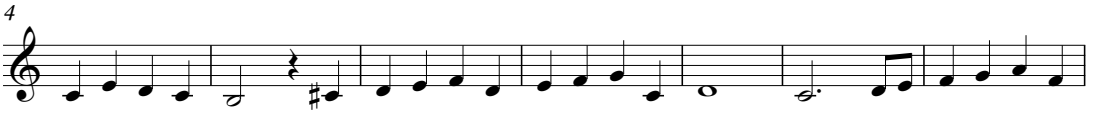
All[e]g[r]o

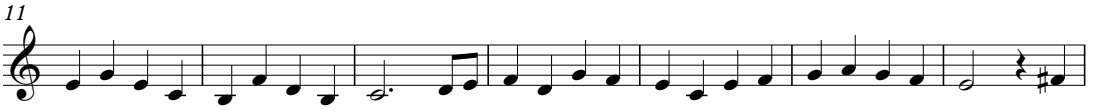


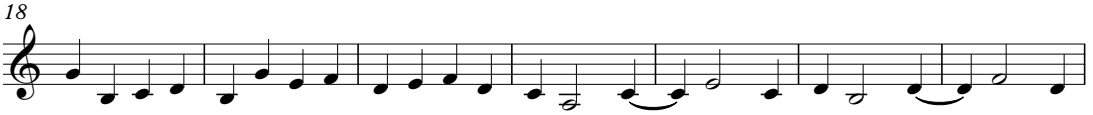
Nov. 18, 1807

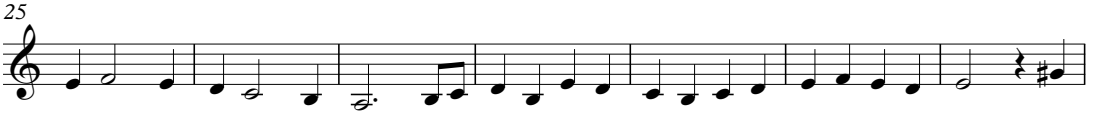
Allegro

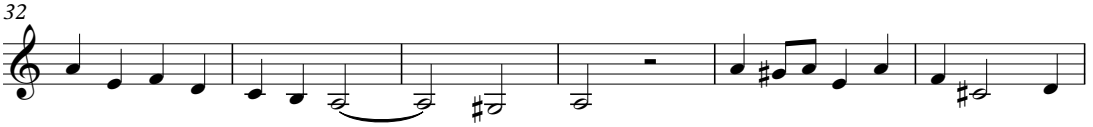


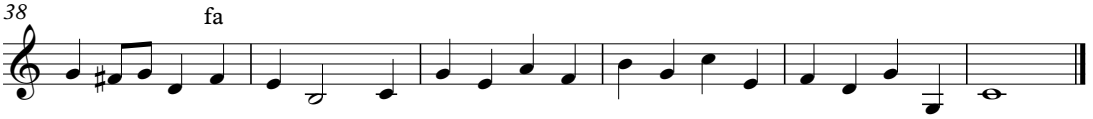








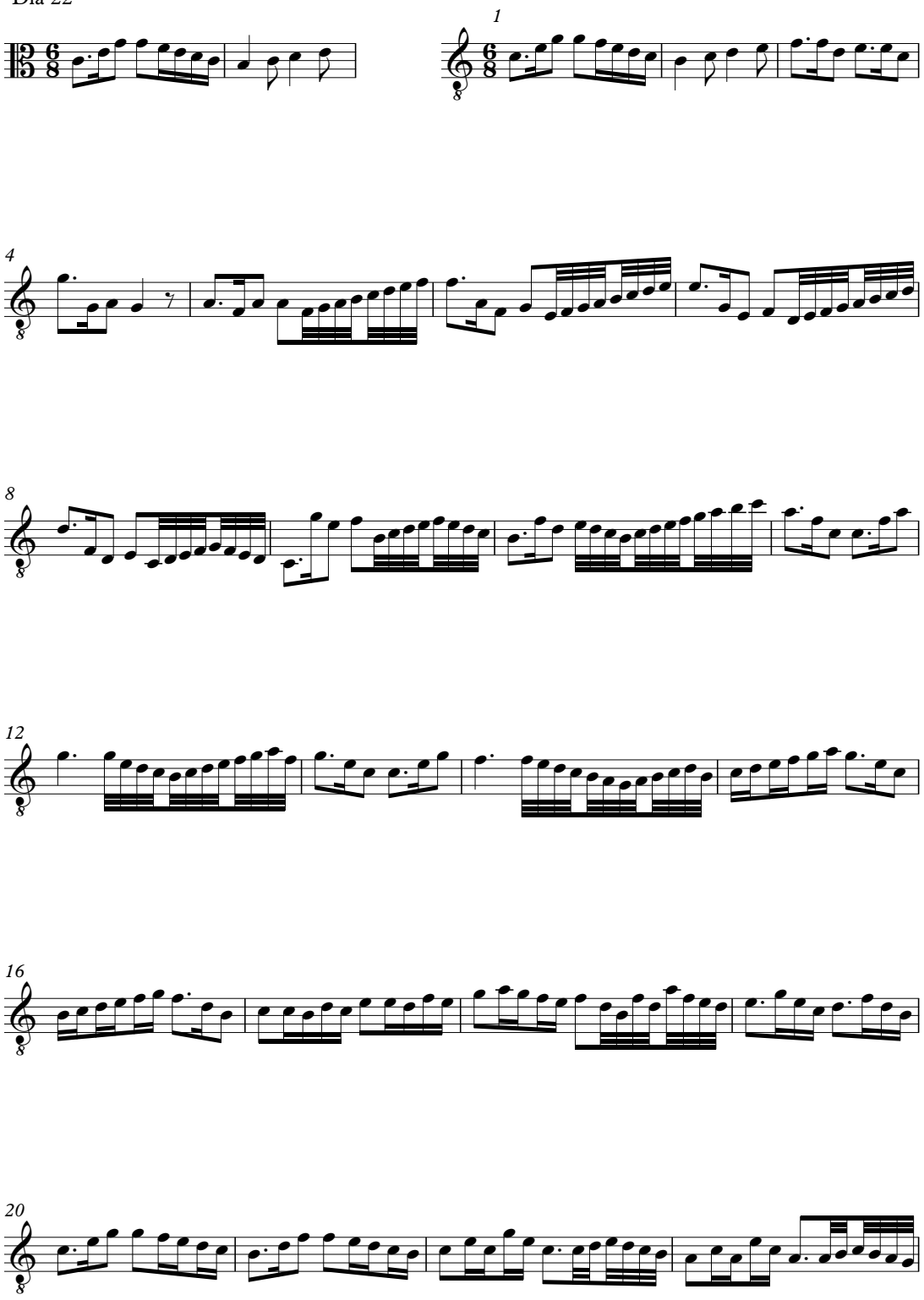


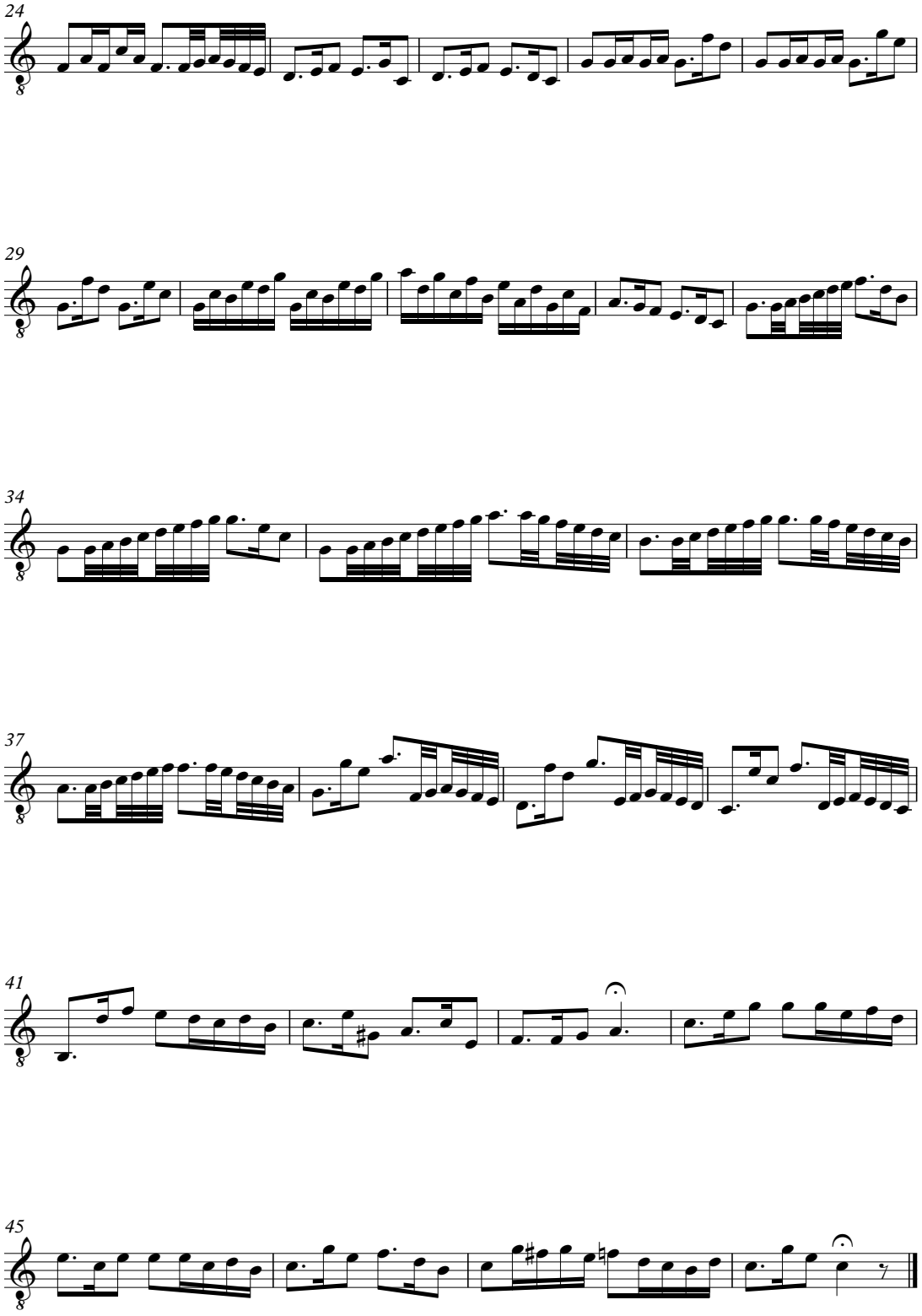


Solo 24 (11r)

Dia 22

Nov. 22, 1807

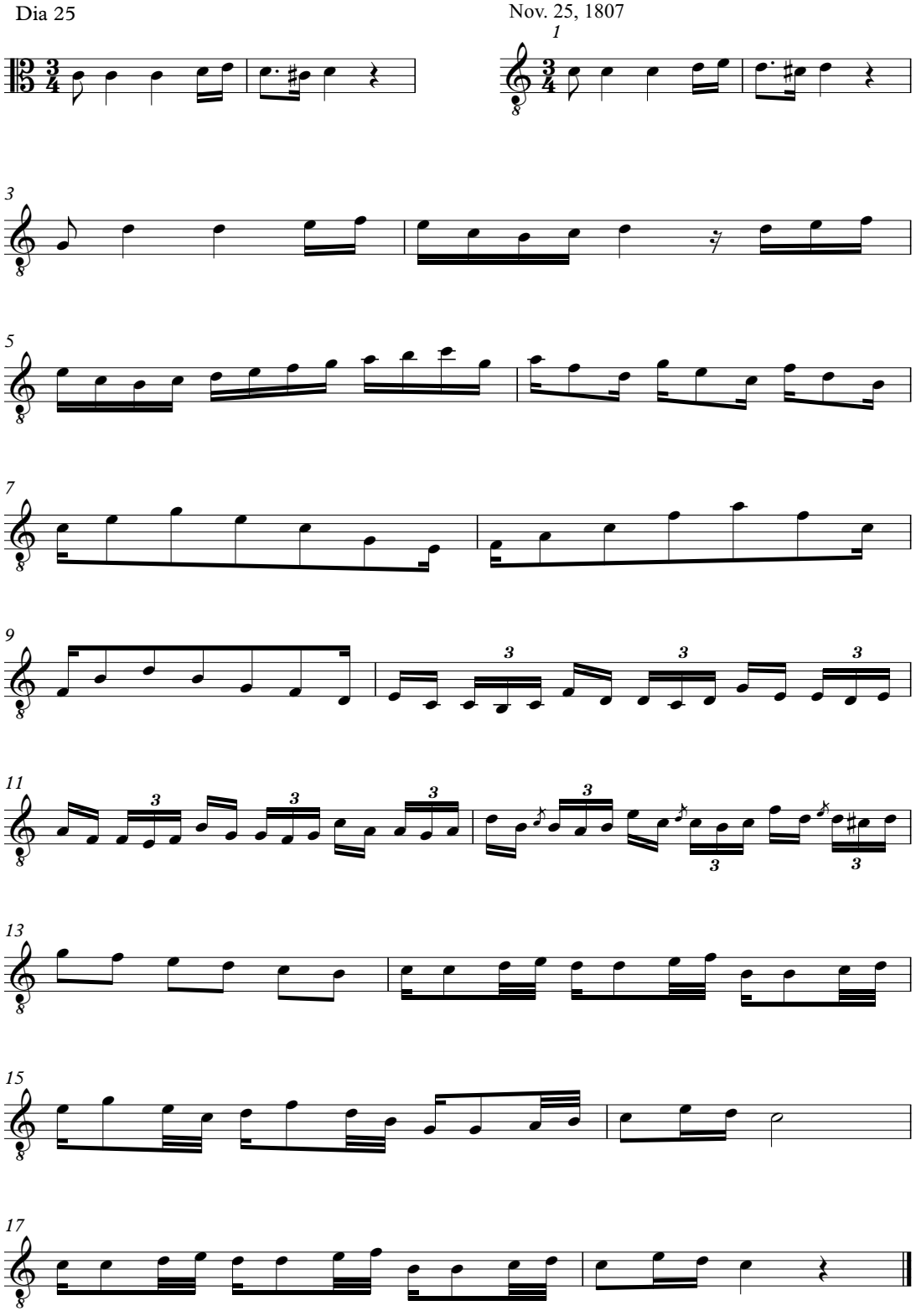


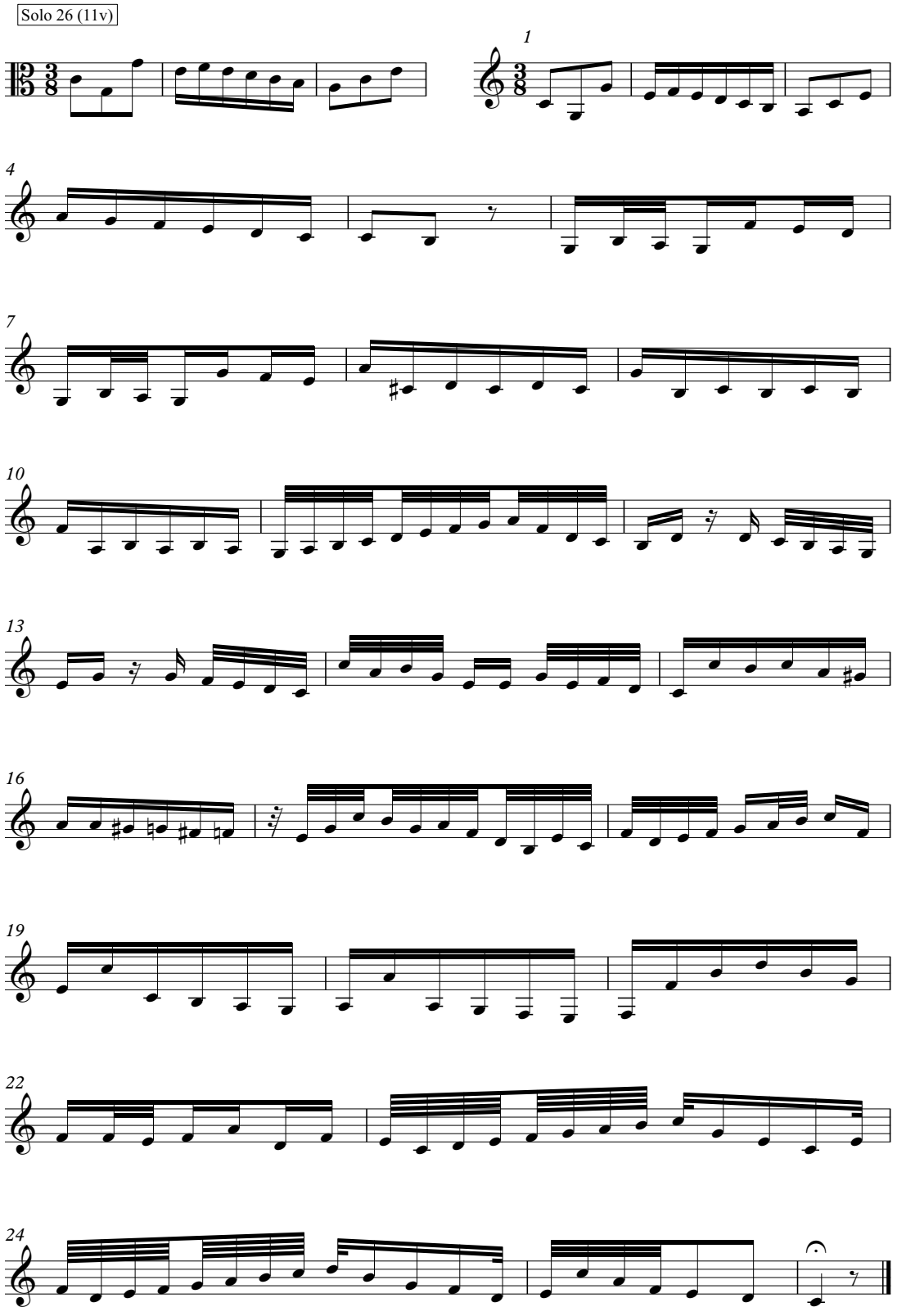

24
29
34
37
41
45

Solo 25 (11v)

Dia 25

Nov. 25, 1807

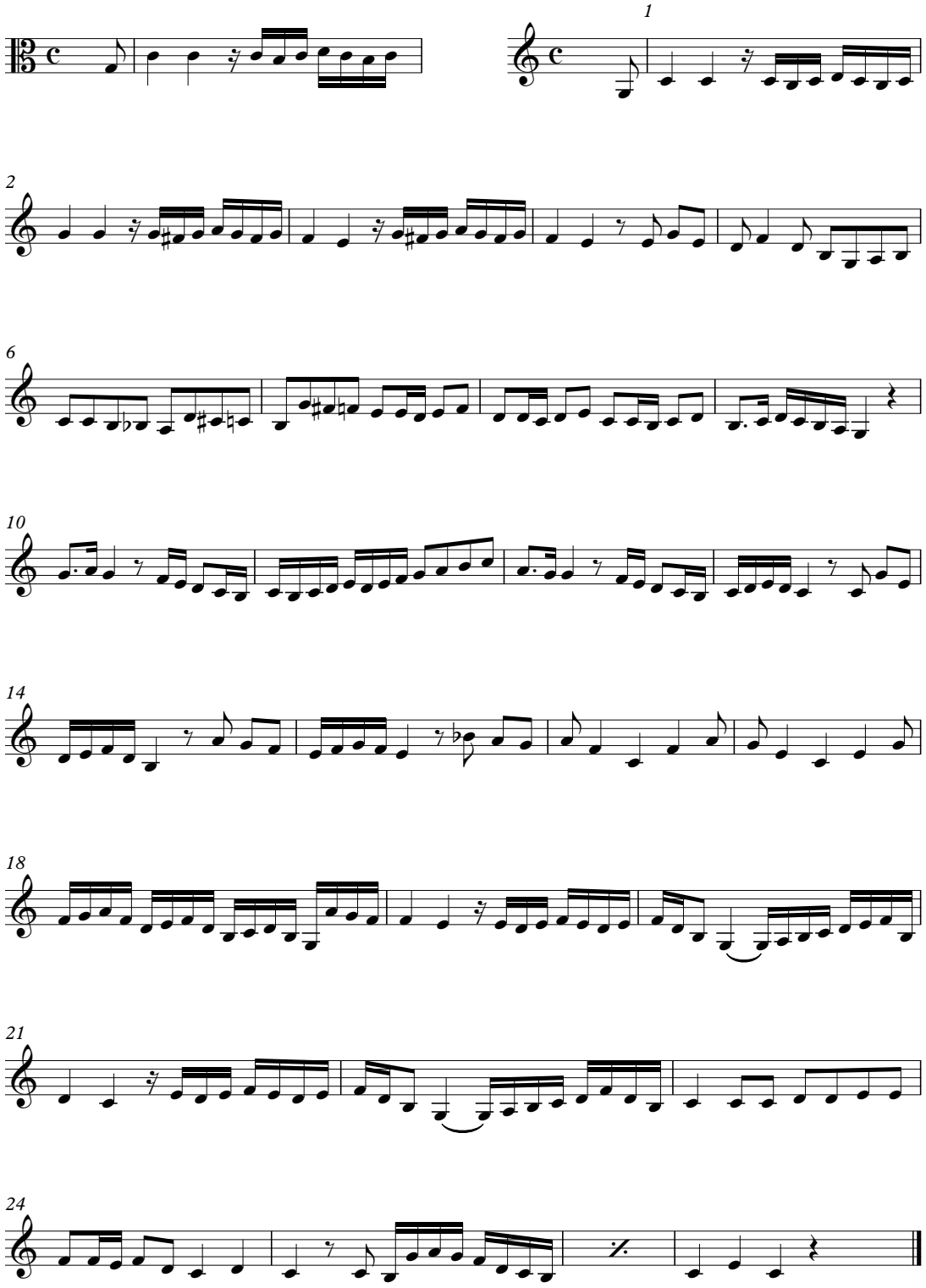



Solo 26 (11v)
1
4
7
10
13
16
19
22
24

Solo 27 (11v)

Dia 2 de Disienbre

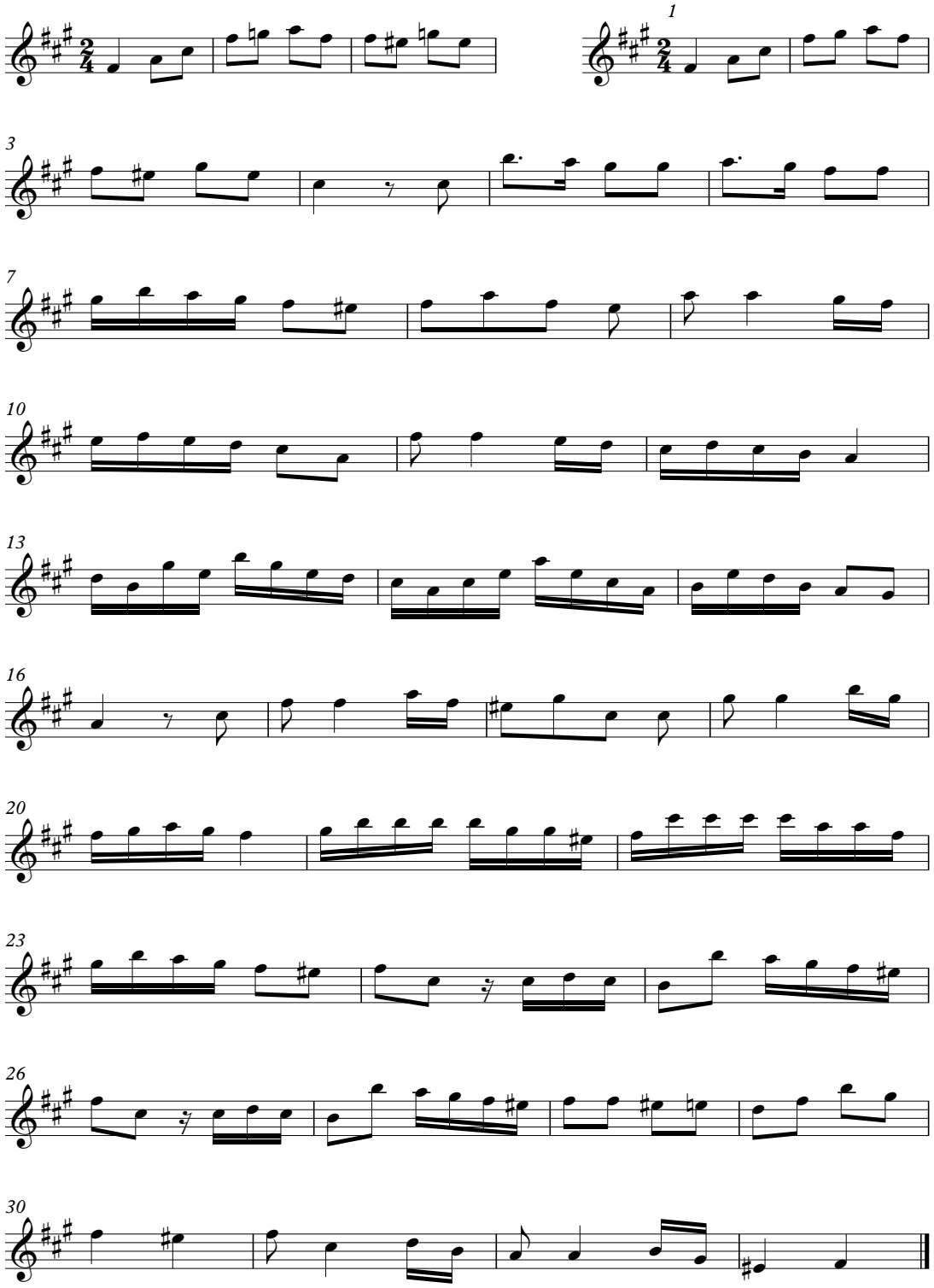
Dec. 2, 1807



Solo 28 (12r)

Dia 15 de Fevrero

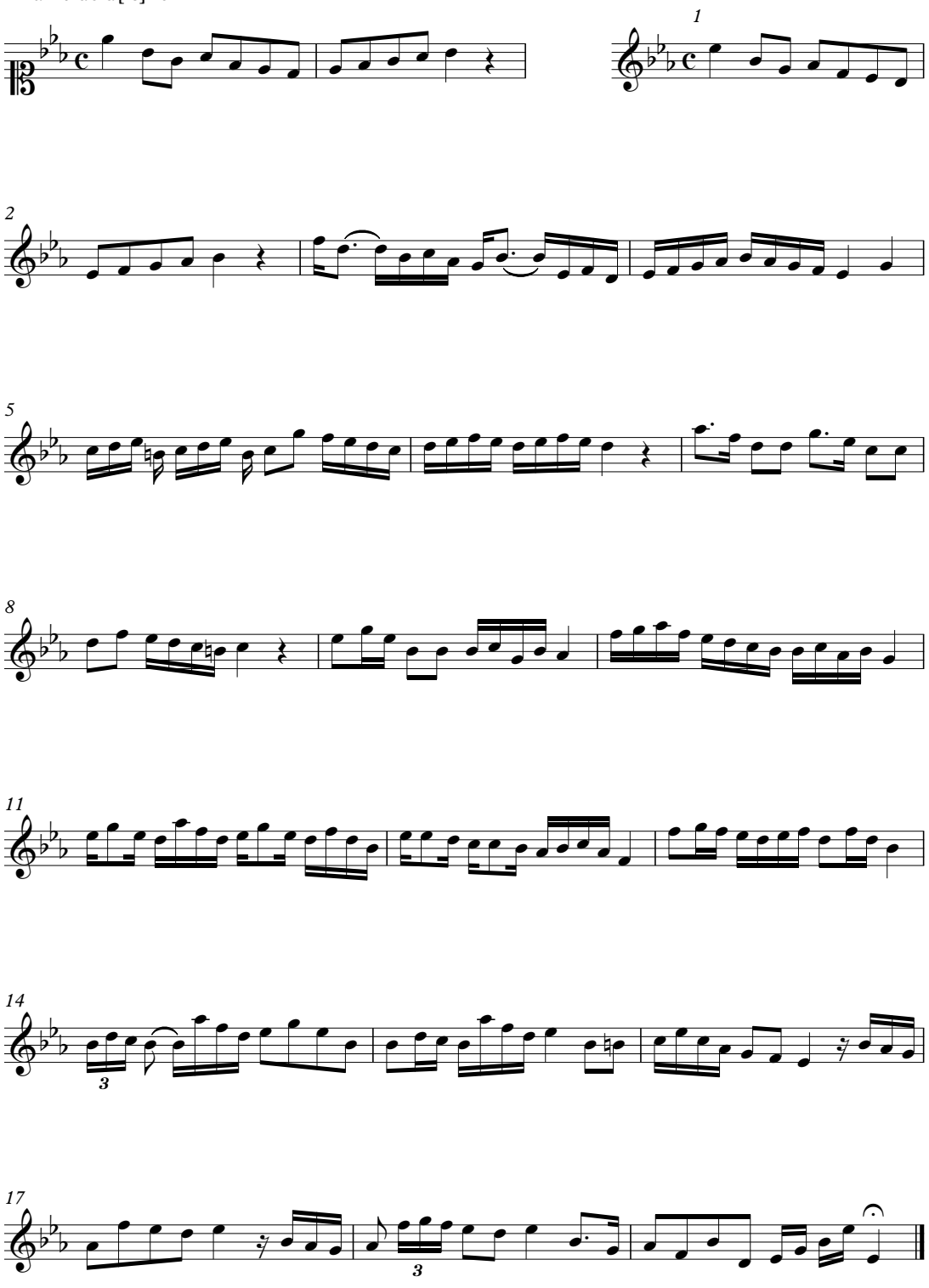
Feb. 15, 1808



Solo 29 (12r)

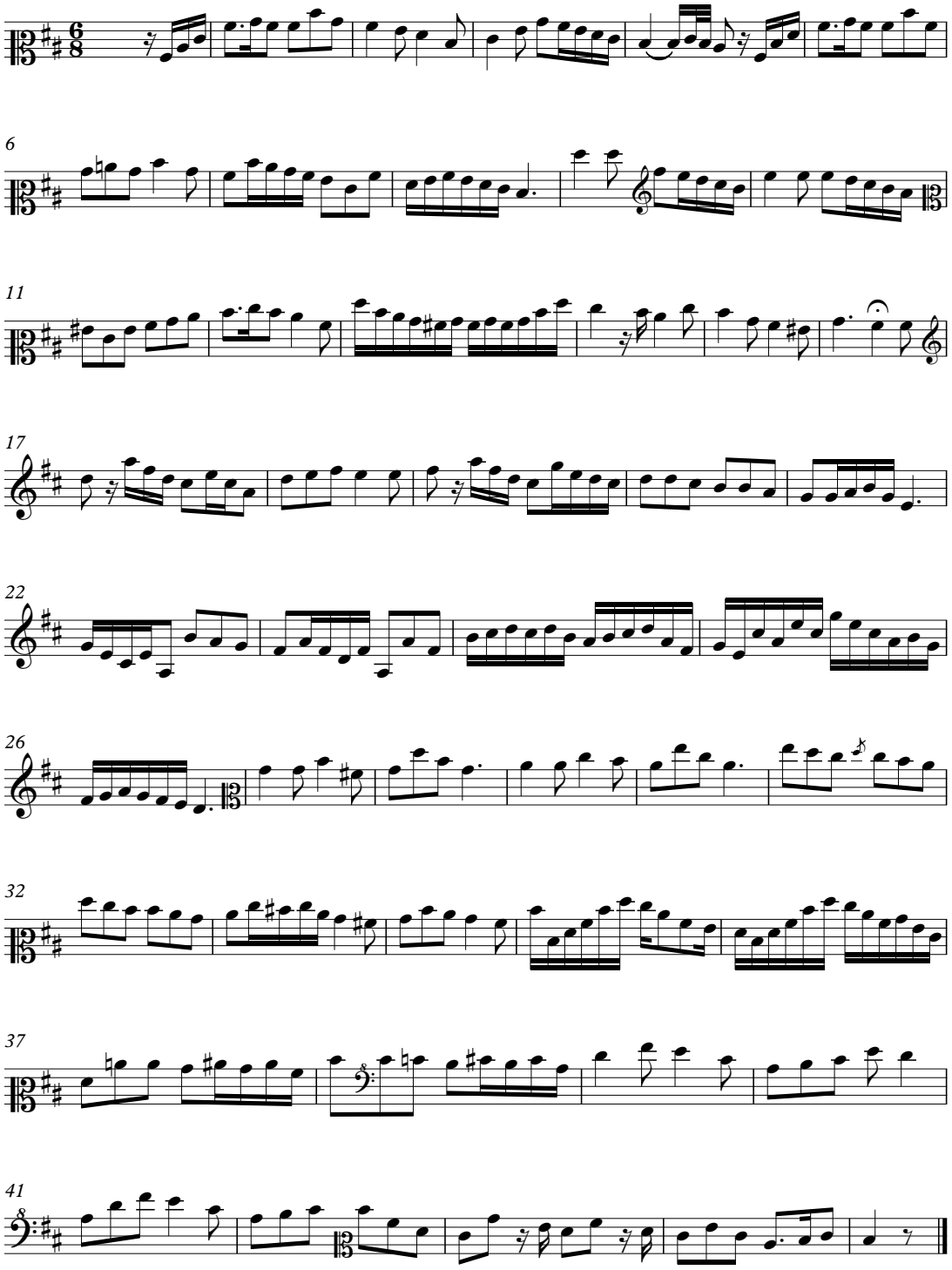
Dia 16 de d[ic]ho

Feb. 16, 1808



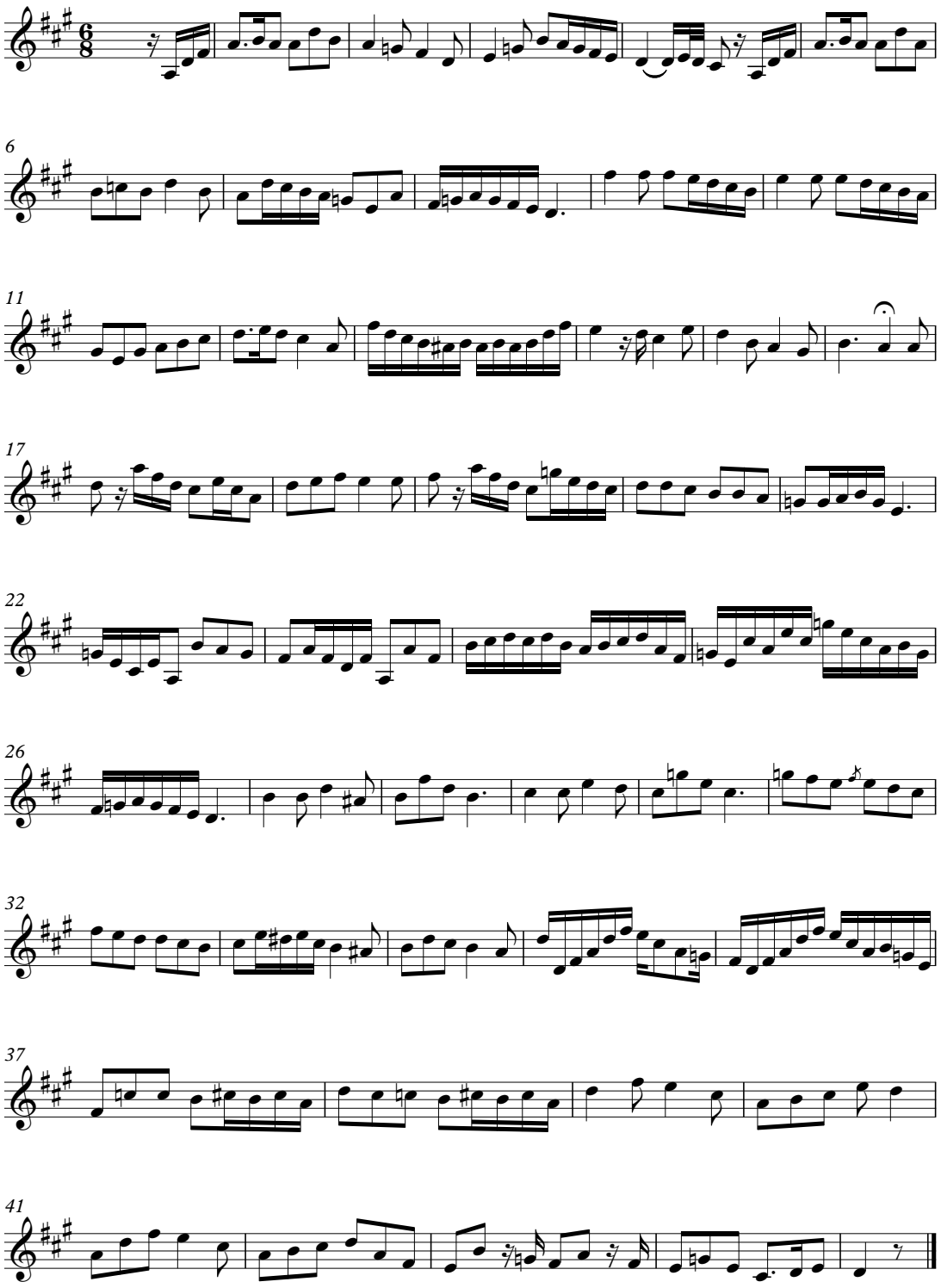
Solo 30 (12r) (in original clefs)

Dia 18 de d[ic]ho



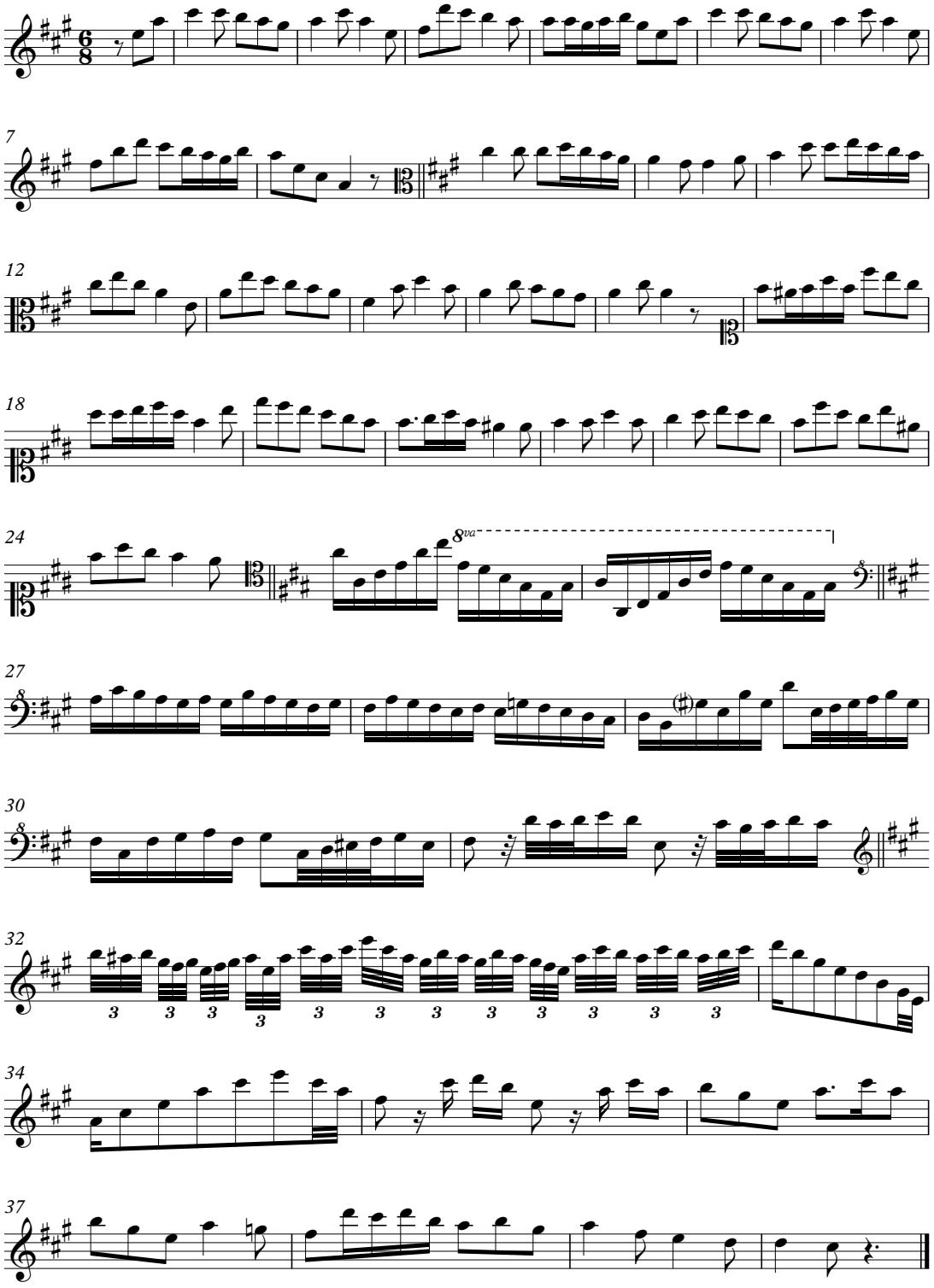
Solo 30 (12r) (transcribed to treble clef)

Feb. 18, 1808



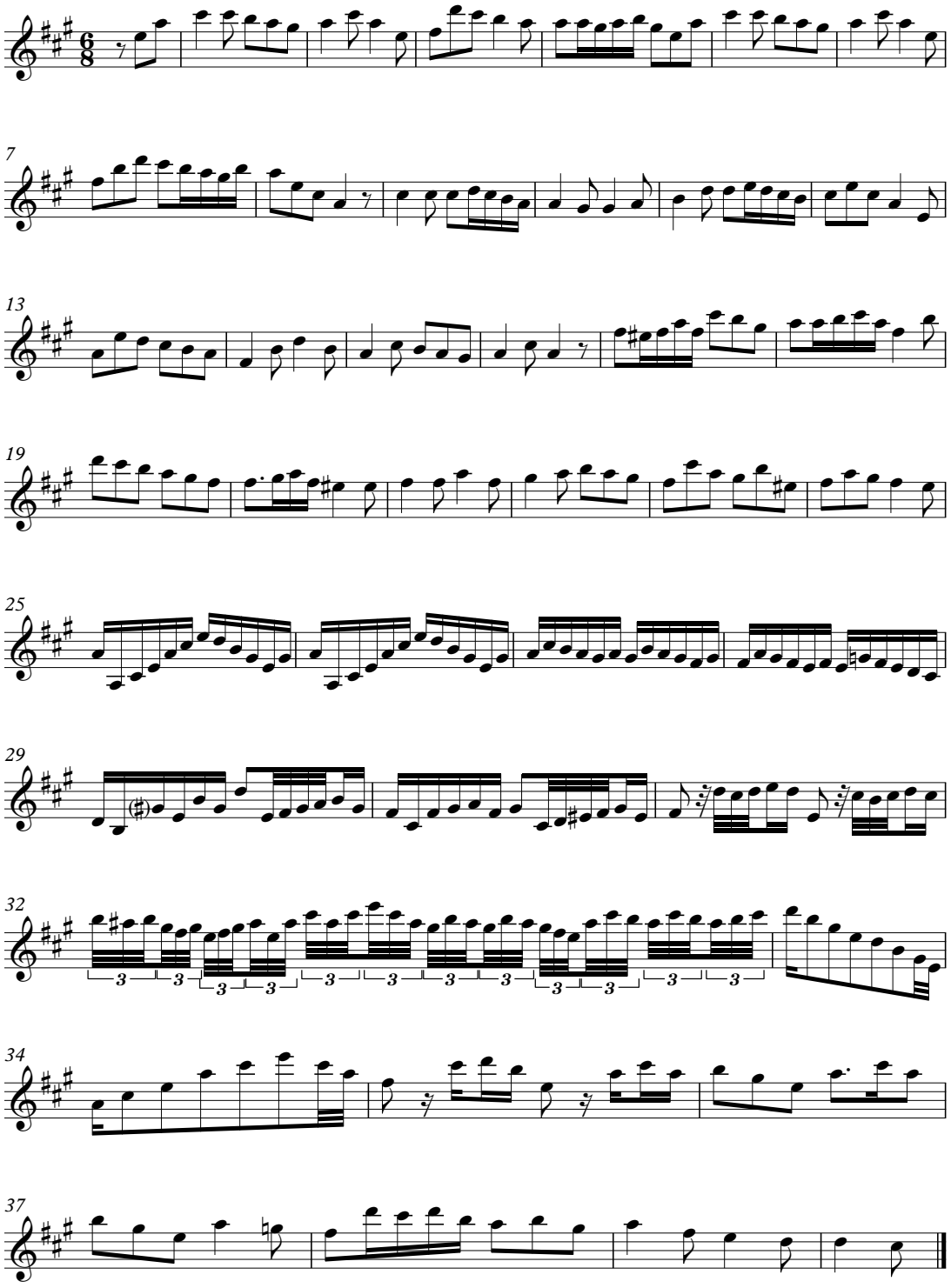
Solo 31(12v) (in original clefs)

Dia 19



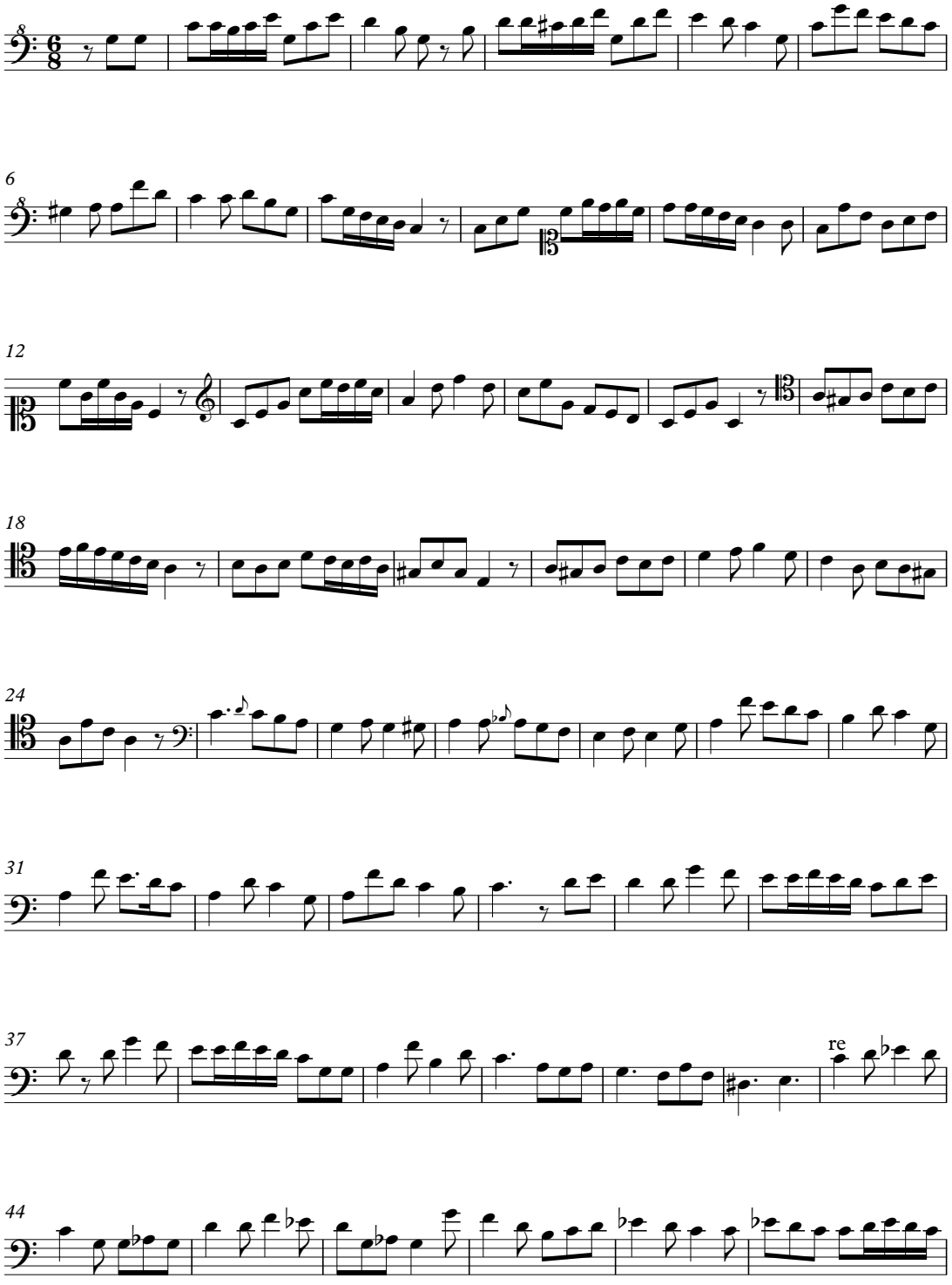
Solo 31(12v) (transcribed to treble clef)

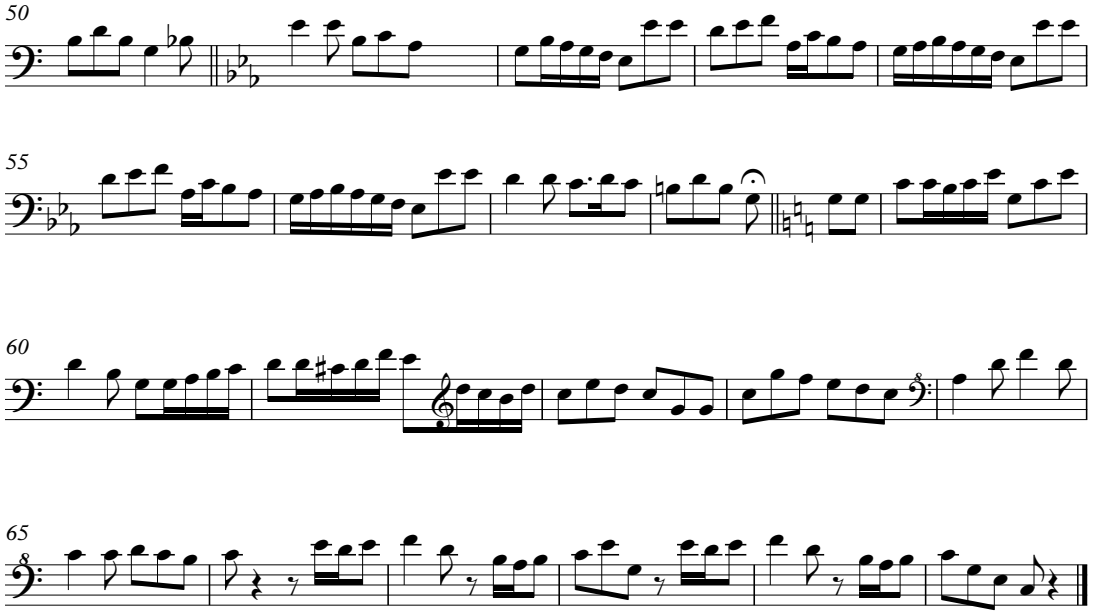
Feb. 19, 1808



Solo 32 (12v–13r) (in original clefs)

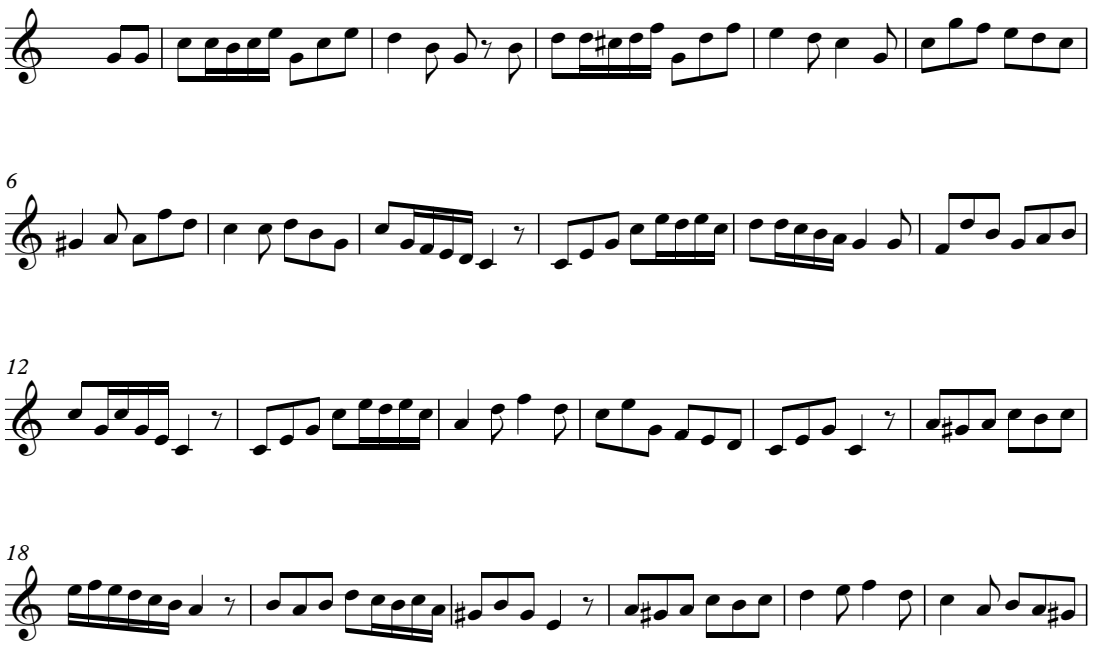
Dia 20 de d[ic]ho

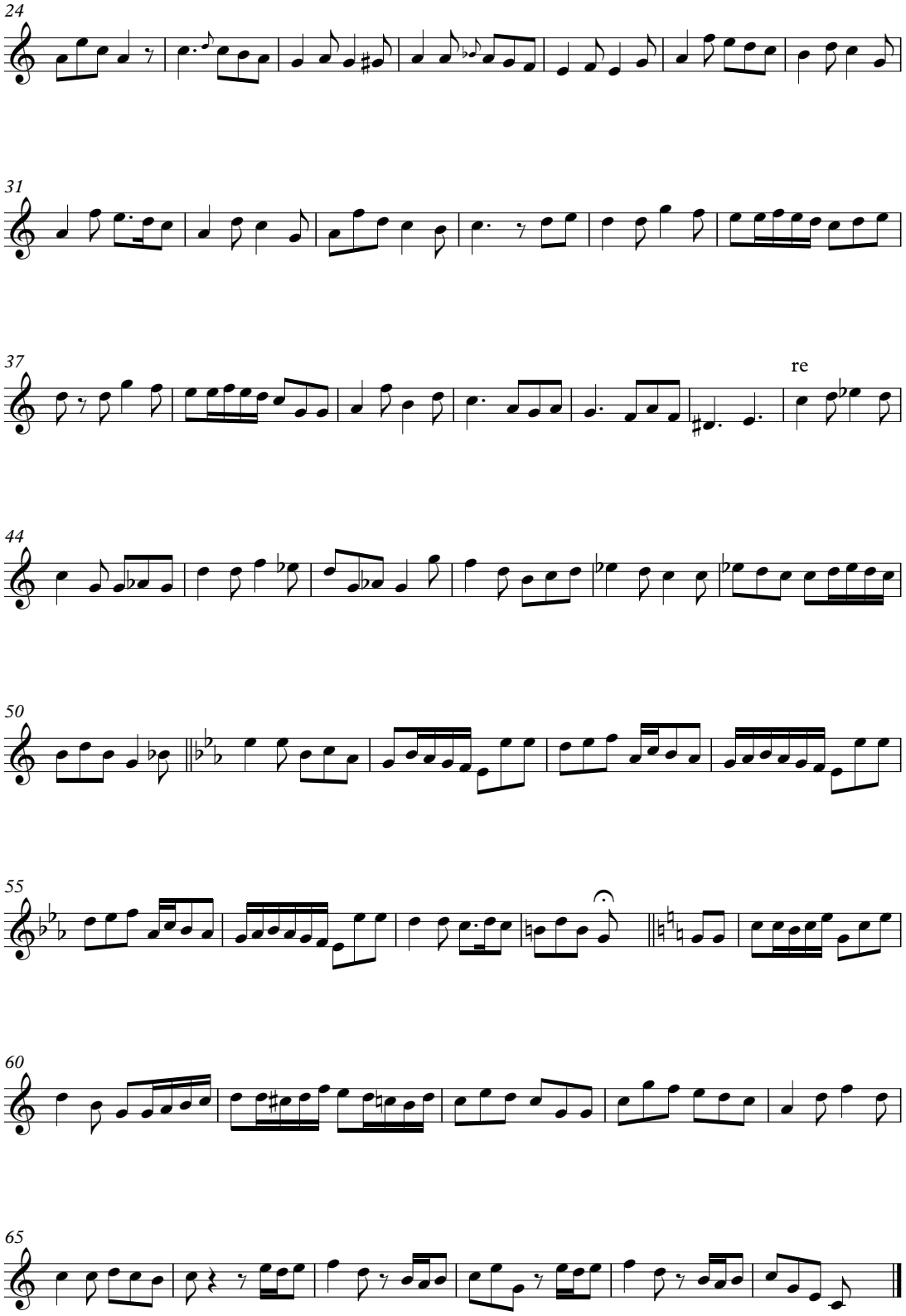




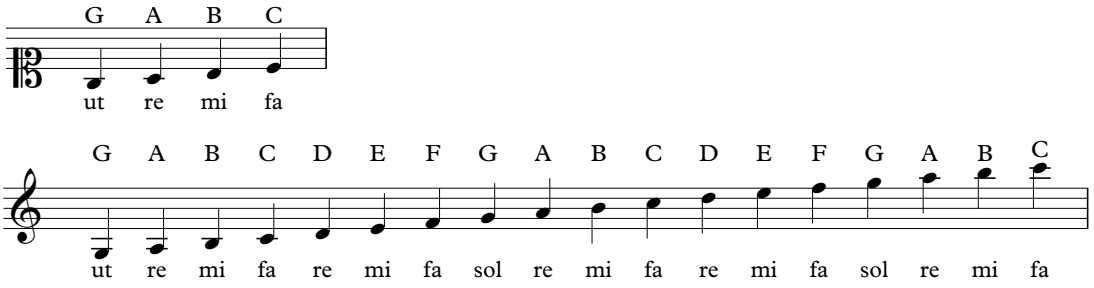
Solo 32 (12v–13r) (transcribed to treble clef)

Feb. 20, 1808

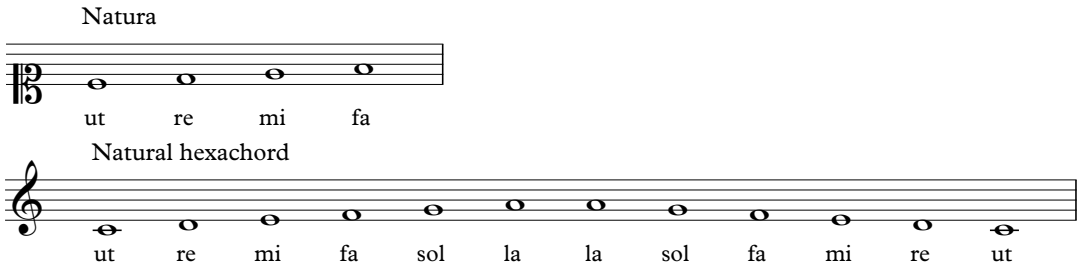



24
31
37
re
44
50
55
60
65

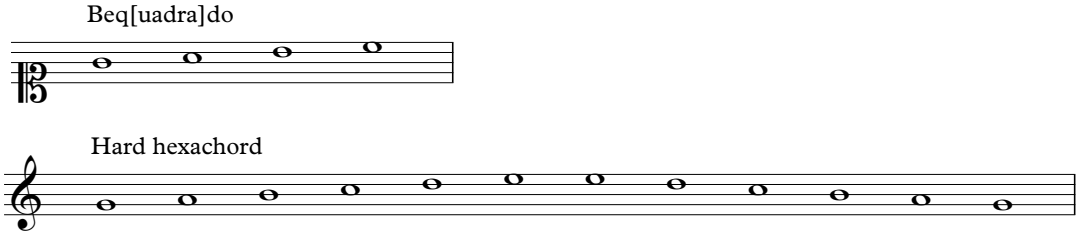
Theory 4 (13r)



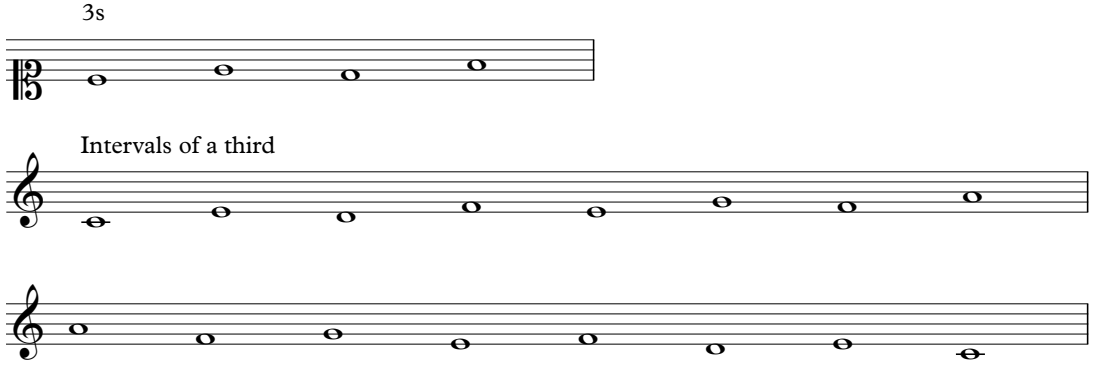
Theory 5 (13r)



Theory 6 (13r)

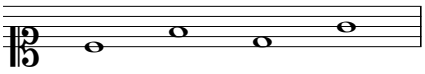


Theory 7 (13r)

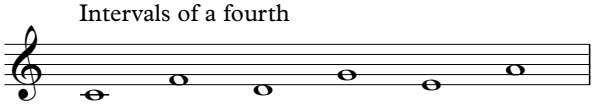


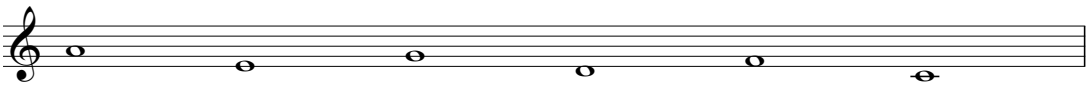
Theory 8 (13r)

4



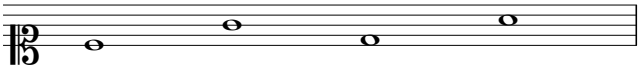
Intervals of a fourth



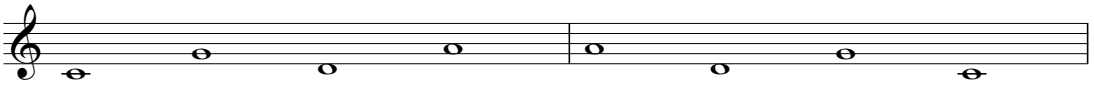


Theory 9 (13r)

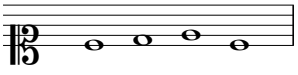
5s

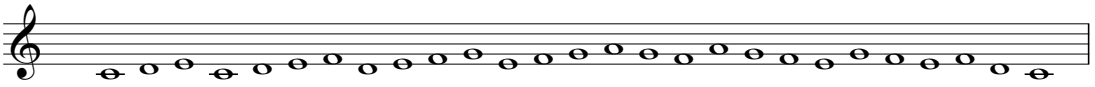


Intervals of a fifth

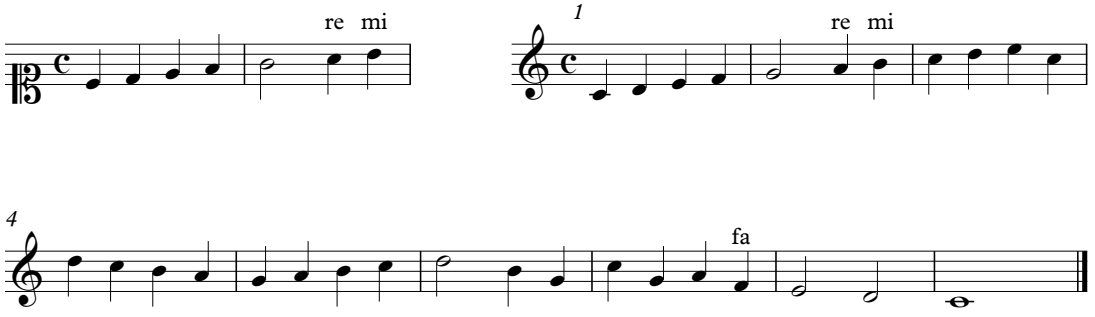


Theory 10 (13r)

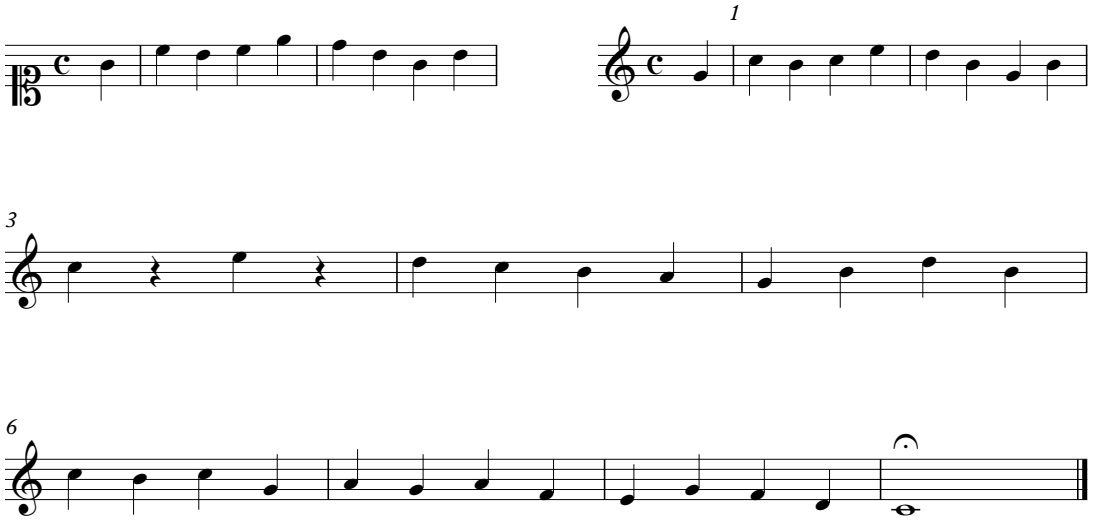




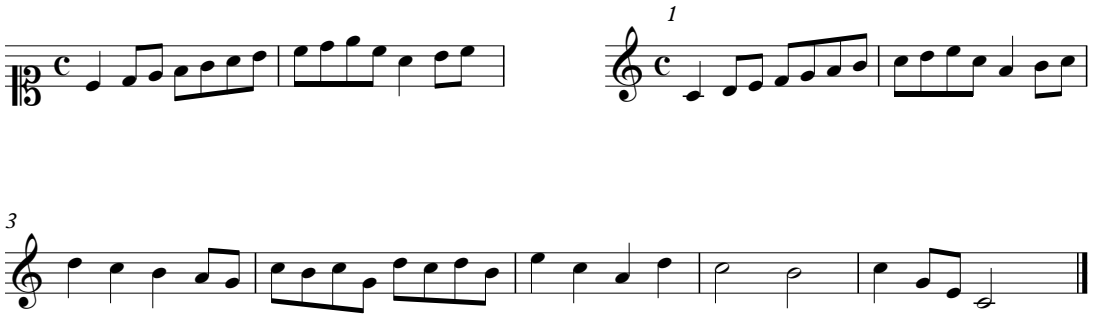
Solo 33 (13r)



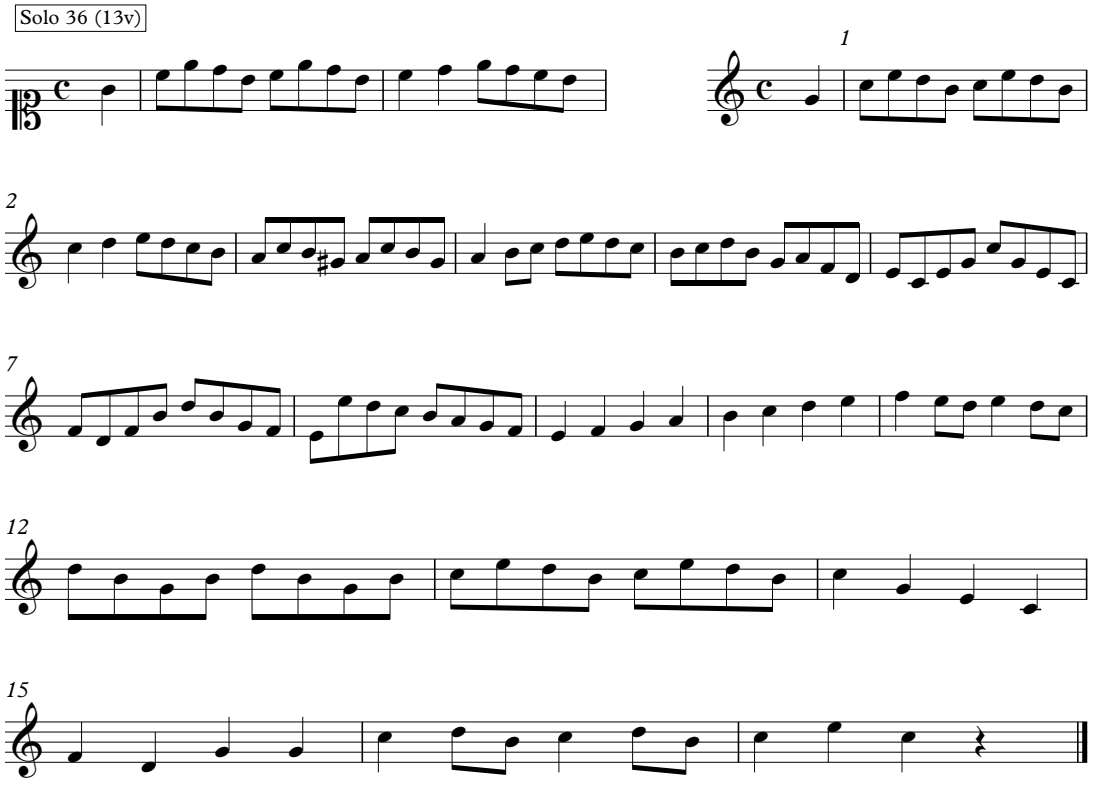
Solo 34 (13r)



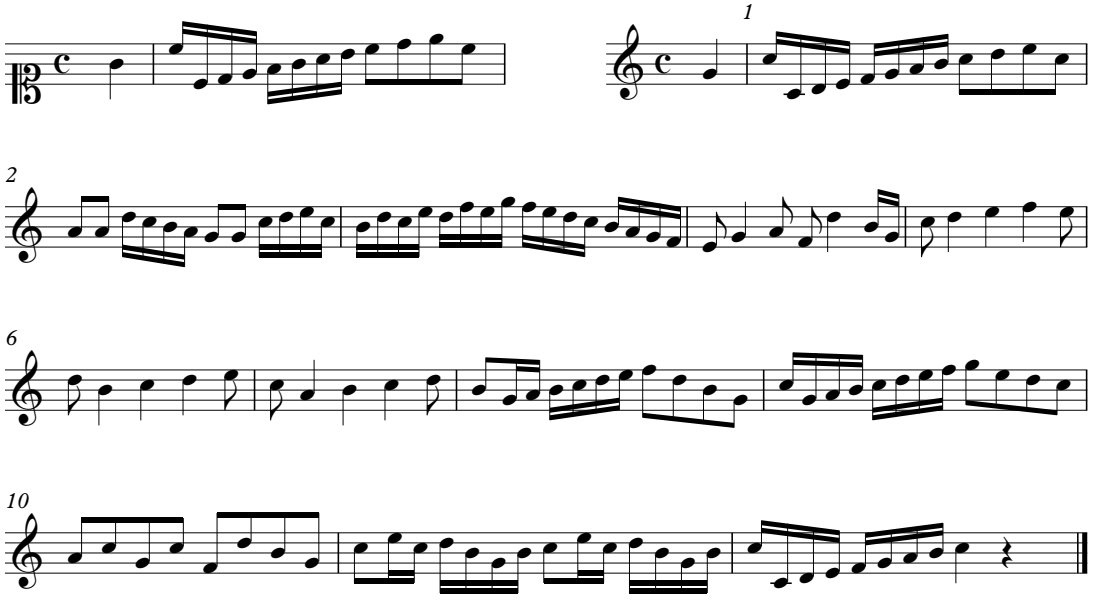
Solo 35 (13r)



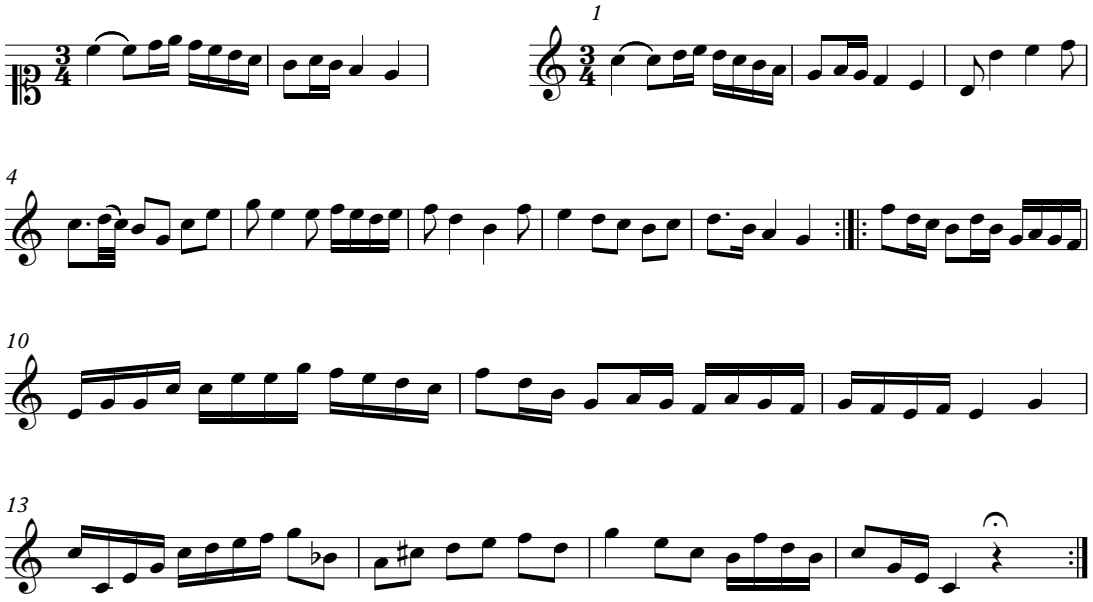
Solo 36 (13v)



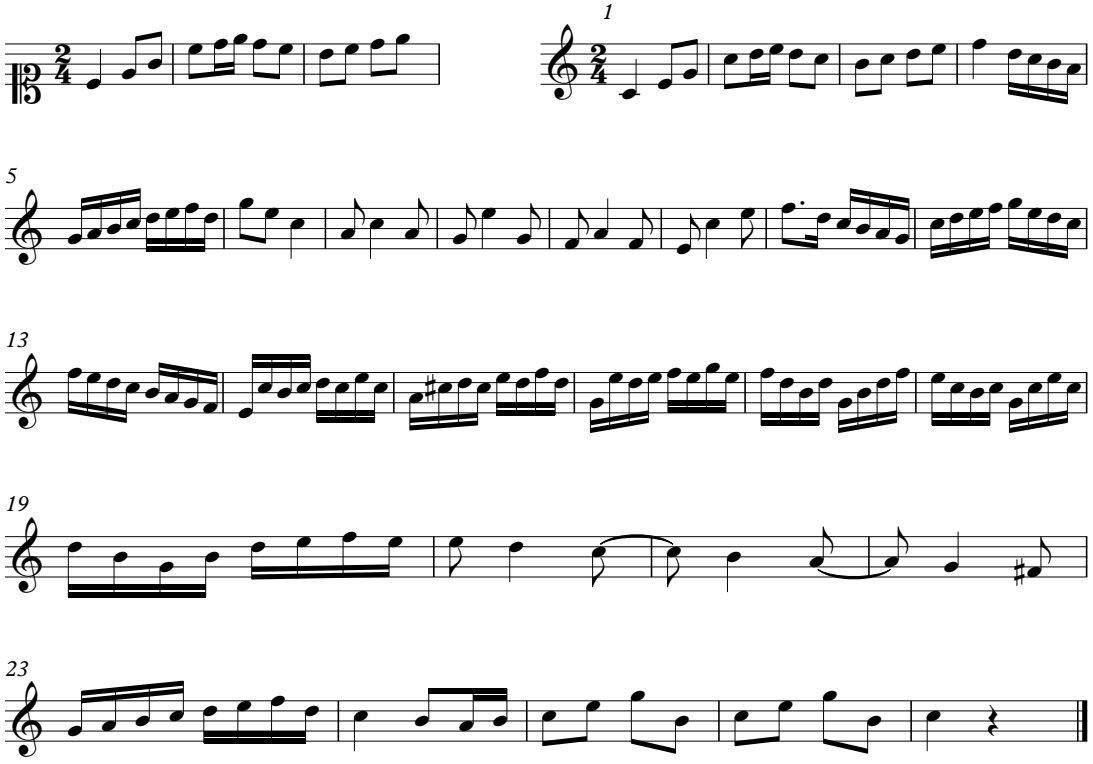
Solo 37 (13v)



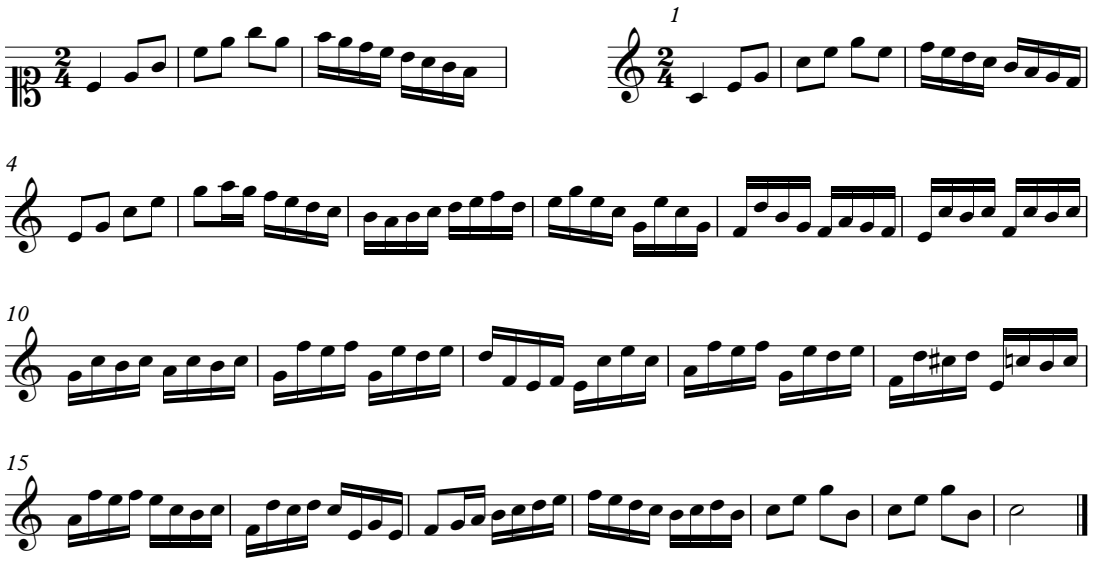
Solo 38 (13v)



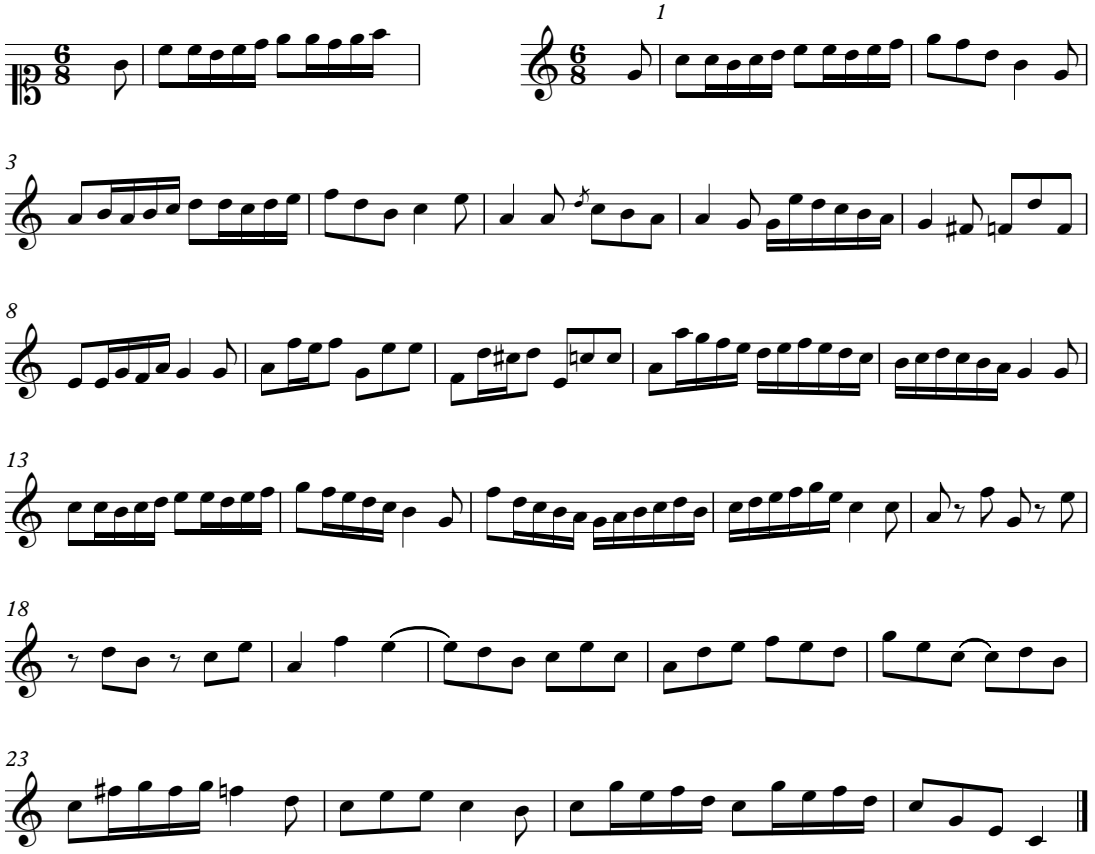
Solo 39 (13v)



Solo 40 (14r)



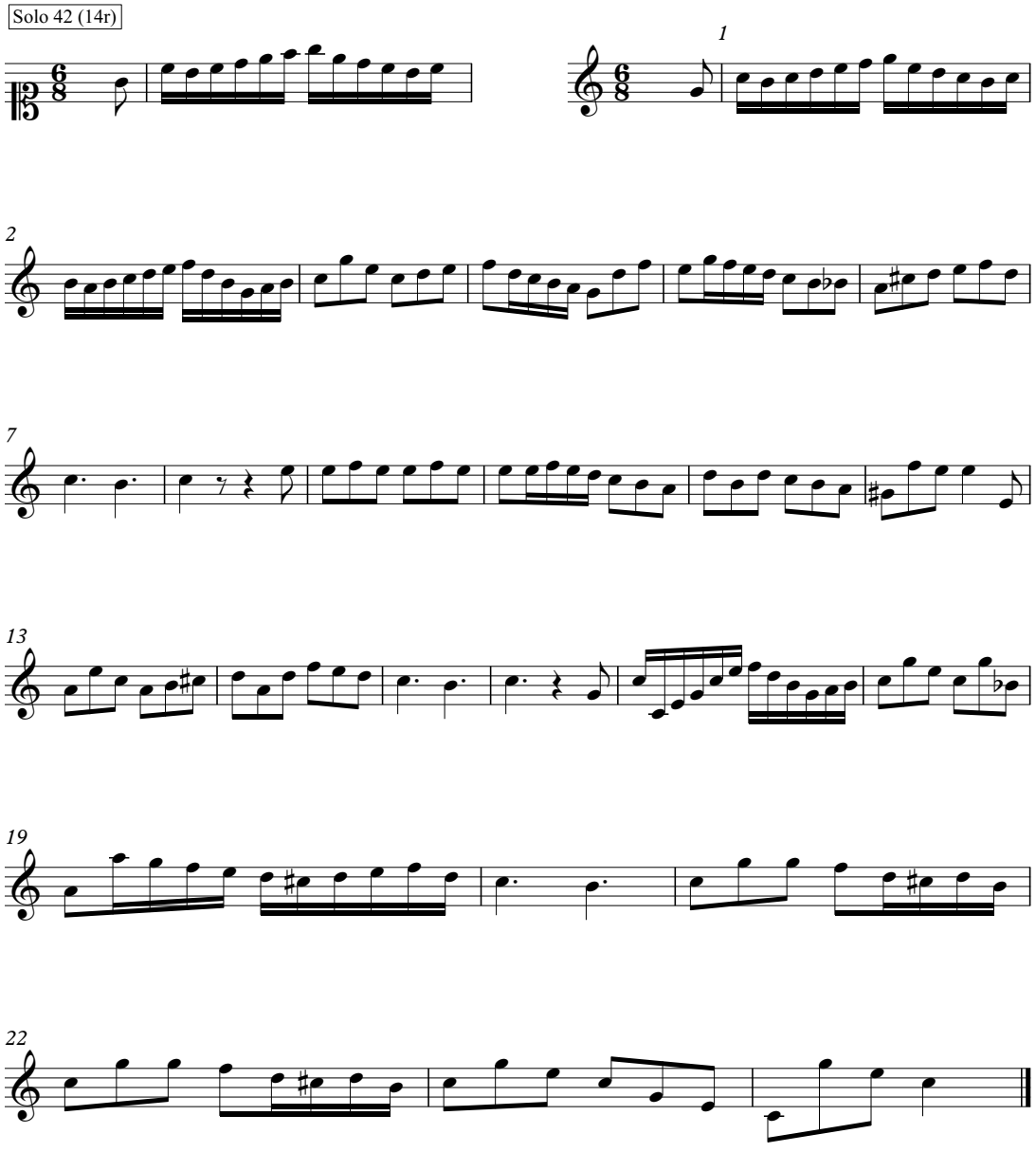
Solo 41 (14r)

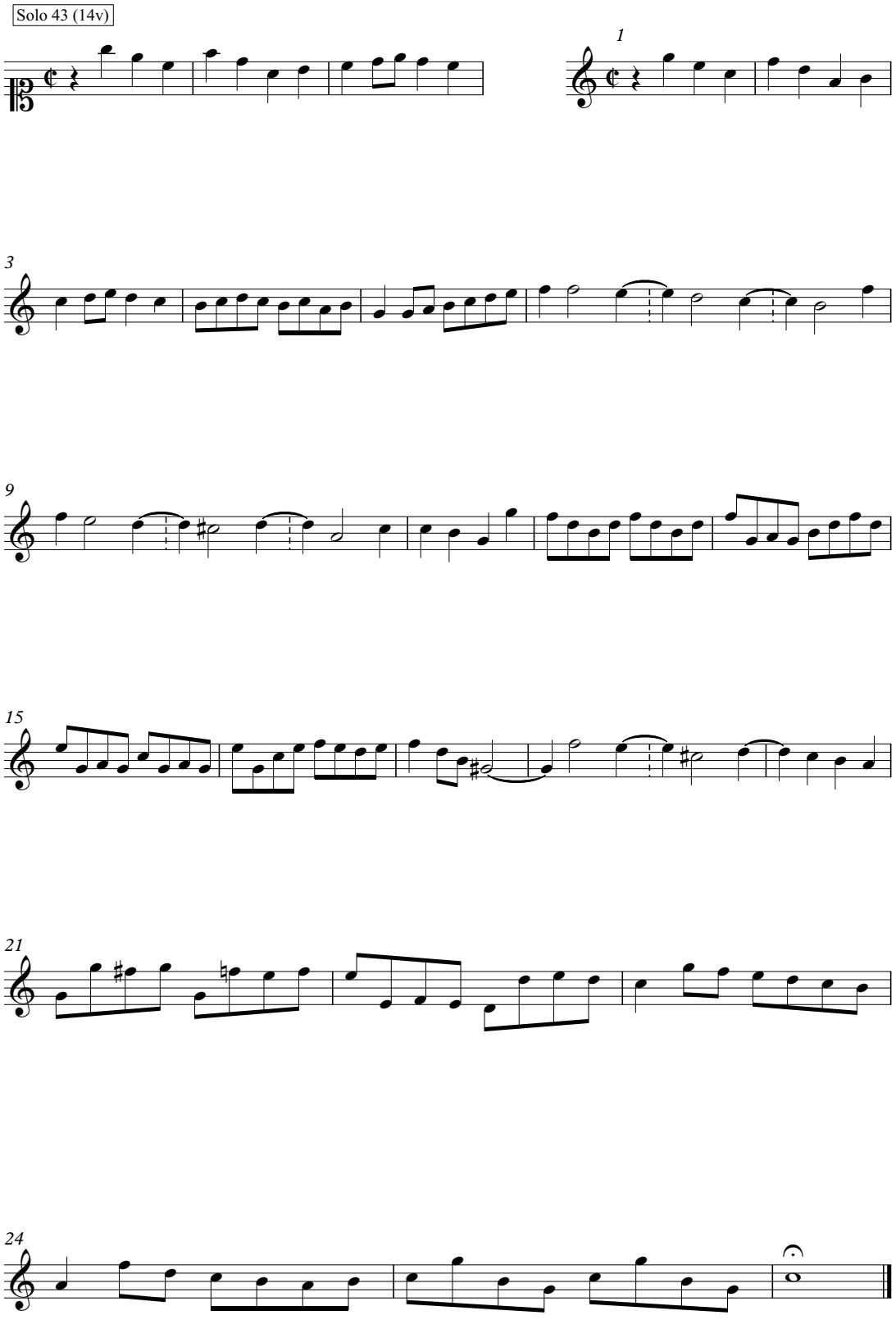


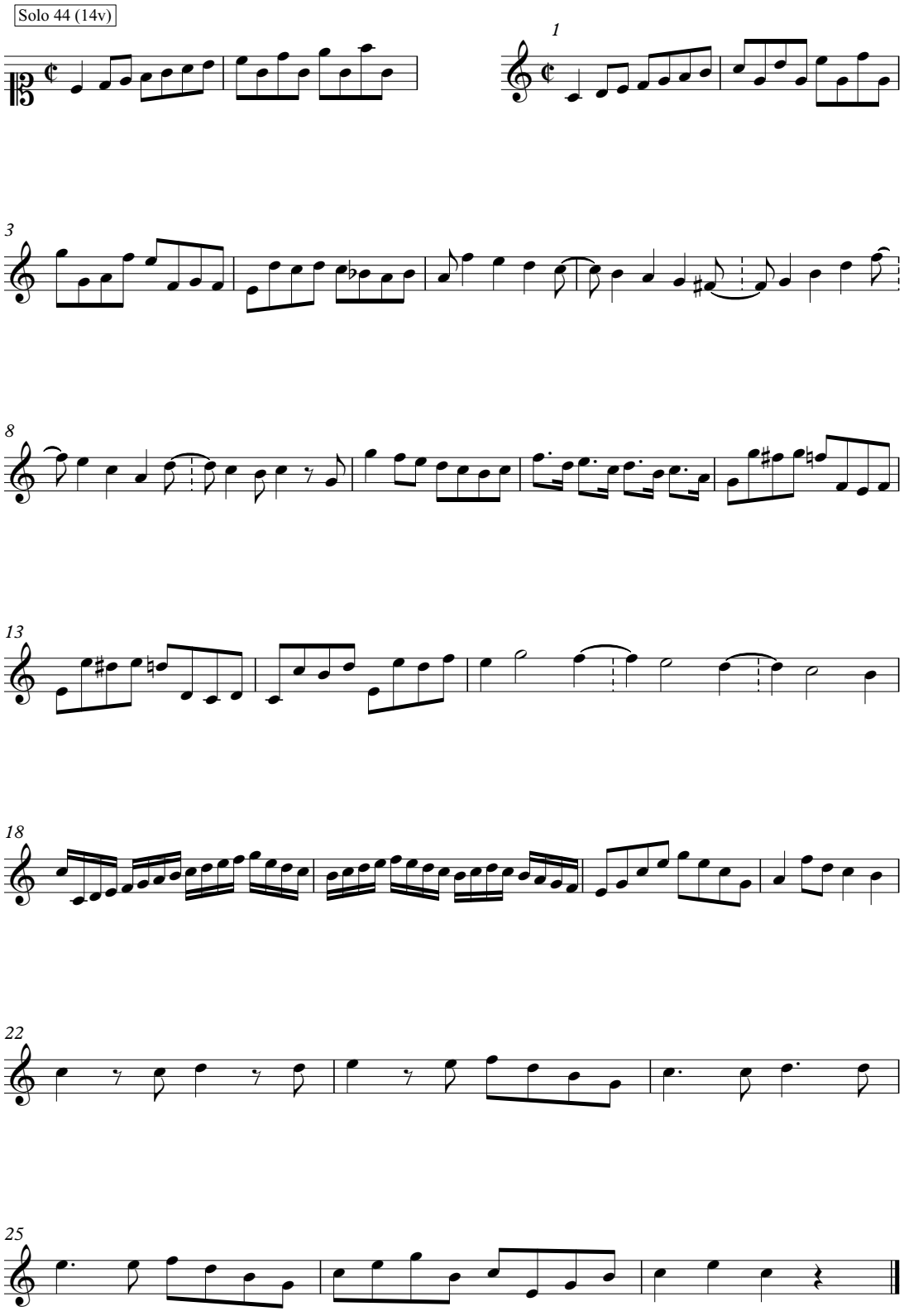
Theory 11 (14r)

En 6 p[o]r 8	In $\frac{6}{8}$
una minima con puntillo al compás	1 dotted half note per measure
3 seminimas al compás	3 quarter notes per measure
6 corcheas al compás	6 eighth notes per measure
12 semicorcheas al compás	12 sixteenth notes per measure
24 fusas al compás	24 thirty-second notes per measure
y 48 semifusas al compás	and 48 sixty-fourth notes per measure

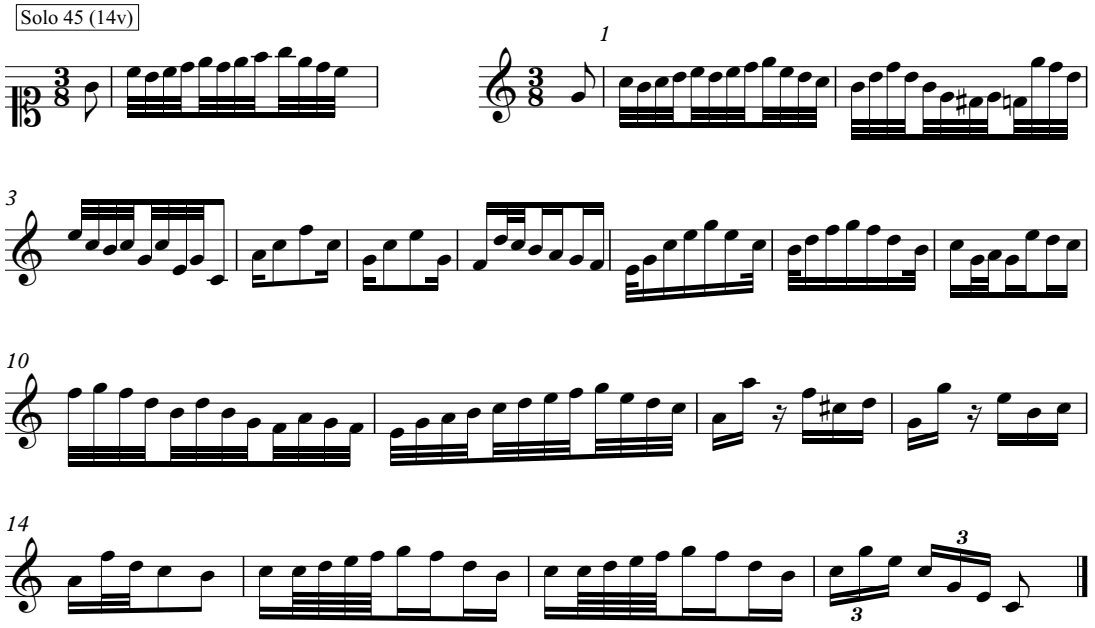
Solo 42 (14r)



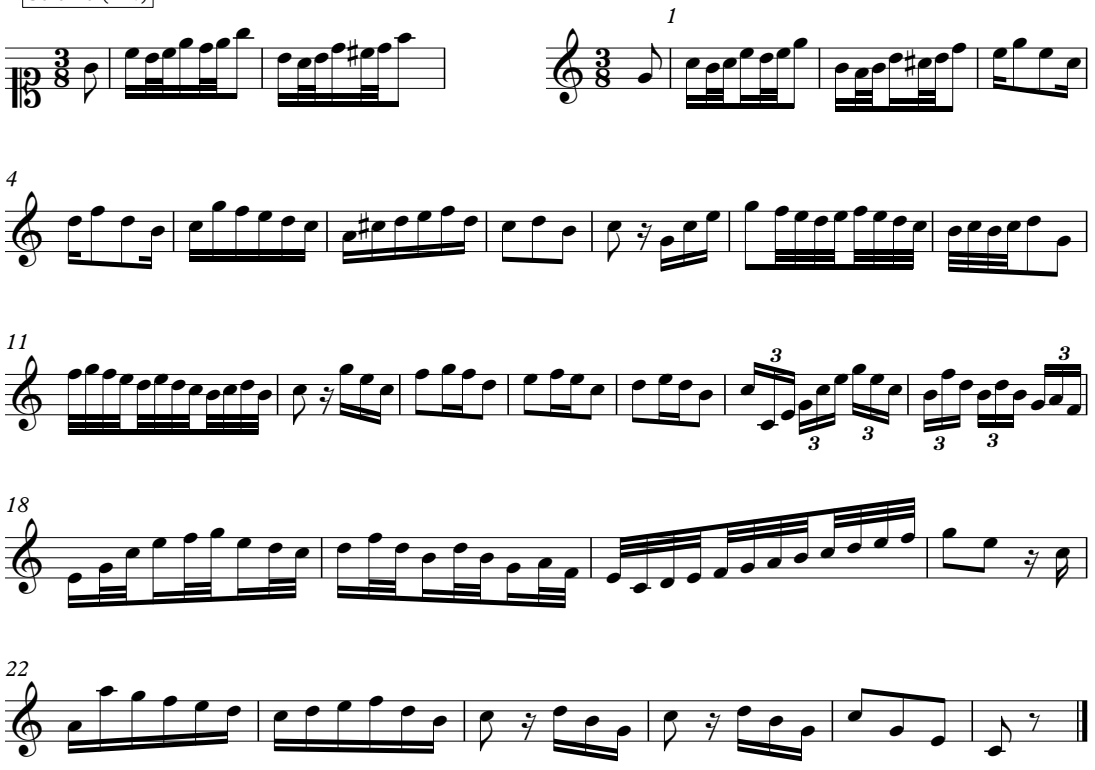

Solo 43 (14v)
1
3
9
15
21
24


Solo 44 (14v)
1
3
8
13
18
22
25

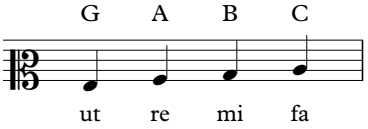
Solo 45 (14v)

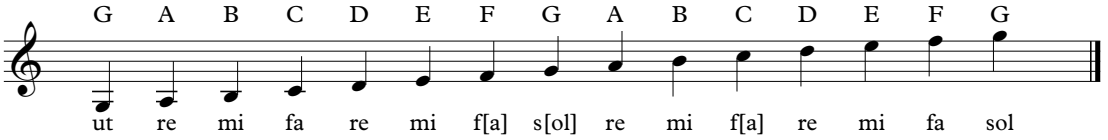


Solo 46 (14v)

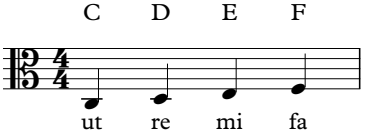


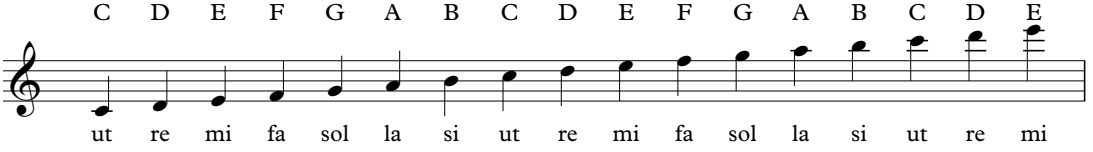
Theory 12 (15r)

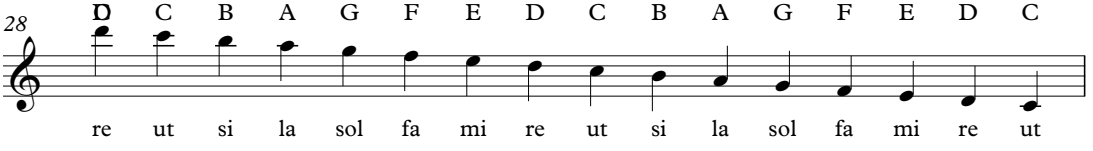




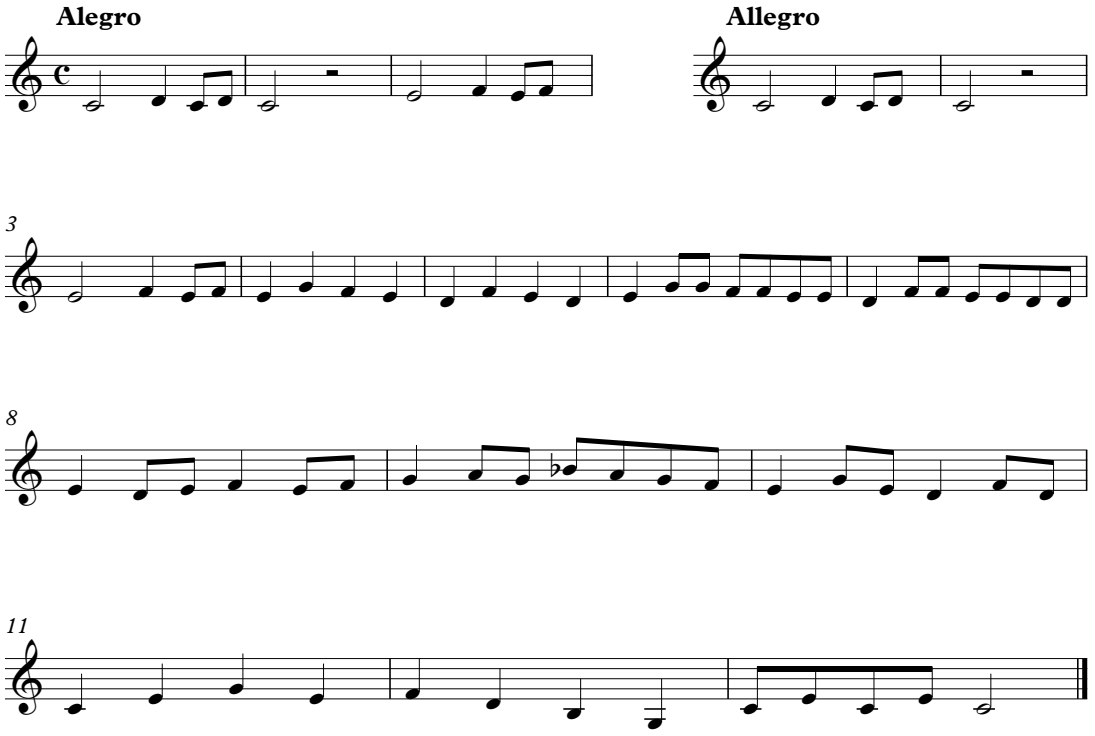
Theory 13 (15r)



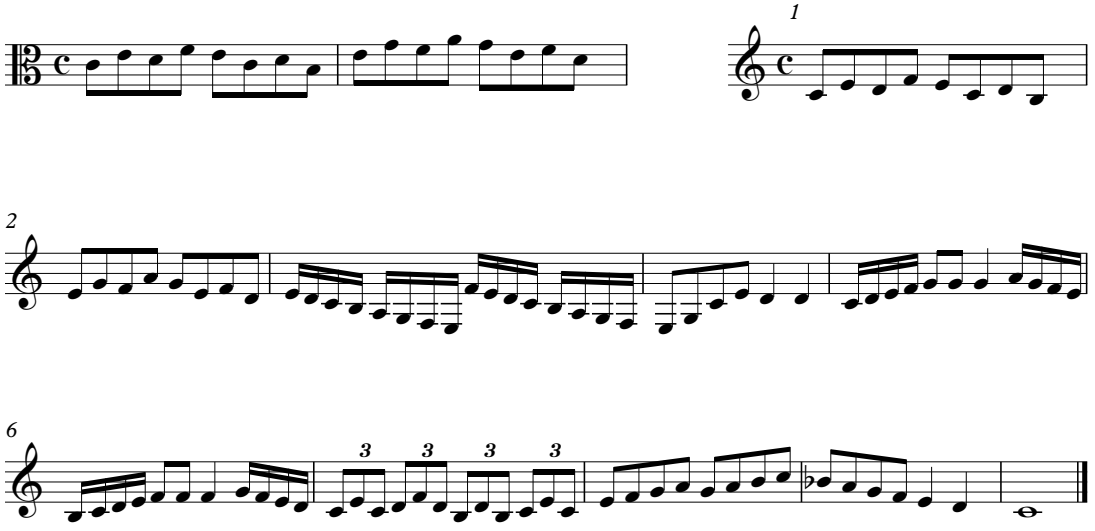




Solo 47 (15r)



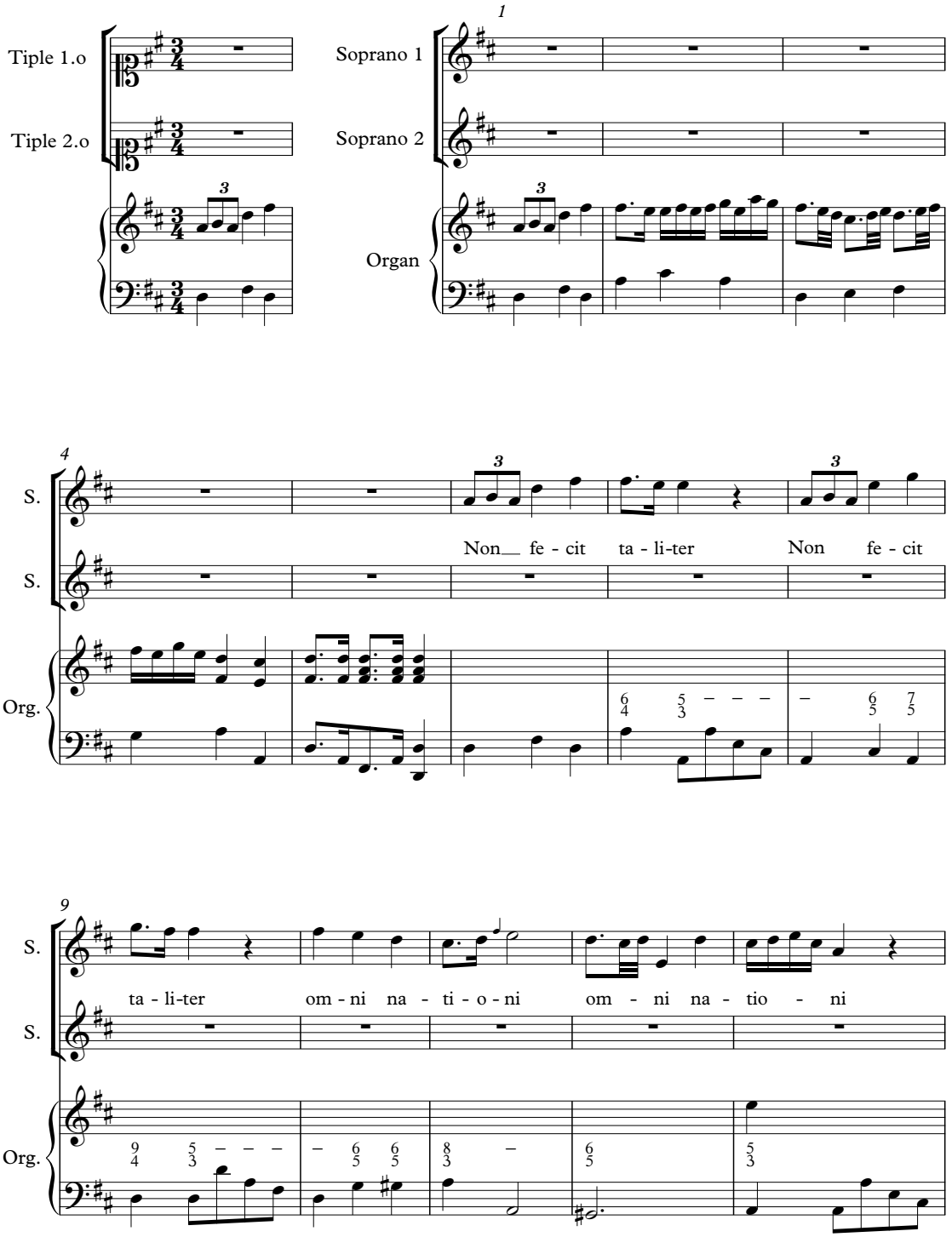
Solo 48 (15r)

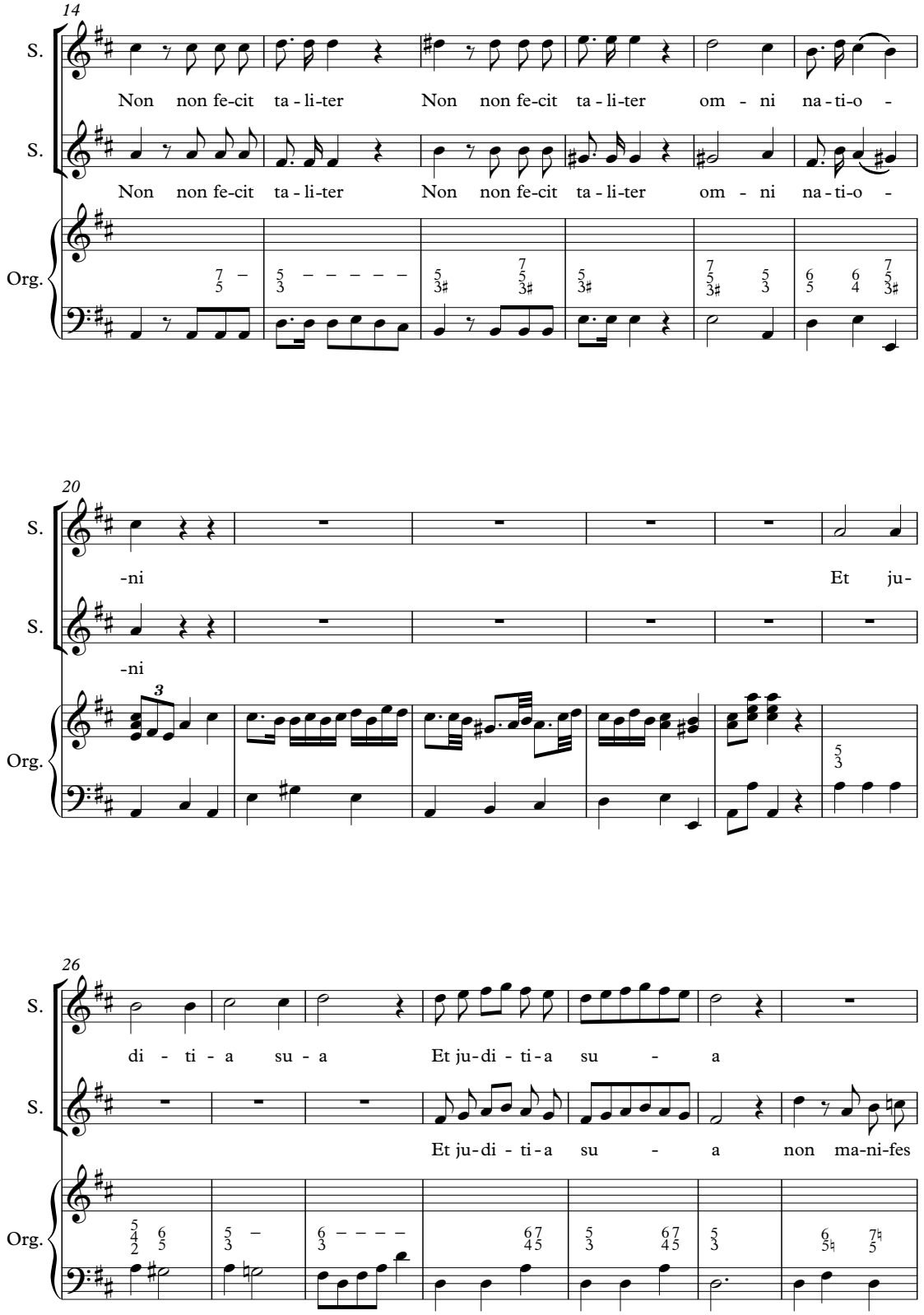


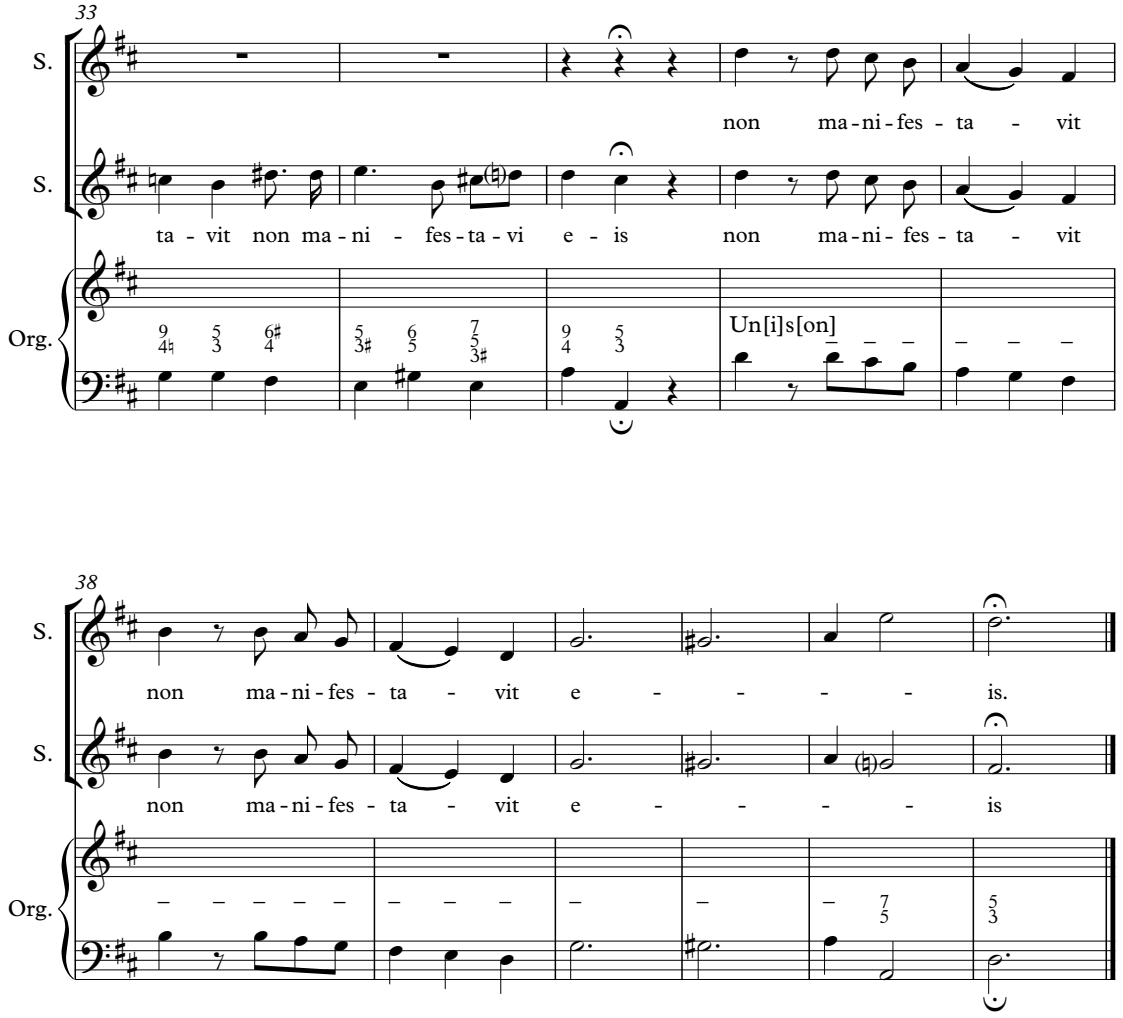
Non fecit taliter à dos voces y Bajo

AHCV 26-I-2-1
AHCV 26-II-2-13

Composicion de Don Ygnacio Jerusalen




14
S.
Non non fe-cit ta - li-ter Non non fe-cit ta - li-ter om - ni na - ti-o -
S.
Non non fe-cit ta - li-ter Non non fe-cit ta - li-ter om - ni na - ti-o -
Org.
20
S.
-ni Et ju-
S.
-ni
Org.
26
S.
di - ti - a su - a Et ju-di - ti-a su - a
S.
Et ju-di - ti-a su - a non ma-ni-fes
Org.



Psalm 147:20, Vulgate and King James Version

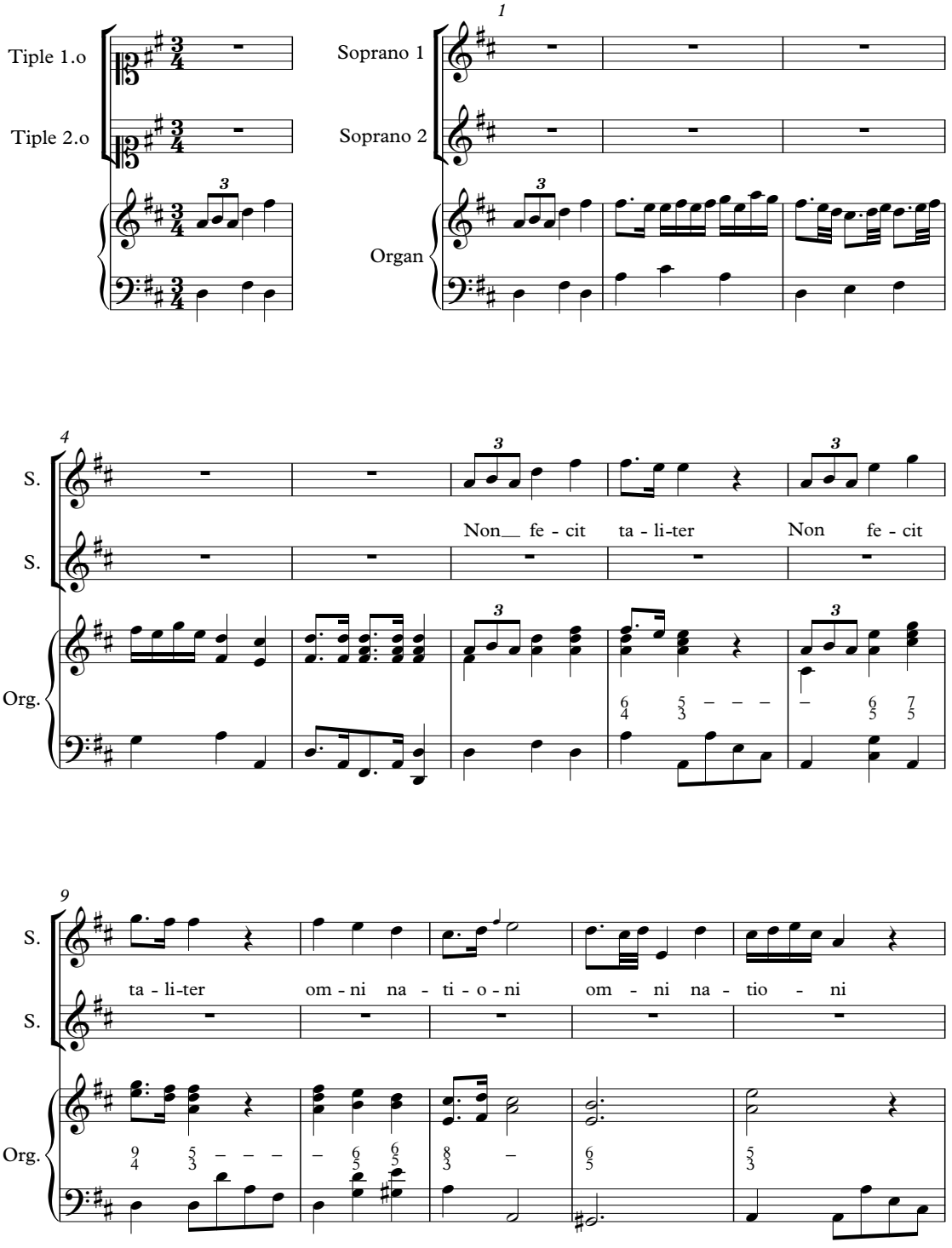
Non fecit taliter omni nationi:
et judicia sua non manifestavit eis. Alleluia.

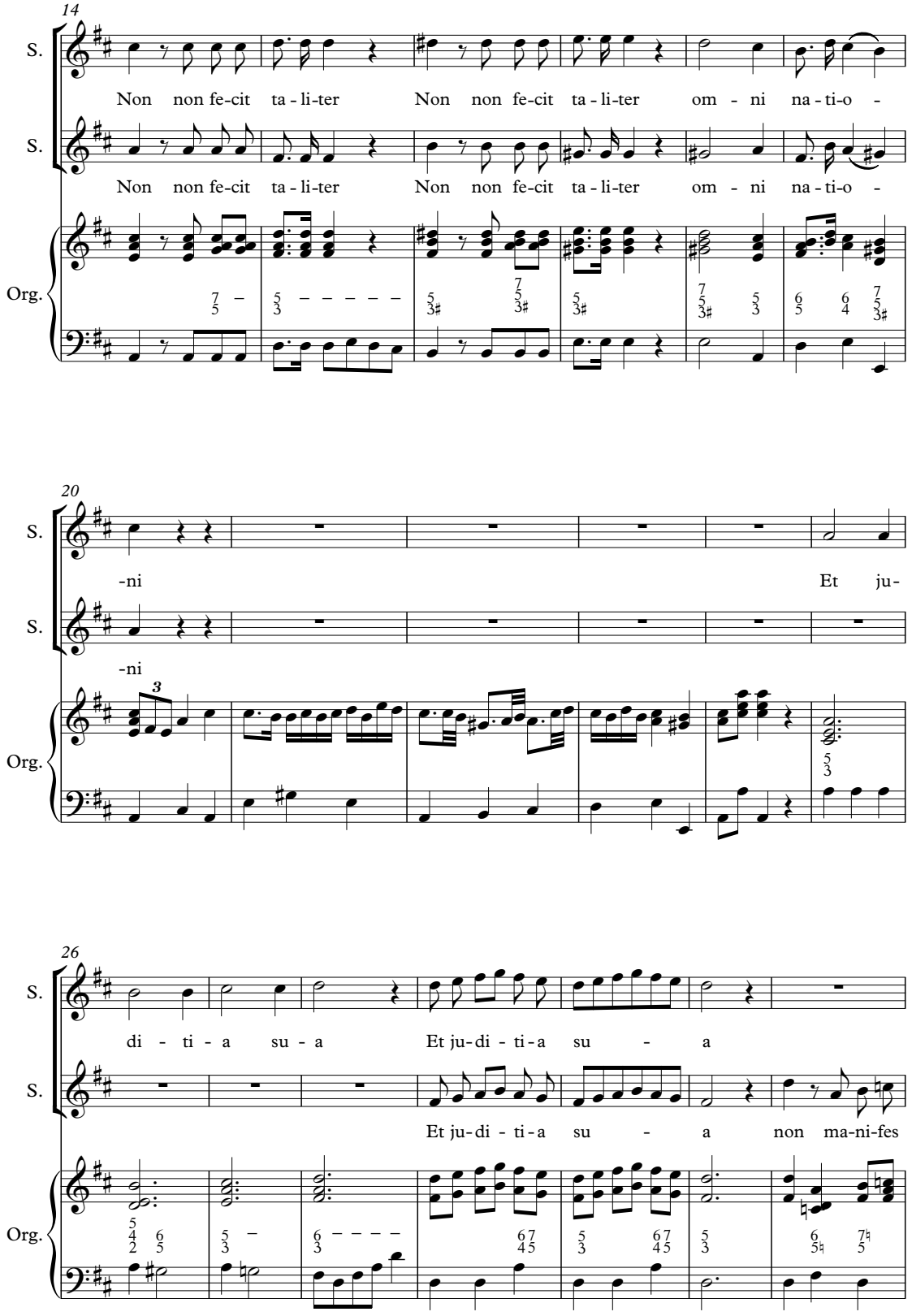
He hath not dealt so with any nation:
and as for his judgments, they have not known them. Praise ye the LORD.

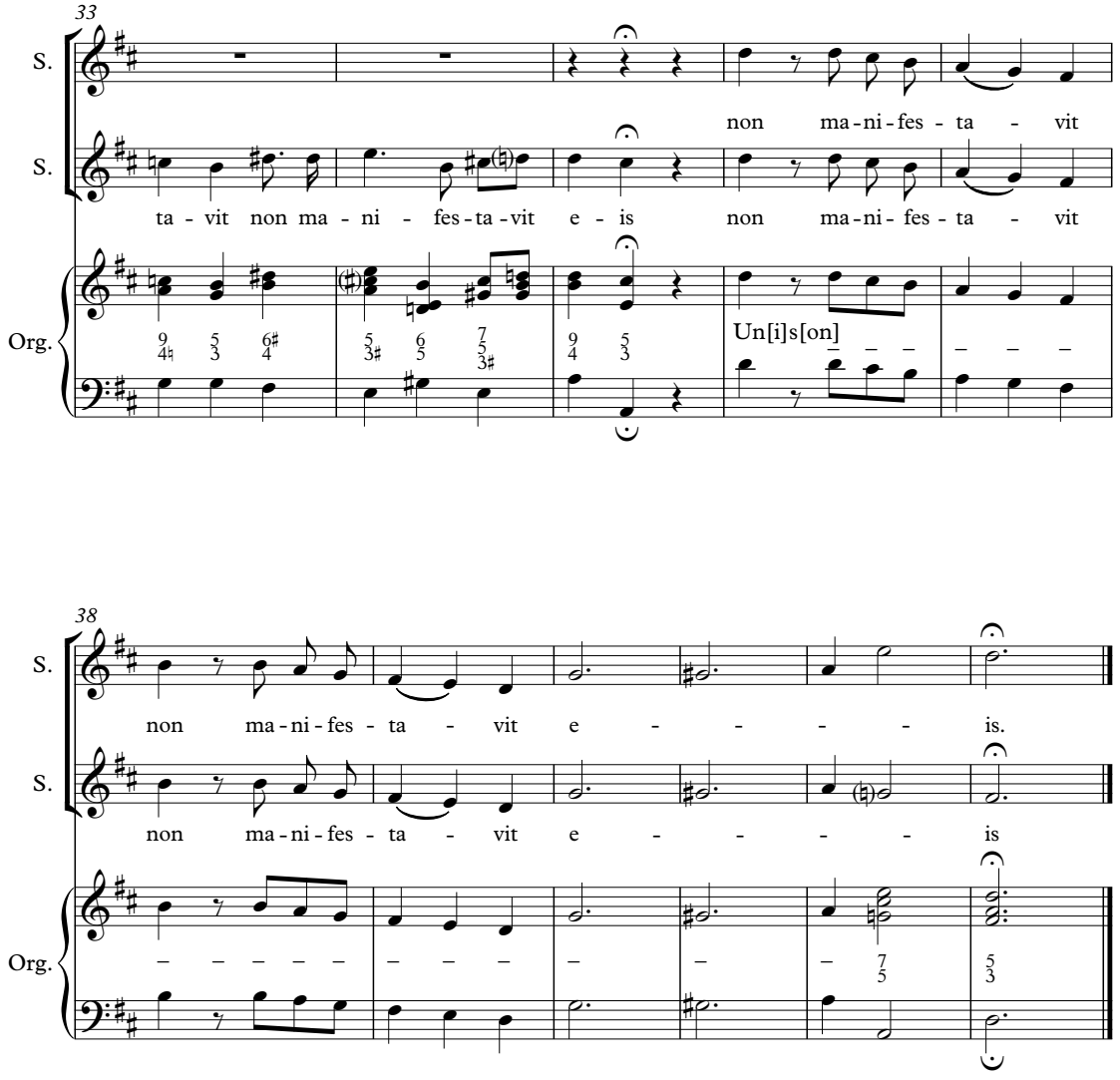
Non fecit taliter à dos voces y Bajo

AHCV 26-I-2-1
AHCV 26-II-2-13

Composicion de Don Ygnacio Jerusalen
Figured bass realization by Faith Lanam




14
S.
Non non fe-cit ta - li-ter
Non non fe-cit ta - li-ter
om - ni na - ti-o -
S.
Non non fe-cit ta - li-ter
Non non fe-cit ta - li-ter
om - ni na - ti-o -
Org.
20
S.
-ni
Et ju-
S.
-ni
Org.
26
S.
di - ti - a su - a
Et ju-di - ti-a su - a
S.
Et ju-di - ti-a su - a non ma-ni-fes
Org.



Psalm 147:20, Vulgate and King James Version

Non fecit taliter omni nationi:
et judicia sua non manifestavit eis. Alleluia.

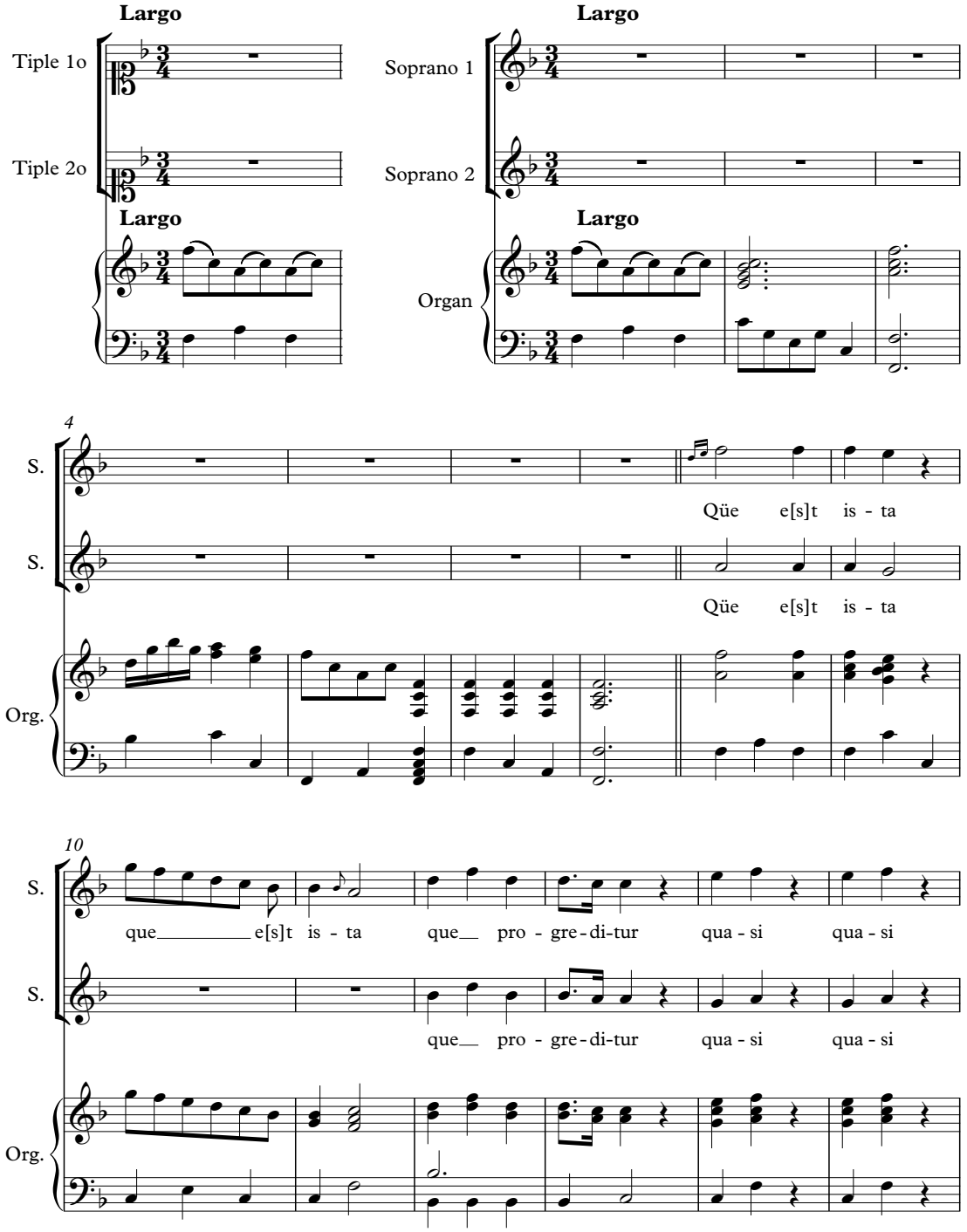
He hath not dealt so with any nation:
and as for his judgments, they have not known them. Praise ye the LORD.

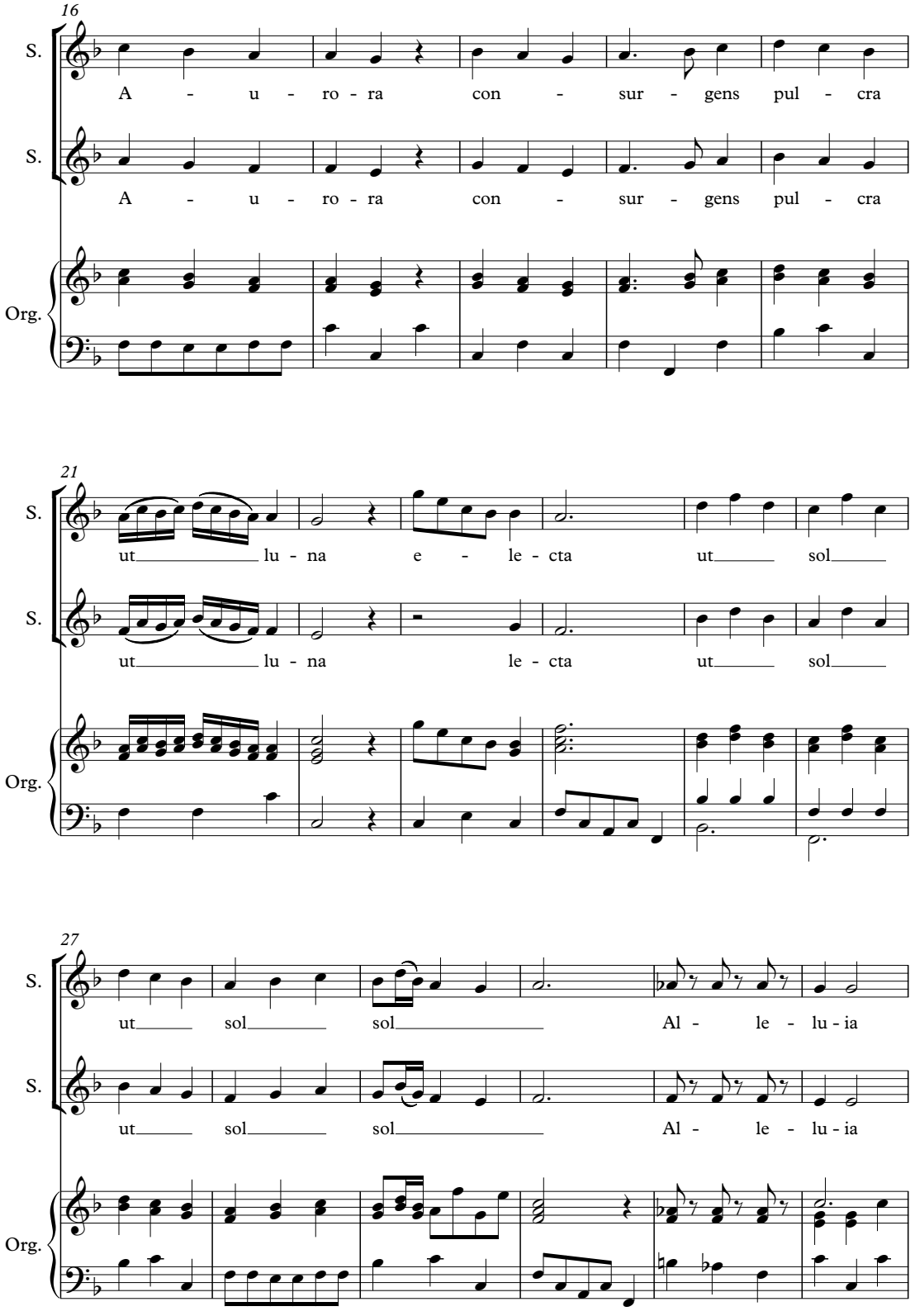
Gradual á la Santísima Virgen de Guadalupe

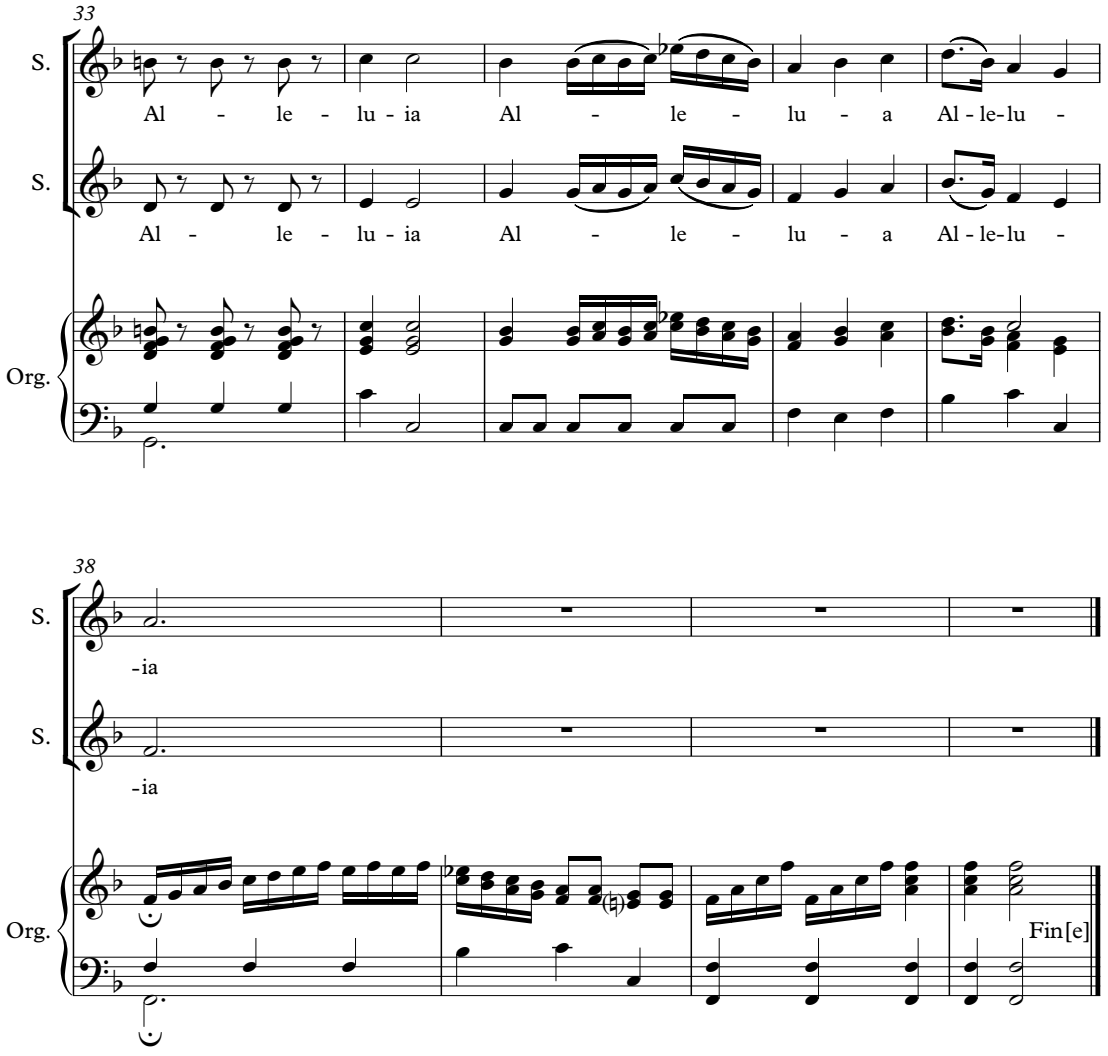
á Duo con acompañamiento de Órgano. Año de 1846

AHCV 26-II-2-41

Guad[alupe] Ortuño




16
S.
A - u - ro - ra con - sur - gens pul - cra
S.
A - u - ro - ra con - sur - gens pul - cra
Org.
21
S.
ut lu - na e - le - cta ut sol
S.
ut lu - na le - cta ut sol
Org.
27
S.
ut sol sol Al - le - lu - ia
S.
ut sol sol Al - le - lu - ia
Org.



Song of Solomon 6:9, Vulgate

Quæ est ista quæ progreditur quasi aurora consurgens,
pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol,
terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinate?

Song of Solomon 6:10, King James Version

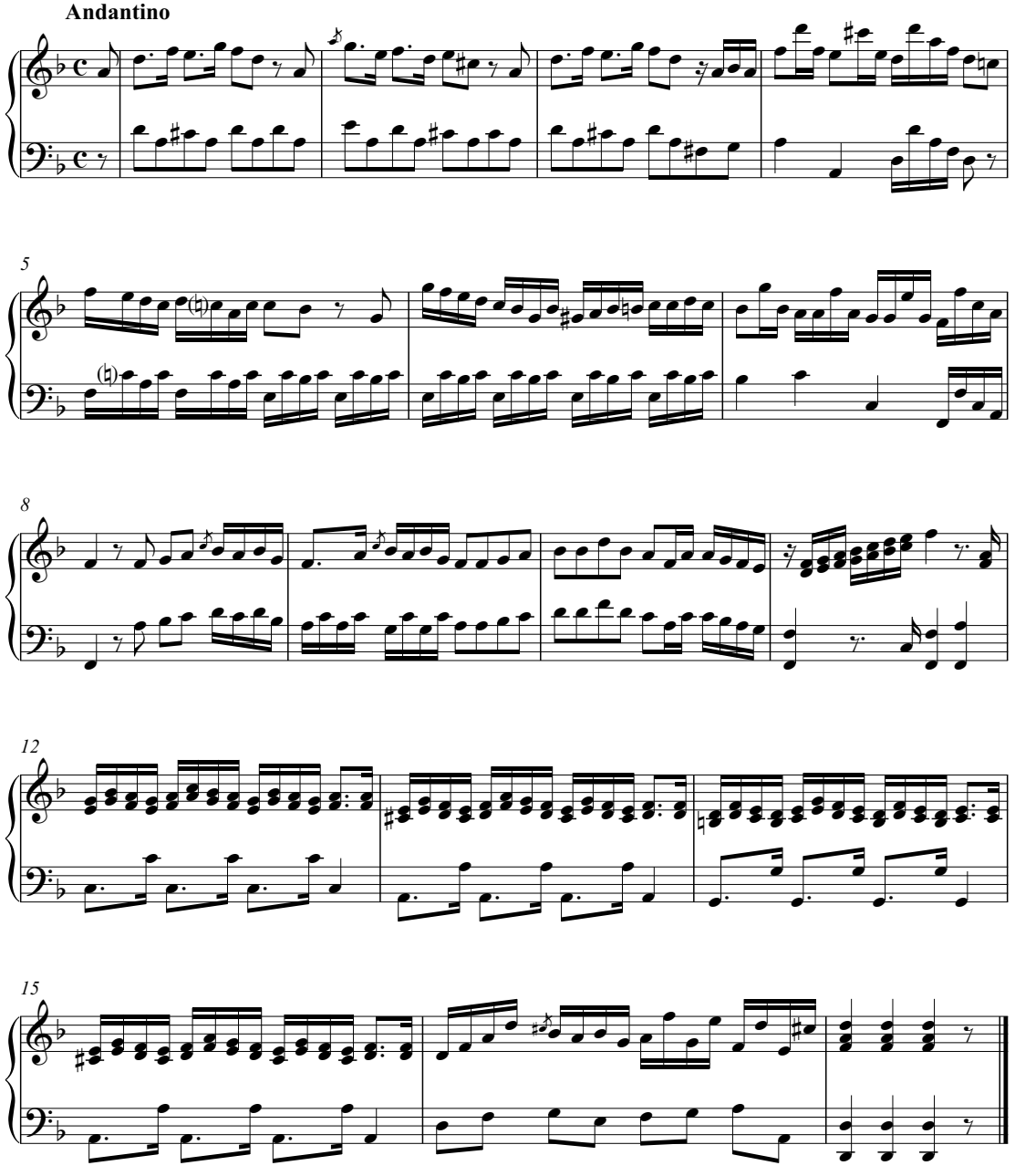
Who is she that looketh forth as the morning,
fair as the moon, clear as the sun,
and terrible as an army with banners?

Versos para el Organo
Para tocarlos en Visperas ó Maytines
por Marcos Vega

Versos de Primer Tono
[Versos of the First Tone]

Tone 1 No. 1 Este Verso se tocará con las misturas Llenos
[This verso is played with the Principal Mixtures.]

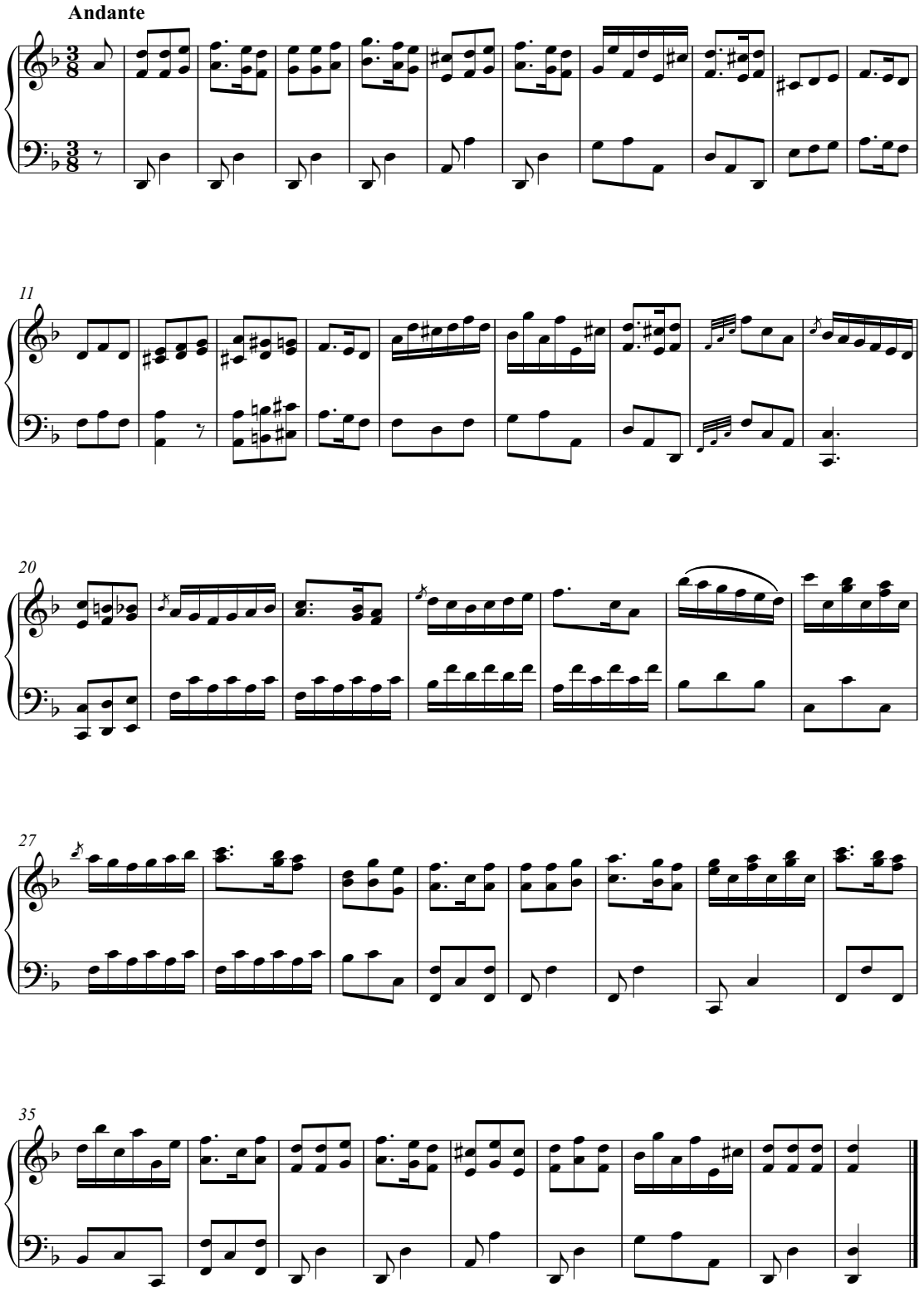
Andantino



Tone 1 No. 2

Este Verso se tocará con la Corneta de Ecos.
[This versos is played with the Echo Cornet (a mutation stop).]

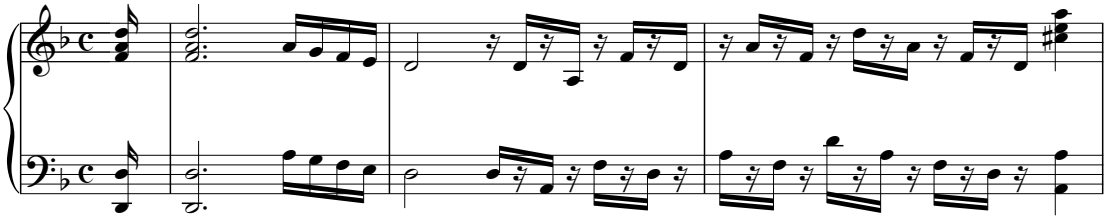
Andante

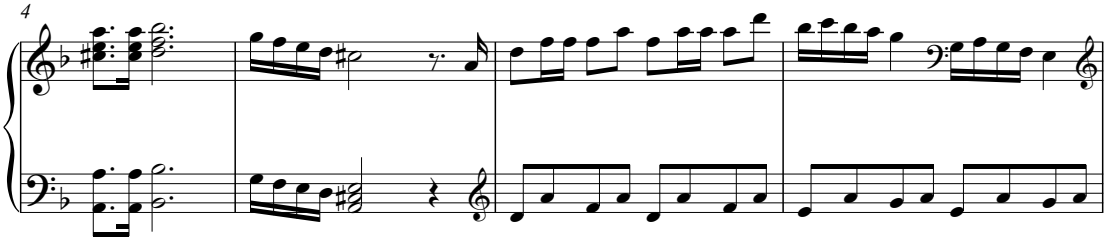


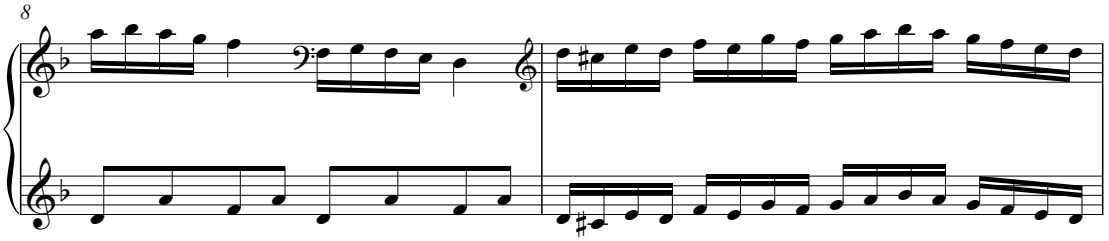
Tone 1 No. 3

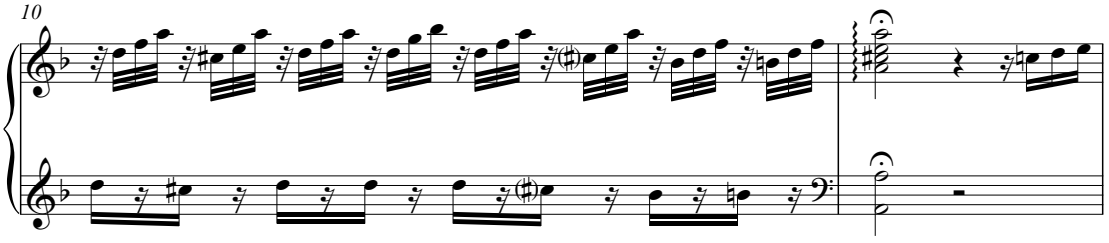
Este Verso se toca con los Clarinerias
[This verso is played with the Trumpets.]

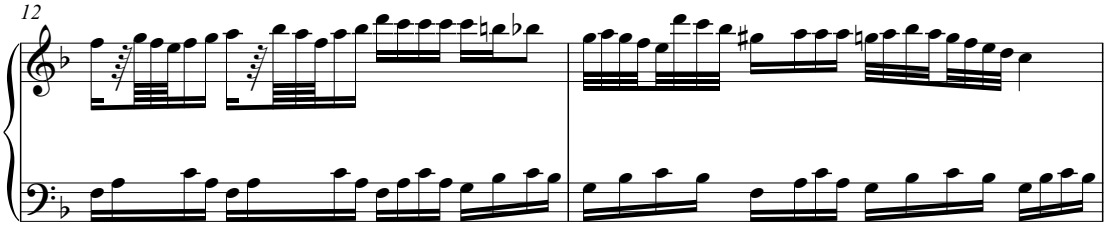
Brillante Allegro







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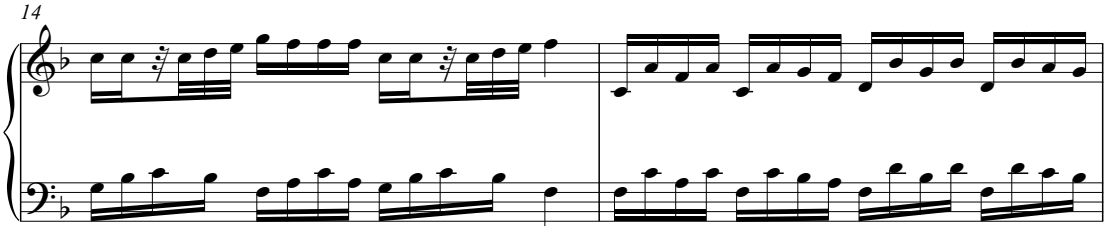
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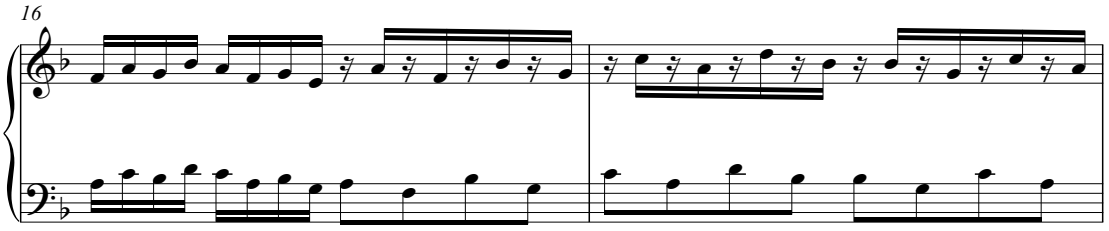
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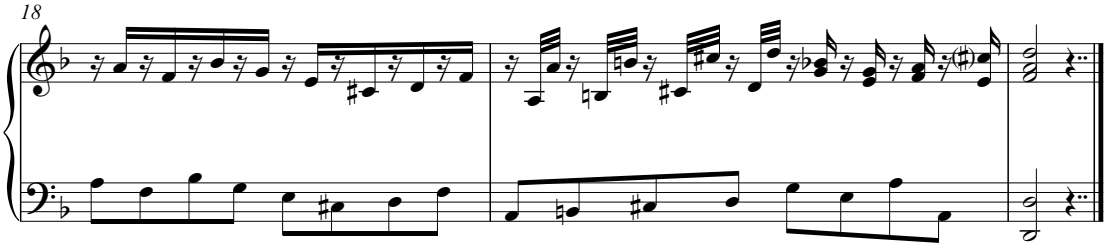
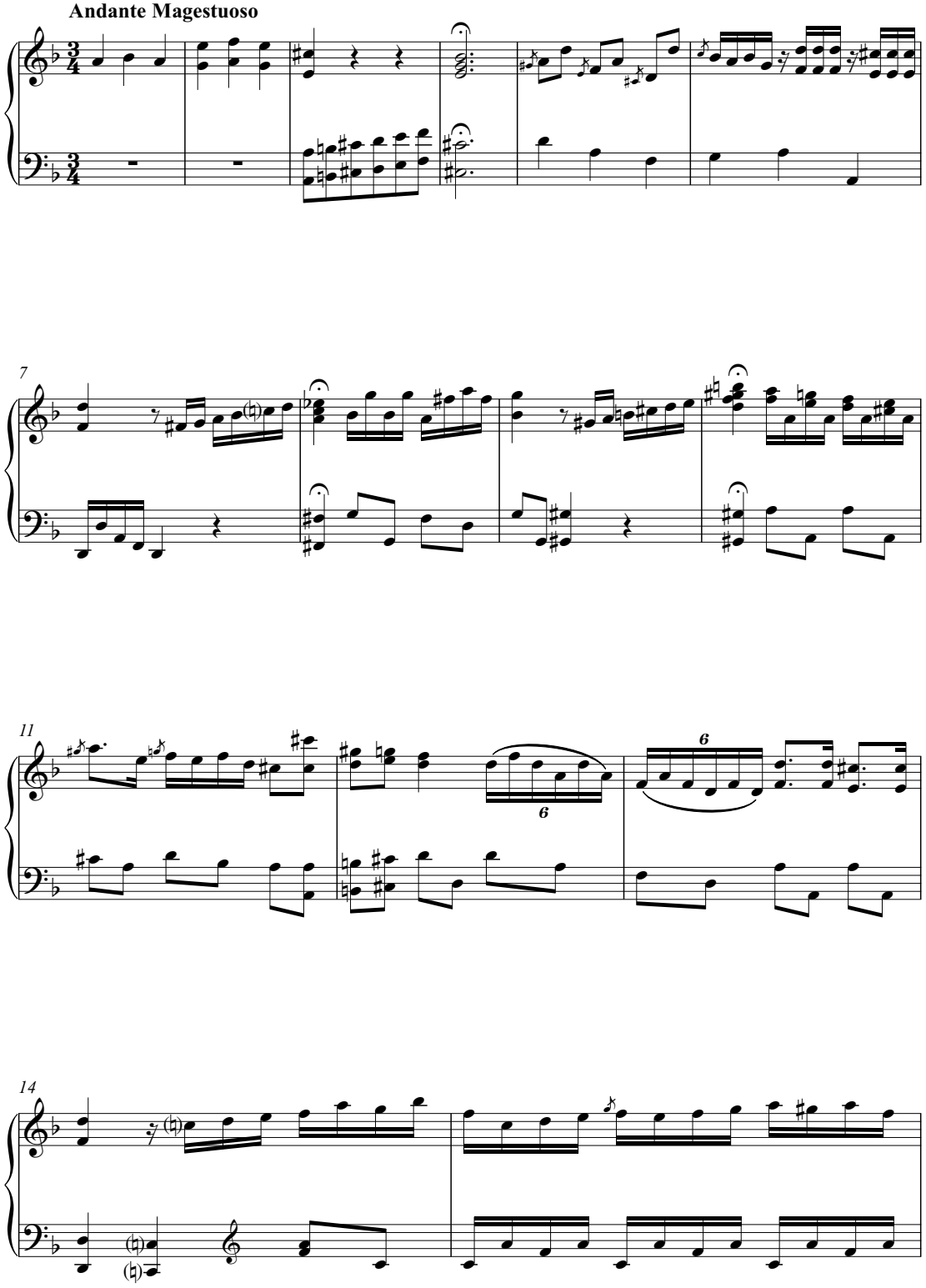
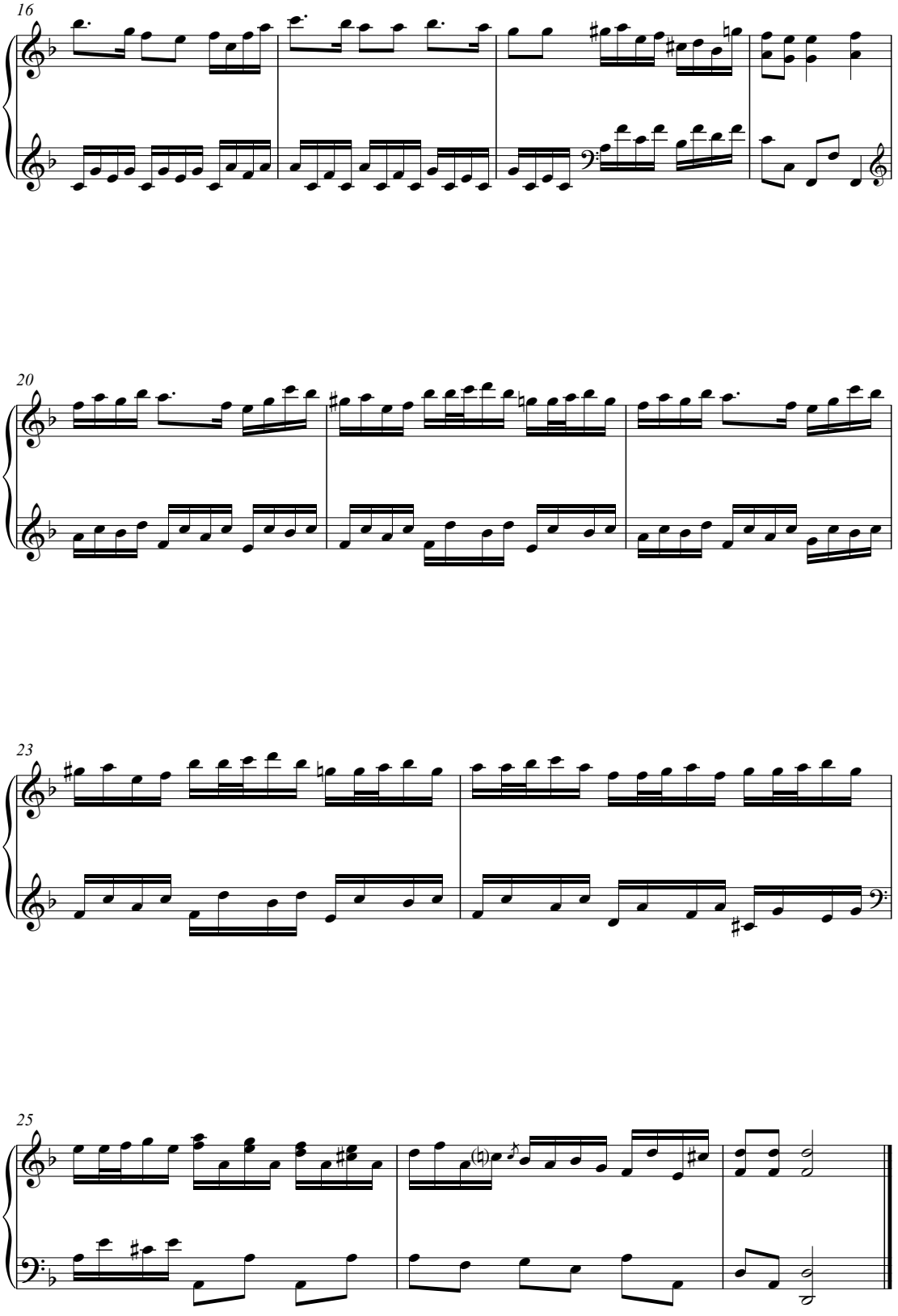

18

Tone 1 No. 4

Esta Verso, se tocará con la Corneta, de Ecos
[This verso is played with the Echo Cornet (a mutation stop).]

Andante Magestuoso




16
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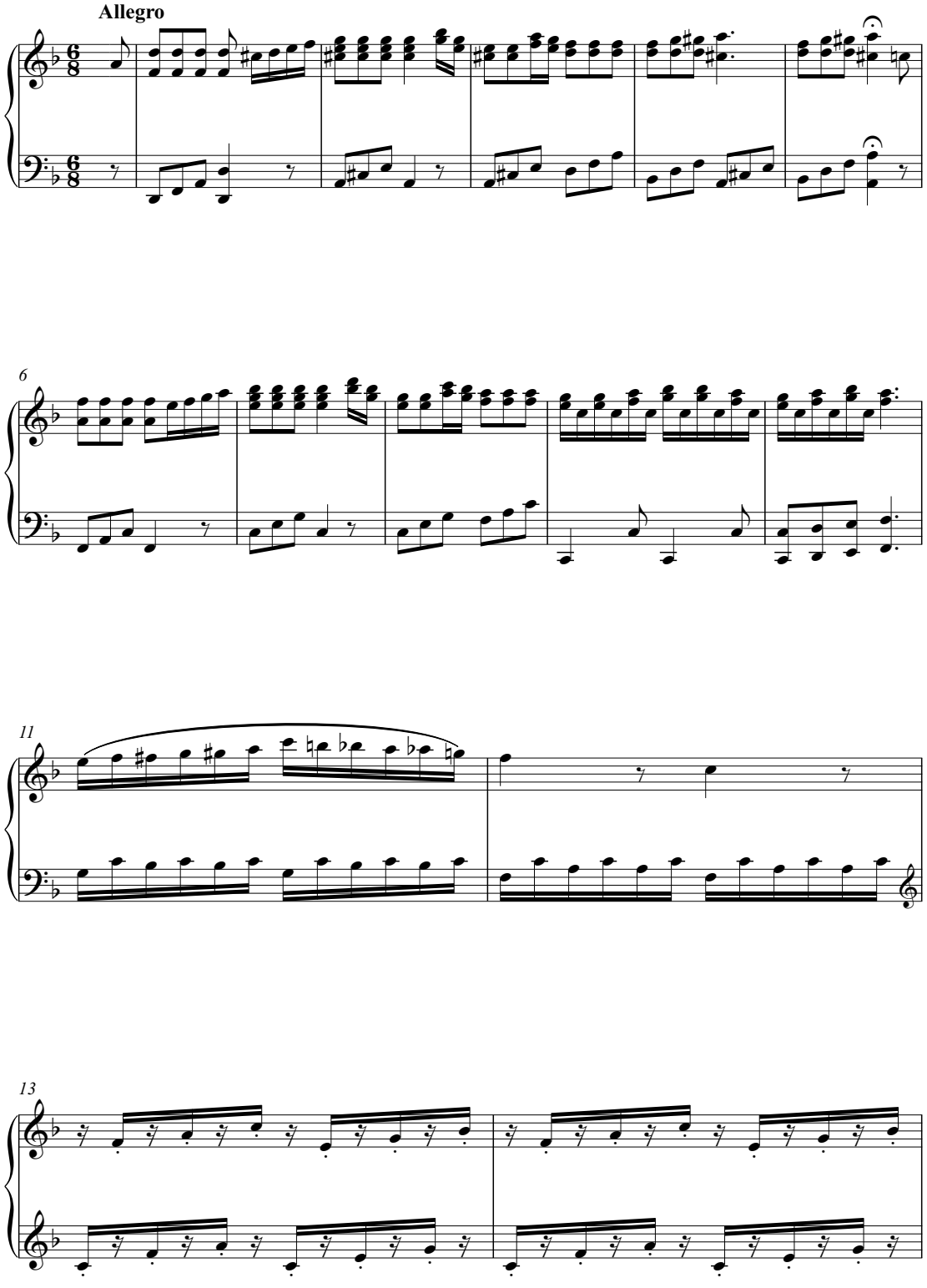
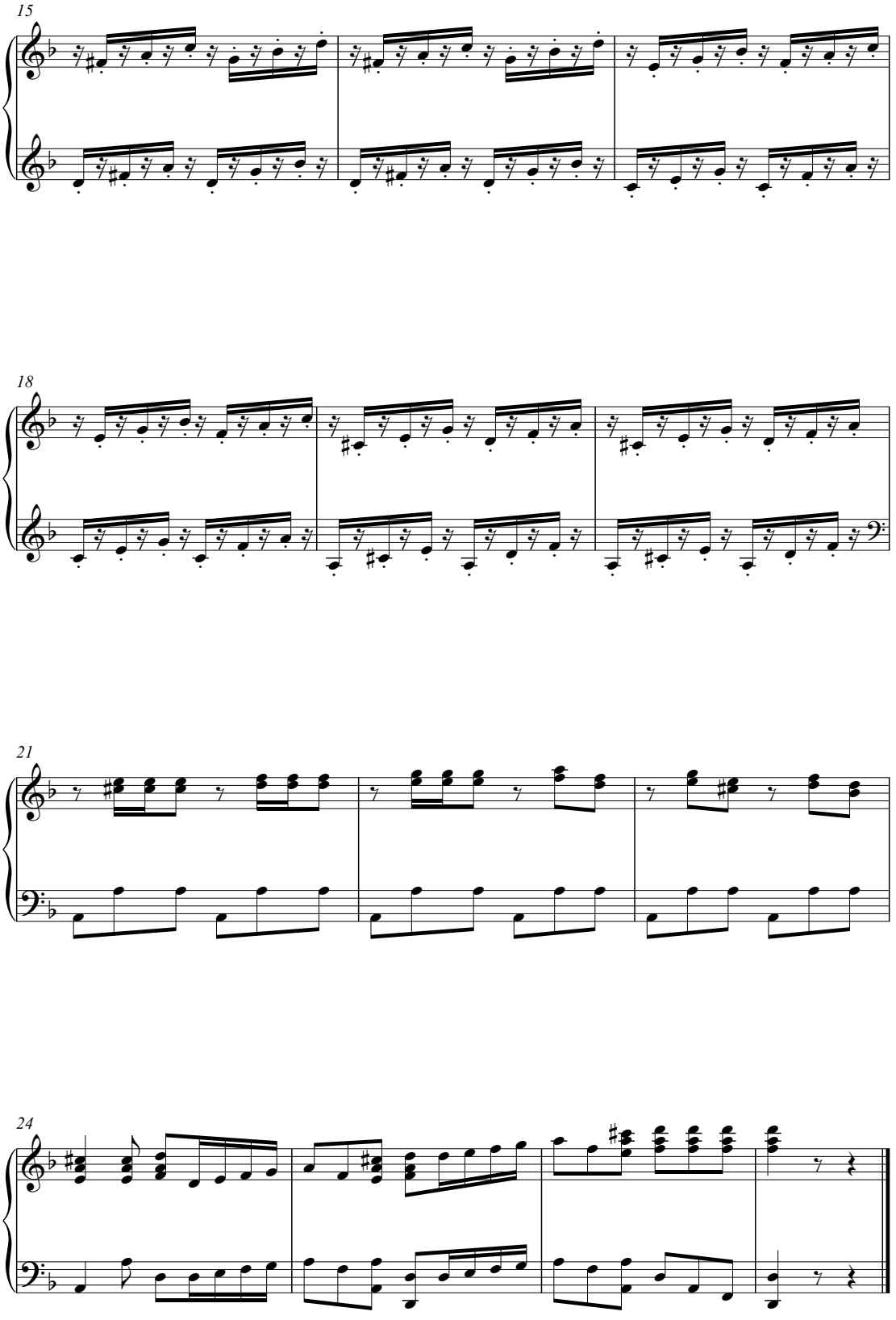
25

Tone 1 No. 5

Este Verso, se tocará con las Clarinerias.
[This verso is played with the Trumpets.]




15
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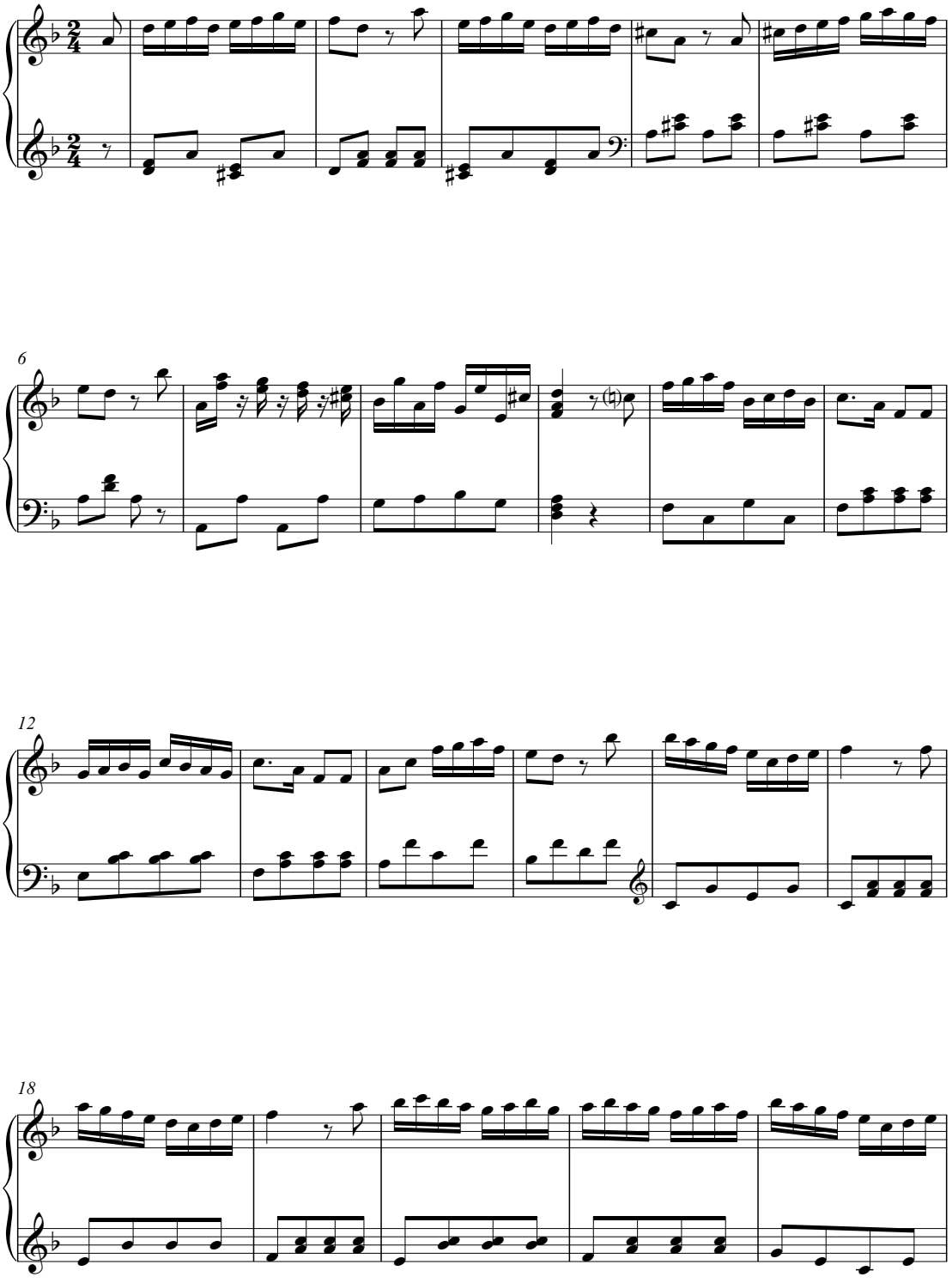
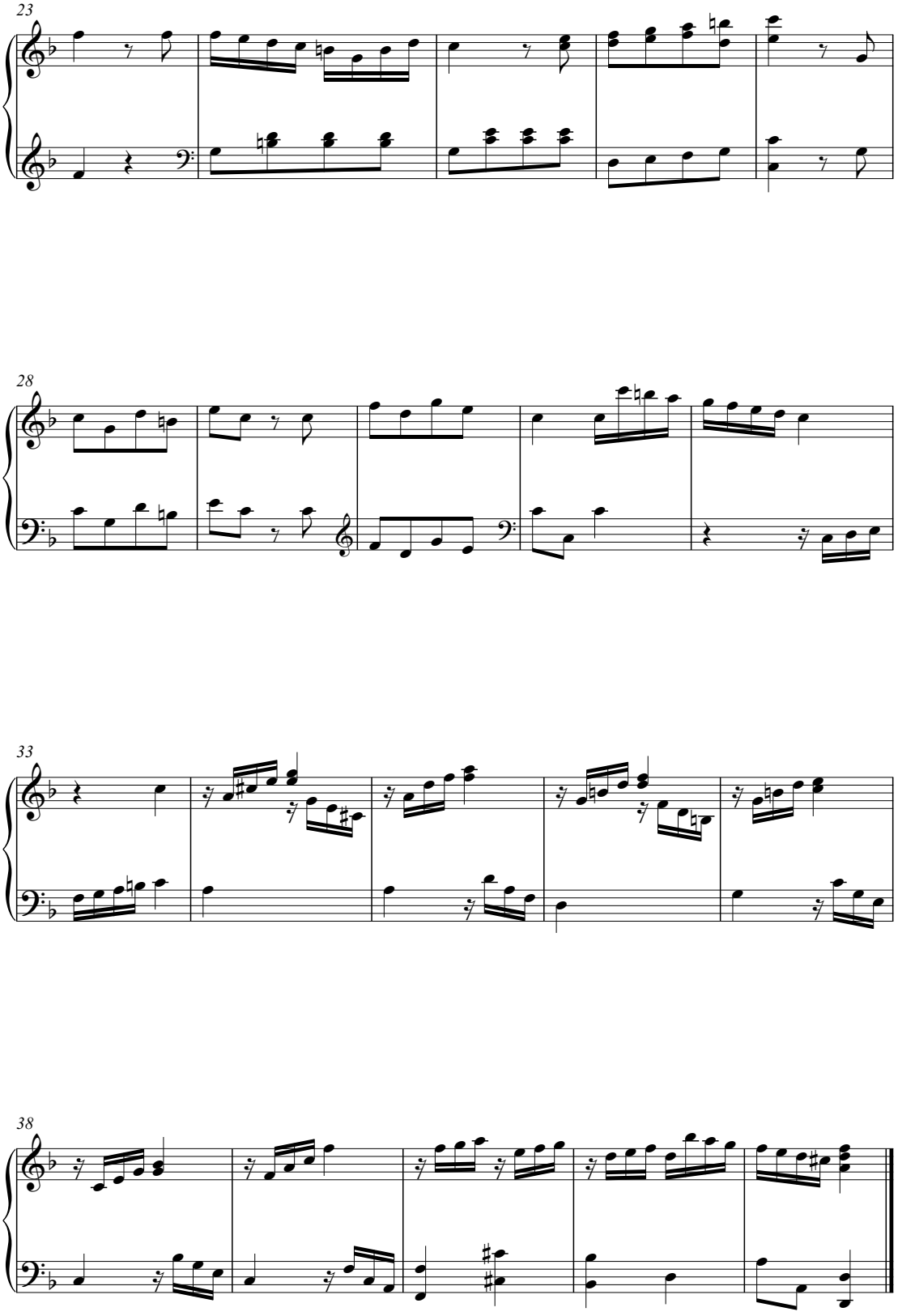
24

Tone 1 No. 6

Este Verzo, se tocará con la Cornéta, Magna ó con los Flautados.
[This verso is played with the Great Trumpet or with Principal Flutes.]

Andante

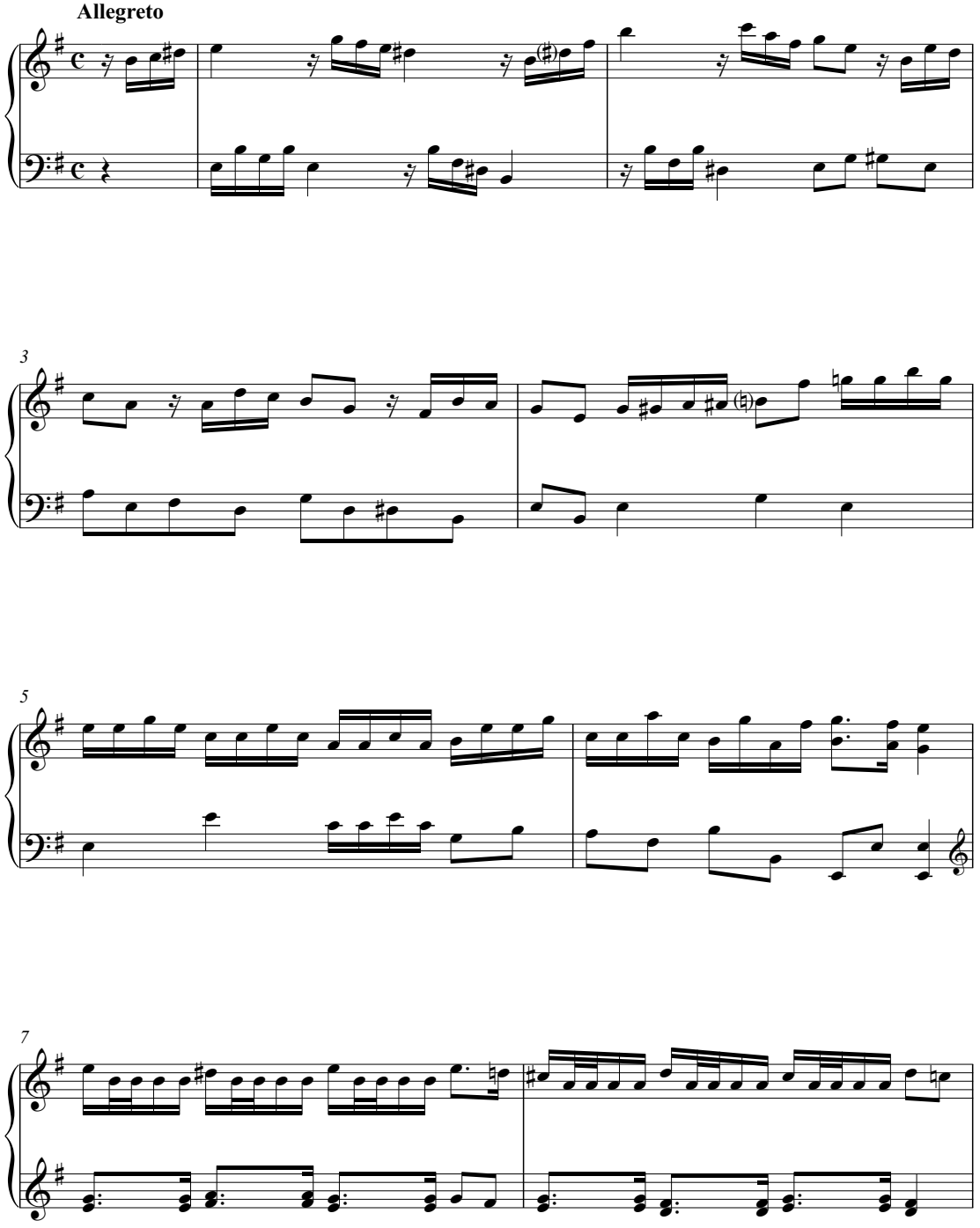


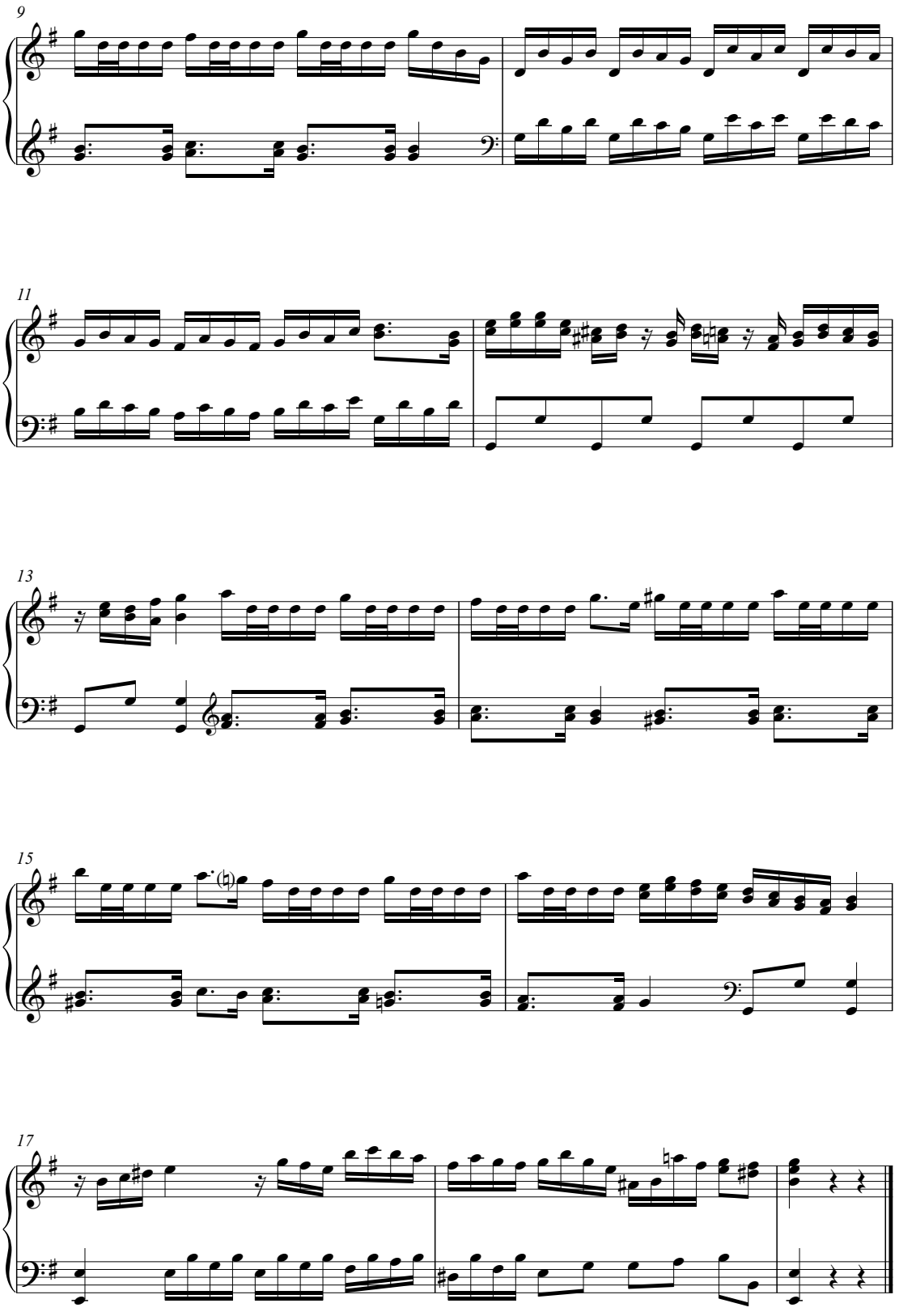

23
28
33
38

Versos de Segundo, y Tercero, Tonas.
[Versos of the Second and Third Tones]

Tones 2 & 3 No. 1

Este Verso, se tocará con las Clarinerias.
[This verso is played with the Trumpets.]




9
11
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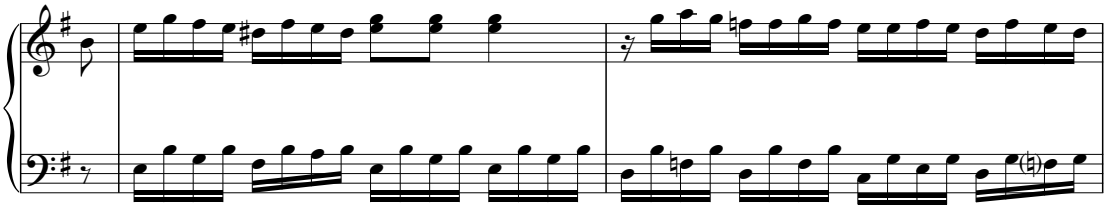
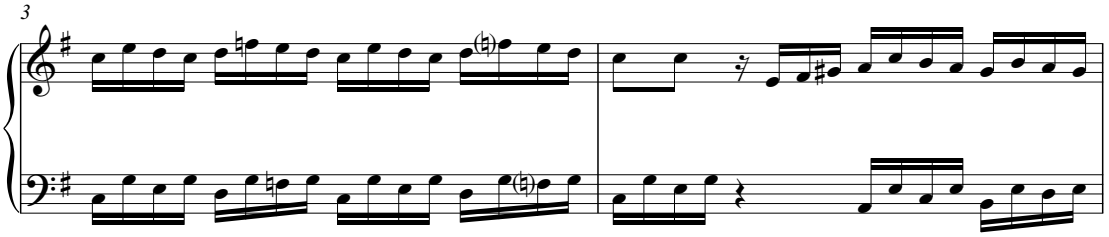
17

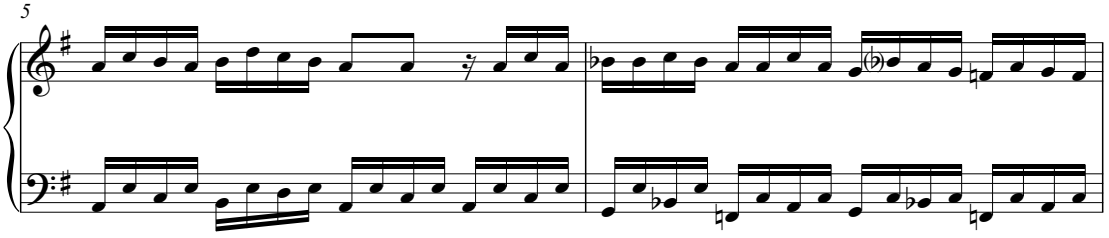
Tones 2 & 3 No. 2

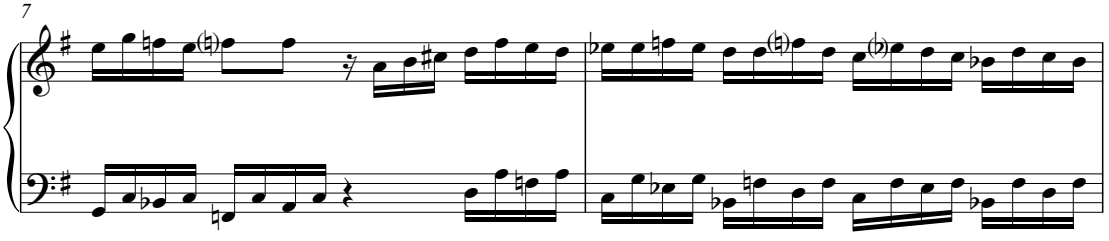
Este Verso, se Tocará en la Mano derechas con las Clarinerias, y en La Ysquierda con el Orlo
[This verso is played with Trumpets in the Right Hand and Orlo (a reed stop) in the Left.]

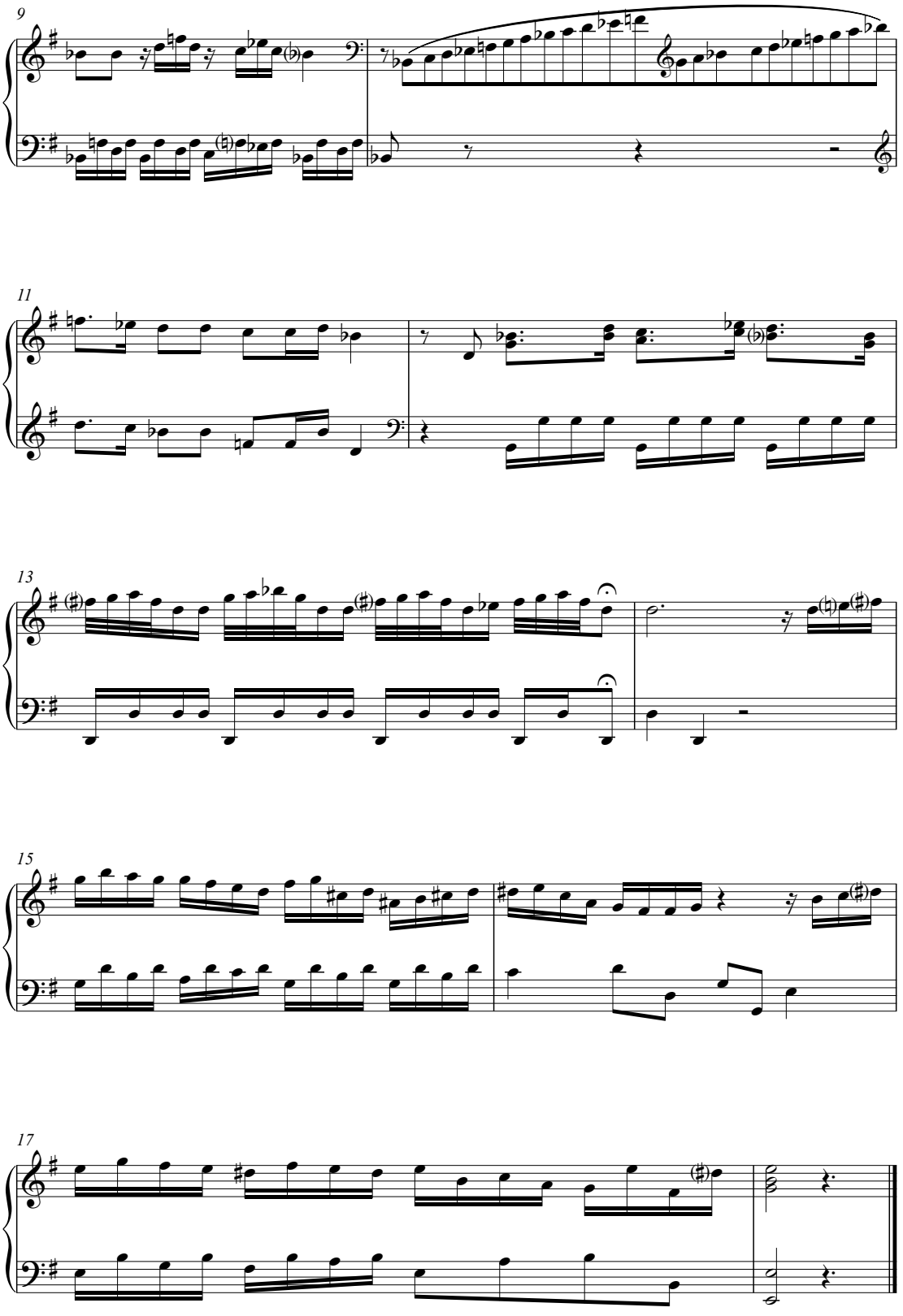
Andantino







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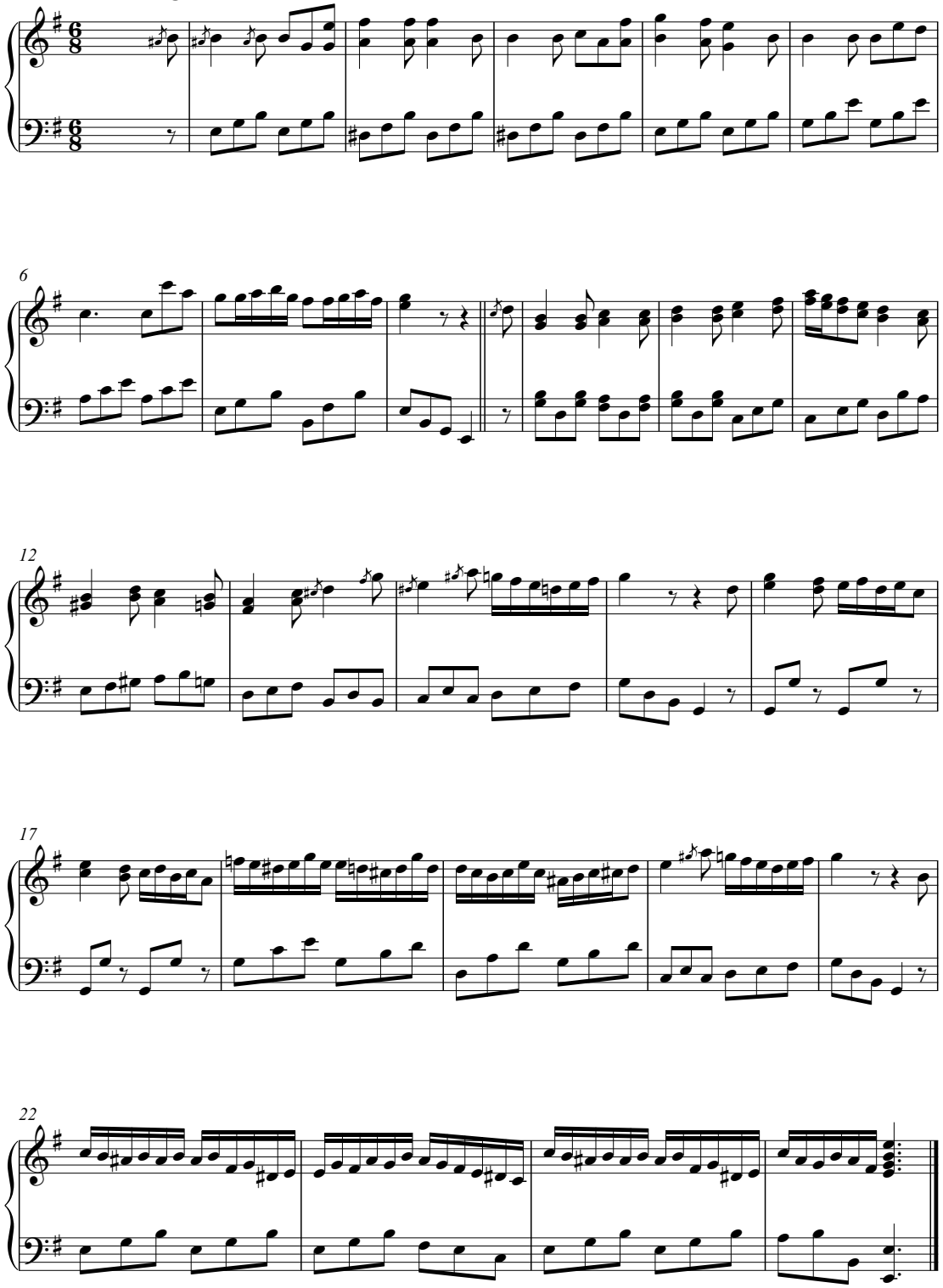
Tones 2 & 3 No. 3

Con la corneta de Ecos
[With the Echo Cornet (a mutation stop)]

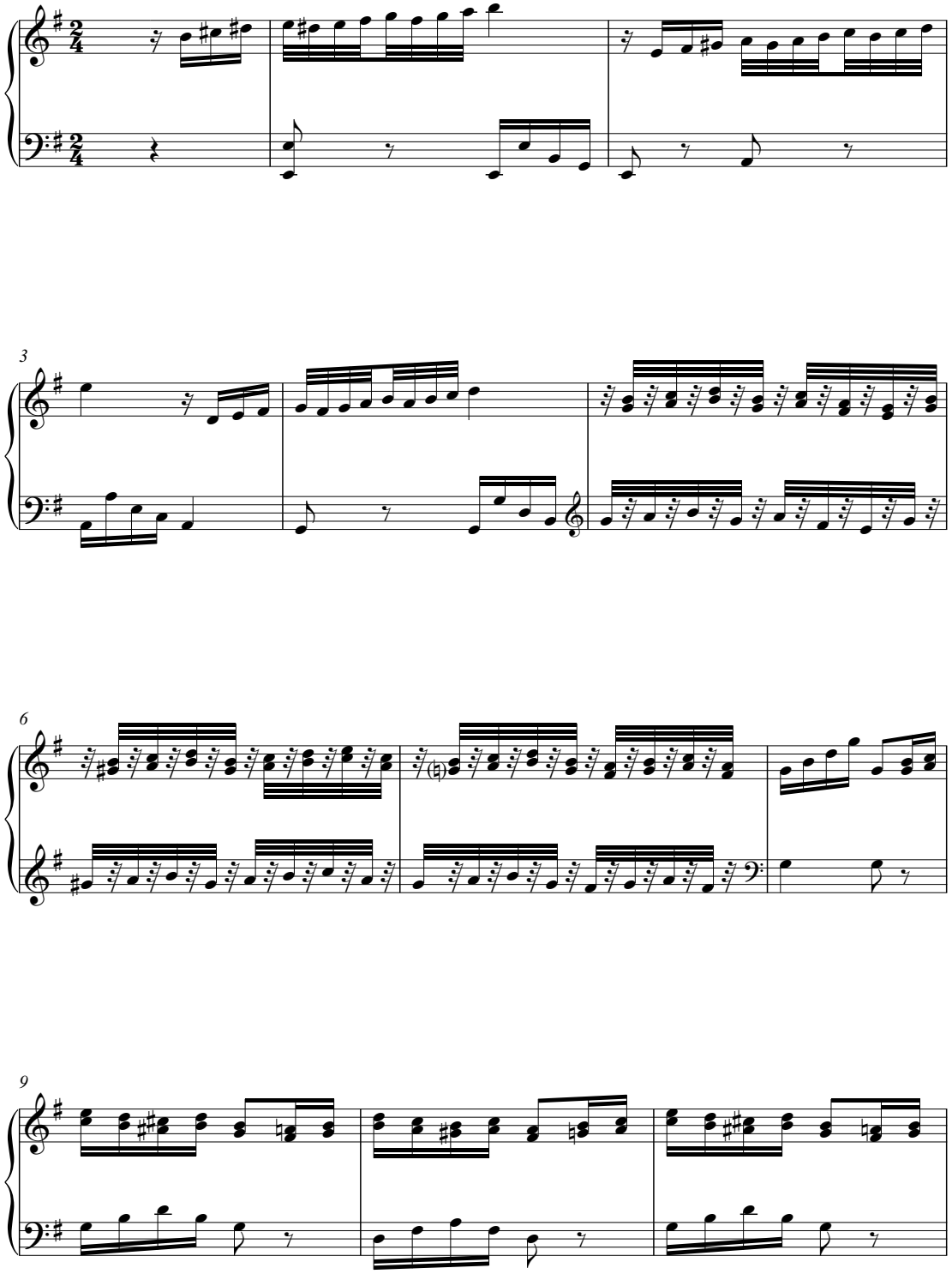
Allegreto

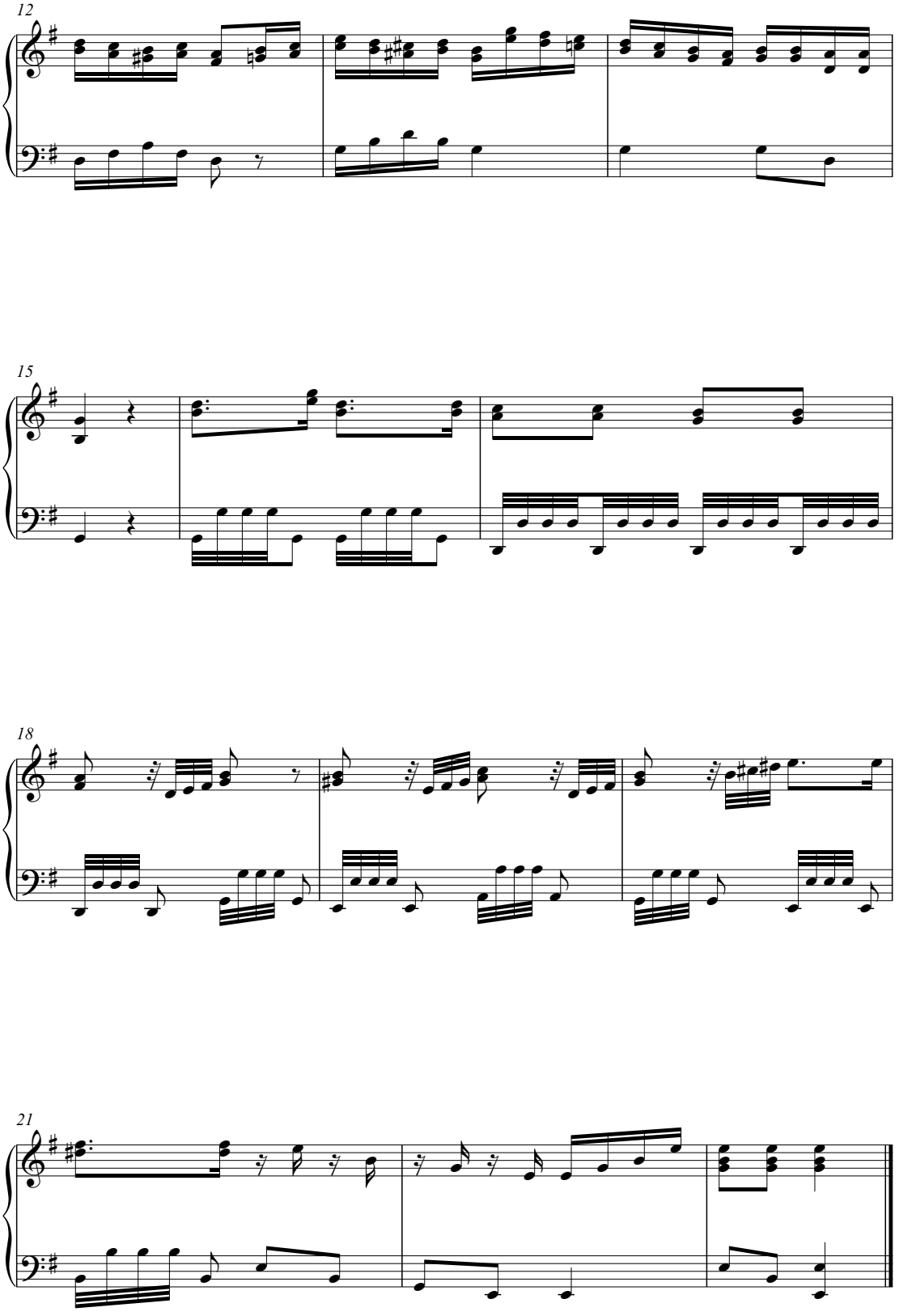


Tones 2 & 3 No. 4

Con las Clarinerias
[With the Trumpets]

Vivase [Vivace]




12
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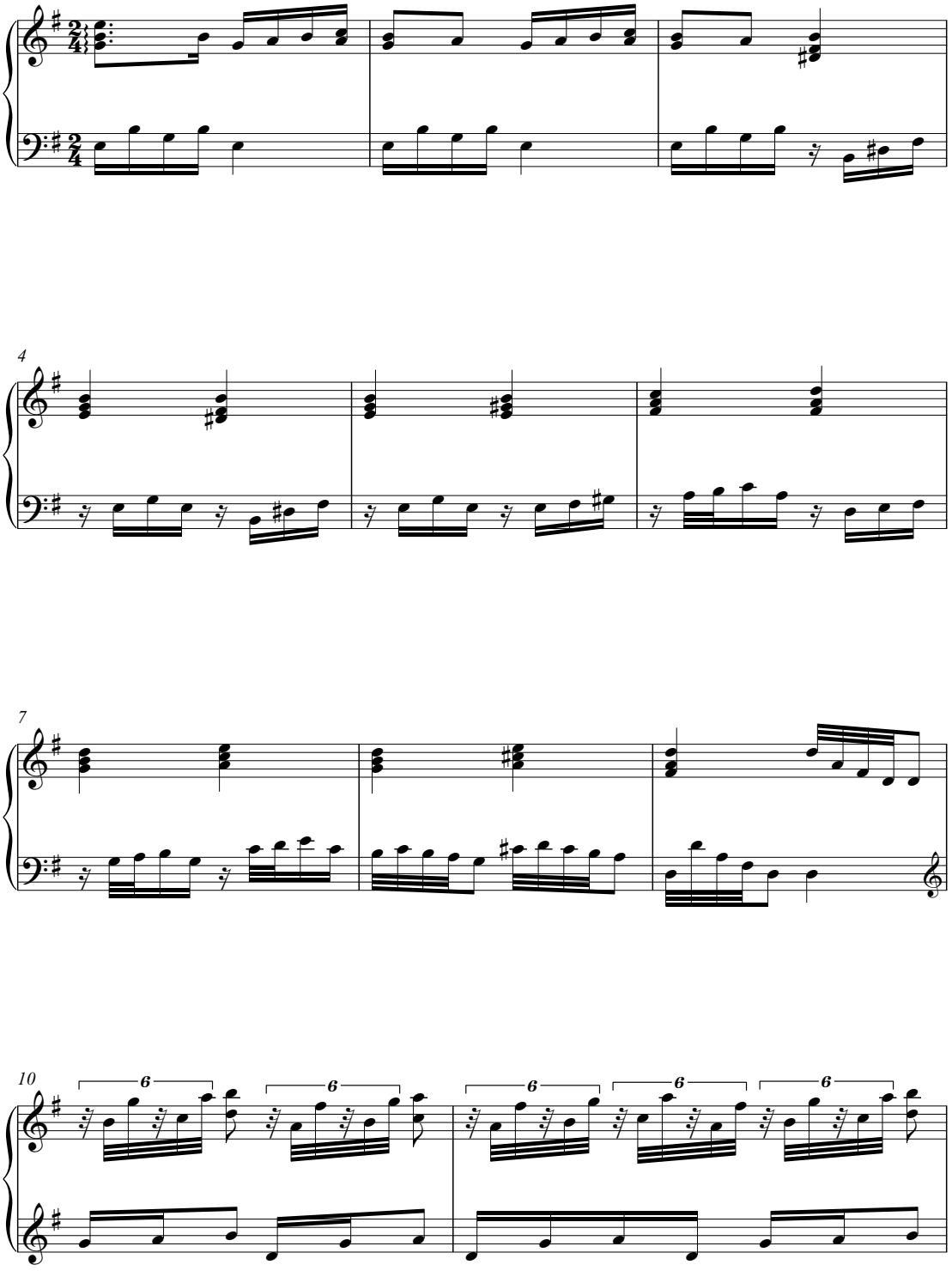
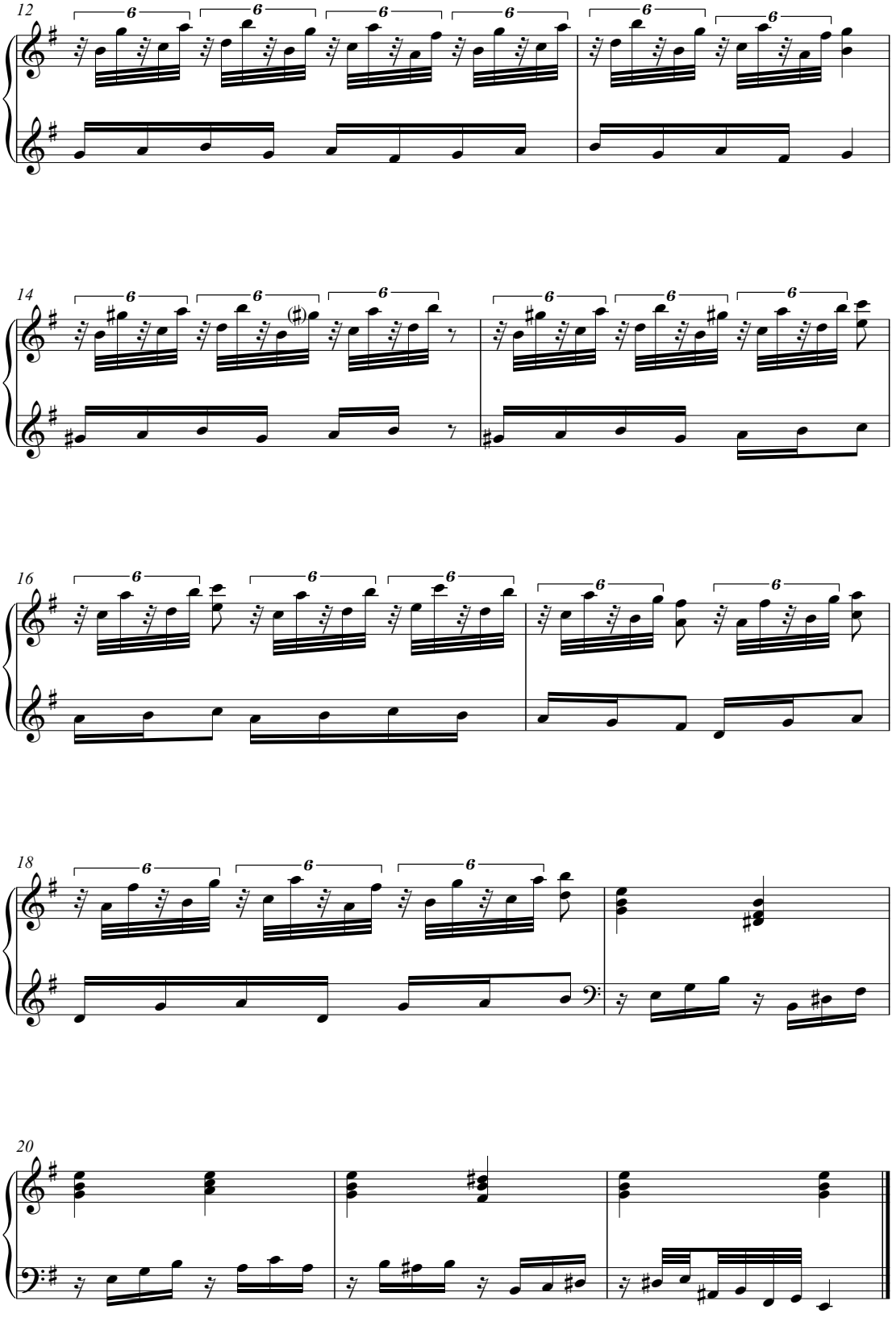
Tones 2 & 3 No. 5

Con la Corneta Magna
[With the Great Trumpet]

Moderato

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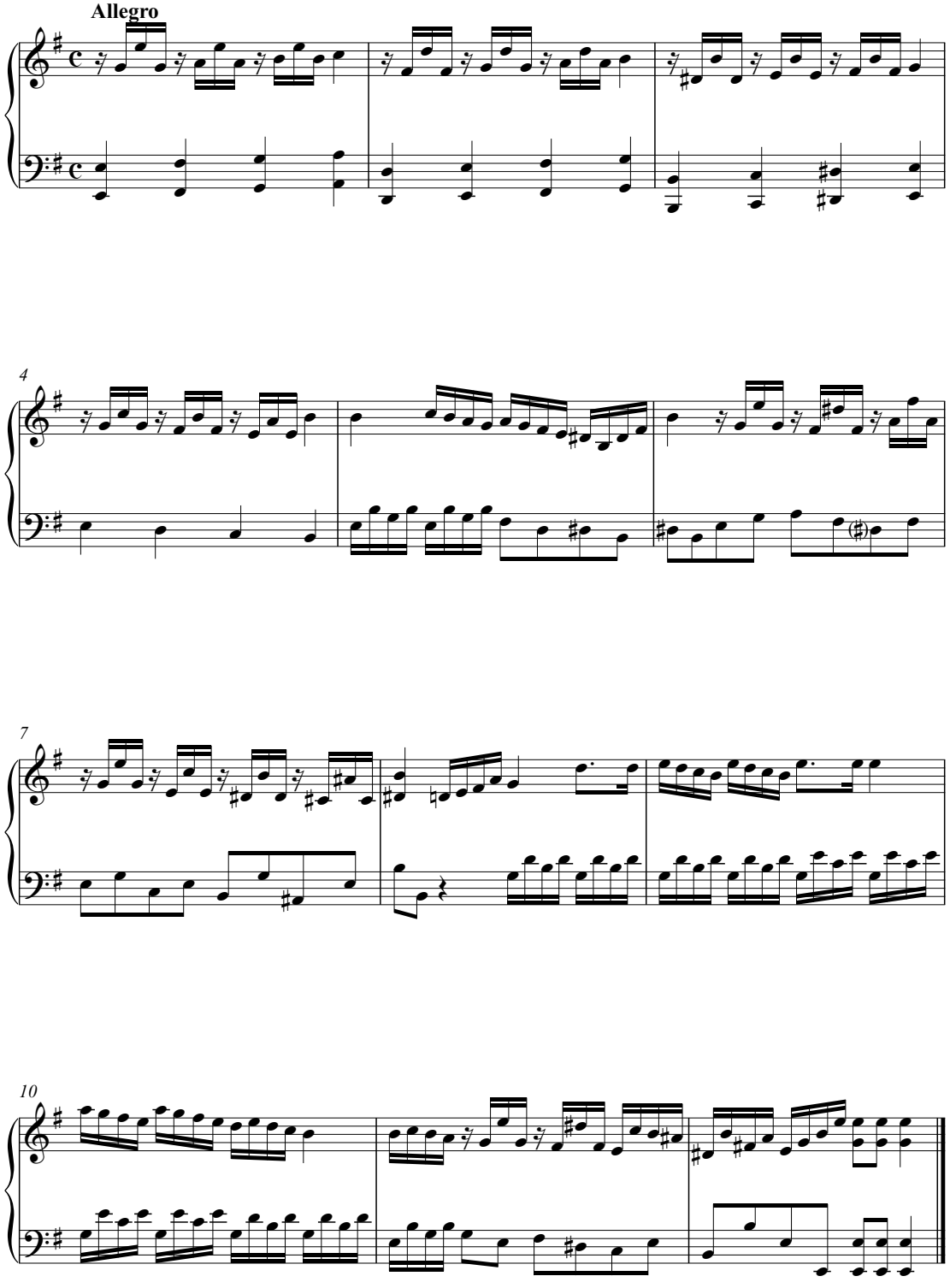
Tones 2 & 3 No. 6

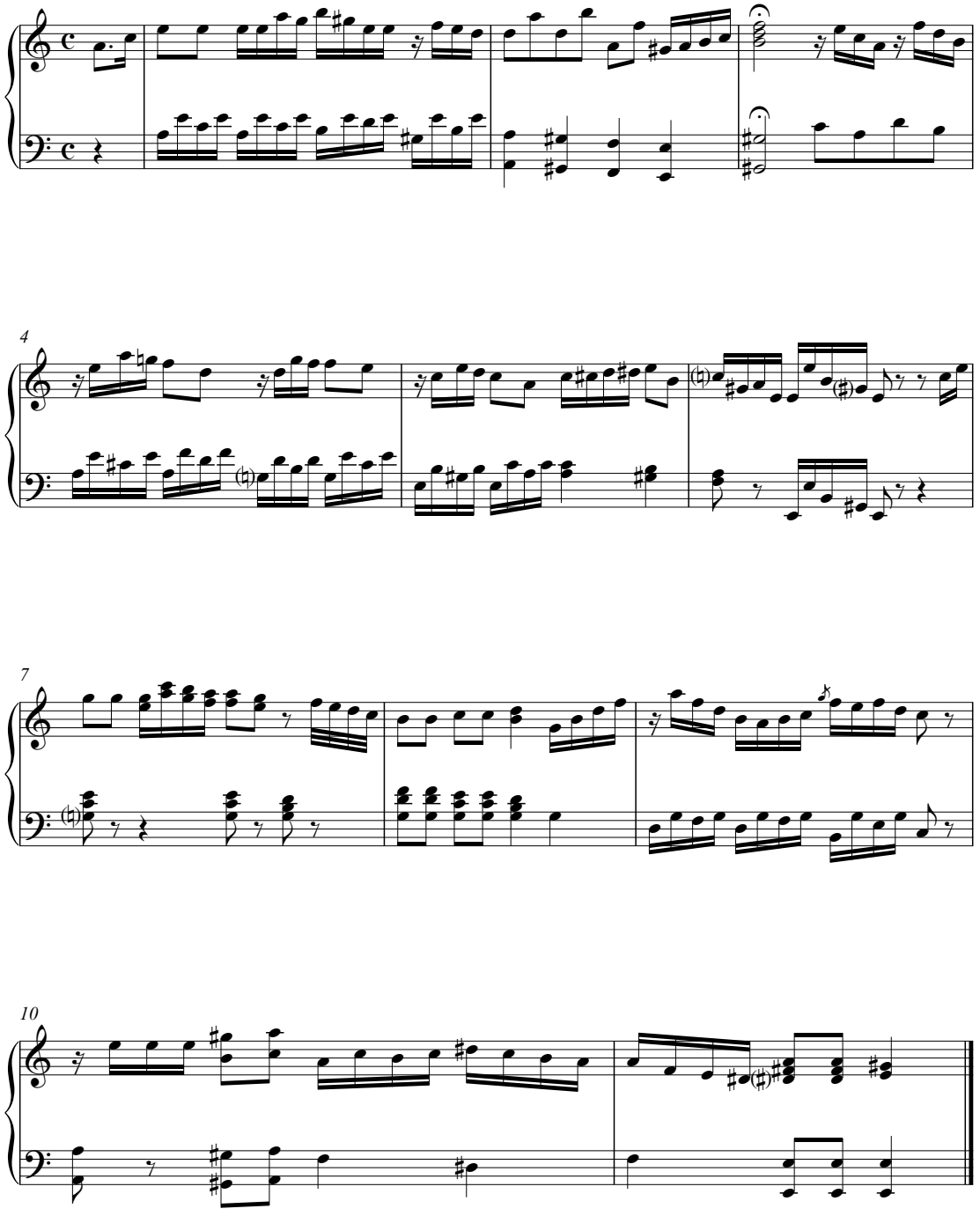
Con los Llenos
[With the Principal Mixtures]



Versos de Cuarto y Septimo Tonos
[Versos of the Fourth and Seventh Tones]

Tones 4 & 7 No. 1 Con los Flautados
[With the Principal Flutes]

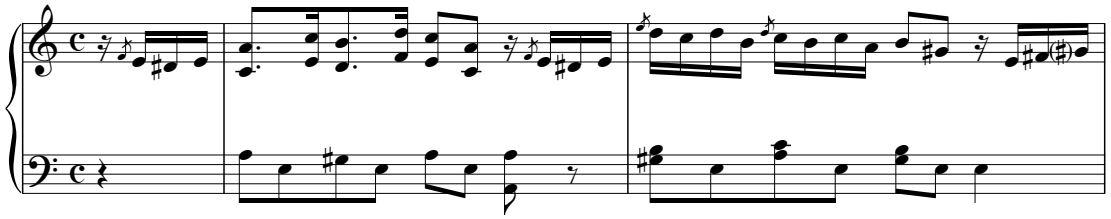
Andante

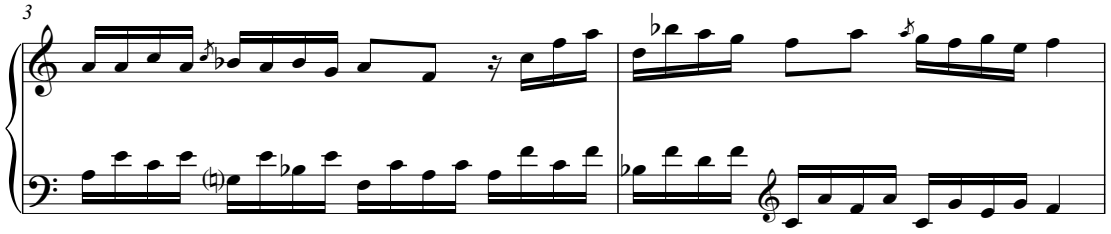


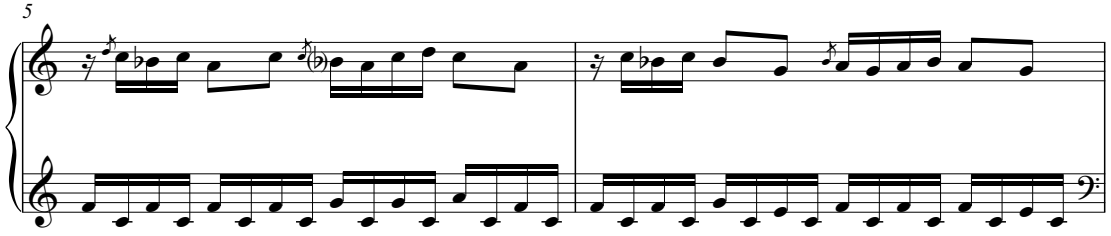
Tones 4 & 7 No. 2

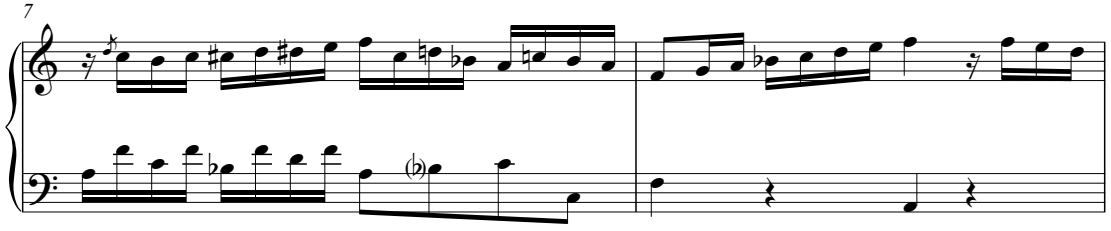
Con la Corneta de Ecos
[With the Eco Cornet (a mutation stop)]

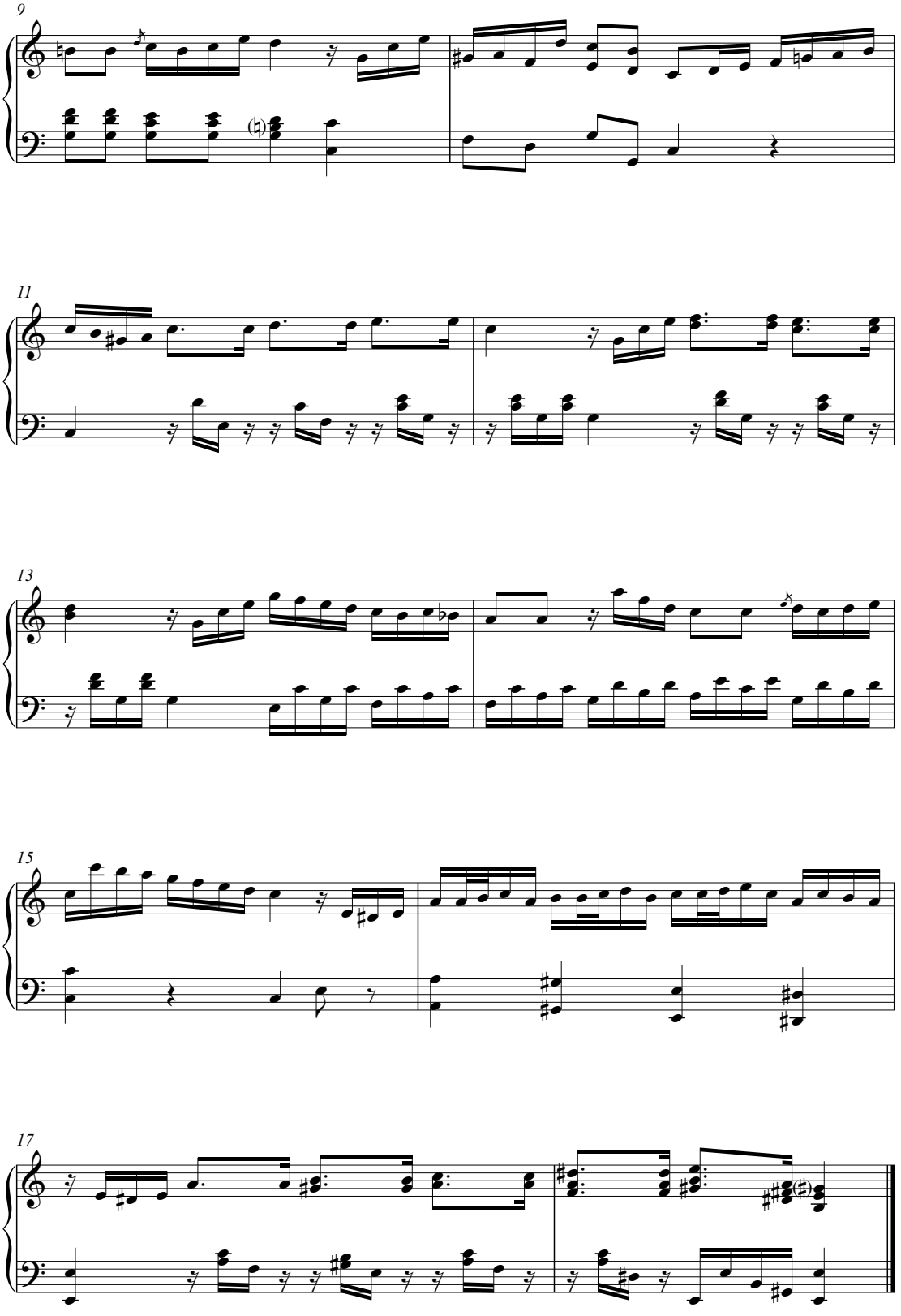
Moderato







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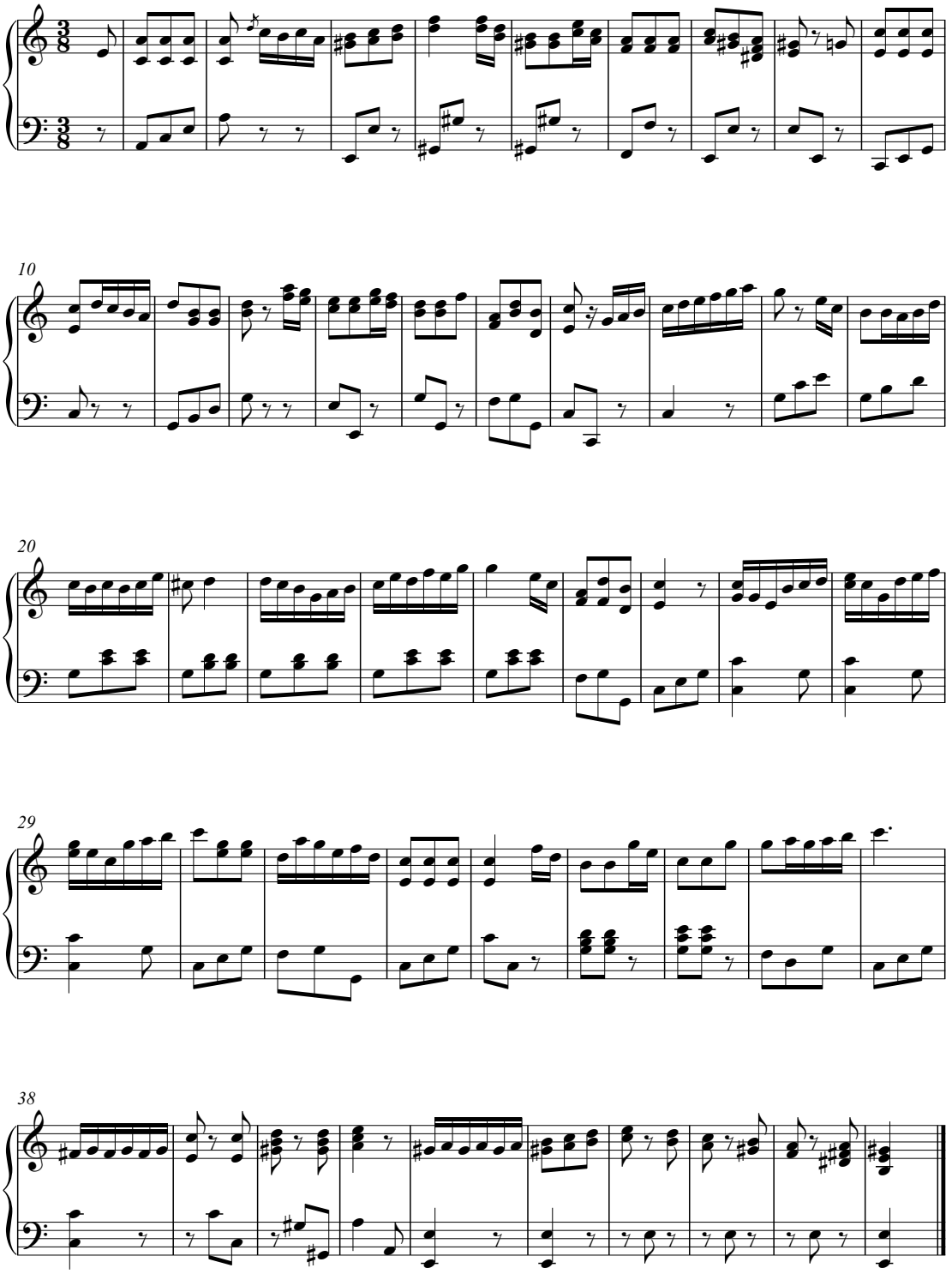
Tones 4 & 7 No. 3

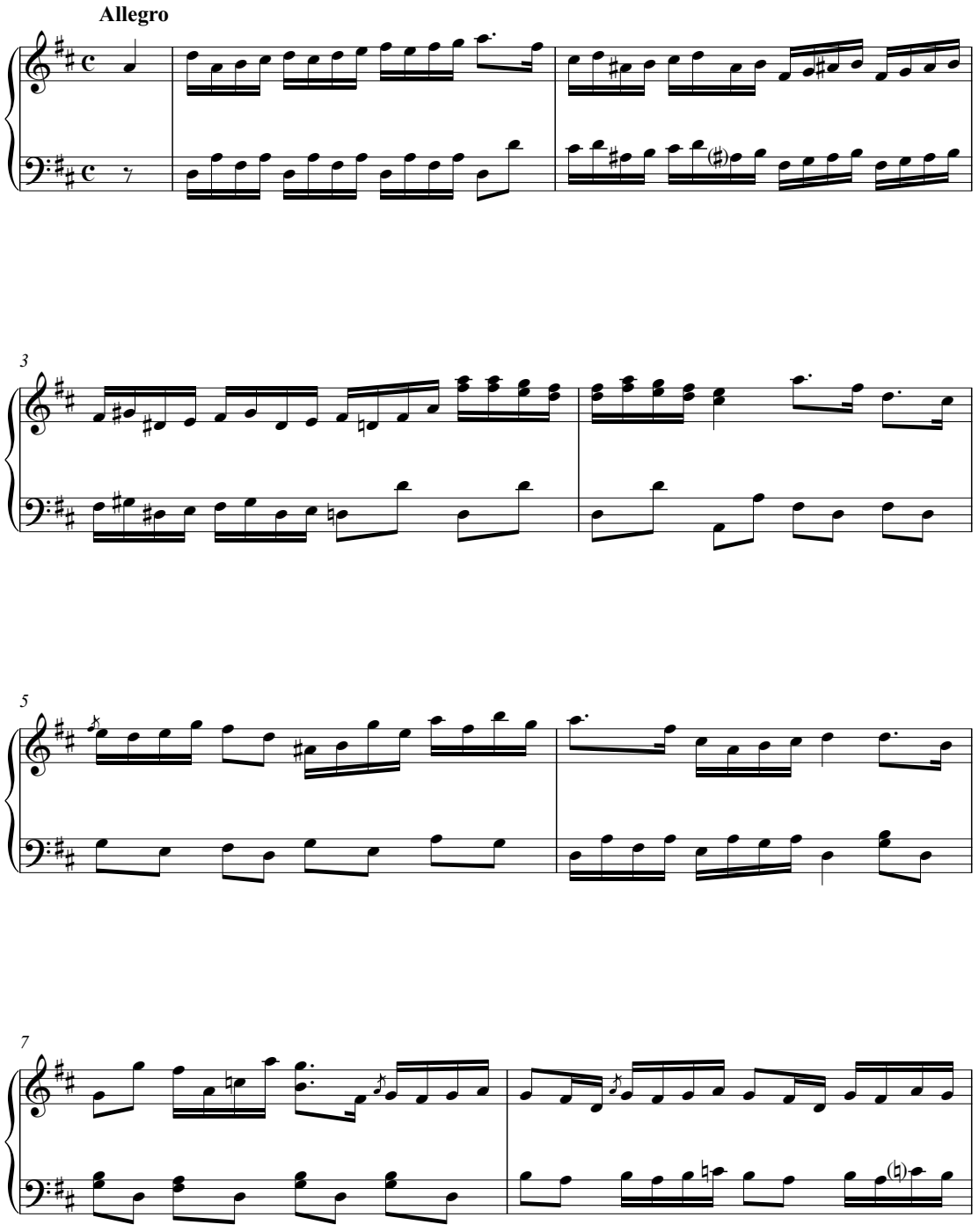
Con las Flautados
[With the Principal Flutes]

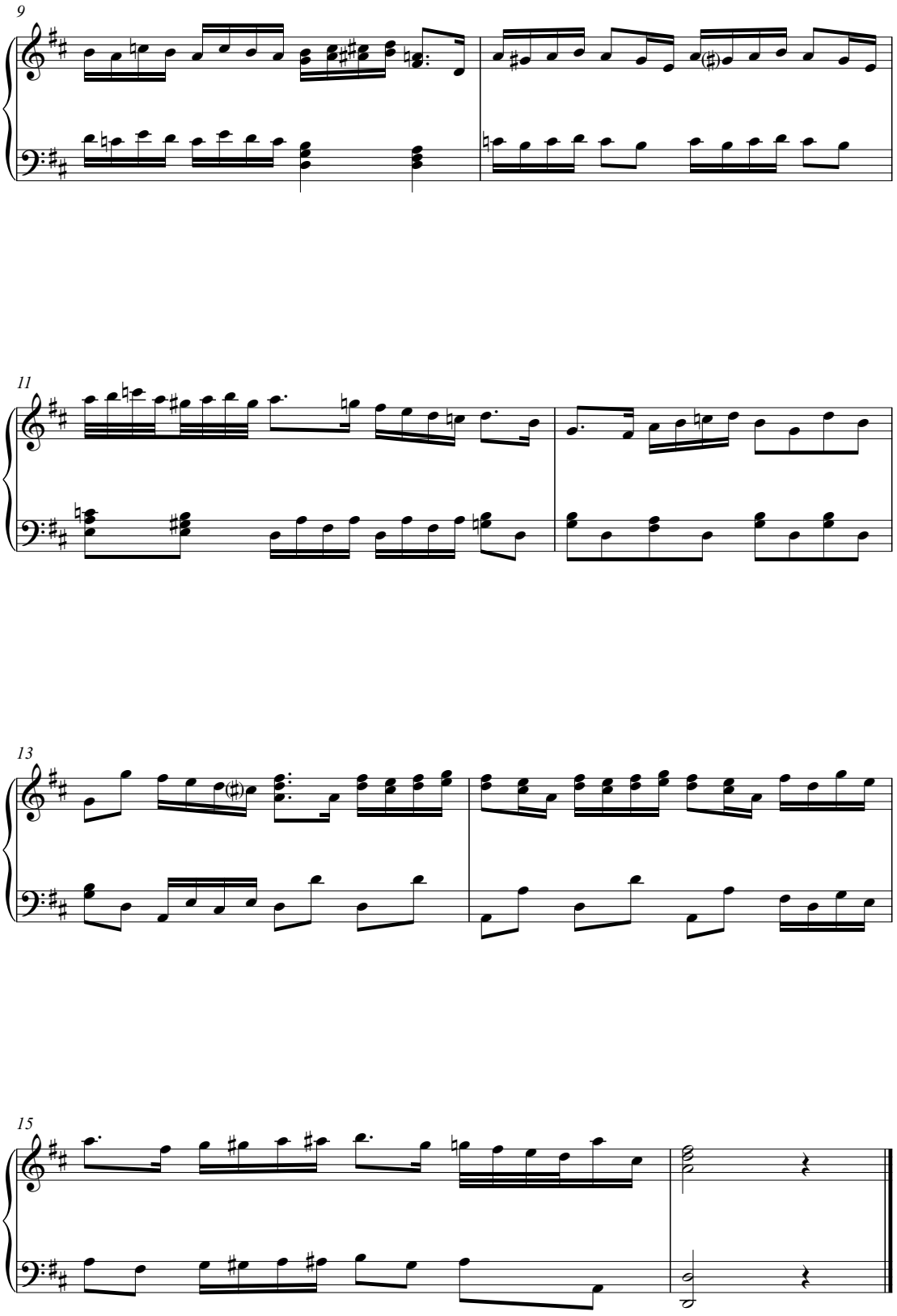
Andantino



Versos de Quinto y Sesto Tonos
[Versos of the Fifth and Sixth Tones]

Tones 5 & 6 No. 1 Con las Clarinerias
[With the Trumpets]

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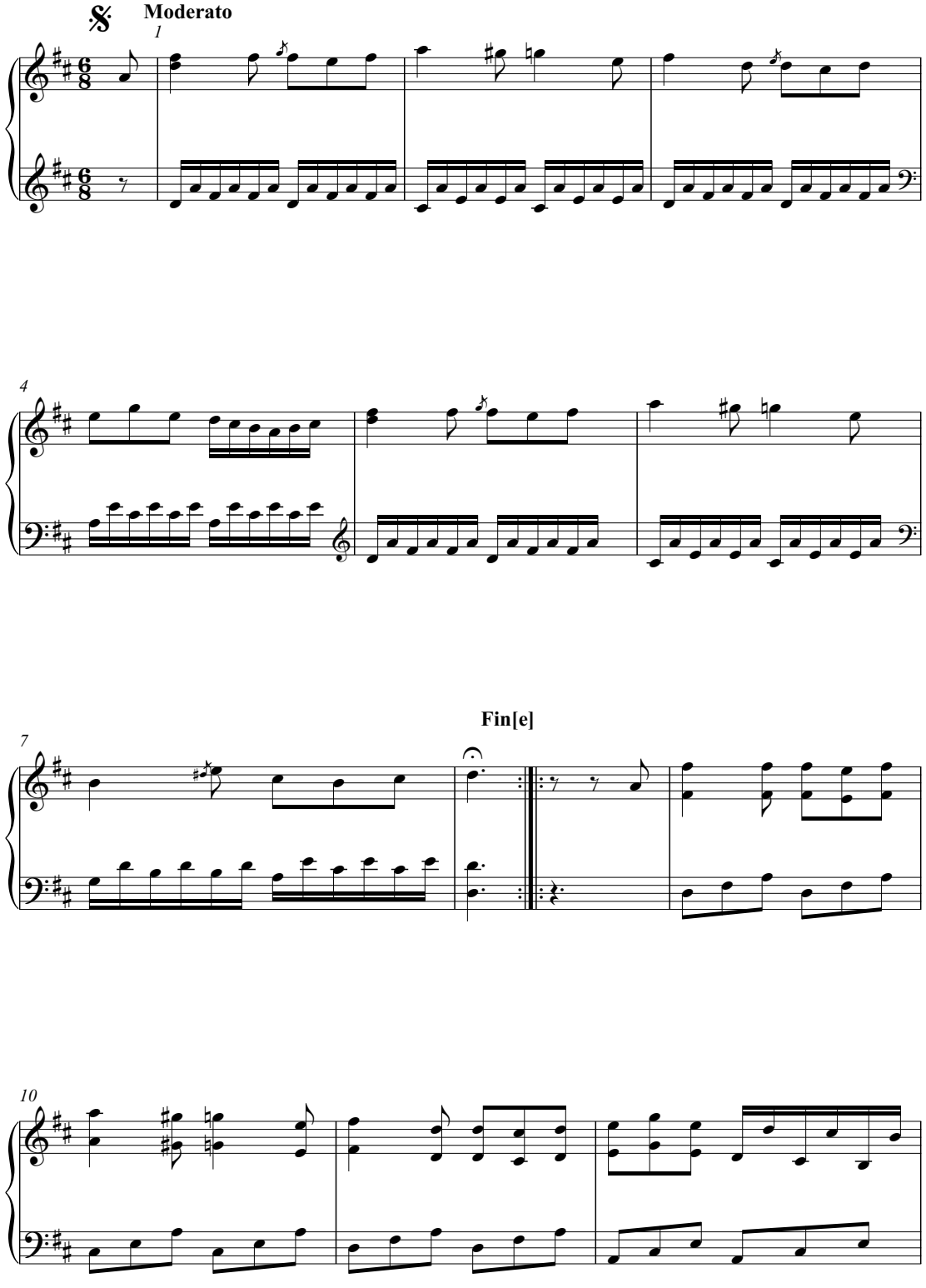
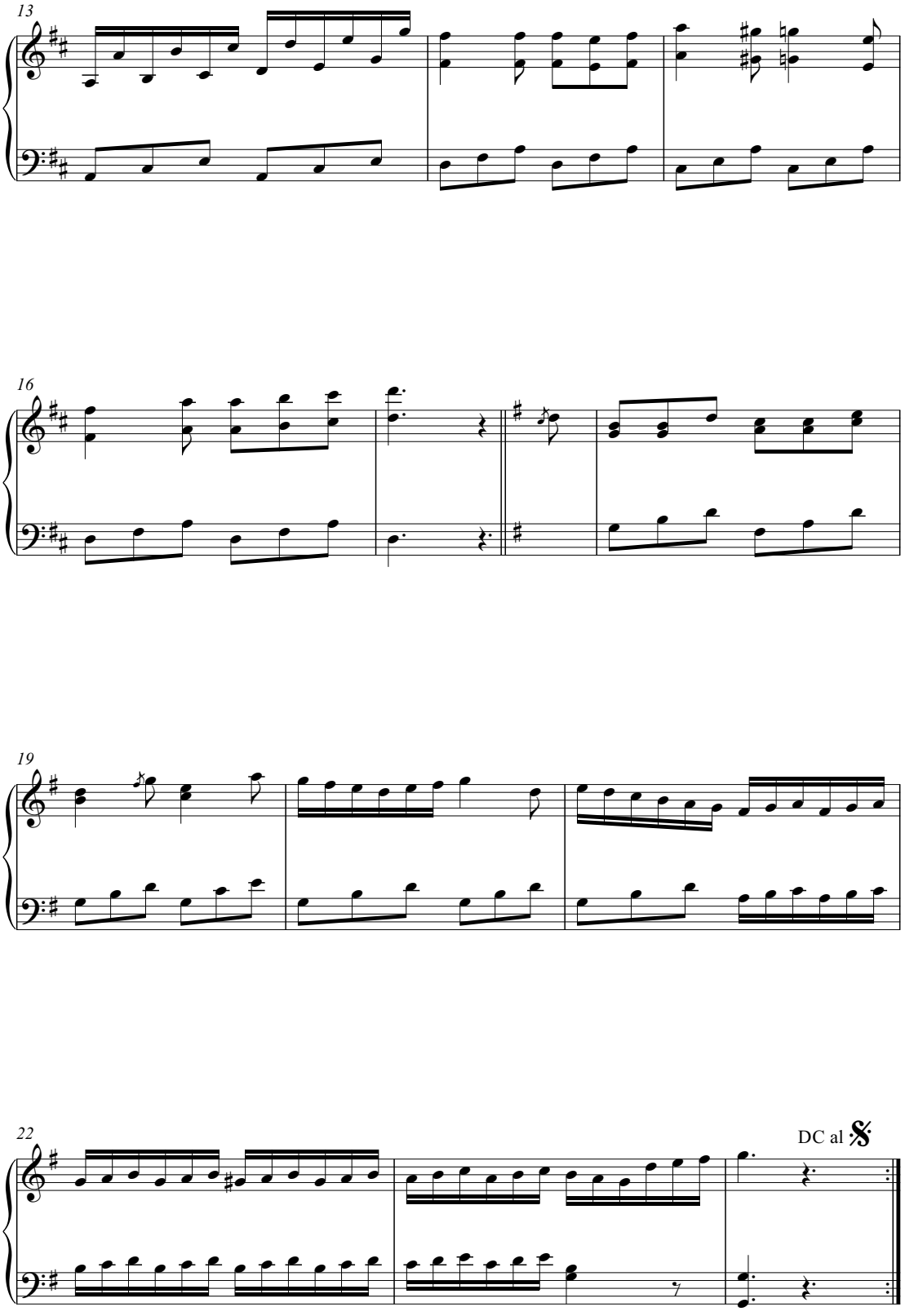
Tones 5 & 6 No. 2

Con las Flautados
[With the Principal Flutes]

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16
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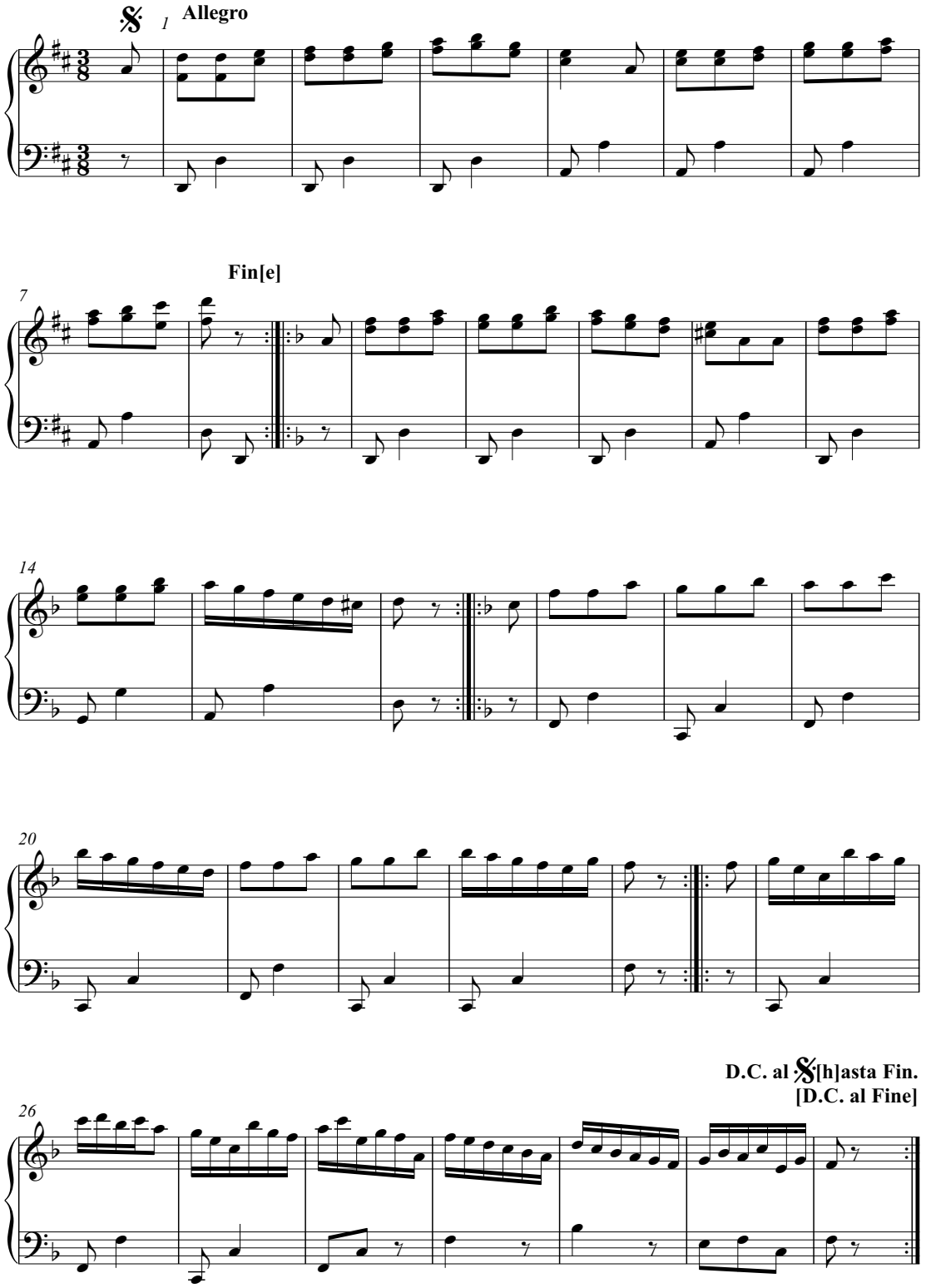
DC al 𝄋

Tones 5 & 6 No. 3

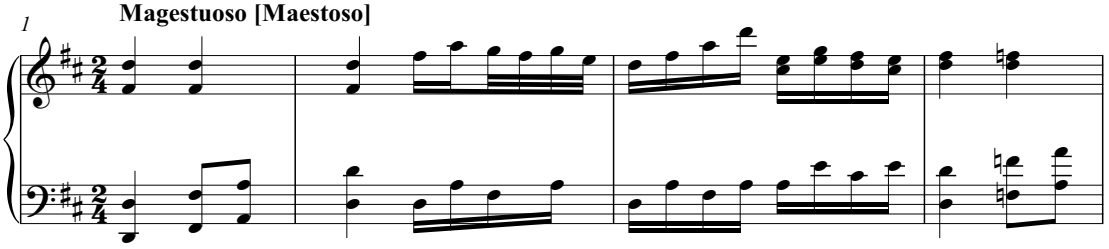
Con la Corneta Magna
[With the Great Trumpet]

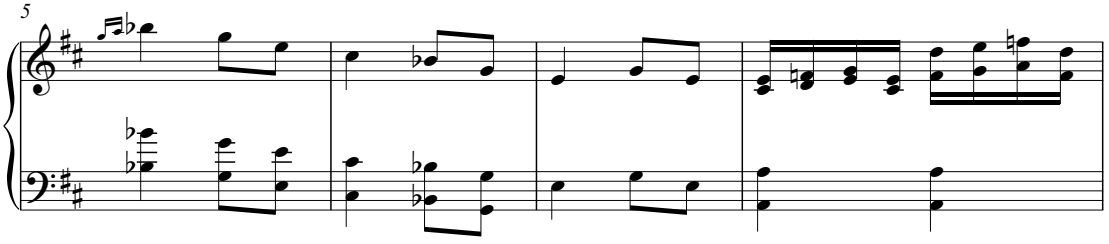


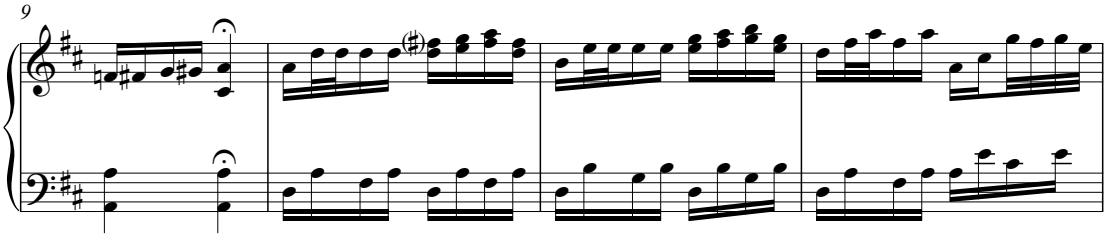
Tones 5 & 6 No. 4

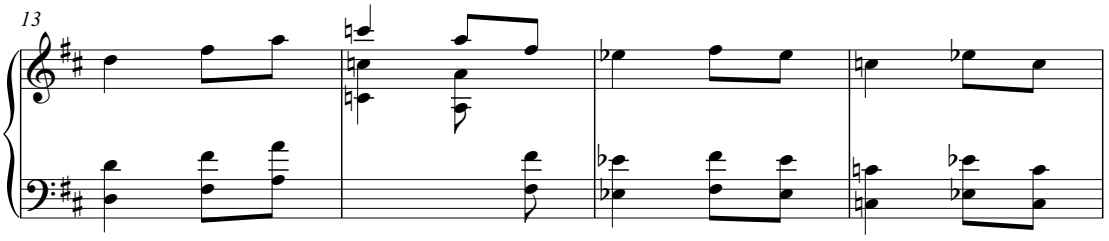
Con los Llenos
[With the Mixtures]

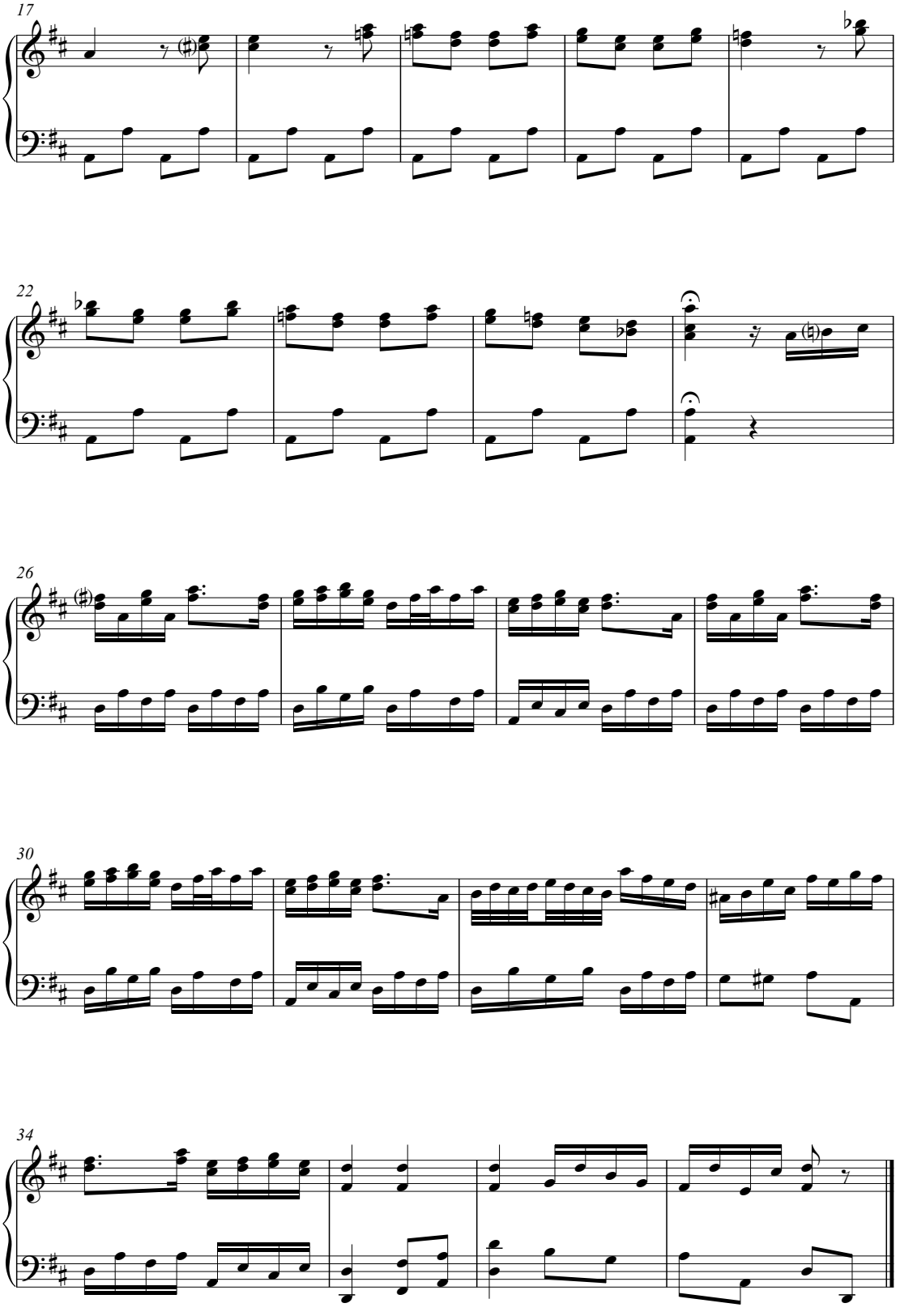
Magestuoso [Maestoso]










17
22
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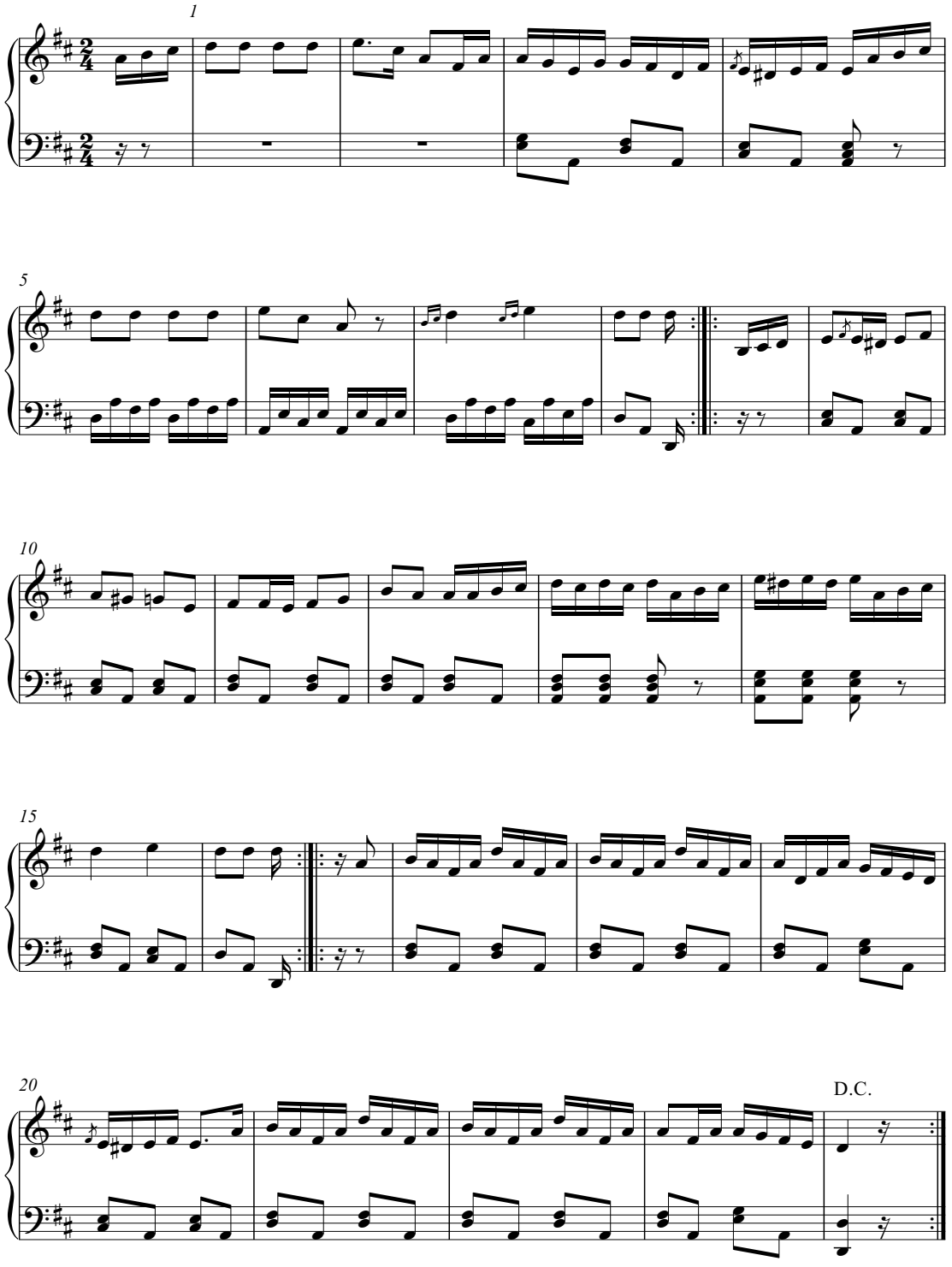
34

Tones 5 & 6 No. 5

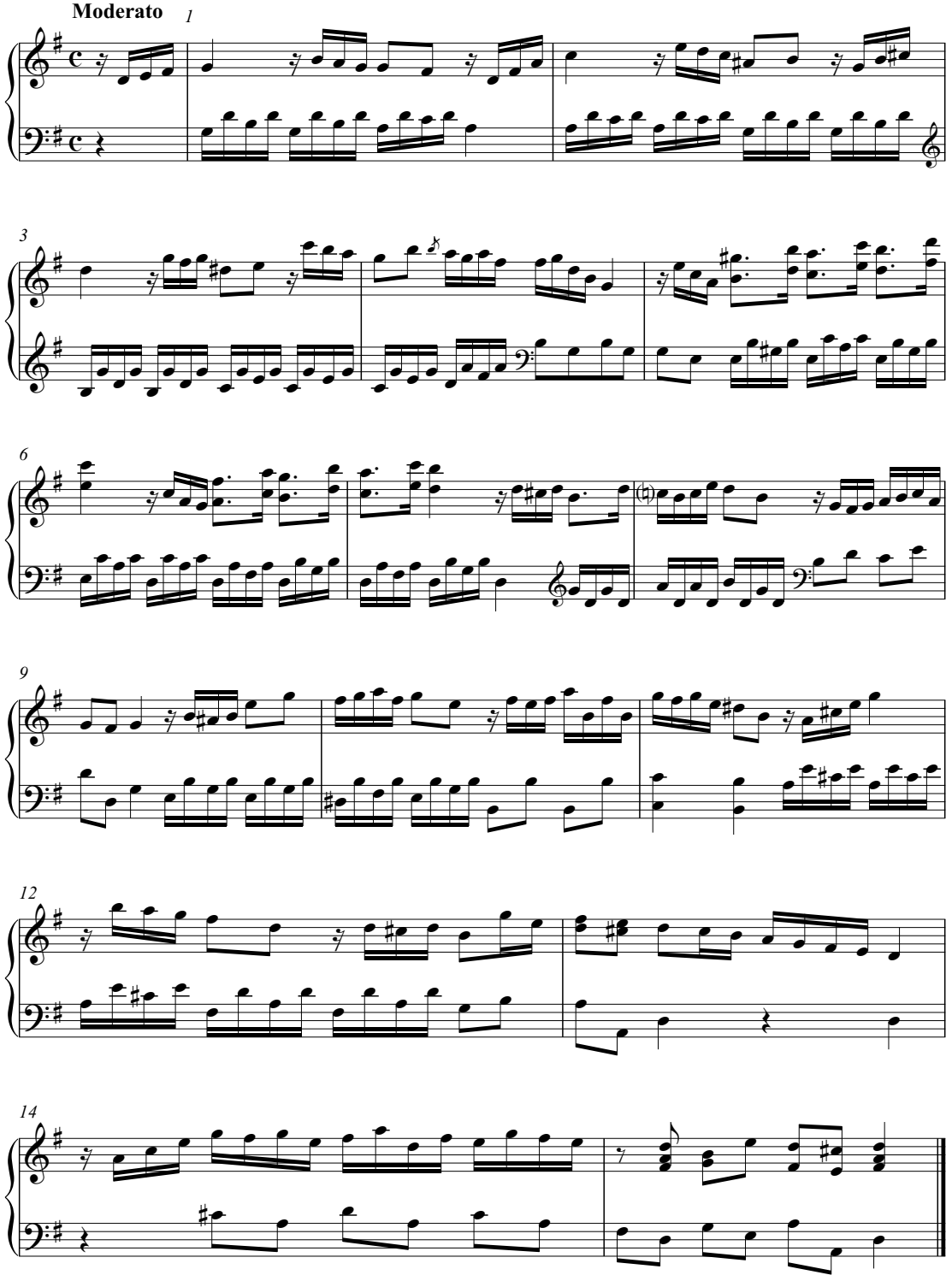
Con la Corneta Magna
[With the Great Trumpet]

Tiempo de Marcha [March Tempo]



Versos de Octavo Tono

Tone 8 No. 1 Con los Llenos
[With the Mixtures]

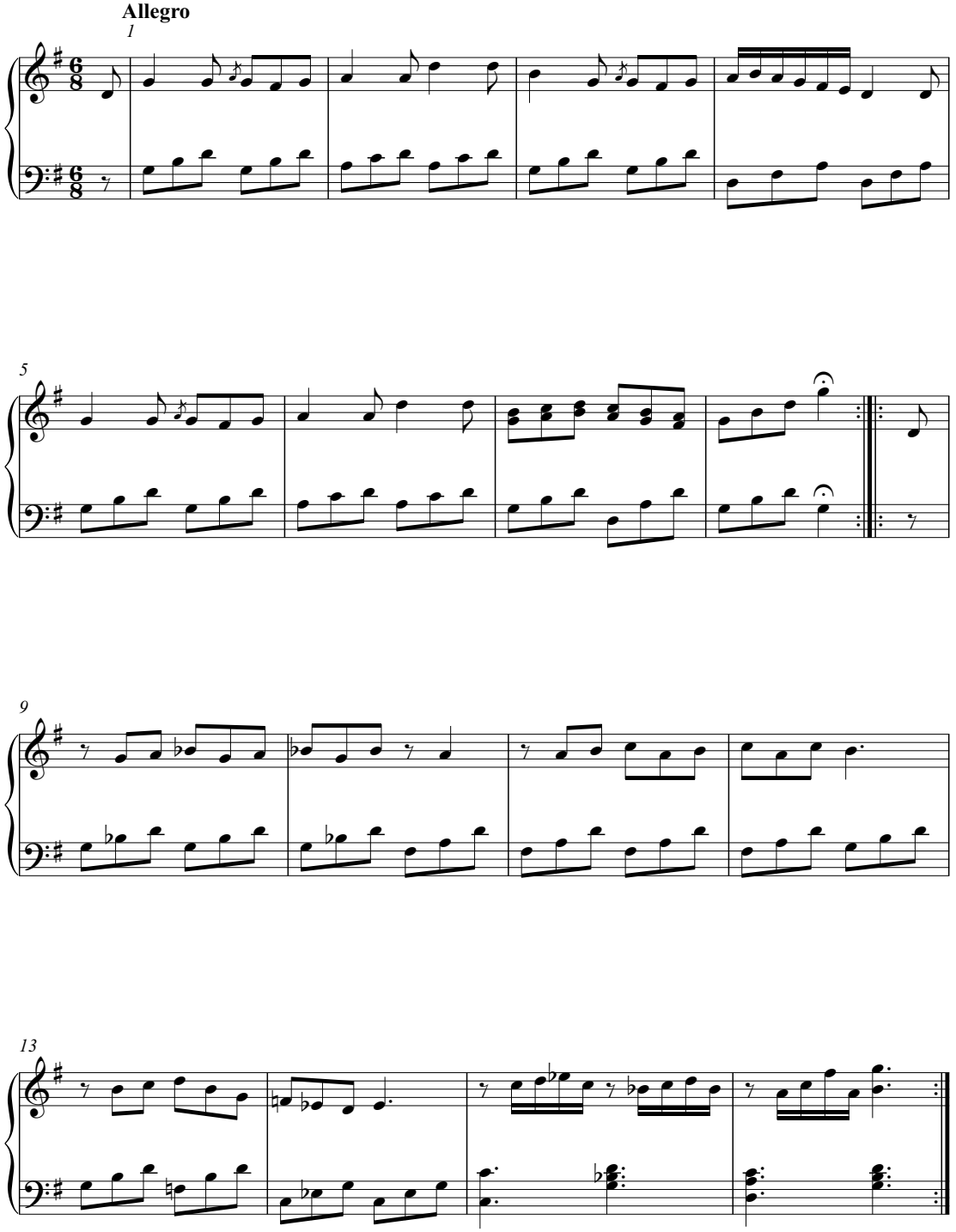


No sirbe [It does not work]

Tone 8 No. 2

Con la Corneta de Ecos
[With the Eco Cornet (a mutation stop)]

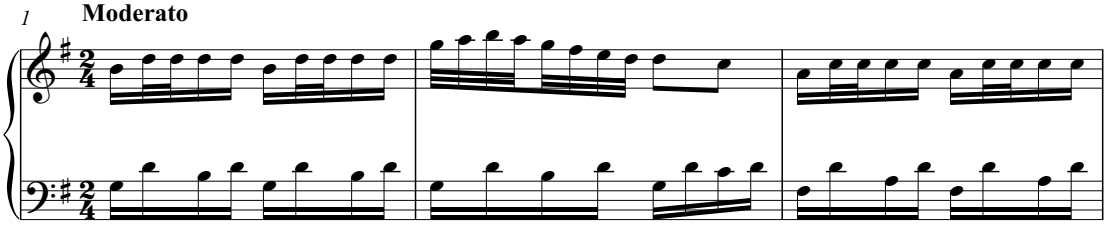
Allegro



Tone 8 No. 3

Con las Clarinerias
[With the Trumpets]

1 **Moderato**



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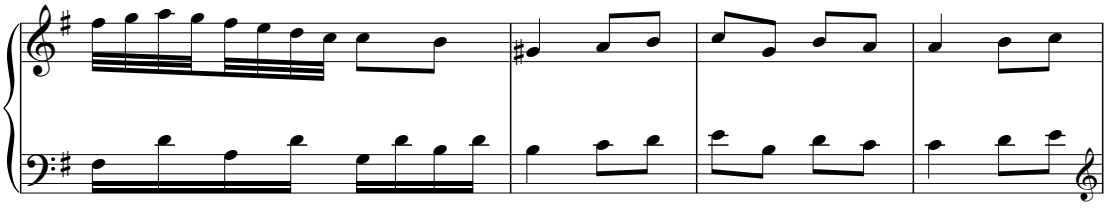
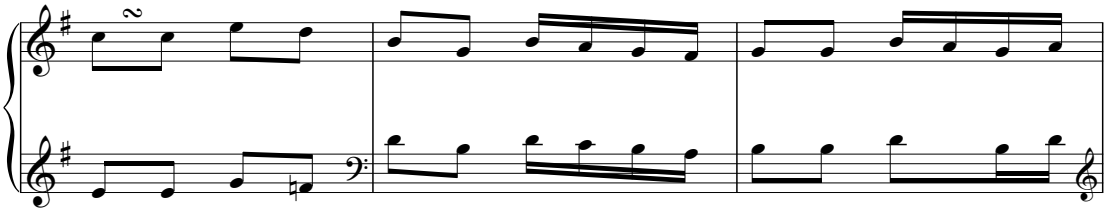
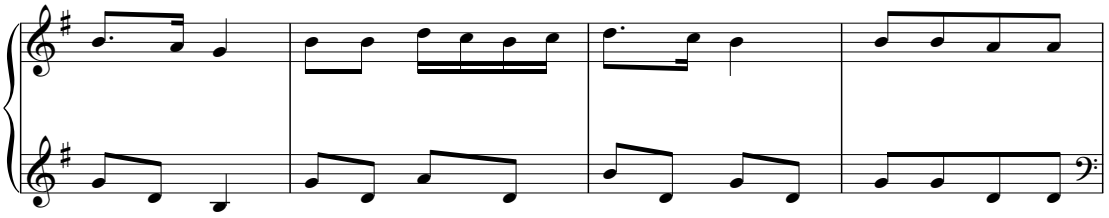
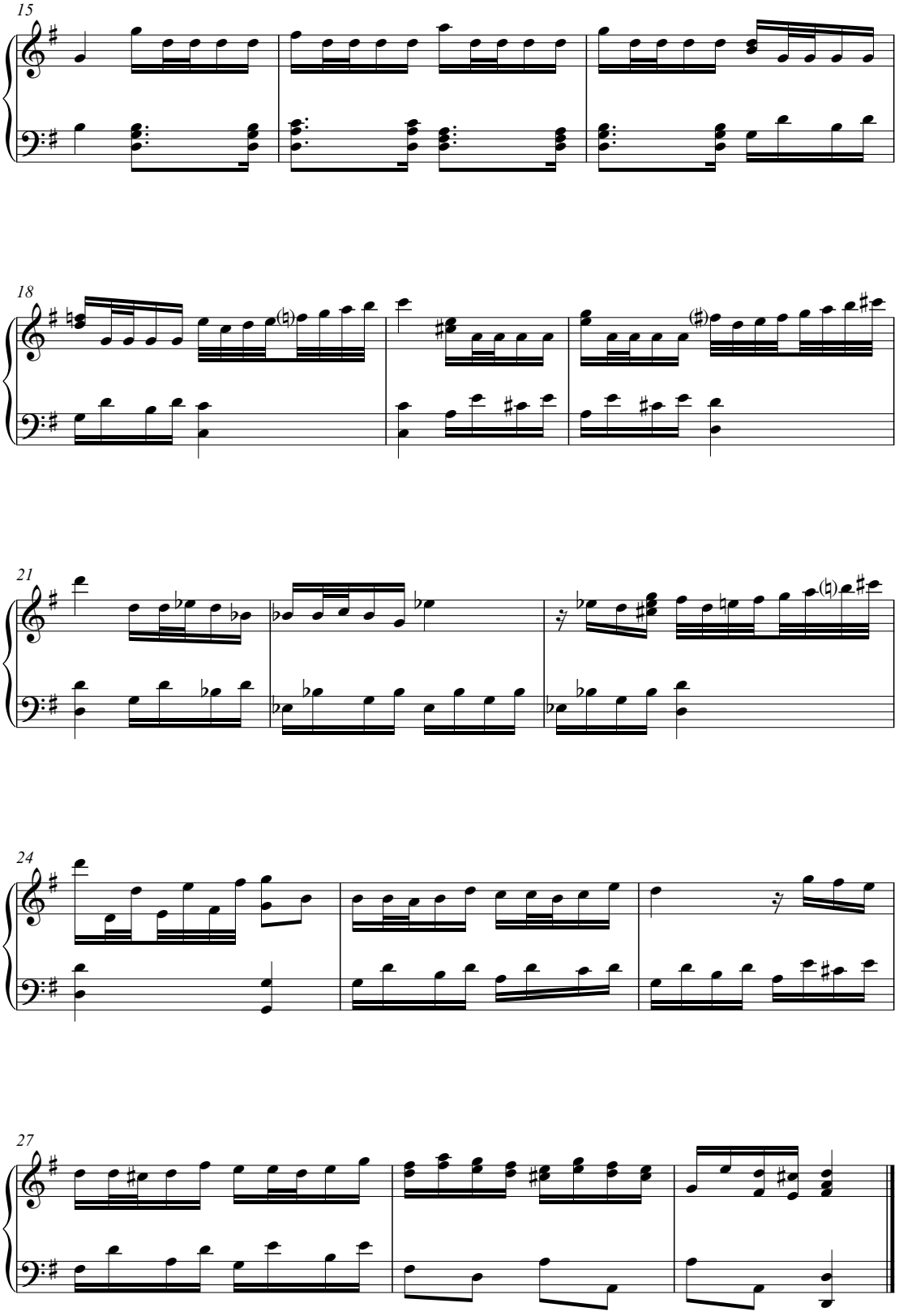


8



11




15
18
21
24
27

CRITICAL COMMENTARY

Feo, Leo, and Jerusalem: "Vezerro de Lecciones"

AHCV 26-I-18

Key:
Section. Leccion. Measure. Part (if applicable). Position in measure. Original reading

II.6. 7. 𝄢. 4. ♯ omitted
II.6. 7. 𝄢. 12. ♯ omitted
II.11. 6. 𝄢. 4. D♯
II.13. 7. 𝄢. 4. D♯
II.13. 15. 𝄞. 1–2. A B
II.13. 31. 𝄢. 3. E
II.14. 10. 𝄢. 2. ♯ omitted
II.14. 18. 𝄢. 2. ♯ omitted
II.18. 10. 𝄢. 4. G♯
II.25. 6. Figures. 2–3. $6\flat\ {}^{6}_{5\flat}$
II.28. 3. 𝄢. 4. E
II.35. 6. 𝄢. 1. B (♭ omitted)
II.35. 18. 𝄞. 1. B (♭ omitted)
II.36. 26. 𝄢. 𝄐 omitted
II.41. 9. 𝄞. 2. D
II.45. 14. 𝄞. 1. C
II.49. 22. 𝄞. 2. ♯ omitted
II.49. 25. 𝄞. 1. ♭ omitted
II.50 begins at the top of folio 22r without a time signature (implied $\frac{3}{8}$) and appears to be missing its first half. III.3 begins in $\frac{3}{8}$ on folio 24v and changes to $\frac{6}{8}$ (unmarked) with the page break to folio 25r. The first half of III.3 (24r) appears to be the first half of II.50 (22r).
II.52. 3. 𝄞. 1. B (♭ omitted)
II.52. 24. 𝄞 & 𝄢. 1–3. ♩♩♩
II.53. 18. 𝄢. 1–2. A A
II.57. 15. 𝄢. 4. B
II.58. 17. 𝄢. 4. F
II.59 (in $\frac{6}{8}$) ends without a cadence at the end of folio 23v and appears to be missing its second half. III.3 begins in $\frac{3}{8}$ on folio 24v and changes to $\frac{6}{8}$ (unmarked)

with the page break to folio 25r. II.59 (23v) appears to be the first half of the second half of III.3 (25r).

II.59. 16. 𝄢. 3. B

III.3 begins in $\frac{3}{8}$ on folio 24v and changes to $\frac{6}{8}$ (unmarked) with the page break to folio 25r. II.50 begins at the top of folio 22r without a time signature (implied $\frac{3}{8}$) and appears to be missing its first half. II.59 (in $\frac{6}{8}$) ends without a cadence at the end of folio 23v and appears to be missing its second half. The first half of III.3 (24r) appears to be the first half of II.50 (22r). The second half of III.3 (25r) appears to be the second half of II.59 (23v).

III.3. 25. $\frac{12}{8}$ omitted

(II.59. 16. 𝄢. 3. B)

III.4. 9. 𝄢. 1. ♭ omitted

III.4. 15. 𝄢. 1–3. B A♯ B

III.4. 21. 𝄢. 1–2. F F

III.7. 11. 𝄢. 4–5. B G

III.10. 13. 𝄢. 2. B♯

III.10. 13. 𝄢. 5. C (♯ omitted)

IV.1. 10. 𝄞 & 𝄢. 1. 𝅝

IV.7. 14. 2nd 𝄞. 1. G

IV.8. 15. 2nd 𝄞. 4. ♯ omitted

IV.12. 23. 2nd 𝄞. 4. G

IV.22. 7. 1st 𝄞. 8. G

IV.24. 2. 2nd 𝄞. 1–3. triplet mark omitted

IV.24. 25. 2nd 𝄞. 1–3. triplet mark omitted

IV.24. 39. 1st 𝄞. 1. ♭ omitted

IV.25. 13. 1st 𝄞. 1. ♭ omitted

IV.50. 3. 1-3. Triplet mark omitted

IV.50. 4. 1-3. Triplet mark omitted

V.1 (score). 44. 3rd 𝄞. 1. 𝅘𝅥𝅮

V.2. 13. 2–3. Rests omitted

V.2 (score). 21. All parts. 2–3. 𝄾

V.3. 13. 2–3. Rests omitted

V.3 (score). 21. All parts. 2–3. Rests omitted

V.4. 13. 2–3. Rests omitted

V.4 (score). 21. All parts. 2–3. Rests omitted

V.5. 2. 1. ♭ omitted

V.9. 41. 1st 𝄞. 1. ♭ omitted

VI.2. 7. 2nd 𝄞. 5. F

VI.2. 9. 1st 𝄞. 9. A

VI.2. 30. 1st 𝄞. 6. ♮ omitted

VI.2. 32. 1st 𝄞. 4. ♯ omitted

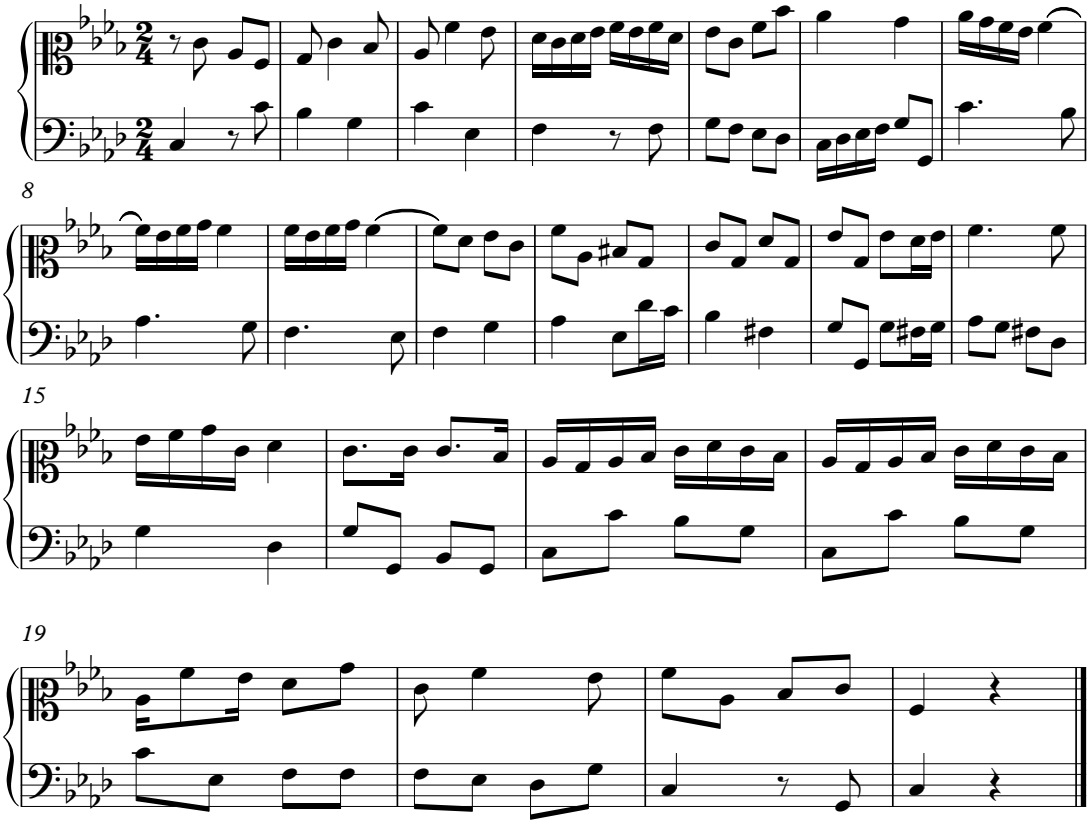
VI.2. 32. 2nd 𝄞. 3. ♯ omitted
VI.2. 46. 2nd 𝄞. 5. ♯ omitted
VI.16. 6. 1–3. Triplet mark omitted
VI.19. 15. 5. D
VI.20. 17. 5–10. Quarter-note sextuplet
VI.22. 7. 10–12. Triplet mark omitted
VI.22. 22. 3. F
VI.26. 10. 4–5. ♪♪
VI.29. 13. 3. ♮ omitted
VI.35. 6. 𝄢. 3–4. ♪♪
VI.35. 10. 𝄢. 2. D
VI.35. 15. 𝄞. 1. ♮ omitted
VI.35. 22. 𝄞. 6. ♭ omitted
VI.35. 27. 𝄢. 3. E♯
VI.35. 28. 𝄢. 3. D♯
VI.35. 37. 𝄞. 7. ♭ omitted
VI.37. All B♯s are transcribed as B♮s.
VI.37. 6. 𝄞. 28–30. Triplet mark omitted
VI.37. 11. 𝄞. 12–20 & 22–30. Triplet marks omitted
VI.37. 16. 𝄞. 10–23. Eighth-note triplet marks omitted; copyist wrote entire pattern with one extra beam (as thirty-second note triplets and sixteenth notes)
VI.37. 17. 𝄞. 1–14. Eighth-note triplet marks omitted; copyist wrote entire pattern with one extra beam
VI.38. 39. 𝄞. 3 & 5. ♭ omitted
VI.43. 17. 1st 𝄞. 1. ♮ omitted
VI.44. 5. 1st 𝄞. 1. B♭
VI.44. 16. 1st 𝄞. 3. ♭ omitted
VI.48. 8. 4–5. ♯ omitted
VI.49. 15. 𝄢. 2. A
VI.49. 20. 𝄞. 3. tie omited
VI.50. 4. 1–3. Triplet mark omitted
VI.51. 12. 2nd 𝄞. 1. ♮ omitted
VI.51. 14. 1st 𝄞. 1. ♮ omitted
VI.51. 22. 2nd 𝄞. 2–7. Triplet mark omitted
VI.51. 35. 1st 𝄞. 1. ♭ omitted
VI.51. 37. 1st 𝄞. 1. ♭ omitted
VI.52. 7. 𝄞. 1-3. Triplet mark omitted
VI.52. 25. 𝄞. 1. ♮ omitted
VI.52. 47. 𝄞. 7. E♯
VI.52. 65. 𝄞. 1. ♯ omitted

VI.54. 10. 𝄞. 11–16. Triplet mark omitted

VII.4 (score). 21. 1st 𝄞. 1. 𝅘𝅥𝅮
VII.4 (score). 21. 3rd 𝄞. 1. 𝅘𝅥
VII.8. 3. 𝄞. 2. A♭
VII.14 (score). 17. 1st 𝄞. 1. 𝅗𝅥.
VII.14 (score). 17. 2nd 𝄞. 1. 𝅘𝅥𝅮
VII.15 (score). 36. 1st 𝄞. 1. 𝅘𝅥𝅮
VII.15 (score). 36. 3rd 𝄞. 1. 𝅘𝅥𝅮
VII.16 (score). 36. 3rd 𝄞. 1. 𝅘𝅥𝅮
VII.17. 9. 𝄞. 6. E
VII.18. 3. 𝄢. 7–8. C♯ C(♯)
VII.18. 4. 𝄢. 8. F♯
VII.18. 10. 𝄞. 7. F♭
VII.18. 10. 𝄞. 9 & 12. ♮ omitted
VII.18. 11. 𝄞. 9 & 12. ♮ omitted
VII.18. 14. 𝄢. 6. F♯
VII.19. 8. 𝄢. 7. ♯ omitted
VII.20. 9. 𝄞. 1. ♯ omitted
VII.20. 14. 𝄞. 1. ♯ omitted
VII.21. 73. 1st 𝄞. 1. ♮ omitted
VII.21. 74. 2nd 𝄞. 1. A♯
VII.21. 81. 2nd 𝄞. 3. A
VII.21. 81. 2nd 𝄞. 5. A
VII.21. 82. 2nd 𝄞. 3. G
VII.22. 3. 𝄞. 8. ♮ omitted
VII.22. 27. 𝄞. 9. ♮ omitted
VII.22. 28. 𝄞. 9. ♮ omitted
VII.22. 29. 𝄞. 13. 𝅘𝅥𝅮
VII.29. 16. 2. Rest omitted
VII.30. All 𝅘𝅥s originally written as unfilled 𝅘𝅥𝅮s
VII.30. 18. 2. Rest omitted
VII.31. 7. 2. Rest omitted
VII.33. 30. 2–5. E G G F(♯)
VII.34. 15. 2-3. Rests omitted
VII.35. 10. 1. 𝅝
VII.38. 29. 𝄞. 1-3. Triplet mark omitted
VII.38. 29. 𝄢. 3. F♯
VII.38. 41. 𝄢. 2. G
VII.38. 55. 𝄢. 1. G

VII.40. 10. 2-4. Rests omitted
VII.40 (score). 16. 3rd 𝄞. 1. ♪
VII.50. 25. 1. ♯ omitted
VII.50. 26. 5. ♮ omitted
VII.50. 27. 2. ♮ omitted
VII.52. 29. 1. ♮ omitted
VII.52. 35. 7–8. ♮ omitted
VII.52. 37. 4. ♮ omitted
VII.52. 39. 1. ♮ omitted
VII.52. 40. 2. ♮ omitted
VII.52. 42. 3. D
VII.53. 4. 𝄞. 1. 𝅝
VII.53. 6. 1. 𝄢. 𝅝
VII.54. 5. 𝄢. 3. E
VII.62. 25. 𝄞. 1. ♮ omitted
VII.62. 25. 𝄢. 2. D♯
VII.62. 26. 𝄞. 1. ♮ omitted
VII.70. 1. 𝄢. 1. Black notehead with no stem on E (as shown in incipit)
VII.73. 11. 1. ♯ omitted
VII.75. 8. 1. ♯ omitted
VII.75. 10. 1. ♯ omitted
VII.75. 11. 5. B♯
VII.77. 12. 3-8. Triplet marks omitted
VII.77. 16. 1-6. Triplet marks omitted
VII.80. Manuscript written in 3/2 without barlines; systems in edition kept consistent with manuscript
VII.85. 6. 𝄢. 8. D
VII.85. 9. 𝄞. 12. C
VII.85. 10. 𝄢. 2. F
VII.91. 8. 𝄢. 1. 𝅗𝅥
VII.91. 13. 𝄞. 7. ♩
VII.92. 13. 𝄞. 3-4. 𝅗𝅥
VII.95. 6. 1. B♯
VII.98. 15 4. A♯
VII.101. All. No flats in key signature; each B implied as B♮
VII.101. 4. 2nd 𝄢. 3. A
VII.101. 6. 𝄢. 2. 3–5. ♩. ♪ ♩
VII.103. 21. 3. A
VII.108. 9. 1-6. Triplet marks omitted
VII.108. 29. 1-9. Triplet marks omitted
VII.108. 31. 1-9. Triplet marks omitted

VII.108. 32. 1-3. Triplet marks omitted
VII.108. 43. 3-5. Triplet marks omitted
VII.112. 12. 𝄞. 1. ♯ omitted
VII.118. 18. 𝄞. 5. slur omitted
VII.119. 3. 𝄞. 6. F
VII.119. 4. 𝄞. 4. ♭ omitted
VII.119. 11. 𝄞. 4–5. tie omitted
VII.121. 8. 𝄞. 4-5. 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯
VII.128. All. Two flats in key signature; each A implied as A♮
VII.129. 11. 𝄢. 3. E♯
VII.129. 14. 𝄢. 2. E♯
VII.132. All. Three flats in key signature; each D implied as D♮, except where marked as D♯
VII.132. 12. 1. D♯
VII.132. 13. 1. D♮
VII.135. All.



VII.137. All. Five flats in key signature; each C implied as a C♮
VII.138. All. Five flats in key signature; each C implied as a C♮

VII.161. All. Five flats in key signature; each C implied as a C♮
VII.174. 5. 𝄞. 1. C
VII.174. 9. 𝄢. 1. B(♭)
VII.178. 3. 7. E♯
VII.184. 24. 2. D♯
VII.184. 25. 2. D♮
VII.195. 13. 5. ♮ omitted
VII.196. 57. 1. B
VII.205. All. Three flats in key signature; each A implied as A♭
VII.207. 11. 7. D♯
VII.207. 12. 1. D♮
VII.211. 21. 3. ♯ omitted
VII.211. 25. 6. ♯ omitted
VII.216. All. Three sharps in key signature; each G is implied as a G♯
VII.217. 8. 2. ♯ omitted
VII.221. All. One flat in key signature; each E implied as an E♮ except where marked otherwise
VII.221. 23. 5. E♯
VII.221. 24. 2. E♮
VII.229. All. Five flats in key signature; each G is implied as a G♭
VII.231. 5. 1–3. Triple mark omitted
VII.248. The initial clef should be a tenor clef (rather than the mezzo soprano clef as shown in the manuscript and kept here in the edition).

"Manuscrito de Lecciones 'J.M.J.' del Colegio de Belem"

AHCV 26-I-2-27

Key:
Piece (Folio) Date
Measure. Part (if applicable). Position in measure. Original reading

Solo 1 (1r) Aug. 21, 1807
10. 2–4. Triplet mark omitted
16. 10–12. Triplet mark omitted
17. 7. ♪
17. 10–12. Triplet mark omitted
18. 1–18. Sextuplet marks omitted
19. 1–6. Sextuplet mark omitted

22. 2. ♭ omitted

Solo 2 (1r) Aug. 27, 1807
3. 8. ♮ omitted
46. 1. ♭ omitted

Solo 4 (2v) Aug. 31, 1807
19. 1-6. Triplet marks omitted
25. 1-6. Triplet marks omitted
26-27. All. Triplet marks omitted
29. All. Triplet marks omitted

Duet 1 (2v–3r) Sept. 2 & 3, 1807
8. 1st 𝄞. 8. ♮ omitted
15. 2nd 𝄞. 6–7. ♪♪
20. 2nd 𝄞. 2. G♯
22. 1st 𝄞. 11. ♮ omitted

Duet 2 (3v) Sept. 6 & 7, 1807
19. 1st 𝄞. 7-9. Triplet mark omitted
16. 2nd 𝄞. 10. ♮ omitted

Solo 5 (4r) Sept. 10, 1807
7. 4-9. Triplet markings omitted
8. 1-9. Triplet markings omitted

Solo 7 (4v) Sept. 17, 1807
5. 3. B♯
10. 1. Note omitted
26. 5. B♯
37. 3. B♯

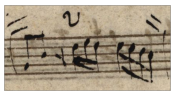
Solo 8 (4v) Sept. 19, 1807
4. 2. B♯
12. 2. B♯

Duet 3 (5r) Sept. 22, 1807
11. 2nd 𝄢. 1. F♭
12. 2nd 𝄢. 4. F♭
13. 2nd 𝄢. 1. F♭
14. 2nd 𝄢. 5. F♭

20. 1st 𝄢. 7. F♭
21. 1st 𝄢. 2. F♮

Solo 10 (5v) Sept. 25, 1807
9. 2-4. Triplet mark omitted
10. 2-4. Triplet mark omitted
21. 6. 𝅘𝅥𝅯
31. 4-6. Triplet mark omitted

Solo 13 (6r) Oct. 6, 1807
2. 2-4. Triplet mark omitted
3. 2-4. Triplet mark omitted



21.

Solo 16 (6v) Oct. 13, 1807
1. Time signature. 𝐜

Solo 17 (6v–7r) Oct. 16, 1807
21. 1-6. Marked as sextuplet

Solo 18 (7r) Oct. 17, 1807
24. 7. 𝅘𝅥𝅯.
27. 7-12. Triplet marks omitted

Duet 4 (8r) Oct. 22 & 25, 1807
44. 2nd 𝄞. 3. 𝅗𝅥

Duet 6 (9r) Oct. 30 & 31, 1807
70–72. 2nd 𝄞. Notes not written out; measures marked with slashes and the word "Unisony"

Solo 19 (9v) Nov. 3, 1807
10. 1-3. Triplet mark omitted
12. 1-3. Triplet mark omitted

Solo 21 (10v)
17. 5. ♮ omitted

Solo 22 (10v)

14. 4. G♭
16. 2. ♪
26. 4–9. Triplet mark omitted
27. 1–9. Triplet mark omitted
28. 1–3. Triplet mark omitted
28. 7–9. Triplet mark omitted
29. 1–9. Triplet mark omitted
29. 2. Pitch illegible

Solo 24 (11r) Nov. 22, 1807
15. 1-6. Marked as sextuplet
16. 1-6. Marked as sextuplet
47. 6. ♮ omitted

Solo 25 (11v) Nov. 25, 1807
10. 13-15. Triplet mark omitted

Solo 29 (12r) Feb. 16, 1808
8. 6. B♯
14. 12. Pitch illegible (either B♭ or C)
15. 10. B♯
18. 8. Pitch illegible (either B♭ or C)

Solo 30, original clefs (12r) Feb. 18, 1808
5. 1-2. Double dotted eighth note
38. 2. Bass clef (octave higher not specified)

Solo 30, treble clef (12r) Feb. 18, 1808
5. 1-2. Double dotted eighth note
38. 2–8. Octave lower
39–41. All. Octave lower
42. 1–3. Octave lower

Solo 31, original clefs (12v) Feb. 19, 1808
27. 1. Bass clef (octave higher not specified)
32. 28-36. Triplet marks omitted

Solo 31, treble clef (12v) Feb. 19, 1808
27–31. All. Octave lower

Solo 32, original clefs (12v–13r) Feb. 20, 1808
0. 1. Bass clef (octave higher not specified)
64. 1. Bass clef (octave higher not specified)

Solo 32, treble clef (12v–13r) Feb. 20, 1808
0. 1. through 9. 3. Octave lower
64–70. All. Octave lower

Solo 34 (13r)
2. 3. Pitch illegible (either G or F)
3. 4. Pitch illegible (either B or A)

Solo 39 (13v)
1. 3. Pitch illegible (either G or A)
11. 1. ♪

Solo 40 (14r)
14. 6. ♮ omitted

Solo 41 (14r)
10. 6. ♮ omitted

Solo 43 (14v)
21. 6. ♮ omitted

Solo 46 (14v)
16. 4–9. Triplet mark omitted
17. 4–9. Triplet mark omitted

Solo 47 (15r)
9. 2. F & A

Solo 48 (15r)
7. 1-12. Triplet marks omitted
Measure 10 does not exist in the manuscript. The manuscript ends after measure 9 with no resolution or double bar line.

Ignacio Jerusalem, "Non Fecit Taliter à dos voces y Bajo"

AHCV 26-I-2-1 (Soprano 1 and Keyboard)
AHCV 26-II-2-13 (Soprano 2)

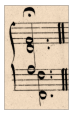
Key:
Measure. Part. Position in measure. Original reading

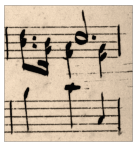
19. Bass figured. 3. ♯ omitted on 3♯
33. S2. 1. ♮ omitted
35. S1. 1–3. 𝄐 (fermata omitted)
43. S2. 1. 𝄐 omitted
41. S1. 1. ♯ omitted

Guadalupe Ortuño, "Gradual á la Sanctisima Virgen de Guadalupe"

AHCV 26-II-2-41

Key:
Measure. Part. Position in measure. Original reading


7. Organ. 1.
13. S2. 1-2. Slur
22. S1 & S2. 1. 𝅗𝅥. s. (changed to match organ duration)
29. S1. 2-3. Slur omitted
34. S2. 2. 𝅗𝅥𝄽


37. Organ.
38. Organ LH. 1. Fermata omitted
39-41. S1 & S2. Measures omitted

Marcos Vega, "Versos para el Organo Paratocarlos en Visperas ó Maytines"

AHCV 26-II-2-2

Key:
Verso. Measure. Staff. Position in measure. Original reading

Versos of the First Tone
No. 1. 2. RH. 7. ♯ omitted
No. 2. 30. LH. 1. 𝅘𝅥𝅮. (in both octaves)
No. 3. 13. RH. 9–12. 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯

No. 4. 10. RH. 1. 𝄐 omitted
No. 4. 10. LH. 1. Octave G♮s
No. 4. 10. RH. 4. ♮ omitted
No. 4. 11. RH. 4. ♮ omitted
No. 4. 11. RH. 10. ♯ omitted
No. 4. 12. LH. ♯ omitted
No. 4. 13. RH. 7. ♪
No. 4. 16. RH. 3–4. ♪♪
No. 4. 18. RH. 10. ♮ omitted
No. 5. 9. RH. 6. ♪ omitted
No. 6. 24. LH. 2. ♮ omitted
No. 6. 33. LH. 4. ♮ omitted
No. 6. 37. RH. 3. ♮ omitted
No. 6. 37. LH. 3. D

Versos of the Second and Third Tones

No. 1. 1. RH. 6. ♯ omitted
No. 1. 12. RH. 5. B♭ and D♯
No. 1. 12. RH. 8. G♯ and B
No. 1. 15. LH. 7. ♮ omitted on the G
No. 2. 3. RH. 6. ♯ omitted
No. 2. 10. RH. 13. ♯ omitted
No. 2. 16. RH. 9. 𝄽 omitted
No. 3. 1. RH. 1. ♯ omitted
No. 3. 2. RH. 4. C.
No. 3. 3. RH. 1–3. C C C
No. 3. 14. RH. 5. ♮ omitted
No. 3. 14. RH. 8. ♮ omitted
No. 3. 19. RH. 7. B♭
No. 3. 20. RH. 4. ♮ omitted
No. 5. 6. RH. 1. D, A, and C
No.5. 13. RH. 11–12. B, G
No. 6. 7. RH. 14. ♯ omitted
No. 6. 12. RH. 3. C4

Versos of the Fourth and Seventh Tones

No. 1. 9. LH. 1. C
No. 1. 2. RH. 2. ♯ omitted
No. 1. 4. RH. 11–12. E D
No. 1. 10. RH. 11. ♯ omitted

No. 2. 7. RH. 15. ♮ omitted

Versos of the Fifth and Sixth Tones

No. 1. 3. LH. 2. ♯ omitted
No. 1. 9. RH. 3. ♮ omitted
No. 1. 9. RH. 13. ♮ omitted
No. 1. 11. RH. 3. ♮ omitted
No. 1. 15. RH. 8. F♯
No. 1. 16. LH. 8. ♮ omitted
No. 2. 9. RH. 1. 𝅗𝅥.
No. 2. 15. RH. 4. C4 & E5
No. 5. 16. LH. 3. 𝅘𝅥𝅮

Versos of the Eighth Tone

No. 3. 5. LH. 1. A
No. 3. 23. RH. 1. 𝅘𝅥𝅮
No. 3. 8. LH. 4. E
No. 3. 27. RH. 3. ♮ omitted

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AHCV 26-1-1B-47. Ginesta, Magín. "Misa a quatro voces y organo obligado."

AHCV 26-I-2-1. Jerusalem, Ignacio. "Non fecit taliter." Soprano 1 and accompaniment.

AHCV 26-I-2-3. Bassni. "Missa de Requiem Con V Trompas Viola y Bajo."

[1] A series of three numbers indicates Estante-Tabla-Volumen. A series of four numbers indicates Estante-Table-Caja-Legajo. See the Introduction for more information.

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AHCV 26-I-2-5. “Lauda sion salvatorem.”

AHCV 26-I-2-15. “Aplaca se non.”

AHCV 26-I-2-19. “Responsorio ‘Que est ista que processit….’”

AHCV 26-I-2-22. “Grande Nepomucceno.”

AHCV 26-I-2-27. “Manuscrito de Lecciones ‘J.M.J.’ del Colegio de Belem.” 1807-1808.

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AHCV 26-II-1-14. Soberanis, Gregorio Mariano de. “Misa a Dúo y Bájo.”

AHCV 26-II-1A-26. “Non fecit taliter.”

AHCV 26-II-1A-31. “Subtum presidium á dos voces.”

AHCV 26-II-1A-37. Lara. “Antífona del S[antísi]mo y Sagrado Corazón de Jesús.”

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