

CHAMISA

A Journal of Literary, Performance, and
Visual Arts of the Greater Southwest



Felix A. Lucero, "El Día de San Ysidro," 2024, Oil on Canvas

Ritual, Ceremony, and Performance in the U.S. Southwest

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Mission Statement

Published annually by the University of New Mexico, *Chamisa: A Journal of Literary, Performance, and Visual Arts of the Greater Southwest* is an online, peer-reviewed, open access journal that showcases cultural production in the Southwest. The journal foregrounds multidisciplinary creative works of, both, well-known and lesser-known artists and writers with connections to historical and contemporary communities in this region of the country. The journal's main objective is to enrich our understanding of the value of the creative arts in the region by featuring the diverse views and experiences that shape the full range of esthetic expression.

Chamisa also highlights creative community partnerships to promote a greater awareness of the cultural and intellectual richness that characterizes life in the Southwestern states and provides a space where academics, creatives, community members, and others with ties to and/or interest in this region of the country can showcase their ideas, originality, and artistry. The arts of the southwest region are abundant, diverse, and often blur the boundaries between categories normally accepted as corresponding to the structural hierarchies of the art world. As these forms change, they enrich and redefine the cultural landscape. The journal seeks to capture the dynamic ways that the creative arts in this region have developed and continue to advance over time and in relation to its historically diverse communities.

Chamisa: A Journal of Literary, Performance, and Visual Arts of the Greater Southwest is sponsored by the Southwest Hispanic Research Institute (SHRI) at the University of New Mexico. Established in 1980, SHRI promotes multi-disciplinary research related to Latinx/Hispanic populations of New Mexico, the Southwest, and the United States, and offers an intellectual home for its faculty associates. It publishes a series of working papers and monographs, and supports and promotes public lectures and research seminars on Latinx issues. SHRI has over 50 UNM affiliated faculty members from the colleges of Arts and Sciences, Education and Human Sciences, Architecture and Planning, Medicine/Health Sciences, Fine Arts, Law, the Anderson School of Management, and University Libraries and Learning Sciences. The Institute is a member of the Inter-University Program for Latinx Research, a national consortium of Latino studies programs throughout the country, and is supported by the UNM Office of the Vice President for Research and Economic Development. The Institute also acknowledges and welcomes support from, both, public and private entities and foundations.

Volume 4: Ritual, Ceremony, and Performance in the U.S. Southwest

Performative expressions have been part of human experience since prehistory. Humans externalize ideas, share stories, express belief, communicate social mores, define identity, and sustain order in ways accessible to a larger community. UNESCO defines rituals and ceremonies as follows: "Social practices, rituals and festive events involve a dazzling variety of forms: worship rites; rites of passage; birth, wedding, and funeral rituals; oaths of allegiance; traditional legal systems; traditional games and sports; kinship and ritual kinship ceremonies; settlement patterns; culinary traditions; seasonal ceremonies; practices specific to men or women only; hunting, fishing, and gathering practices and many more. They also include a wide variety of expressions and physical elements: special gestures and words, recitations, songs or dances, special clothing, processions, animal sacrifice, special food." In the Southwest, performative expressions may include, Indigenous ceremonies, traditional *Indo-hispana/o* rituals, religious rites of passage, pilgrimage, holiday festivities, popular celebrations, musical, theatrical, and/ or dance productions, and performance art.

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Singing the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*:
Sacred Choral Repertoires and Historical Imagination in *¡Música del Corazón!*¹

by Javier Marín-López

Abstract. The 2024 edition of *¡Música del Corazón!*, an annual event held in Albuquerque, New Mexico since 2012 and organized by the John Donald Robb Musical Trust, marked a turning point in its history. Typically focused on contemporary traditional music from New Mexico, this edition was dedicated to sacred choral music from the written tradition and ritual dance that circulated along the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* during the Spanish colonial period (1598–1821). This shift in thematic focus had significant implications, contesting narratives of isolation and the perception of an absence of preserved musical sources in the region. This study examines the process of historical imagination that shaped the event's programming, as well as the thematic, curatorial, and performative challenges that emerged. The article is divided into two parts. The first part reviews the trajectory of *¡Música del Corazón!* since its inception, including the profile of the performers and the repertoires presented. The second section details and justifies the configuration of the sacred music program linked to the *Camino Real*. By foregrounding the transmission of these repertoires along the route, this research helps bridge a historiographical gap and highlights New Mexico's connections with broader Ibero-American music traditions. Furthermore, it underscores the potential of community events, such as *¡Música del Corazón!*, to foster a deeper and more inclusive dialogue on the musical history of the U.S. Southwest in a global context.

Keywords: *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, sacred choral music, *¡Música del Corazón!*, John Donald Robb Musical Trust, historical imagination.

Resumen. La edición 2024 de *¡Música del Corazón!*, un evento anual celebrado en Albuquerque (Nuevo México) desde 2012 y organizado por el John Donald Robb Musical Trust, marcó un punto de inflexión en su historia. Habitualmente centrado en las músicas tradicionales contemporáneas de Nuevo México, esta edición se dedicó a la música coral sacra de tradición escrita y a la danza ritual del periodo colonial español (1598-1821) que circularon a lo largo del Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Este cambio de orientación temática tuvo importantes implicaciones y supuso un desafío a las narrativas de aislamiento y a la percepción de una ausencia de fuentes musicales en la región. Este trabajo examina el proceso de imaginación histórica que dio forma a la programación del evento, así como los retos temáticos, curatoriales y performativos que surgieron. El artículo se estructura en dos partes. En la primera parte se revisa la trayectoria de *¡Música del Corazón!* desde su creación, el perfil de los intérpretes y los repertorios programados. La segunda sección detalla y justifica la configuración del programa de música sacra vinculada al Camino Real. Al subrayar la transmisión de estos repertorios a lo largo de la ruta, esta investigación contribuye a llenar un vacío historiográfico y conecta Nuevo México con las tradiciones musicales iberoamericanas. Además, destaca el potencial de eventos comunitarios como *¡Música del Corazón!* para generar un diálogo más profundo e inclusivo sobre la historia musical del Suroeste estadounidense en un contexto global.

Palabras clave: Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, música coral sacra, *¡Música del Corazón!*, John Donald Robb Musical Trust, imaginación histórica.

¹ This article is part of a broader research project developed as a Richard E. Greenleaf Visiting Library Scholar at the Latin American and Iberian Institute, University of New Mexico. I extend my gratitude to the John Donald Robb Musical Trust and, in particular, to the members of the *¡Música del Corazón!* Committee for their invitation to participate as co-curator in the 2024 edition. I would especially like to thank Ana Alonso-Minutti, Enrique Lamadrid, and José Antonio Gutiérrez Álvarez for their unwavering support throughout the long process of developing this project. My appreciation also goes to David Edmonds, Colleen and Art Sheinberg, as well as the members of the UNM Concert Chorus and *Música Antigua de Albuquerque*.

Introduction

On November 24, 2024, Albuquerque hosted the eleventh edition of *¡Música del Corazón!*—an annual concert established in 2012 by the John Donald Robb Musical Trust at the initiative of Enrique Lamadrid, Professor Emeritus of Spanish at the University of New Mexico.² The event, conceived as a tribute to composer John Donald Robb (1892–1989), aims to promote the rich musical heritage of the U.S. Southwest, particularly New Mexican traditions.³ From its inception, *¡Música del Corazón!* has maintained a strong community-oriented focus, engaging local New Mexican artists and offering not only concerts but also lectures, panel discussions, awards for musicians and educators, and outreach activities in schools and community centers. In its early years, the event primarily highlighted regional folk and traditional music, gradually establishing a repertoire of recurring artists and thematic lines. However, 2024 marked a significant shift in focus, with the latest edition dedicated to sacred choral music and ritual dance that flourished along the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* during the Spanish colonial period in New Mexico (1598–1821).⁴ To better understand the innovative approach of this edition and the challenges it entailed, this article is structured in two sections. The first provides an overview of the mission, trajectory, and programmatic focus of *¡Música del Corazón!* during its formative years. The second examines the choral repertoire selected for 2024, exploring its historical and cultural context while tracing New Mexico’s musical connections to the *Camino* through an exercise in historical imagination.⁵ The study concludes that this shift in perspective—positively received by both organizers and the broader community—enriches the region’s musical history and reshapes its perception among contemporary audiences.

1. *¡Música del Corazón!*: The Complex Identities of a *Nuevomexicano* Music Event

In 2012, New Mexico celebrated the centennial of its incorporation into the United States as the 47th state with various cultural activities. One of them was the inaugural concert of *¡Música del Corazón!*,

² *¡Música del Corazón!* is thematically connected to another event founded and directed by Enrique Lamadrid alongside Jack Loeffler: *Nuestra Música. A Celebration of New Mexico Hispanic Folk Music*. This annual celebration took place at the Lensic Theatre in Santa Fe between 2001 and 2019—with a hiatus in 2017. The special 2019 edition is available online on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) website: *Nuestra Música*, <https://www.pbs.org/video/nuestra-musica-fluydi/>. The 2020 edition was canceled due to the pandemic and has not been resumed since. As a visual complement to both events, I recommend the exhibition *Música Buena: Hispano Folk Music of New Mexico* at the Museum of International Folk Art of Santa Fe. Although the exhibition is no longer on display, a virtual tour is available at <https://fivedmedia.com/3d-model/hispanic-heritage-wing-musica-buena/skinned/>.

³ While thirteen events have been held since 2012 under the title of *¡Música del Corazón!*, the official numbering of the programs refers to the annual editions of the John D. Robb Jr. memorial concert. Therefore, the 2024 edition, announced as the “11th Annual John Donald Robb, Jr. Concert,” is actually the eleventh edition of the memorial concert, although it is the thirteenth event since 2012. This difference in numbering is due to the fact that the *¡Música del Corazón!* events are, in reality, memorial concerts dedicated to John D. Robb, Jr., and the numbering refers to the anniversaries of this concert in his memory, rather than the total number of events with the title *¡Música del Corazón!* Most of the programs are available on the Robb Trust website: <https://www.robbtrust.org/>

⁴ The program did not include sacred choral music from Native communities, as it has not been preserved in written form and its performance remains inextricably linked to the rituals of which it continues to be a part.

⁵ I use the concept of “historical imagination” following Leo Treitler, who argues that the reconstruction of musical pasts cannot rely solely on empirical data but must incorporate an imaginative dimension to fill the gaps in factual evidence. See Leo Treitler, *Music and the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 1–18.

a thematic event established in memory of musician John Donald Robb by the Trust that bears his name.⁶ Robb's career was unconventional. After practicing law in New York for eighteen years, he moved to Albuquerque in 1941, where he became a professor and later the dean of the College of Fine Arts at the University of New Mexico. Robb was an influential figure as a composer, educator, and preserver of Hispanic folk music.⁷ This last role materialized through the publication of various studies and, most notably, in the collection and recording of more than 2,500 pieces of folk music from the southwestern United States, Mexico, and Spain, primarily during the 1940s and 1950s.⁸ This collection of recordings is of inestimable value due to its vast quantity and variety of repertoires, making it the most extensive repository of Southwestern music ever preserved.⁹

In the vision of its organizers, *¡Música del Corazón!* can be understood as an extension of John Donald Robb's educational and community work, as he always regarded music as a vehicle for fostering understanding and appreciation of the region's unique cultural identity. It is therefore not surprising that various editions of the event include songs collected and/or arranged by him as part of his romanticized vision of folk music. Thus, Hispanic traditional music from New Mexico, both old and new, constitutes the core repertoire of *¡Música del Corazón!* (Table 1). This concept encompasses a set of musical expressions originating or being performed in New Mexico, transmitted across generations primarily through oral tradition: songs, dances, *inditas*, *corridos*, and other genres.¹⁰ The dynamic nature of this sonic universe has led to their continual adaptation and revitalization by artists of the *nueva canción nuevomexicana*, who sometimes incorporate elements of social and political protest. Over time, other genres have been integrated into the program—from renaissance ballads to *rancheras*, revolutionary *corridos*, and *música norteña*. Among the most prominent are *mariachi* (2015, 2020, 2023), *flamenco* (2012, 2020, 2021), *música jarocho* (2015, 2021, 2022), and Sephardic music (2016). Dance has also been a notable component in many concerts. In this sense, the repertoires

⁶ The John Donald Robb Musical Trust was founded in 1989 by John Donald Robb Jr. and is affiliated with the University of New Mexico. In addition to *¡Música del Corazón!*, the Robb Trust supports other programs, such as the *Robb Award* (a prize recognizing individuals or organizations for outstanding contributions to the music of the Southwest), the *Robb Composers Symposium* (a gathering of composers and musicians presenting concerts and seminars), the *Robb Commission* (a biennial international commission of contemporary music), the *Robb Underwriting Program* (a grant for scholarly research, projects, educational programs, events, and/or performances), and the *Robb Annual Concerts*, as well as other activities for the community. See <https://www.robbtrust.org/>.

⁷ Scott Meredith, "Many-Sided Man: John Donald Robb and Music in New Mexico, 1892–1989," *La Crónica de Nuevo México*, 60 (2003), 2–6, and Raquel Z. Rivera, "John Donald Robb's Imperative to Collect: Toward an Archival Ethnography of the Robb Archive for Southwestern Music," *Latin American Music Review*, vol. 36, no. 2 (2015), 231–258.

⁸ Robb's field recordings are housed at the University of New Mexico's Center for Southwest Research and can be accessed through the *New Mexico's Digital Collections* portal: UNM CSWR John Donald Robb Field Recordings, MU-7, <https://econtent.unm.edu/digital/collection/RobbFieldRe>. See also John Donald Robb, *Hispanic Folk Music of New Mexico and the Southwest: A Self-Portrait of a People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980; reed. University of New Mexico Press, 2014).

⁹ Other significant collections in terms of the number of recordings include those of Rubén Cobos (Colorado College, Colorado Springs, CO), which contains over 2,000 pieces, and Jack Loeffler (New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, NM), with 902 audio tapes.

¹⁰ Mary Montañó, "Música de la gente: Secular and Religious Music," *Tradiciones Nuevomexicanas: Hispano Arts and Culture of New Mexico* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 159–190. The categories of "folk," "traditional," and "popular" have a complex genealogy within ethnomusicology, as they are externally constructed discursive labels that do not always accurately reflect the practices or self-definitions of the communities to which they are applied. In the context of *¡Música del Corazón!*, these three categories are sometimes used interchangeably to describe the repertoires featured in the programs. "Folk" is generally used to refer to songs transmitted orally and associated with Hispanic local, rural communities; "traditional" has a broader meaning that includes both folk music and other musical manifestations rooted in the history and culture of the region; "popular" describes more recent or widely disseminated repertoires and styles. For an introduction to the issues of categorizing different types of music, see Matthew Gelbert, *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music': Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

that are programmed in *¡Música del Corazón!* effectively reflect the complex and eclectic contemporary musical scene shaped by the New Mexicans, who use terms, such as Native American, Spanish, Hispanic/*Hispano*, *Genízaro*, Mexican, Mexican-American, American (Anglo-American), Latino, and Chicano to describe themselves and others.¹¹

Several artists have been recurring participants in *¡Música del Corazón!* One of them was guitarist and singer Frank McCulloch (1930–2024), who took part in nine editions. Of Irish and Hispanic descent, McCulloch grew up in Gallup, New Mexico, where he both listened to and performed Southwestern music. He was recorded by Robb himself, and his passing on December 1, 2024, marked the loss of one of the oldest surviving individuals documented by Robb. Lone Piñón, described in the programs as an *orquesta típica* from northern New Mexico with string instruments and accordion, has participated in five editions. Other major traditional musicians from New Mexico who have been part of this event include Cipriano Vigil, Antonia Apodaca, David F. [Dabida] García, and Brenda Romero (Robb Award in 2021), as well as singer-songwriter Lara Manzanares with her group *Nueva Luna* and the Martínez family—former members of the legendary ensemble *Los Reyes de Albuquerque*.¹² A distinctive feature of several participating groups is the presence of local family lineages (the Vigil, the Martínez, the Ruiz, the García), highlighting the intergenerational component, the *querencia* or deep-rooted connection to the land, and the importance of oral tradition in transmitting musical knowledge.¹³ The connection between *¡Música del Corazón!* and the Hispanic musical heritage is reinforced in multiple ways. One of them is the continuous presence of Enrique Lamadrid—renowned scholar of *nuevomexicano* music and its cross-border connections—as *alma mater*, curator, and master of ceremonies. Another is the selection of the Journal Theatre at the National Hispanic Cultural Center as the venue, an institution dedicated to promoting Hispanic culture in the arts and humanities.

¹¹ On the discourses of identity and difference among *Nuevomexicanos*, see Francisco A. Lomelí, Victor A. Sorell and Genaro M. Padilla, eds., *Nuevomexicano Cultural Legacy: Forms, Agencies, and Discourse* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2002). See also Ana Alonso-Minutti's study on *Gatas y Vatas*, an event that defines itself as "an all-ages music festival for solo, women artists" and shares with *¡Música del Corazón!* its connection to New Mexico's diverse musical roots—though from an experimental perspective—along with its strong sense of community. Ana R. Alonso-Minutti, "Gatas y Vatas: Female Empowerment and Community-Oriented Experimentalism," *Experimentalisms in Practice: Music Perspectives from Latin America*, Ana R. Alonso-Minutti, Eduardo Herrera, and Alejandro L. Madrid, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 131–160.

¹² Robert D. Martínez, "Roberto Martínez, *Viva el Rey!*," *La Crónica de Nuevo México*, 94 (2013), 3–4 [with texts by Daniel Sheehy and Enrique Lamadrid].

¹³ See Mary Jane Walker, "Family Music and Family Bands in New Mexico Music," Ph.D. diss. (The University of Chicago, 2008), and Vanessa Fonseca-Chávez, Levi Romero and Spencer R. Herrera, eds., *Querencia: Reflections on the New Mexico Homeland* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2020).

Table 1. Participants in *¡Música del Corazón!*, 2012–
2024 (UNM Robb Musical Trust, [https://
www.robtrust.org](https://www.robtrust.org))

Editions	Performers, Speakers, Awarded and Curators [Repertoires as Named in the Programs]
Annual John D. Robb Jr. Concert [1st edition] <i>¡Música del Corazón!</i> [New Mexico Centennial] 2012, Feb. 12 National Hispanic Cultural Center	Frank McCulloch <i>y sus Amigos</i> (Luis Campos, guitarist; Melody Mock, violinist) [Hispanic folk songs from the Robb Archives] UNM <i>Dolce Suono</i> Chorus, Regina Carlow, conductor [Robb, <i>Hispanic Folk Songs for New Mexico</i>] Lili del Castillo (<i>flamenco</i> dancer) and Luis Campos (guitar) [<i>flamenco</i>] Lina Ramos (mezzo-soprano), Kevin Vigneau (oboe), and James Bratcher (piano) [Hispanic folk music arranged by Robb] Performers and audience: Elizabeth Garrett, <i>O Fair New Mexico</i> (New Mexico State Song)
Annual John D. Robb, Jr. Concert [2nd edition] <i>¡Música del Corazón!</i> 2013, Sept. 15 National Hispanic Cultural Center	Frank McCulloch (voice and guitar) [regional folk songs] Mad About Music (string players from across Albuquerque), Susan Kempter, conductor [folk songs from the Robb Archives arranged by Kempter] Raquel Z. Rivera (speaker and emcee)
Annual John D. Robb Jr. Concert [3rd edition] <i>¡Música del Corazón!</i> A Celebration of <i>Nuevo Mexicano</i> Music! [Robb Trust’s 25th anniversary] 2014, Sept. 14 National Hispanic Cultural Center	Frank McCulloch (voice and guitar) [regional folk songs] Antonia and José Apodaca (traditional musicians) Miguelito Romero (composer of <i>corridos</i> and accordion player) <i>Coro de San José</i> , Ray Pérez, conductor (traditional choral group from San José Obrero Parish) David F. [Dabida] García (tenor, violinist, and scholar) Brenda Romero (scholar and performer) Enrique Lamadrid (speaker and curator)
Annual John D. Robb Jr. Concert [4th edition] <i>¡Música del Corazón!</i> A Celebration of <i>Nuevo Mexicano</i> Music! 2015, Oct. 3 National Hispanic Cultural Center	Frank McCulloch (voice and guitar) [regional folk songs] <i>Los Martínez</i> (Rob, Lorenzo, and Lorenzo Martínez, Jr.) [<i>mariachi</i>] <i>Dueto Alegre</i> (Ramón and Lydia Saiz) [popular folk tunes] <i>Familia Ruiz</i> (Chuy Martinez, Oti Ruiz, and Ruiz family) [“Mexican melodies from Veracruz”, <i>música jarocho</i>] Sylvia Ernestina Vergara (pre-concert demonstration of Spanish Colonial dance) Enrique Lamadrid (speaker and curator)
Annual John D. Robb Jr. Concert [5th edition] <i>¡Música del Corazón!</i> A Celebration of <i>Nuevo Mexicano</i> Music! 2016, Oct. 16 National Hispanic Cultural Center	Frank McCulloch (voice and guitar) [regional folk songs] <i>Cipriano Vigil y la Familia</i> (with his son, daughter, and grandchildren) <i>Consuelo Luz</i> [Sephardic music] A. J. Martinez “King of Polka” and his sister Taralynn (vocals) [old and new polkas, <i>valse</i> s, and <i>varsovianas</i>] Enrique Lamadrid (speaker and curator)
Fourth Annual John D. Robb Jr. Concert [6th edition] <i>¡Música del Corazón! Aventuras musicales: Spain, México, New Mexico</i> [dedicated to Priscilla Robb McDonnell, sister of John D. Robb, Jr.] 2017, Nov. 5 National Hispanic Cultural Center	Lone Piñón (Jordan Wax, Noah Martínez, Greg Glassman, Leticia Gonzales) [<i>orquesta típica</i>] <i>Frank McCulloch y sus Amigos</i> (Luis Campos, guitarist; Melody Mock, violinist) [Hispanic folk songs from the Robb Archives] <i>Tomás Lozano y Viva la Pepa</i> (Tomás Lozano, Sharon Berman, Juan Wijngaard) [medieval and renaissance music, traditional music from New Mexico] Audience participation: Mexican birthday song, <i>Las mañanitas</i> Enrique Lamadrid (speaker and curator)
Fifth Annual John D. Robb Jr. Concert [7th edition] <i>Una velada nuevomexicana</i> 2018, Nov. 14	Gregorio Gonzales [“ <i>Canta un genízaro</i> ,” voice and <i>tombé</i>] David F. [Dabida] García and Jeremías Martínez [“ <i>Valles y sierras del Norte</i> ”] Frank McCulloch (voice and guitar; 2018 Robb Award)

National Hispanic Cultural Center	Brenda Romero (scholar and performer, “<i>Canciones e inditas</i>,” voice and guitar) Lara Manzanares and Rafael A. Herrera (“<i>Voces nuevas</i>”) Lone Piñón (Jordan Wax, Noah Martínez, Greg Glassman, Leticia Gonzales) (“<i>Conjunto del Alma</i>”) Enrique Lamadrid (speaker and co-curator) Ana Alonso-Minutti (speaker and co-curator) [as part of the program for the pre-conference symposium of the 63rd annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology]
Sixth Annual John D. Robb Jr. Concert [8th edition] <i>Sin fronteras. La música nuevomexicana</i> [Robb Trust’s 30th anniversary] 2019, Nov. 13 National Hispanic Cultural Center	Frank McCulloch (“<i>Patriarca de la música nuevomexicana</i>,” voice and guitar) <i>Bayou Seco</i> (“<i>Los reyes del ‘chilegumbo</i>,” Jeanie McLerie and Ken Keppeler) Cipriano Vigil (“<i>El mero Padrino of Nuevomexico</i> folk music, with his children Cipriano Pablo Vigil and Felicitas Vigil Piñón) Lone Piñón (Jordan Wax, Noah Martínez, Tanya Núñez; described as “<i>Conjunto extraordinario</i>”) Enrique Lamadrid (speaker and curator; 2019 Robb Award) Ana Alonso-Minutti (emcee)
Seventh Annual John D. Robb Jr. Concert [9th edition] <i>Mariachis y Flamencos: New Mexico’s Beloved Stepchildren</i> 2020, Nov. 22 National Hispanic Cultural Center (online edition)	Frank McCulloch (voice and guitar) Lorenzo Martínez, Larry Martínez, Miguel Ojeda, Joseph Santiago, and José Carrillo [<i>mariachi</i>] Vicente Griego, Eloy Gonzales, Javier Saume Mazzei [<i>flamenco</i>] Scott Wilkinson (2020 Robb Award) Enrique Lamadrid (speaker and curator) Marisol Encinias (roundtable speaker) Rob Martínez (roundtable speaker) Pre-concert roundtable: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cl_c0PVlvNs Concert: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nD49H-9luXI
Eighth Annual John D. Robb Jr. Concert [10th edition] <i>Fandango Roots and Flowers</i> National Hispanic Cultural Center 2021, November 14	<i>Son Veracruz</i> (Otilio Ruiz, Leticia Cuevas, Kateri López, Daniel Salazar, and Anabel María) [Mexican <i>fandangos y sones</i>] Vicente Griego, with Lidón Patiño Berjas and Javier Saume Mazzei [<i>flamenco</i>] César Bobalé, with Janet Harman, Pilar and Frank Leto and Ricky Carrido [African traditional music] Brenda Romero (2021 Robb Award) Enrique Lamadrid (speaker and curator) Concert: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uj2XLR5Ssfg
Ninth Annual John D. Robb Jr. Concert [11th edition] <i>Fandangos de Nueva España y fandangos históricos de Nuevo México</i> 2022, November 13 National Hispanic Cultural Center 2022, November 13	Alex Manzanares and <i>Ballet Folklórico Santa Fe</i> [“dance lesson”] Noe Garcia Jacinto (guitar) and Carlos Menchaca (dancer) [Baroque <i>fandangos</i> from New Spain] Lone Piñón (<i>orquesta típica</i>) and <i>Ballet Folklórico Santa Fe</i> [<i>fandangos nuevomexicanos</i> and traditional Mexican dance] Norberta Frésquez (2022 Robb Award) Brenda Romero (speaker) Enrique Lamadrid (speaker and curator) Concert: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UY_FZgQKNoc
Tenth Annual John D. Robb Jr. Concert [12th edition] <i>¡Música del Corazón!</i> Tenth Anniversary Celebration 2023, Nov. 19 National Hispanic Cultural Center	<i>Nueva Luna</i> (Lara Manzanares, Felix “Gato” Peralta, Rob Martinez), with special guests Jordan Wax and Santiago Romero of Lone Piñón [<i>Nuevomexicano</i> music] Laura Rebollosa, Raymundo Pavón Lozano, Claudio Vega, Carlos Arellano, Leila Flores Dueñas, and John Welch with <i>El Colectivo de San Jarocho</i> [<i>música jarocho</i>] <i>Mariachi Lobo</i>, Robert Lucero, Jr., conductor, and assistant directors Monica E. Trujillo, Adolfo Estrada, and José “Chino” Carrillo, featuring Laura Rebollosa and Jordan Wax, with <i>UNM Folklórico</i>, Alexander Manzanares, conductor John Truitt (2023 Robb Award) Enrique Lamadrid (speaker and curator) Carmella Scorcia Pacheco (roundtable speaker)

	Adolfo Estrada (roundtable speaker) Concert: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wyK424BYyN4
Eleventh Annual John D. Robb Jr. Concert [13th edition] <i>¡Música del Corazón!</i> Sacred Choral Music and Ritual Dance on the <i>Camino Real de Tierra Adentro</i> 2024, Nov. 24 Keller Hall, UNM	UNM Concert Chorus and <i>Música Antigua de Albuquerque</i> , David Edmonds, conductor [sacred choral colonial music] <i>Matachines de la Merced del Cañón de Carnué</i> (Isaac and Abcede Nieto, <i>Monarca and Malinche</i> ; Ángela Pérez Drew, violin; Faustino “Eddie” Herrera, guitar; Moises Gonzales, <i>danzante</i>) [<i>matachines</i> music and dance] Michael Maulin (2024 Robb Award) Ana Alonso-Minutti (facilitator, roundtable chair) Enrique Lamadrid (speaker and co-curator) Javier Marín-López (speaker and co-curator) Preconcert videos: https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL-7Uz2Wdtklg8EUtea-cNS-TRDoheuRFt Concert: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K_OudE4adZY

The year 2024 marked a significant shift in the trajectory of the event. Unlike previous editions, which focused almost exclusively on contemporary traditional and popular *nuevomexicano* music, I proposed to the *¡Música del Corazón!* Committee (Fig. 1) that the program be dedicated to the musical traditions that circulated along the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* during the Spanish colonial period in New Mexico (1598–1821). The history of the *Camino Real*, which was partially based on pre-existing Indigenous routes, began in 1546 with the discovery of a rich silver vein in Zacatecas, Mexico. Although its original purpose was to exploit the region’s mineral wealth, its final configuration is closely connected to the evangelizing efforts of the Franciscan order in northern New Spain.¹⁴ Ultimately, the program was structured into two sections: one dedicated to sacred choral music from the colonial period and another focused on the ritual dance of the *matachines*, which was widely disseminated along the *Camino Real* and remains present today—with local variants—in many Hispanic, Pueblo, and Mestizo communities as a symbol of the region’s dynamics of devotion, resistance, and adaptation.¹⁵ Both segments, curated by Enrique Lamadrid (*matachines*) and myself (sacred choral music), aimed to provide two complementary perspectives on the musical syncretism of the *Camino Real*.¹⁶ The presence of two curators was another novelty of this edition, as—except for the 2018 edition—Lamadrid had previously served as the sole curator.

¹⁴ The bibliography on the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* and its implications for New Mexico is quite extensive. See *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro as Revealed through the Written Record: A Guide to Sources of Information for One of the Great Trails of North America* (Santa Fe, NM: Jemez Mountains Research Center, LLC, 2020). From a musical perspective, see John Koegel, “Music and Christianization on the Northern Frontier of New Spain,” *Conversion to Christianity from Late Antiquity to the Modern Age: Considering the Process in Europe, Asia, and the Americas*, Calvin B. Kendall, Oliver Nicholson, William D. Phillips Jr. and Marguerite Ragnow, eds. (Minneapolis, MN: Center for Early Modern History, University of Minnesota, 2008), 293–332; and Kristin Dutcher Mann and Drew Edward Davies, “Musical Cultures of the Ibero-American Borderlands,” *The Oxford Handbook of Borderlands of the Iberian World*, Danna A. Levin-Rojo and Cynthia Radding, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 525–543.

¹⁵ On the *Matachines* of New Mexico, see Brenda M. Romero’s synthesis, “Cultural Interaction in New Mexico as Illustrated in *La Danza de Matachines*,” *The Music of Multicultural America: Performance, Identity, and Community in the United States*, Kip Lornell and Anne K. Rasmussen, eds. (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2016), 205–238.

¹⁶ Throughout the preparation process, Enrique Lamadrid and I engaged in a continuous exchange of readings and ideas through dozens of emails and virtual meetings, which significantly enriched our collaboration. Additionally, we both participated in the pre-concert roundtable, where we explained the criteria used in structuring each section. As a result of this curatorial dialogue, some choral pieces initially considered for the program were ultimately excluded.



Fig. 1. Unidentified Photographer, “Some members of the 2024 *¡Música del Corazón!* Committee in the Keller Hall lobby, November 24, 2024 (From left to right: Robert Lucero Jr., Enrique Lamadrid, Javier Marín-López, Lisa Nevada, Ana Alonso-Minutti, and Thomas Goodrich),” 2024, Digital Photograph

My thematic proposal stemmed from the fact that, throughout my career as a musicologist, I have devoted much of my research to the colonial music of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, particularly the polyphony of the Mexico City Cathedral.¹⁷ From my first visit to New Mexico in 2010—as one of many tourists—I became curious about the musical practices that flourished there between the seventeenth- and nineteenth centuries. The pioneering work of Lincoln B. Spiess provided documentary evidence of the existence of *capillas de música* (literally “music chapels,” institutional ensembles of musicians) in the region’s missionary churches, particularly during the seventeenth century.¹⁸ During the great 1680 Pueblo Revolt, Catholic churches were destroyed in the northlands, along with all traces of their musical repertoires. However, evidence found along the route shows that music played a constant, vibrant role in the trail’s liturgical calendar. Thus, the *Camino Real* allowed for the connection between New Mexico and the musical traditions that circulated along this route, offering an imaginary yet historically plausible recreation of the Catholic sacred choral music of European tradition that accompanied ceremonies, processions, and liturgical acts for over three centuries. As an exercise in historical imagination, this section of the program was structured as a musical itinerary that traveled from south to north, beginning in Mexico City, the viceregal capital, and ending in Santa Fe, the capital of the former Kingdom of New Mexico. Notably, this was the first time a concert of this nature had ever been programmed.

¹⁷ Javier Marín-López, *Los libros de polifonía de la Catedral de México. Estudio y catálogo crítico*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología and Universidad de Jaén, 2012).

¹⁸ Lincoln B. Spiess, “Instruments in the Missions of New Mexico, 1598–1680,” *Essays in Musicology. A Birthday Offering for Willi Apel*, Hans Tischler, ed. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1958), 131–136; “Benavides and Church Music in New Mexico in the Early 17th Century,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 17, no. 2 (1964), 144–156; and “Church Music in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico,” *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 40, no. 1 (1965), 5–21.

The selection of this theme required changes at multiple levels. Naturally, the profile of the performers had to be different. While maintaining the community spirit of the event, the UNM Concert Chorus—a choir of about thirty university students directed by David Edmonds—was invited to participate. They were joined by the instrumental forces of *Música Antigua de Albuquerque*, the most renowned early music ensemble active in New Mexico, which contributed its extensive experience and rich collection of historical instruments (Fig. 2).¹⁹ Unlike *Música Antigua de Albuquerque*, whose members have been performing medieval, renaissance, and baroque music since 1978, the young singers of the UNM Concert Chorus had little experience with sacred colonial repertoires. For this reason, and to facilitate the rehearsal process, I prepared musical editions for them and created a YouTube playlist. I also provided extensive commentaries for each piece, which included musicological notes on the context, general performance criteria, suggestions for alternating plainchant and polyphony, guidelines for instrumental accompaniment, and a guide to Spanish pronunciation for English speakers. For the ritual dance segment, the *matachines* group from *La Merced del Cañón de Carnué* was invited. Their current *Monarca*, Isaac Nieto, is the great-grandson of Teófilo García, a violinist and *matachín* dancer recorded by Robb in 1954 (Fig. 3).²⁰



Fig. 2. Javier Marín-López, “UNM Concert Chorus and *Música Antigua de Albuquerque* in action, *¡Música del Corazón!*, Keller Hall, November 24, 2024,” 2024, Digital Photograph

¹⁹ See <https://music.unm.edu/ensembles/choirs/> and <https://musica-antigua.org/>. *Música Antigua de Albuquerque* is composed of five multi-instrumentalist *ministriles*: Dennis Davies-Wilson, Hovey Corbin, Ruth Helgeson, Colleen Sheinberg, and Art Sheinberg. The first of them, who was originally scheduled to play alto shawm and recorders, was unable to attend the event due to medical reasons. The instruments ultimately used during the concert included alto, tenor, and bass recorders; treble, tenor, and bass viols; sackbut; *vihuela de mano*; drum; bell; and seed pod shaker.

²⁰ Albuquerque, Center for Southwest Research, John Donald Robb Field Recordings, ZIM CSWR Robb MU 7, index number 1277, “La toreada del toro,” <https://econtent.unm.edu/digital/collection/RobbFieldRe/id/9200/rec/11>.



Fig. 3. Javier Marín-López, “*Matachines de la Merced del Cañón de Carnué* and community members posing with a photograph of Teófilo García, *¡Música del Corazón!*, Keller Hall, November 24, 2024,” 2024, Digital Photograph

The co-curation shared with Enrique Lamadrid extended beyond the strictly musical realm to include the graphic design of the promotional poster, creating an image that encapsulated the proposed theme (Fig. 4). As the background, we used the 1804 map of New Spain created after Alexander von Humboldt’s legendary expedition, which included the southwestern United States and highlighted the *Camino Real*’s strategic importance in shaping this vast territory. In the foreground, an intriguing 1867 photograph of the Isleta Pueblo mission—one of the main musical centers in the Río Abajo region, situated along the *Camino Real*. At the center of the scene, the *Olla* maidens carry water jars on their heads as they observe something in the plaza—perhaps a *matachines* dance?—alongside other residents and visitors. A bell-ringer stands on the church’s rooftop, and a priest, likely Father Augustine Brun, is also present.²¹ The image reflects the tensions between the imposition of Catholicism and the persistence of ritual practices among local populations.

²¹ Nancy Hanks, *Lamy’s Legion. The Individual Histories of Secular Clergy Serving in the Archdiocese of Santa Fe from 1850 to 1912* (Santa Fe, NM: HRM Books, 2000), 27. Augustine Brun arrived as the new parish priest in Isleta in 1866; however, he passed away prematurely in 1875 at the age of 33. This priest should not be confused with two other French priests active in New Mexico who shared the same surname: Charles Brun, ordained as a priest in Santa Fe in 1852, and Jean-Baptiste Brun, who arrived in Santa Fe in 1867 with the first Jesuits.



Fig. 4. Thomas Goodrich, Promotional poster of 2024 *¡Música del Corazón!*, UNM Robb Trust

2. Imagining a Sacred Choral Repertoire for the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*: A Selective (and Personal) List

The repertoire included was selective yet representative of the several choral traditions that converged along the *Camino Real*. It included a variety of languages—Latin, Spanish, and Nahuatl, the latter introduced in New Mexico by the *Tlaxcaltecas*. There was also diversity in musical genres and styles: *villancicos* or *chanzonetas*, hymns, masses, motets, and prayers, with and without instrumental accompaniment by *ministriles*, performed in both plainchant and polyphony with varying degrees of complexity in technical terms. In the absence of a preserved missionary repertoire in New Mexico, selected examples were drawn from the California missions, which were also under the care of the Franciscans. The selection of composers was equally representative of the *Camino Real*, encompassing both musicians active in New Spain (Franco, Fernández) and European composers who never crossed the Atlantic (Ceballos, Aliseda, Victoria, and Du Mont), yet whose music was widely performed in ecclesiastical institutions along this route. To maintain the connection with the event organizers and the local folk music, I prepared a SATB arrangement of one of Robb’s most well-known arrangements of the traditional lullaby *A la ru, a la me*, which was incorporated as the closing piece of the program—see details on this work below.

The repertoire also reflected a range of institutional contexts and festive occasions, from regular to extraordinary, including the reception of dignitaries, the teaching of Christian doctrine in missions,

and diverse liturgical and devotional contexts spanning from Advent to Pentecost. Sacred music flourished especially during Christmas and Holy Week, as well as for Corpus Christi, Marian devotions, and celebrations dedicated to specific saints, like Saint Francis (founder of the Franciscan order) and Saint James the Apostle (patron of Spain), both venerated along the *Camino Real*. Obviously, other repertoire choices would have been possible and equally valid. However, the final selection was well-balanced, representative of the choral traditions of the *Camino Real*, and suited both the required duration—no longer than forty minutes—, the vocal and instrumental forces, and the profile of performers and audiences. In what follows, I provide contextual and historical commentary on each piece and include links to the live concert of *¡Música del Corazón!*, allowing readers to relive the performance.²²

At The Entrance of The Viceroy

[1] Gaspar Fernández (1563/71–1629) Motet <i>Elegit eum Dominus</i> (5vv + tenor recorder, treble viol, sackbut, bass viol), 1612²³ (Source: Oaxaca, Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Antequera-Oaxaca, “<i>Cancionero poético-musical de Gaspar Fernández</i>,” ff. 134v–135r [foliation given by Omar Morales April, 2014, and published by Margit Frenk, <i>Cancionero poético de Gaspar Fernández (Puebla, 1609–1616)</i>, 2023]. Editor: Robert Stevenson, 1975) Live Recording: https://youtu.be/K_OudE4adZY?si=bRNzK7RudqMesJ0K&t=2490	
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Music played an essential role in the ceremonies and official events along the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, like the solemn processional entries of civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries. Through music, the ceremony’s grandeur and reverence were enhanced, reinforcing the authority and prestige of newly appointed officials. This motet was composed by Gaspar Fernández, *maestro de capilla*—music director—of the Cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles, to commemorate the entrance of Diego Fernández de Córdoba, Marquis of Guadalcázar (Fig. 5), into the city of Puebla on October 12, 1612 on the way to Mexico City. Fernández de Córdoba, who served as Viceroy of New Spain (1612–1621) and later of Peru (1622–1629), was a native of Seville, Spain and a figure of historical relevance to New Mexico. In 1620, he authored a brief report on the status of the *Reino de la Nueva México*, noting that 17,000 Indigenous people had been baptized, with their instruction in doctrine overseen by sixteen Franciscan friars. According to his account, Santa Fe was the only Spanish settlement in the region, with a small population of fifty households and approximately 200 residents.²⁴ The motet was expressly composed “for the viceroy’s entrance,” and its text appears to have been newly crafted, as was common with many commemorative motets. The first two verses are derived from a Gregorian

²²The only available recording was made by the Keller Hall technical staff using a single camera (wide shot) and ambient microphones for audio capture. Following an editing process, enhancements were made to both the audio and video signals, and images from the Powerpoint presentations projected during the roundtable discussion were incorporated. Additionally, two lateral cameras were added in the segment corresponding to choral music. I extend my gratitude to Rafael Martos for his improvements to the audio in both the roundtable discussion and the choral music segment, and to Francisco Cuenca for the video editing.

²³ As instrumental accompaniment to the choir’s processional entrance, an anonymous piece from the “*Cancionero Musical de Palacio*” (ff. 78v–79r) was performed: *Está la Reina del cielo* (3vv + alto recorder, tenor viol, bass viol, and sackbut).

²⁴ Seville, Archivo General de Indias, México, 29, N.36, May 27, 1620.

responsory dedicated to the feast of the Common of a Confessor Pontiff. This connection symbolically aligns the new viceroy with the Roman pontiffs, evoking the image of a virtuous and heroic leader chosen directly by Christ (“The Lord chose him”).²⁵



Fig. 5. Unidentified Artist, “Viceroy Diego Fernández de Córdoba (1578–1630),” 1612, Oil on Canvas (Mexico City, Museo Nacional de Historia, Salón de Virreyes, WikiCommons. Photo: Bicentenario México)

Learning Christian Doctrine

[2] Anonymous (California) The Lord’s Prayer <i>Padre Nuestro</i> (4vv) (Source: Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, Document 1 (“Durán Choirbook”), 177; Document 2 (“Choirbook from the San Rafael Mission”), 86. Editor: Javier Marín-López, 2024 [upon Owen Da Silva, <i>Mission Music of California</i>, 1941, 97–98]) Live Recording: https://youtu.be/K_OudE4adZY?si=MTH7qDlnc8R2jEYM&t=2617	
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In the Franciscan missions spread along the *Camino Real*, Christian doctrine was taught daily using four foundational prayers: the Our Father (*Padre Nuestro*), the Hail Mary (*Ave Maria* [no. 9]), the Creed (*Credo*), and the *Salve Regina* (*Hail Holy Queen* [no. 4]). The Our Father (in Latin, *Pater*

²⁵ Aurelio Tello, “El repertorio para el recibimiento del Virrey Diego Fernández de Córdoba en el Cancionero Musical de Gaspar Fernandes,” *La música y el Atlántico. Relaciones musicales entre España y Latinoamérica*, María Gembero-Ustároz and Emilio Ros-Fábregas, eds. (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007), 199–213. For the lyrics of the pieces and their English translations, see the commemorative program available on the website of the Robb Trust: <https://www.robbtrust.org/musica.html>, and also here: <https://www.academia.edu/125656302>.

Noster) held a central role in the evangelization process, conveying the core principles of faith and the intimate relationship between God and humanity. Given the linguistic diversity and limited written literacy in Spanish of the mission populations, music was pivotal in the transmission of these prayers: the use of chant and simple melodic formulas facilitated communal recitation, making the prayers easier to learn and retain.²⁶ Initially, popular, well-known melodies were reused, and over time, music specifically composed for this purpose emerged. This Californian version of the *Padre Nuestro*, preserved in two copies from the Santa Barbara Mission Archive, represents a rare four-voice musical setting of this text and displays a solemn, homophonic style characteristic of the missions. The source uses an ingenious notational system in red and black on a six-line staff—instead of the usual five—designed to allow each singer to follow their melody, which was identified by the corresponding color. The lowest voice, the bass, is represented with solid black notation and just above it, the tenor is written in solid red; the alto is indicated using black ink but with hollow note outlines, while the highest voice, the soprano, is marked with hollow red outlines (Fig. 6).²⁷



Fig. 6. Craig H. Russell, “The Lord’s Prayer *Padre Nuestro* (4vv),” No Date, Digital Photograph (Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library)

²⁶ Virginia Sánchez-López and Javier Marín-López, “Juan de Ávila y la enseñanza cantada de la doctrina cristiana entre Castilla y las Indias: propuesta de reconstrucción,” *Juan de Ávila: vnicvs et mltiplex. Una visión multidisciplinar*, María Dolores Rincón González, Ignacio Pulido Serrano, and Natalia Soria Ruiz, eds., *Espirituales Españoles, Serie Maior 7* (Salamanca: Fundación Universitaria Española, Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, and Universidad de Jaén, 2021), 423–477.

²⁷ Craig H. Russell, *From Serra to Sancho. Music and Pageantry in the California Missions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 78–81.

[3] Anonymous (Gregorian) Sequence <i>Petrus charitas nascentem</i> (plainchant) [only verses 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 17]	
(Source: Santa Fe, Museum of International Folk Art, Vault Collection, A.10.56-21, missing foliation. Editor: Lincoln Bunce Spiess, 1965)	
Live Recording: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K_OudE4adZY&t=2810s	

The Museum of International Folk Art in Santa Fe holds a striking yet partially damaged antiphonary, first studied by Lincoln B. Spiess in 1965, though its provenance was initially unknown (Fig. 7).²⁸ According to the museum’s acquisition records, this book originated from the *La Merced* church in Antigua, Guatemala—at the southern prolongation of the *Camino Real*—and arrived in Santa Fe as part of a donation of art objects by the archaeologist Sylvanus G. Morley, who purchased it from a Guatemalan antique dealer following the 1917 earthquake.²⁹ The Order of Mercy (*Orden de la Merced*), founded by Saint Peter Nolasco to rescue Christians captured by Muslims, had a lesser and later presence in the *Camino Real* compared to other religious orders, such as the Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans, or Jesuits. The Mercedarians’ activity in New Mexico was also limited. However, the legacy of captive rescue is integral to New Mexican identity, personified by *Genízaros*—a class of detribalized, Hispanicized Indigenous people originally held as captives and slaves.³⁰ A 1776 inventory of the library of the Custody of San Pablo (the name for the Franciscan ecclesiastical province of New Mexico) mentions the existence of “several offices of Mercedarians,” attesting to the presence of books from this order in the region.³¹ The canonization of Saint Peter Nolasco in 1628 bolstered his devotion in New Spain. Although he was not among the most prominent saints in the New Spanish liturgical calendar, *villancicos* were composed in his honor at the Mexico City Cathedral, and his feast day—January 31—was celebrated annually with the participation of the music chapel during vespers and mass.³² The sequence *Petrus charitas nascentem*, dedicated to the order’s founder, is in plainchant or *canto llano* and consists of a single melodic line in ternary meter. The choice of this meter, along with the long-short rhythmic pattern, allows for a perfect alignment with the prosodic accents of the text. The poem is metrically structured and effectively conveys the life of the saint and, by extension, the ideals of the Mercedarian order.

²⁸ Lincoln B. Spiess, *A Mercedarian Antiphonary, With Notes on Painted Ornaments* (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1965).

²⁹ Sylvanus G. Morley, *The Morley Collection of Spanish Colonial Ecclesiastical Art* (Santa Fe, NM: Archaeological Institute of America, 1945), 22–24.

³⁰ See Enrique L. Lamadrid and Moises Gonzales, “Introduction,” *Nación Genízara. Ethnogenesis, Place, and Identity in New Mexico*, Moises Gonzales and Enrique L. Lamadrid, eds. (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2019), 1–18.

³¹ Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angélico Chávez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776. A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, With Other Contemporary Documents* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), 228, entry [122].

³² Mexico City, Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Ordo Series, book 2, “Diario manual de lo que en esta Santa Yglesia Cathedral Metropolitana de México, se practica y observa en su altar, choro y demás que es debido hacer en todos y en cada uno de los días del año” (MS, 1751), ff. 69r–70r.



Fig. 7. Javier Marín-López, “Beginning of the sequence Petrum charitas nascentem (plainchant),” No Date (17th c.), Digital Photograph (Santa Fe, Museum of International Folk Art, Vault Collection, A.10.56-21)

Marian Devotions [I]: Cathedrals

[4] Rodrigo de Ceballos (ca. 1530–1581) Antiphon <i>Salve Regina</i> (4vv <i>alternatim</i> plainchant + bass recorder, tenor viol, bass viol, bells) (Source: Mexico City Cathedral, Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano, Polyphonic Choirbook 10, ff. 62v–66r, [Anon.]. Editor: Robert J. Snow, 1995) Live Recording: https://youtu.be/K_OudE4adZY?si=vWyZ9tFe5AmmZOQh&t=2933	
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The *Salve Regina* is one of the most well-known Marian antiphons in the Catholic liturgy, often performed at the end of the day as part of the service of Compline, as well as in various Marian devotions and during the recitation of the rosary—a prominent manifestation of Catholic spirituality in New Mexico. Numerous chroniclers have referred to its performance in “*canto de órgano*” (i.e., written polyphony or multi-part music) in cathedral and missionary contexts. In New Mexico, the 1630 *Memorial* by Alonso de Benavides mentions how, during the reception of a Navajo-Apache chief in the church of Santa Clara Pueblo (Fig. 8), the singers sang “the *Salve* in ‘*canto de órgano*,’ with all solemnity, and with trumpets and shawms.”³³ As was the case with many liturgical genres, the antiphons were performed *alternatim*, meaning that the verses were alternated between plainchant

³³ Alonso de Benavides, *Memorial [...] hecho por el padre fray Alonso de Benavides comissario del Santo Oficio, y custodio que ha sido de las prouincias, y conuersiones del Nuevo-Mexico* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1630), 73–74: “Y por diuertirle, mandè a los cantores que cantassen la Salue de canto de órgano, con toda solemnidad, y con trompetas, y chirimías.”

and polyphony. There were numerous polyphonic versions of this antiphon. This sober setting by Rodrigo de Ceballos, a polyphonist active in several Andalusian institutions, is preserved in the Cathedral of Mexico, although the copy omits the composer's name. Ceballos never traveled to the New World, but his music was well-known in both cathedrals (such as Morelia, Mexico and Bogota, Colombia) and Indian missions (such as those in Guatemala).³⁴ Today, we know that most Franciscan missions along the Rio Grande had *capillas de música* during the seventeenth century and had the expertise to perform polyphonic works of this kind.³⁵



Fig. 8. Horace S. Poley, "Santa Clara Pueblo Mission Church, ca. 1911," 1911, Silver Gelatin Photograph (Denver Public Library Special Collections, <https://digital.denverlibrary.org>)

Día de los Muertos

[5] Hernando Franco (1532–1585) Psalm 6 <i>Domine, ne in furore</i> (4–6vv) [only verses 1, 2, 7, 8, and 11, <i>alternatim plainchant</i>] (Sources [selection]: Mexico City Cathedral, Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano, Polyphonic Choirbook 2, ff. 7v–10r, [Anon.]; Durango Cathedral, Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Durango, Ms. Mús. 837/2, ff. [2v]–[6r]; Galería Episcopal de la Catedral, Book 2, ff. [0v]–4r, Anon. Editor: Juan Manuel Lara Cárdenas, 1993 [published 2015]) Live Recording: https://youtu.be/K_OudE4adZY?si=xQkAwAQc9wf7_Ne4&t=3285	
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The liturgy for the Dead in New Spain generated one of the most unique and earliest musical repertoires, as by the mid-sixteenth century, the *maestro de capilla* of the Cathedral of Mexico City, Lázaro del Álamo, was composing polyphonic pieces for the Matins of this service, as shown by the

³⁴ Emilio Ros-Fábregas and Javier Marín-López, "Ceballos [Çavallos, Cevallos, Zaballos, Zavallos], Rodrigo de," *Books of Hispanic Polyphony*, Emilio Ros-Fábregas, ed., <https://hispanicpolyphony.eu/es/person/14093>.

³⁵ Tomás Lozano, *Cantemos al Alba: Origins of Songs, Sounds, and Liturgical Drama of Hispanic New Mexico* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 612.

chronicle of the funeral rites of Charles V held in Mexico in 1559.³⁶ *Domine, ne in furore* is the psalm sung in the first nocturne of the Matins for the Dead. It consists of eleven verses, of which the odd ones are set to polyphony (all in four voices except the last “*Requiem aeternam*,” in six voices, doubling the soprano and tenor), while the even ones are entrusted to plainchant. The piece is part of the funeral office composed by the peripatetic Spanish composer Hernando Franco, *maestro de capilla* who was active in territories that correspond to six present-day countries: Portugal, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico. Copies of this office are preserved in many ecclesiastical institutions, including the Cathedral of Durango, Mexico (Fig. 9).³⁷ Alongside the learned tradition of solemnizing death through written polyphonic music, there existed a popular musical repertoire transmitted orally, performed in funeral processions and *velorios*. As a reflection of its Catholic background and mixed history, the *Día de los Muertos* continues to be celebrated in some towns in New Mexico—and many in Mexico—with the dances of *matachines* which were performed in the second part of the *¡Música del Corazón!* concert.



Fig. 9. Gilberto Lastra (?), “Cathedral Choir of Durango, Mexico,” 2021, Digital Photograph (Newspaper *Milenio*, 17 July, 2021, www.milenio.com)

³⁶ Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Tymvlo imperial de la grand ciudad de Mexico* (Mexico City: Antonio Espinosa, 1560), ff. 25v–26r.

³⁷ Javier Marín-López, *Los libros de polifonía de la Catedral de México*, vol. 1, 69–77 and 189–232. See also Grayson Wagstaff, *Matins for the Dead in Sixteenth-Century Colonial Mexico: Mexico City Cathedral 3 and Puebla Cathedral 3* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2007).

[6] Jerónimo de Aliseda (ca. 1547–1591) Motet <i>Beatus Franciscus</i> (5vv)	
(Source: Granada, Archivo de la Capilla Real de Granada, <i>Libro manual</i> 6. Editor: José Antonio Gutiérrez-Álvarez, 2024 [upon José López-Calo, <i>La música en la Catedral de Granada</i> , 1963, vol. 2, 83–91]	
Live Recording: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K_OudE4adZY&t=3480s	

The figure of Saint Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan order, was highly influential in the religious culture of the colonial *Camino Real*. The Franciscans, tasked with the christianization of New Mexico, established numerous missions and convents along the Rio Grande, fostering devotion to Saint Francis.³⁸ In 1850, with the establishment of the Diocese of Santa Fe, the Basilica Cathedral was dedicated to Saint Francis of Assisi. Thus, “*Padre Francisco*,” known for his love of nature and simplicity, left a lasting impact on the spirituality and cultural identity of New Mexico. By the late seventeenth century, the iconography of Saint Francis evolved, with many traditional biographical themes replaced by more complex episodes, especially intense visions, and mystical ecstasies. A particular iconographic type depicts Saint Francis accompanied by one or more musical angels offering him comfort (Fig. 10), where music serves as a metaphor for heavenly harmony—a concept aligned with the Neoplatonic ideals that deeply influenced Franciscan spirituality.³⁹ Jerónimo de Aliseda, *maestro de capilla* at the Cathedral of Granada (Spain) between 1580 and 1591, pays homage to the founder of the Franciscan order in this monumental, intimate motet, an exquisite example of Counter-Reformation polyphony. The text depicts a final moment in the life of Saint Francis, who, near death and with tear-filled eyes, raises a prayer to God.

³⁸ Félix D. Almaráz Jr., “Franciscan Missions along New Mexico’s Rio Grande Corridor in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, José de la Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, eds. (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000), 109–124.

³⁹ Virginia Sánchez Rodríguez, “El episodio de san Francisco reconfortado por un ángel músico: la reiteración de un modelo iconográfico del siglo XVII,” *Música, literatura y poder en la España moderna*, Juan José Pastor Comín, Paulino Capdepón Verdú and Francisco Manuel López Gómez, eds. (Madrid: Dykinson, 2024), 691–710. For a discussion on the presence of music in the Franciscan ideology, see Peter Victor Loewen, *Music in Early Franciscan Thought* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013).



Fig. 10. Fernando E. de la Torre, “Façade Detail: Mission Church of Saint Francis in the Valley of Tilaco, Querétaro (Mexico),” 2011, Digital Photograph. (www.flickr.com)

In the Body of Christ

[7] Anonymous (California missions)

Hymn for Corpus Christi *¡Oh, qué suave y dulce estás!* (2vv + tenor recorder, tenor viol, bass viol, *vihuela de mano*)

(Sources [selection]: Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Choirbook C-C-59 [“Durán Choirbook”], 70; Santa Clara University, Orrande Library, Mission Ms. 4, 66–67; Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, Document 2, 66. Editor: Javier Marín-López, 2024)

Live Recording: https://youtu.be/K_OudE4adZY?si=aBWvYCMxpM5snGk8&t=3702



During the Spanish colonial period, the celebration of Corpus Christi was one of the most important and visually impressive events in the liturgical calendar of the *Camino Real*. This festival, dedicated to venerating the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, held special significance in northern missionary territories, where it served as a powerful tool for evangelization and community cohesion. The festivities included processions through village streets and plazas, with the Blessed Sacrament carried under a canopy and accompanied by clergy, soldiers, and local dignitaries (Fig. 11). Indigenous converts participated actively, often incorporating traditional dances and attire that were adapted to fit

the solemnity of the occasion.⁴⁰ Music and dance were central in Corpus Christi processions, particularly during the stops or “*estaciones*.” According to Craig H. Russell, and based on the number of copies preserved in various archives, *¡Oh, qué suave y dulce estáis!* is a major piece in the Franciscan repertoire of the California missions.⁴¹ With two sections, written in ternary and binary meters respectively, this work displays distinctly gallant melodic lines abundant with triplets and appoggiaturas. One of the copies bears the inscription “*golpe*” over the word “*amor*,” suggesting the execution of some percussive effect performed by a drum or another percussion instrument. Similar to other pieces in the mission repertoire where only vocal lines were noted, it is likely that this piece was accompanied by instruments—probably violins and basso continuo.



Fig. 11. Dana B. Chase, “Corpus Christi procession on Plaza, Santa Fe, New Mexico,” ca. 1884–1892, Albumen Print (Palace of the Governors Photo Archive, negative number: 056988, www.tumblr.com)

Tlaxcaltecas along the Camino

[8] Gaspar Fernández (1563/71–1629)

Christmas *chanzoneta* *Ximoyolali siñola* (5vv + 2 alto recorders, treble viol, seed pod shaker), 1611 [*villancico* (Christmas carol) “*en mestizo*”]

(Source: Oaxaca, Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Antequera-Oaxaca, “*Cancionero poético-musical de Gaspar Fernández*,” ff. 101v–102r [foliation given by Omar Morales Abril, 2014, and published by Margit Frenk, *Cancionero poético de Gaspar Fernández* (Puebla, 1609–1616), 2023]. Editor: Javier Marín-López, 2024)

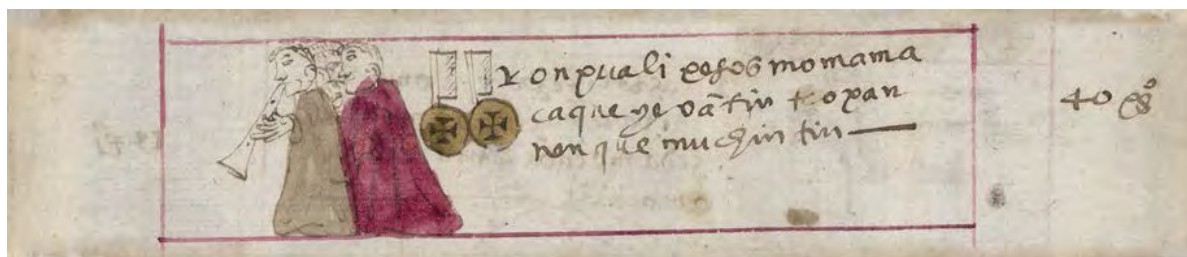
Live Recording: https://youtu.be/K_OudE4adZY?si=lu_uJNQXbb600kf&t=3874



⁴⁰ A proclamation issued by Governor General Félix Martínez to the *alcaldes mayores* of the kingdom’s pueblos for the celebration of the Corpus Christi in 1716 required the relocation of 220 Indigenous people to Santa Fe to prepare the *enramadas*—temporary vegetal structures used to decorate the city’s streets for the Corpus procession—and to participate in the dances: “Y juntamente traigan las flores que cada pueblo pudiere juntar para los dos referidos días [the day of Corpus Christi and its octave], y que nombren los danzarines que les pareciere para que bailen en la procesión delante del Santísimo Sacramento, procurando vestirlos lo más decente que puedan, como que vienen a asistir al Señor de cielo y tierra.” Santa Fe, NM, New Mexico State Records and Archives, Spanish Archives of New Mexico II, 1621–1821, Twitchell 251, May 29, 1716.

⁴¹ Russell, *From Serra to Sancho*, 188–190.

In 1590, 400 *Tlaxcalteca* families (932 settlers) migrated north along the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, contributing to Spanish colonial expansion in the seventeenth century. Settling in regions such as Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, Durango, and New Mexico, they retained certain privileges as allies of the Spanish. Some settled in Santa Fe's *Barrio de Analco*, centered around the San Miguel Chapel, established in 1610, the oldest Catholic church in the United States.⁴² Notably, the name *Analco*—which literally means “on the other side of the river” in Nahuatl—was also used for an outlying neighborhood in Puebla and other cities of the *Camino Real*, reflecting the transference of *Tlaxcalteca* cultural identity to their new surroundings. The *capillas de música* in the Indigenous towns of the Puebla-Tlaxcala bishopric are well documented and were widely renowned (Fig. 12).⁴³ Therefore, it is not surprising that the *Tlaxcaltecas* carried with them—along with the Nahuatl language—their musical practices, disseminating them along the *Camino Real*.⁴⁴ Nahuatl became a lingua franca, and its use persists today, with 1.6 million speakers across Mexico, including regions along the way—State of Mexico, Hidalgo, Jalisco, San Luis Potosí, and Durango. Music compositions in Nahuatl date back to the sixteenth century. The *chansoneta* titled *Ximoyolali siñola* by Gaspar Fernández, chapel master of the Cathedral of Puebla, is part of a select group of pieces that mix Nahuatl with Spanish words, in a sort of mestizo dialect. In this *chansoneta*, a group of Indians exhorts the Virgin Mary to rejoice and to participate in their Indigenous dances (“*mitotes*”) and horse races (“*matalote*”), while also criticizing Spanish wealth and lack of charity.⁴⁵



⁴² Enrique R. Lamadrid, “Tlaxcalans in New Mexico: Fading Traces, Contested Legacies,” *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 91, no. 2 (2016), 147–162.

⁴³ Lidia E. Gómez García and Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez, “Un acercamiento a las capillas musicales en los pueblos indios del obispado de Puebla-Tlaxcala, siglos XVI-XVIII,” *Ritual sonoro en catedral y parroquias*, Sergio Navarrete Pellicer, ed. (Mexico City: Centro de Investigación y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2013), 175–201.

⁴⁴ Otto Maas, *Viajes de misioneros franciscanos a la conquista del Nuevo México. Documentos del Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla)* (Sevilla: Impr. de San Antonio, 1915), 23, noted the existence of a “chapel of singers composed of young Indigenous boys and their teacher, a Tlaxcalan” [“capilla de canttores de los yndios pequeños y su Maestro vn Thlascalteco”] at the Mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, located in the *Pimería Alta*, adjacent to the *Camino Real*.

⁴⁵ Berenice Alcántara Rojas, “En ‘mestizo y indio’: las obras con textos en lengua náhuatl del ‘Cancionero de Gaspar Fernández,’” *Conformación y retórica de los repertorios musicales catedralicios en la Nueva España*, Drew Edward Davies and Lucero Enríquez Rubio, eds. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2016), 53–84.

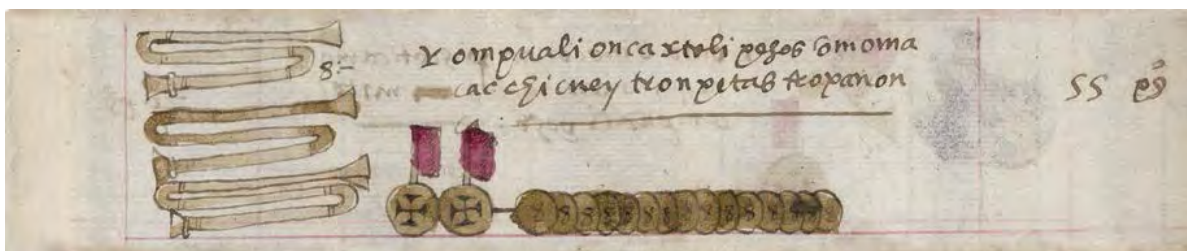


Fig. 12. Unidentified Artist, “Payment of 40 pesos to church servants, including the musicians of the music chapel (1559) [above] and purchase of eight trumpets at a cost of 55 pesos (1560) [below],” *Codex Sierra Texupan*, Santa Catalina, Oaxaca, ca. 1559–1560, Pigment on Paper (Puebla, Mexico, Biblioteca Histórica José María Lafragua, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, no. 48281)⁴⁶

Marian Devotions [II]: Missions

[9] Anonymous (California)

Prayer to the Virgin *Ave Maria* (4vv)

(Sources: Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, Folder C; Document 1 (“Durán Choirbook”), 178; Document 2 (“Choirbook from the San Rafael Mission”), 86. Editor: Javier Marín-López, 2024 [upon Owen Da Silva, *Mission Music of California*, 1941, 99–100])

Live Recording: https://youtu.be/K_OudE4adZY?si=848Blh8gbJNuKy6Y&t=4095



Like the *Padrenuestro* [no. 2], the *Ave Maria* was a significant prayer along the *Camino Real*. It was performed on numerous festive occasions, including processions, patronal feasts, and community masses, either recited or sung to various melodies, as evidenced by the field recordings made by John Donald Robb in the mid-twentieth century. Unlike the *alabado*, which was a solemn and penitential chant with ornamented melodies typically associated with funeral rites (*velorios*) and Holy Week rituals, *alabanzas*, such as the *Ave Maria*, were syllabic and had a more joyful character. This prayer has been particularly linked to Marian devotions. Two of the most prominent were the Virgin of Guadalupe and, in the case of New Mexico, the Virgin *La Conquistadora*, originally known as *Nuestra Señora de la Asunción* or *Nuestra Señora de la Paz*. This feast was connected to the Spanish colonization of the northern frontier, as studied by Fray Angélico Chávez many years ago (Fig. 13).⁴⁷ According to tradition, her statue was brought to New Mexico by Fray Alonso de Benavides in 1625; it later accompanied Spanish refugees to El Paso during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. After the Spanish reconquest in 1692–1693, it was returned to Santa Fe, solidifying its role as a symbol of the restoration of Spanish rule. To this day, a solemn, annual procession and novena are held in her honor during the second week of September in Santa Fe.

⁴⁶ Lidia E. Gómez García and Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez, “La magnificencia del culto litúrgico y devocional en los pueblos de indios del obispado de Tlaxcala, siglos XVI y XVII: las capillas de música,” *Miradas al patrimonio musical universitario. Solfas, letras, figuras y artilugios*, Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez, ed. (Puebla: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, Biblioteca José María Lafragua, 2017), 45–59: 56–57.

⁴⁷ Fray Angélico Chávez, *Our Lady of the Conquest* (Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press, 1948). See also Jaima Chevalier, *La Conquistadora. Unveiling the History of a Six Hundred Year Old Religious Icon* (Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press, 2010).



Fig. 13. Laura Gilpin, “La Conquistadora Virgin and Fray Angélico Chávez,” 1953, Silver Gelatin Protograph (Fort Worth, TX, Amon Carter Museum of American Art, accession number P1979.109.60, www.cartermuseum.org)

To Santiago “el Mayor”

[10] Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548–1611)

Motet for St. James *O lux et decus Hispaniae* (5vv + 2 tenor recorders, sackbut, bass viol)

(Source: Mexico City Cathedral, Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano, Polyphonic Choirbook 9, ff. 101v–104r. Edition: Adrian M. Wall, 2015)

Live Recording: https://youtu.be/K_OudE4adZY?si=Vhzofshb5WcJRxtN&t=4252



Due to his status as protector of Spain, Saint James the Apostle, or Santiago “*el mayor*,” became one of the most popular saints in Hispanic America, reviving the medieval tradition of Saint James as Moor-slayer and patron of the Spanish Reconquest. The saint’s figure soon became associated with the festivals of Moors (Muslims) and Christians (*Moros y cristianos*) and gained enormous popularity in New Mexico. In his epic poem *Historia de la Nueva México*, Gaspar de Villagrà recounted a theatrical representation between Moors and Christians to celebrate the first Spanish camp on the Rio Grande in May 1598. Pérez de Villagrà also alluded to the miraculous apparition of Santiago, wielding a sword and riding his white horse during the Battle of Acoma in January 1599.⁴⁸ Over time, Saint James came to be seen as the protector of Indigenous people with numerous towns, churches, and brotherhoods dedicated to his invocation along the *Camino Real*.⁴⁹ The feasts in honor of Saint James

⁴⁸ John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of Colonial New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 80–84.

⁴⁹ Marc Simmons, Donna Pierce, and Joan Myers, *Santiago: Saint of Two Worlds* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1991).

the Apostle on July 25 continue to be celebrated in many New Mexican towns, such as Acoma, Cochiti, San Felipe, Laguna, Santo Domingo, San Ildefonso, and Taos (Fig. 14). The sophisticated motet to Saint James by Spanish composer Tomás Luis de Victoria includes a canon, a musical technique in which one voice imitates another at a fixed time interval—in this case, the two upper voices sing the same melody in unison. The piece was originally published in Rome in the 1580s and soon became known in the Cathedral of Mexico, where it continued to be part of the living polyphonic repertoire in the eighteenth century.⁵⁰



Fig. 14. George Wharton James, “Representation of the coming of Santiago “*el mayor*” at the Feast of San Esteban, Acoma Pueblo, NM,” 1886, Glass Photonegative (California Historical Society Collection, microfiche number 1-60-51, WikiCommons.)

A Diocese for New Mexico

[11] Henri Du Mont (1610–1684)

Messe Royale I for first-class double celebrations: Kyrie (4vv)

(Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, VM1-2916: *Cinq Messes en plain-chant musical, par Henry Dumont. I, dite du 1er ton. II, dite du 2e ton. III, dite du 4e ton. IV, dite du 5e ton. V, dite du 6e ton, harmonisées à quatre voix, par Alexandre Guilmant* (Paris: A. Durant et Fils, Editeurs, [1895]), <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb42967990h>).⁵¹

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the Holy See sought to strengthen the Catholic presence in North America by reinforcing its ecclesiastical structure and sending missionaries and bishops. In New Mexico, the diocese of Santa Fe was established in 1850, with Jean-Baptiste Lamy (1814–1888) as

⁵⁰ Javier Marín-López, *Los libros de polifonía de la Catedral de México*, vol. 1, 433–480.

⁵¹ Due to last-minute contingencies, this piece was ultimately not performed in the concert. Among the various recordings available on YouTube, I would recommend the polyphonic version by the Ensemble de Choristes a Notre-Dame de Paris (France), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=77FNJd_Aozg.

its first bishop. Lamy was instrumental in the construction of the Cathedral of Saint Francis of Assisi and actively contributed to the expansion of the Catholic Church in the southwestern United States.⁵² Many of these new clergy members were French and brought their own musical traditions with them. Among the musical repertoire introduced in the mission churches of New Mexico were the plainchant masses by the Baroque composer Henry Du Mont (1610–1684), the composer for King Louis XIV of France. First published in 1669, *Cinq Messes en plain-chant musical* achieved extraordinary popularity throughout Europe, undergoing numerous reprints and handwritten copies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁵³ Throughout the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, amid movements to reform church music, this collection of masses was reissued with added organ and harmonium accompaniments, as well as arrangements for military band and various choral formations. Notable arrangers for choir include Henri Lebeau, A. Blancheteau, François Auguste Gevaert, Charles Vervoitte, August Edmonds Tozer, and Alexandre Guilmant—this latest version by Guilmant was the one proposed to be performed at *Música del Corazón*!⁵⁴ Some of these Masses were integrated into anthologies of sacred music, such as Louis Lambillote’s further reinforcing their dissemination (Fig. 15).⁵⁵

According to the *Revista Católica* of Las Vegas, New Mexico, one of Du Mont’s masses was performed on February 28, 1875 with harmonium in the parish church of San Miguel del Vado (sometimes spelled “Bado”), on the west bank of the Pecos River in north-central New Mexico.⁵⁶ Years later, on October 4, 1899, during the investiture ceremony with the sacred pallium of the new Archbishop of New Mexico, Peter Bourgade, at the Cathedral of Santa Fe, a male chorus sang a mass by Du Mont, “which was declared magnificent by the vast audience.”⁵⁷ At Christmas in 1904, two masses by Du Mont were once again performed at the Church of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores in Las Vegas.⁵⁸ These masses remained alive in collective memory as late as 1956, when John Donald Robb recorded a version sung by Julián Zamora. Zamora had been trained as a choirboy in the church of the village of Tomé by the French priest and musician Jean-Baptiste Ralliére. Even at the age of 83

⁵² See Hanks, *Lamy’s Legion*.

⁵³ *Cinq Messes en plain-chant, composées et dédiées aux révérends Pères de la Mercy, du Convent de Paris, et propres pour toutes sortes de Religieux, & de Religieuses, de quelque ordre qu’ils soient, qui se peuvent chanter toutes les bonnes festes de l’année. Par H. Du Mont...* (Paris: Robert III Ballard, 1669 [RISM D 3705]). In-folio, 32 p. See the 1701 edition available in Gallica: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9059803g>.

⁵⁴ The Filipino composer Marcelo Adonay (1848–1928) wrote a Mass based on motifs from one of Du Mont’s Royal masses, confirming the widespread circulation of the French composer’s Masses in Hispanic territories. See Corazon Canave Dioquino, “Marcelo Adonay’s *Pequeña Misa Solemne sobre motivos de la Missa Regia*,” *The Life and Works of Marcelo Adonay*, vol. 1, Elena Rivera Mirano, ed. (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2009), 125–139 (and 317–465 for transcriptions of two versions of the Mass). I am grateful to William J. Summers for drawing my attention to this composition.

⁵⁵ Louis Lambillote’s *Chants Communs des Messes d’après le Graduel Romain* (Paris: Librairie d’Adrien Le Clere et Cie., 1858), available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k98044649>.

⁵⁶ *Revista Católica* (Las Vegas, New Mexico), year 1, no. 12, March 20, 1875, 92: “El nuevo párroco de Pecos [François F. Lestra] tocó artísticamente en el harmonium la Misa antigua, pero siempre nueva de Dumont [*sic*].”

⁵⁷ John Baptist Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross: Notes on The Ecclesiastical Period of New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado* (Banning, CA: St. Boniface’s Industrial School, 1898), Appendix no. VII, no pagination: “A special choir of male voice sang the Mass of Dumont, in plain-chant, which was declared magnificent by the vast audience.”

⁵⁸ *Las Vegas Daily Optic* (Las Vegas, New Mexico), vol. XXVI, no. 42, December 24, 1904, 8: “Solemn mass at 12 [...] The male choir will render Sixth Tone Dumont’s Mass, with a few hymns appropriated. At 10 a.m., solemn high mass [...] First Tone Dumont’s Mass rendered by the full choir.”

and completely blind, Zamora still knew by heart the melody of Du Mont’s first *Messe Royal*, published nearly 300 years earlier in France.⁵⁹



Fig. 15. Louis Lambillote, Title Page: Chants comuns des messes d’après le Graduel Romain, 1858. (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr>. Photo: Gallica)

Christmas Finale

[12] John Donald Robb (1892–1989) Lullaby <i>A la ru, a la me</i> (4vv + tenor recorder, bass recorder, tenor viol, bass viol) (Source: John Donald Robb, <i>Los Pastores (The Shepherds, A Christmas Cantata)</i> op. 62, no. 6: “A la ru”; Albuquerque, Center for Southwest Research, John Donald Robb Archives. Edited and arranged for choir by: Javier Marín-López) Live Recording: https://youtu.be/K_OudE4adZY?si=UTJlgOvBDyyDegfX&t=4481	
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One of the hallmarks of popular religiosity in New Mexico is the *Gran Pastorela*, commonly known as *Los Pastores*. This tradition, introduced by Franciscan missionaries in the colonial period, combines music, theater, and dance in a unique form of religious storytelling. Originally intended as a dramatization of the shepherds’ journey to Bethlehem to witness the birth of Jesus, as described in the Gospel of Saint Luke, *Los Pastores* evolved over time to include additional biblical characters, most

⁵⁹ Albuquerque, Center for Southwest Research, John Donald Robb Field Recordings, ZIM CSWR Robb MU 7, index number 1377, “Kyrie Dumont,” <https://econtent.unm.edu/digital/collection/RobbFieldRe/id/9574/rec/1>, recorded in 1956 in Tomé, NM, from informant Julián Zamora.

notably the angel and the devil, symbolizing the forces of good and evil. These characters add dramatic tension and allow the audience to engage with themes of moral struggle and redemption. The *Gran Pastorela* incorporates local musical styles and spoken verse in New Mexican Spanish. Songs and melodies rooted in Spanish folk traditions accompany the dialogues and actions, and the staging often includes local costumes and rustic settings (Fig. 16). This blending of influences has allowed the *Pastorela* to adapt over centuries, preserving its relevance for many New Mexican communities during Christmas time until today. The first musical sources of the drama were made known by M. R. Cole in his classic 1907 study.⁶⁰ According to John E. Englekirk, there were more than a hundred sources in the mid-twentieth century that transmit this drama, showing different titles and versions of both the text and the music. Some of these—such as the Las Vegas version—originate from Durango and Zacatecas and reached the north via the *Camino Real*.⁶¹ Fascinated by the survival of the old drama, John Donald Robb composed in 1954 a choral cantata in eight numbers inspired by this tradition, *Los Pastores (The Shepherds, A Christmas Cantata)* op. 62, in two versions (for mixed choir and piano and for mixed choir and chamber orchestra).⁶² One of its most emotive movements is the lullaby *A la ru, a la me*, for which numerous arrangements and musical versions exist for various ensembles. For this specific concert, I prepared an arrangement for a four-voice choir. As an appendix to this article, I include two versions of the arrangement.⁶³

⁶⁰ M. R. Cole, *Los Pastores. A Mexican Play of the Nativity. Translation, Introduction and Notes [...] With Illustrations and Music* (Boston, MA: American Folk-lore Society by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907).

⁶¹ John E. Englekirk, “The Source and Dating of New Mexican Spanish Folk Plays,” *Western Folklore*, vol. 16, no. 4 (1957), 232–255. After his exhaustive study of the New Mexican sources preserved until the mid-twentieth century, Englekirk identified nine variants; one of the most popular was introduced by the Armenta family from Los Griegos, now a neighborhood in Albuquerque’s North Valley; see Mary R. Van Stone, *Los Pastores. Excerpts from an Old Christmas Play of the Southwest as Given Annually by the Griego Family, Santa Fe* (Cleveland, OH: Gates Press, [1933]).

⁶² Albuquerque, Center for Southwest Research, John Donald Robb Papers Collection, MSS 497 BC. I am grateful to Thomas Goodrich for sharing a copy of the piano and voice version with me, from which I created my four-voice arrangement. See also John Donald Robb, *Hispanic Folk Songs of New Mexico, With Selected Songs Collected, Transcribed & Arranged for Voice and Piano* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1954; revised edition by James Bratcher, University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 40.

⁶³ I prepared two arrangements. The first is essentially a four-part expansion of Robb’s original arrangement for voice and piano with the main melody in the sopranos and minor adjustments. The second arrangement retains the same harmony but offers a slightly more contrapuntal and ornamented version, incorporating passing notes and distributing the main melody between sopranos and tenors to provide some variety. The Robb Field Recordings archive contains a version of the original song collected from Frank McCulloch in Albuquerque in 1964: Albuquerque, Center for Southwest Research, John Donald Robb Field Recordings, ZIM CSWR Robb MU 7; index number 2060, “Duémete [*sic*] niño lindo,” <https://econtent.unm.edu/digital/collection/RobbFieldRe/id/4275/rec/4>.



Fig. 16. M. R. Cole, “The participants of *La Pastorela* presentation in full costume, San Gabriel, New Mexico or San Antonio, Texas,” 1893 (*Los Pastores. A Mexican Play of the Nativity*, Boston, MA: American Folk-lore Society by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907), unnumbered lead between pages 12 and 13

Closing Remarks

The absence of musical sources from the Spanish colonial period in New Mexico has contributed to projecting an image of musical precariousness and isolation in the region between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries—an image that does not align with historical reality. The *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, a dynamic cultural axis through which people, objects, traditions, and knowledge circulated fluidly, has helped nuance this perception and fill the gaps left by historical sources through an exercise of informed imagination, based both on new evidence and comparative analysis. The 2024 edition of *¡Música del Corazón!*—an event previously focused on contemporary traditional music—was dedicated to sacred choral music from the Spanish colonial period, which could plausibly have reached northern territories via this land route. My intention is not to glorify the history of the *Camino* or to overlook its negative implications for Indigenous communities. Rather, from a critical perspective, the *Camino Real* can be interpreted as both an instrument of conquest and oppression by the Spanish and a space of resilience, interaction, and cultural survival led by the Pueblo Indians, *Genízaros*, Navajos, Apaches, and Comanches, as well as their subsequent intermixing. In this context, music simultaneously functioned as a tool of power for some and a medium of expressive agency for others.

Beyond serving as an opportunity to disseminate knowledge and research findings, *¡Música del Corazón!* allowed for a redefinition of the connections of *Nuevomexicanos*—particularly those of Hispanic descent—with the region’s historical imagination. The presentation of this musical heritage in New Mexico helped reinforce a sense of pride and belonging among communities that have faced

marginalization since the mid-nineteenth century. Grounded in the principle that the true identity of any place must encompass all its cultural matrices with their inevitable hybridizations, it is essential to avoid both idealization and condemnation of any of them. Only through knowledge, respect, and mutual appreciation can the magnitude and complexity of this legacy be fully understood. On November 24, 2024, *¡Música del Corazón!* and the choral traditions of the *Camino Real* provided an opportunity to reflect on the multiple identities of *Nuevomexicanos*, inviting us to pursue new interdisciplinary research that bridges musicology, history, and performance studies in this unique border region.

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A la ru, a la me

Christmas Lullaby

Edition and arrangement for 4 voices:

Javier Marín-López, 2024

(upon a voice and piano arrangement by J. D. Robb,

Los Pastores. A Christmas Cantata, op. 62, nr. 6, 1954)

Traditional New Mexican

John Donald Robb (1917-1996), compiler

Soprano

Contralto

Tenor

Bajo

B.C. _____ Duér- No

B.C. _____ Duér- No

B.C. _____

B.C. _____

4

me - te, Ni - ño lin - do, en los bra - zos del a -
te - mas al rey He - ro - des que na - da te ha de ha -

me - te, Ni - ño lin - do, en los bra - zos del a -
te - mas al rey He - ro - des que na - da te ha de ha -

8

Duér - me - te, Ni - ño lin - do,
Te - mas al rey He - ro - des

Duér - me - te, Ni - ño lin - do,
Te - mas al rey He - ro - des,

7

mor, mien - tras que duer-me y des - can - sa la
cer, en los bra - zos de tu ma - dre y ahí

- mor, mien - tras que duer-me y des - can - sa la
- cer, en los bra - zos de tu ma - dre y ahí

8

en los bra-zos del a - mor, duer - me y des - can - sa,
que na - da te ha de ha - cer, con tu ma - dre,

a - mor, duer - me y des - can - sa,
ha - cer, con tu ma - dre,

10

pe - na de mi do - lor. A la ru, a la
na - die te, ha de o - fen - der.

pe - na de mi do - lor. A la ru, a la
na - die te, ha de o - fen - der.

8 pe - na de mi do - lor. A la ru, a la
na - die te, ha de o - fen - der.

pe - na de mi do - lor. A la ru, a la
na - die te, ha de o - fen - der.

13

me, a la ru, a la me, a la

me, a la ru, a la me, a la

8 a la me, a la ru, a la me,

me, a la ru, a la me, a la

16

The musical score is written for four staves. The first three staves are in treble clef, and the fourth is in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The first staff has a vocal line with lyrics: 'ru, a la me, a la ru, a la ru, a la me.' The second staff has a vocal line with lyrics: 'ru, a la me, a la ru, a la ru, a la me.' The third staff has a vocal line with lyrics: 'a la ru, a la me, a la me.' The fourth staff has a bass line with lyrics: 'ru, a la me, a la ru, a la me.' The music is in 4/4 time and consists of a single system.

ru, a la me, a la ru, a la ru, a la me.

ru, a la me, a la ru, a la ru, a la me.

8 a la ru, a la me, a la me.

ru, a la me, a la ru, a la me.

A la ru, a la me

Christmas Lullaby

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Traditional New Mexican

John Donald Robb (1917-1996), compiler

Soprano

Contralto

Tenor

Bajo

A la ru, a la ru, ru. Duér - No

A la me, a la ru, a la ru, a la

A, a la me, la ru, a la ru,

A la me, a la me, a la ru, a la, a la

4

me - te Ni - ño lin - do, en los bra - zos del a -
te - mas al rey He - ro - des que na - da te ha de ha -

me, mi Ni - ño lin - do, en bra - zos del a -
al rey He - ro - des que na - da te ha de ha -

me, Ni - ño lin - do, en los bra - zos del a -
rey He - ro - des que na - da te ha de ha -

me, mi Ni - ño lin - do, bra - zos del a -
al rey He - ro - des na - da te ha de ha -

7

mor, mien - tras que duer - me y des-can - sa
cer, en los bra - zos de tu ma - dre

mor, del a - mor, mien - tras que duer-me y des - can - sa la
cer, te ha de ha - cer, en los bra - zos de tu ma - dre na -

mor, a - mor, mien - tras que duer-me y des - can - sa la
cer, de ha - cer, en los bra - zos de tu ma - dre na -

mor, del a - mor, mien - tras que duer - me y des-can - sa
cer, te ha de ha - cer, en los bra - zos de tu ma - dre

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la pe - na de mi do - lor. A la ru, a la
y_ahí na - die te_ha de_o - fen - der.

pe - na y do - lor. A la ru, a la
die te_ha de_o - fen - der.

8 pe - na de mi do - lor. A la ru, a la ru, a la
die te ha de_o - fen - der.

pe - na do - lor, mi do - lor. A la ru, la
de o - fen - der, de_o - fen - der.

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me, a la ru, a la me, a la
me, a la me, a la ru, a la me, a la
8 me, la me, a la ru, a la ru, a la me, a la me, la
me, a la me, a la ru, la ru, la me, a la

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ru, a la me, a la ru, a la ru, a la me.____
ru, a la me, la me, la ru, a la ru, a la me.____
8 ru, a la ru, a la me, a la me, la ru, a la ru, la me.____
ru, a la me, a la ru, la ru, la me.____