MASS FOR EIGHT VOICES IN D MAJOR

BY JOSÉ DE NEBRA BLASCO

A CRITICAL EDITION

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Guatemala is home to a rich cultural heritage of music. Composers whose works are present in the Archivo Historico Arquidiocesano de Guatemala (AHAG) include, Tomás Luis de Victoria, Philippe Verdelot, Baldassare Galuppi, Adolf Hasse, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, and Ignacio Jerusalem. Among this repertoire is the Mass for Eight Voices in D major by José de Nebra (1702-1768), which until now has been un-known to researchers. The manuscript of the Mass for Eight Voices in Guatemala City is the only known extant copy and provides a glimpse into the musical life of the Cathedral of Santiago de Los Caballeros in the eighteenth century. This dissertation is a transcription of Nebra’s mass and also includes a catalogue of extant pieces written by Nebra that are held at the AHAG. A discussion of Nebra and the chapelmasters who performed his music in Guatemala is presented. The final product is a critical edition of the Mass for Eight Voices making performances of this work possible by modern ensembles.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Images of the Spanish Empire have been present in our collective consciousness for generations. The Spanish realm spanned from Europe across the Atlantic and beyond to the Philippines, and from Cape Horn in South America to the Rocky Mountains in North America. The enormous mass of geography showcases examples of visual art and architecture from the Spanish viceregal period that are largely still visible today. What has been absent from this panorama is the soundtrack that accompanies the imagery.

It is often a surprise to many that serious art music was performed in the context of religious ceremonies in the Spanish New World. New Spain is of particular interest in that it has a rich history of musical creation and performance paralleling architecture, literature, and visual art, but unlike those arts, musical activities in New Spain are not as well known. The addition of music to the cultural complex informs not only the arts, but also the politics of the time, and the circumstances in which this art was created.

Artistic output in the Spanish world was most prolific in urban centers, and other regions where there was economic opportunity. The mining of silver created economic opportunity—where silver was mined there was a rich cultural life. The eighteenth century was a time of change in New Spain, as it was in Europe. The War of Spanish Succession replaced Hapsburgs with Bourbons as the rulers of Spain. With this came the Bourbon Reforms. The Enlightenment also took hold in Spanish realms, including those in the New World. New Spain experienced
abundant mining production during this time.\textsuperscript{1} All of these factors contributed to the prosperity of the era and a mature society where artistic creation thrived.

As with many societies of the period, this prosperity did not extend to all, and it is important not to view the true condition of the eighteenth-century New Spanish society through a rose colored lens. Spanish society was highly stratified and segregated. The doors of opportunity were not open to every subject in the territory. Considering the modern concept of nation building, Spanish colonialism sought to create a Spanish society throughout the dominion, including New Spain. This social construction affected the society as a whole, but made no special accommodation for the new race of people who were born as a by-product of racial mixing. The ideas of the Enlightenment, prosperity, and progress all came from a Spanish perspective. This Eurocentric position did not necessarily take into account uniquely American or Mestizo points of view, and largely benefited Spaniards rather than people of mixed race or of other social classes. The work of José de Nebra Blasco (1702-1768)\textsuperscript{2} in New Spain is an artifact of Spanish colonial social-construction in the New World and the efforts of the eighteenth-century New Spanish elite to continue cultivating a proper Spanish society in the New World.\textsuperscript{3}

This study intends to widen standard views on eighteenth-century music in two ways. First, this critical edition of Nebra’s Mass for Eight Voices in D major and its performance in Guatemala deepens our understanding of the Spanish cultural complex. Second, it also increases the understanding of music created and performed in the western music tradition during the mid-


\textsuperscript{2} Nebra is most often identified as José de Nebra. According to Spanish naming practices, his full name is José de Nebra Blasco, with the father’s last name first and the mother’s last name second. The reader may encounter him catalogued as José de Nebra Blasco, but his last name is Nebra not Blasco, Nebra is not catalogued as Blasco.

eighteenth century by including considerations beyond central Europe and presenting a
discussion of the provenance Nebra’s works in Guatemala.

New Spain was truly cosmopolitan. Founded by the Aztecs and conquered by Hernán
Cortés and the Spanish in 1521, the New Spanish capital of Mexico City dominated a broad
expanse of territories. In the eighteenth century, New Spain came to encompass present-day
Mexico, the Southwestern United States, Central America, and the Philippines. The musical
heritage of the Mexico City cathedral is rich—the works of the Italian Ignacio Jerusalem, the
Spaniard Antonio Juanas, and the native born Manuel de Sumaya are among the most notable.
Spaniards Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla and Gaspar Fernández made their impact in Puebla, and the
Italian Santiago Billoni’s achievements in Durango have just recently been revealed.4 The
Capitanía General of Guatemala, a political sub-division of New Spain, also had its own chapel
masters who achieved local renown, and was home to an impressive repertory of music
comprised of works from the recognized European literature. In addition to these works, music
by Spanish composers and by local composers born in the New World complete the profile of
repertoire in Guatemala.

Many of the works performed during the virreinato, or the colonial era, in Guatemala are
housed at the Archivo Historico Arquidiocesano de Guatemala (AHAG). The archive is closed to
the public; admission is granted by the Archbishop of Guatemala. In 2011 I traveled to this
archive in search of works that I could perform. My primary interest in researching at the AHAG
was to study viceregal works written by American-born composers in the eighteenth century, and
works by the Italian Igancio Jerusalem. I discovered that the AHAG includes many works from
the eighteenth century, among them works by known European masters. I made note of these
pieces, particularly the Spaniard José de Nebra, and continued studying the works of Jerusalem.

In later discussions with musicologists and performers studying music from the Ibero-American world, I found that some research had been done on Nebra in recent decades and that interest in him and his work had been mounting. I was intrigued and returned to Guatemala in 2013 to investigate the works by Nebra.

The AHAG has twenty-eight works by Nebra, including the Missa a 8, or Mass for Eight Voices. Among all of the music held at the AHAG, the Nebra mass appears to be the only mass that survives from the eighteenth century. The mass is for double choir (SSAT, SATB), Strings, and Oboe and Clarino (trumpet). This critical edition of the work provides background for its performance in Guatemala and discusses its function in relation to the Spanish empire with consideration of global context, while taking into account the galant musical style favored by the church establishment in Europe and beyond during the time.

The eighteenth-century galant repertoire of New Spain is indicative of the viceroyalty’s cosmopolitanism. It is represented by music that was written by immigrants to the New World, native-born emulators of the galant style, and music written by Europeans whose scores were imported to New Spain. Nebra’s work is among the imported music.

The phenomenon of musicians and music coming from Spain to the New World was not new. According to Maria Gembero Ustárroz, “there were musicians on Spanish boats headed to the New World from the first moments of colonization.” These musicians carried with them polyphony and other music necessary to recreate their home in the Americas. Chapel masters working in the eighteenth-century musical scene in New Spain were building on 250 years of musical flow from Europe to the Spanish Americas.

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Maria Gembero Ustárroz, “Migraciones de músicos entre España y América (Siglos XVI-XVIII),” in La Musica y el Atlantico: Relaciones musicales entre España y Latinoamérica, ed. María Gembero Ustárroz and Emilio Ros-Fábregas (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007), 23. Source is published in Spanish—unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.
Italians were very active in the musical circles of Spain during the eighteenth century. In fact, “the most famous musicians were Italians, including Domenico Scarlatti, the castrato Farinelli and Luigi Boccherini.” Italians were among the musicians who came to the New World as well. Jerusalem left Cadiz for Mexico City in 1743 at the age of 35; he took with him his wife, two children, and fourteen others including eight musicians.

In New Spain it was not only composers and conductors who were employed from Italy. In 1749 the Mexico City Cathedral contracted four boy castrati from Naples because they had too few sopranos in the choir. These circumstances illustrate how music, customs, and ideas circulated in the Age of Enlightenment in the Spanish Empire. People and ideas were very mobile, and there was a significant connection between Spain and Naples.

The careers of Manuel José Quiróz and Raphael Antonio Castellanos, two chapel masters who were born and made their careers in Guatemala, illustrate the caliber of music created by someone not trained in Europe. Their work further reveals the standard of musical life in New Spain as neither had the benefit of studying in a conservatory, but were both prolific composers. A more detailed discussion of their work is presented in Chapter 3.

The colonial repertoire of New Spain as demonstrated by archival holdings is of good quality and has historical significance for music history and the history of the Americas. The works of noted composers such as Tomás Luis de Victoria, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Philippe Verdelot, Baldassare Galuppi, Nicola Porpora, and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi are present at the AHAG. This repertoire spans the renaissance through the eighteenth century. The

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7 Craig Russell, From Serra to Sancho (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 37.
8 Russell, Sancho, 340.
music of composers like Nebra, Jerusalem, Quiróz, Castellanos, and others not only informs the history of the New World but also western music more broadly by bringing new context to our understanding of music in the eighteenth century. Composers and works that were performed in New Spain should not be neglected, but included in any comprehensive music history. Our understanding of this time period has, in many ways, been limited to certain regions. The existence of fine music in the New World opens up our point of view to show that in the eighteenth century serious western art music was a global phenomenon, or at least a tradition that the Atlantic world held in common. This edition of Nebra’s Mass for Eight Voices widens our perspective, bringing a better understanding of the historical framework in which the galant style thrived.

Contextualizing the very existence of Nebra’s work in Guatemala contributes significantly to current investigations of repertories in the New World, and indicates that the range of his musical influence went beyond the Iberian peninsula. The study and performance of these works widens the canon of European music and brings a new understanding of those works and their place in history. Including repertoire performed in the New World with the accepted canon of European galant literature illustrates that New Spain was indeed part of the Global North in terms of musical life. The contribution of this work to current scholarship helps to shed light on the musical landscape of the viceregal era. Furthermore it brings an unknown mass out of the shadows, and devotes a chapter to listing all of the works by Nebra held at the AHAG, many of which are not known to be in other archives—this is sure to be of use to scholars on both sides of the Atlantic.
José de Nebra Blasco\(^1\) was a Spanish composer who made his career working for the Spanish Court in Madrid. He was perhaps the most consequential musician of his generation in Spain.\(^2\) Although he held several positions of high stature, it cannot be argued that his multifaceted career had an impact on many. His close association with the noble families of Madrid, and ultimately the royal family itself, helped to magnify his influence, and bolster his prestige as a musician. As a composer, the dissemination of his compositions is impressive; his works are known to be in archives in cities across Spain, Rome, Mexico, Guatemala, Bolivia, and Germany.\(^3\)

Nebra was an organist, teacher, and composer. His compositional productivity focused on works for the theatre early in his career and later shifted to more emphasis on sacred music. The development of his compositional style is a reflection of the various posts he held. Nebra’s works are well-crafted, effective, and utilitarian. His music displays the necessity of music for various theatrical and religious functions of the era. His compositional style displays the change from the baroque to the galant.

Nebra lived in an exciting time of change in the Spanish world. He was born at the beginning of the War of Spanish Succession and would later come to work for the new Spanish

\(^1\) Nebra is often identified as José de Nebra. According to Spanish naming practices, his full name is José de Nebra Blasco, with the father’s last name first and the mother’s last name second. The reader may encounter him catalogued as José de Nebra Blasco, but his last name is Nebra not Blasco, Nebra is not catalogued as Blasco.


\(^3\) María Salud Álvarez Martínez, *José de Nebra Blasco: vida y obra* (Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando el Católico,” 1993). This work includes a catalogue of pieces by Nebra known to be in archives in Spain and elsewhere as of 1993.
monarchs, the Bourbons. He became an important part of musical life in the vibrant capital of Madrid. A chronology is included at the end of this chapter to give the reader further historical context.

Nebra came from a musical family and initially developed his reputation as an organist. His brothers Francisco Javier and Joaquín were both organists at La Seo in Zaragoza. His first musical lessons were likely taken with his father, José Antonio de Nebra Mezquita. His musical education is not well documented, but it is commonly held that José Antonio took a special interest in the tutelage of his sons. José, Francisco Javier, and Joaquín each achieved high musical positions in Spain during their lifetimes.

As a young man, Nebra moved to Madrid and became the organist at the convent of the Descalzas Reales, where Tomás Luis de Victoria had been employed in the late sixteenth century. This convent was a place for young noblewomen; it was one of the wealthiest convents in all of Europe because of the patronage that it received, including dowries. The post did not pay well, but was one of the most prestigious and coveted in Madrid because from this position one could participate in the active musical scene of the city.

Nebra benefited fully from the opportunities that a big city had to offer. He was able to hear the music of other Spanish composers, and it was during his tenure at the Descalzas Reales that he was likely to have heard the music of Italian masters. Italianate galant music was beginning to gain popularity in Madrid just as it was in the rest of Europe. In Spain, this first happened in theater works, followed by music for the church. Nebra was well poised to learn from his fellow countrymen and the Italians.

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6 Ibid., 16.
Nebra’s career later became tied to political developments in Madrid. In 1724, King Felipe V abdicated in favor of his son, Luis I. Because King Felipe V did not die, but retired, many of his servants accompanied him onto the next chapter of his life, including musical servants. These developments left vacancies in the Royal Chapel and created an opportunity for Nebra. On May 22, 1724, King Luis I wrote the following decree, “He hecho merced a don Joseph de Nebra de la plaza de organista de mi Real Capilla para que la sirva en lugar y con el goce que tenia don Diego de Lana, que se halla en San Idelfonso.”7 (I have granted a “merced”8 to Joseph de Nebra the post of organist of my Royal Chapel, which he will serve in place of, and with the pleasure that Don Diego de Lana had, who can be found in San Idelfonso [with the retired king]).9 This appointment was a turning point in Nebra’s career; he was only twenty-two years old.

Luis I died in less than a year, and his passing created a time of uncertainty for Nebra. In a dramatic manner worthy of an Italian opera, Felipe V returned to the throne because of pressure from his wife, Isabel Farnese, and the entirety of his musical chapel returned to their previously held posts. Nebra at this point was left in a state of insecurity. Fearing for his future, he requested that Cardinal Borja intercede on his behalf. Nebra’s hope was to stay at the Royal Chapel, or at least that he be reinstated at the monastery of the Descalzas Reales; his former post had not yet been filled by this point. Fortunately for Nebra he was able to stay at the Royal Chapel as an auxiliary organist and filled in when the principal organists were absent.10

As an organ teacher, Nebra taught Antonio Soler (who later worked at the monastery at El Escorial) and his nephew Manuel Blasco de Nebra (who later became the chapelmaster of the

7 Ibid., 31.
8 A merced is a grant of money, privilege, or a post as is this case.
9 Translated by the author.
10 Ibid., 17.
Seville Cathedral.\textsuperscript{11} Nebra’s expertise on the organ was often sought in matters of construction; he oversaw the rehabilitation of the organ at the Jeronimo convent, and was approached for suggestions on the construction of the organ for the royal chapel at the new palace in Madrid.\textsuperscript{12}

In 1734 he, along with noted Spanish composer Antonio Literes, was charged with revitalizing the library of sacred music at the Royal Chapel after a fire destroyed the inventory. It was also in 1734 that Naples fell back under the rule of Spain.\textsuperscript{13} The exchange of products and ideas between Iberia and Naples had been going on for some time given the history of Naples as a Spanish Viceroyalty. Nebra advocated procuring works by leading contemporary composers from Naples and Italy to augment the repertoire of the royal chapel. The composers included Domenico Natale Sarro, Domenico Scarlatti and Leonardo Leo, the latter being one of the important composers and teachers of the galant style.\textsuperscript{14} Some of these same composers are represented in the AHAG. The motivation is likely that chapelmasters in Guatemala wanted to emulate the royal chapel. It indicates that chapelmasters were informed on the wider contemporary European music of the time. The motivation is less important than the fact that it happened. The holdings of Italian and other masters of the galant style illustrates that music circulated quickly across the Atlantic. These works were largely procured by the Guatemalan chapelmasters, José Manuel Quiróz and his nephew, Raphael Antonio Castellanos. Their efforts illustrate that they were hard working and well informed. The result of this work translated into a rich repertory for performance.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[12] Ibid., 729.
\item[13] In 1734 Carlos of Bourbon invaded and took over Naples. He would later become Carlos III of Spain. He was the son of Isabel Farnese of Parma and Felipe V of Spain. Through his mother he was Duke of Parma. From that position he was able to march his army south and conquer Naples, bringing it back under Spanish rule, or at least the rule of the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon.
\end{footnotes}
In 1751, Nebra was elevated to assistant chapelmaster in the Royal Chapel. He also became assistant director of the Colegio de niños cantores, the royal school for choir boys. It is during this time that his output as a composer of sacred music increased. Like the music of composers in the New World, Nebra’s compositions display the performing requirements and resources that he had on hand. Nebra collaborated with Cardinal Mendoza in 1756 in reorganizing the Royal Chapel, after which he had the following resources available: 15 singers (4, 4, 4, 3), 3 organists, 12 violins, 4 violas, 3 cellos, 3 double basses, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 3 bassoons, 3 dulcians (bajón), 2 trumpets and 2 horns. His sacred works were not just performed where he worked, but also in places where he had family connections, including La Seo in Zaragoza. Nebra’s sacred compositions included masses, Misereres, and even a requiem for Queen Maria Barbara. The requiem was used at the funerals of Spanish Royal family members until the nineteenth century. The Mass for Eight Voices is among over a dozen masses by Nebra that are currently known to researchers.

In addition to works written for the church, Nebra was prolific as a composer of music for the theater. His Zarzuelas can be found in various archives in Spain. Zarzuelas are musical theatrical productions with spoken dialogues. These productions were popular in Nebra’s time, and as with much of the music in the Iberian world, it became influenced by Italian music in the eighteenth century. This affinity for the theater is also a phenomenon that was common both in Spain and New Spain during the eighteenth century. Ignacio Jerusalem, the Italian chapelmaster of the Mexico City Cathedral, was also working at the Coliseo theater in Mexico City. In 1806 a

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17 A tradition similar to this was cultivated at the Mexico City cathedral with the Office for the Dead by Francisco Javier García-Fajer. Gracia-Fajer’s work was performed at the Mexico City Cathedral for funerals of prominent members of the community within the life of the cathedral long after Garcia-Fajer’s death and also into the nineteenth century.
18 See the catalogue of Nebra’s works included in Álvarez, *José de Nebra Blasco*. 
journalist Mexico City wrote, “The principal spectacle is that of the theater; its decorations are good; the actors are not bad, and among these, there are some who could shine even in Madrid or in Naples.” Although the statement was made quite a bit later than Nebra’s time, it illustrates two points: first, theater was important in New Spain, and that some of those employed were of high quality; and second, the importance of the theatrical arts in Naples, Spain, and New Spain, and the connection between the Spanish world and Naples.

Although this study focuses on sacred music written by Nebra, it is important to include a discussion of his theatrical productivity and other activities because it demonstrates a connection between Italianate music in Italy, Spain, and the New World, and also suggests the manner in which Nebra would have learned about the Italian musical idiom.

His first work for the theater was Amor aumenta valor, written to celebrate the wedding of the Prince of Asturias to Maria Barbara of Portugal. He collaborated with the Italians Felipe Falconi and Giacomo Facco on the creation of this melodrama; Nebra composed the first act and the Italians wrote the remainder of the piece. As mentioned above he would later write a sacred work for the death of Queen Maria Barbara.

Nebra later wrote an opera on a libretto by Metastasio. The Spanish adaptation called Más gloria es triunfar de sí: Adriano en Siria premiered in 1737 at the Coliseo de la Cruz for its re-inauguration. Metastasio enjoyed much popularity in Spain during the middle eighteenth century. This popularity also coincided with his close collaborations with Farinelli, who was working in Spain during this period. Born Carlo Broschi, Farinelli was one of the most

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20 Leza Cruz, “José de Nebra (1702-1768),” in Semblanzas, 102.
22 Ibid., 623.
illustrious castrati of his day and enjoyed wide popularity. It is these musical and personal connections that show a strong correlation to the galant and how Nebra could have possibly absorbed the style. Drew Edward Davies discusses the importance of Metastasio in the transmission of galant stylistic characteristics through text. Davies states, “In the context of the eighteenth century, no author exemplifies the Italianate ideal better than Pietro Metastasio, whose opera seria and oratorio librettos shaped galant musical conventions.”

Given that Metastasio was such an important figure in music across Europe and in Spain, the impact that his poetic structure and construction had on Spanish music cannot be understated. The proclivity of the royal family for Italian opera also played a role, “…since the accession of the new Bourbon dynasty at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Italian opera had gradually come to dominate the musical side of court festivities.”

Nebra’s sacred works later come to favor the galant style. Craig Russell discusses the desire of Ignacio Jerusalem, chapelmaster of Mexico City Cathedral, to emulate the “trend-setting” Nebra and his style. Whether Jerusalem actually wanted to emulate Nebra or only wanted to tip his hat to him because of his position and because it was politically expedient to do so is a matter of debate. What is harder to argue against is the position that Nebra held and the respect he commanded throughout the Spanish empire. Ultimately it does not matter whether Jerusalem wanted to emulate Nebra or not. What is clear is that cathedral chapter in Mexico City sought to emulate the Royal Chapel and the music scene in Madrid. It is under these circumstances that Jerusalem made his comment.

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CONTEXTUAL CHRONOLOGY

- **1701-1714** War of Spanish Succession.

- **1702** José de Nebra Blasco is born in Calatayud, Zaragoza, Spain to José Antonio de Nebra Mezquita and Rosa Blasco Bian.

- **ca. 1717** Nebra begins work at the convent of the Descalzas Reales.\(^{26}\)

- **1723** Nebra begins writing music for theater productions in Madrid.

- **1724** Felipe V abdicates, Luis I crowned King.

- **1724** Nebra becomes organist at the Royal Chapel.

- **1725** José Elías succeeds Nebra at Descalzas Reales.

- **1728** Nebra is asked to compose music to celebrate the marriage of the Prince of Asturias to Maria Barbara of Portugal. The work, *Amor aumenta el valor*, is a collaboration between Nebra, Facco, and Falconi. The celebration is held in Portugal.

- **1729** Domenico Scarlatti arrives in Seville.

- **1733** Domenico Scarlatti arrives in Madrid.

- **1734** Fire destroys music held at the Royal Chapel in Madrid.

- **1737** Farinelli arrives in Madrid.

- **1738** Manuel José de Quiroz is appointed chapelmaster of Santiago de los Caballeros Cathedral in Guatemala.

- **1738** Nebra offered the position of chapelmaster at Santiago Cathedral, he declines the offer.\(^{27}\)

- **1741** Nebra is offered the position of organist at Cuenca Cathedral where his father was chapelmaster and his brother Francisco Javier was organist. He declines the offer.

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\(^{26}\) Exact date not known. In 1719 Nebra is listed as “organista actual” in a document at the convent. In 1738 Nebra lists his eight years of service to the convent as justification for an increase in salary. María Salud Álvarez Martínez estimates that Nebra started at the convent when he was about fifteen years of age. Álvarez, *José de Nebra Blasco*, 16.

\(^{27}\) Leza Cruz, “José de Nebra,” *New Grove Dictionary*, 17:729.
1747 Antonio Literes dies.

1749 Nebra is asked to oversee the refurbishment of the organ at the Jeronimos monastery.

1749 Santiago Billoni is appointed the chapelmaster of the Durango Cathedral. He is the first Italian to achieve this status in New Spain.\(^{28}\)

1750 Ignacio Jerusalem becomes chapelmaster of the Mexico City Cathedral.

1751 Nebra named assistant chapelmaster of the Royal Chapel in Madrid and niños cantores.

1756 Fernández Dávila requests Nebra’s guidance on the construction of the organ for the new royal palace.

1758 Queen Maria Barbara dies, Nebra composes a requiem in her honor.

1759 Carlos III crowned king.

1759 Nebra’s *Visperas del común de los santos y de la Virgen* is presumed to have been performed at the papal chapel in Rome.\(^{29}\)

1761 Nebra named harpsichord teacher to Infante Don Gabriel.

Upon Nebra’s death he is succeeded in this responsibility by Padre Antonio Soler.\(^{30}\)

1761 Nebra’s compositional output decreases.\(^{31}\)

1765 Manuel José de Quiróz dies. Rafael Antonio Castellanos becomes chapelmaster of the Guatemala Cathedral.

1768 Nebra dies.

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\(^{29}\) Sent in that year, Leza Cruz, “José de Nebra,” *New Grove Dictionary*, 17:729.


Guatemala was an important region of New Spain. The territory held the title of Capitanía General (Capitaincy General), and was also known as the Reino de Guatemala (Kingdom of Guatemala). The capital city, Santiago de los Caballeros, had a history of being moved and was situated in the valley of Panchoy in 1543. In 1773 a series of earthquakes forced the capital’s eventual relocation to the site that it occupies presently. Upon this move the capital was re-named Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción, more commonly known as Guatemala City today. The old capital, Santiago de Los Caballeros, became known as Antigua Guatemala and retains that name. Although the movement of the region’s most important city posed challenges, Guatemala still managed to be an important place for music making during the viceregal era despite these tribulations. In 1534 Pope Paul III named the diocese of Guatemala a suffragan of Seville.¹ New Spanish society sought to emulate the most important religious centers in Spain. The natural connection between Guatemala and Seville encouraged the Guatemalan establishment to imitate Seville in terms of devotional aesthetics.

Three of the most influential Spanish chapelmasters who worked in New Spain during the colonial period spent part of their careers at the cathedral of Santiago. Hernando Franco (1532-1585) was chapelmaster in Guatemala (1570-75).² Franco went on to become the chapelmaster of the Mexico City cathedral. Pedro Bermúdez (ca. 1558-ca. 1605) came to Guatemala after being chapelmaster at the Cuzco cathedral in present-day Peru. His appointment

in Guatemala began in 1598; he left in 1603 for the Puebla cathedral. Bermúdez’s tenure in Guatemala overlapped that of Gaspar Fernández (1570-1629), who was appointed organist in 1599 and was later promoted to chapelmaster upon the departure of Bermúdez. Following in the footsteps of Bermúdez, Fernández left Guatemala in 1606 for Puebla where he was also named chapelmaster. All were Europeans who immigrated to the New World and moved around once they got there. Their movement illustrates one method in which musical ideas circulated throughout the Atlantic world—through the movement of people. Each composed music that is conserved at various archives in Latin America. The presence of three such illustrious composers working in the same cathedral displays the importance that Santiago de Guatemala played in the creation and performance of music in the Spanish Americas.

The estimated population of Santiago was 38,000 people in the 1750s; this included 1,000 clergy and 5,516 people listed as Spanish. These two groups represent the segment of the population who were responsible for operating cathedral activities and religious life in the capital. The hierarchical structure of Spanish society affected everyday life. The elite in Santiago was made up of many non-Spaniards including Corsicans, Genoese, Portuguese, and Sicilians.

Life in Santiago centered around the main plaza or “Parque Central” in the eighteenth century; the cathedral is situated on the east end of the plaza. The musical life at the cathedral of Santiago de Los Caballeros was vital to religious life in the city. This vitality is a result of the work of Manuel José de Quiróz (d. 1765) and Raphael Antonio Castellanos (d. 1791), whose combined careers at the cathedral spanned from 1738 to 1791. Quiróz was born in Santiago

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3 Ibid., 6.
6 Ibid., 108.
7 Lemmon, Guatemala, 6-8.
(present day Antigua Guatemala) and was presumably raised there. Music making for Quiróz at the cathedral was a family affair: his brother Fray Francisco de Quiróz was also a composer and member of the Dominican order, and Raphael Antonio Castellanos was his nephew and eventually succeeded him as chapelmaster upon his death in 1765.\(^8\)

Perhaps Quiróz’s most significant contribution to the cathedral was his well-documented efforts to acquire repertoire from Europe for performance in Santiago. Choirbook 1 held at the AHAG shows that Quiróz was actively importing music from Europe with the support of the cathedral chapter, recognized his “diligence” (see figure 3.1). Holdings at the AHAG include additional pieces procured by Quiróz.\(^9\) The repertoire includes music by such luminaries as Adolf Hasse, Francesco Corselli, Baldassare Galuppi, Leonardo Leo, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, and Leonardo Vinci.\(^10\) All of these composers were masters of the Italian style, and Quiróz had a profound interest in their music. His interest also fit with the prevailing tastes of his era in both New Spain and Europe. The idea that musical tastes in Latin America were behind those of Europe is proven wrong here as Quiróz’s tenure at the Cathedral of Santiago coincides with the spread of the Italianate galant style in Europe. Stevenson credits this to an “…intimate acquaintance with the current Italian repertory…” and that this knowledge of contemporary repertoire, “…explains the up-to-date sound of both Quiróz and Castellanos.”\(^11\)

Quiróz found a friend in Ignacio Jerusalem, chapelmaster of the Mexico City Cathedral (1750-1769), and established contact with him through letters. Jerusalem encouraged Quiróz to continue obtaining European music by Italian masters of the galant.\(^12\) Quiróz was not only

\(^8\) Stevenson, “Guatemala Cathedral,” 42.
\(^10\) Ibid., 44-45.
concerned with current musical trends but also with preserving the past and began a project of recopying the cathedral’s choir books from the sixteenth century (see figure 3.1).  

Quiróz also contributed to the musical life of the cathedral by composing music. Through his study of and familiarity with the galant style, Quiróz was able to synthesize and incorporate the musical gestures of the galant into his own music. He was aware of what was in vogue and what a proper Spanish and Eurocentric cathedral should be. The cathedral had the desire to re-create the musical profile of places like Mexico City, Puebla, and Oaxaca in New Spain, and even the musical activities at the Royal Chapel in Madrid where José de Nebra was employed. Nebra’s Mass for Eight Voices was likely acquired by Quiróz during his time as chapelmaster. A catalogue of the twenty-eight works by Nebra held at the Archivo Historico Arquidiocesano de Guatemala (AHAG) is included in this dissertation as Appendix C. The mass by Nebra has been unknown before now and is not included in any of Stevenson’s publications.

Quiróz left an interesting last will and testament. In it he asked to be, “shrouded in the habit of St. Francis as worn in the missionary college, he wishes internment wearing chapelmaster’s cassock and surplice—at the manner of Mexico City, Oaxaca, and Puebla cathedral chapelmaster burials.” Quiróz also specifies that certain items be bequeathed to his nephew Raphael Antonio Castellanos who succeeds him as chapelmaster in 1765.

Castellanos worked for Quiróz for twenty years before being promoted to chapelmaster. During that time he likely copied music and would have been aware of Quiróz’s interest in preserving the musical assets of the cathedral. He continued the work of building the printed music resources. He also sought the counsel of Ignacio Jerusalem with whom he

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13 Lemmon, Guatemala, 7.  
14 Quiróz’s will quoted and translated in Stevenson, “Guatemala Cathedral,” 43.  
15 Ibid., 44 and 52.  
16 Stevenson, “Guatemala Cathedral,” 52.
“corresponded.” Castellanos had an interest in sharing music with other churches in the region. Some manuscripts at the AHAG that were copied by Castellanos contain a note indicating that the original was sent elsewhere; there are two cases where Castellanos sent repertoire by Nebra to others.

Castellanos was a prolific composer and wrote twice as many pieces as his uncle. He wrote mostly villancicos, and he wrote music for certain important historical events. For example, he wrote pieces for the laying of the cornerstone of the new cathedral in present-day Guatemala City when the capital was ordered moved by King Carlos III, and he also composed a Subvenite for the Monarch’s death.

Castellanos endeavored to present music of the same quality as the cathedral in Seville. Given the history of Guatemala being a suffragan to Seville and the importance of its cathedral, Castellanos was continuing a tradition. Although Guatemala was elevated to an archbishopric in 1744 during his uncle’s time as chapelmaster, presenting high quality music became even more imperative since the performance of music needed to be befitting an archbishopric. This gave Castellanos even more motivation to look to Seville and other noted religious centers for inspiration.

This is the Guatemala of the eighteenth century in which Nebra’s mass would have been performed. The manuscript likely arrived in Santiago during Quiróz tenure and not that of

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17 Lemmon, Guatemala, 8.
18 See Appendix C, the Catalogue of Works by Nebra held at the AHAG. Ya rasga la esfera was sent to San Cristóbal de las Casas and Canten acordes con ecos suaves was sent to Santiago Nonualco (Castellanos spelled it Nunualco) in present-day El Salvador.
19 Stevenson, Renaissance and Baroque, 76-79 and 94-95.
20 Stevenson, Renaissance and Baroque, 78. Cover reads, “Para las Exequias Funerales que se le hicieron en esta S.ta Metropolitana en esta Nueva Ciudad de la Assump.n a nro Catolico Monaraca D.n Carlos Tercero.” (For the funeral rites that were held in this Holy Metropolitan [Cathedral] in this New City of the Assumption for our Catholic Monarch Don Carlos III).
21 Lemmon, Guatemala, 8.
22 Stevenson, “Guatemala Cathedral,” 43.
Castellanos, since so much of Nebra’s music was purchased by Quiróz. Nebra’s highest artistic output of sacred music was from 1747-1761, which coincided with Quiróz’s time as chapelmastern (1738-1765). The vocal and instrumental parts were moved by Castellanos and his colleagues to the new Guatemala City where it remains to this day. The mass was likely performed on special occasions and feasts and must have been used in that role often. No other complete eighteenth-century masses are known to exist in Guatemala: none are listed in Stevenson, and I have not encountered others in my visits to the archive. This mass has not been known to researchers until now.

Although others have written about the cathedral’s attempt to replicate the musical life of the Seville cathedral, they were likely aspiring to other models as well. The presence of twenty-eight of Nebra’s compositions in Guatemala strongly suggests an effort by Quiróz and Castellanos to re-create the musical life of the Royal Chapel. Indeed, the Guatemala cathedral has more compositions by Nebra than the larger and wealthier cathedral in Mexico City. It could have been that Quiróz was an admirer of Nebra’s work just as he was of Jerusalem’s work. The amount of repertoire suggests that Quiróz and Castellanos also had an interest in providing their community with music written by the illustrious Don José de Nebra of the “Capilla Real” (Royal Chapel). Beyond the music itself, the programming of Nebra’s music would have made a political statement to the community in Santiago. In contrast, the Mexico City cathedral employed Italian composer Ignacio Jerusalem and hence had less need to import as much music as their counterparts in Guatemala.

23 Maria Salud Álvarez Martínez, José de Nebra Blasco: vida y obra (Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando el Católico”), 1993, 15.
24 See Appendix C, Catalogue of Nebra’s works held at the AHAG.
25 Stevenson, Renaissance and Baroque, 131-180.
Nebra’s music would have been considered proper Spanish music appropriate for the devotional practice of proper Spanish subjects. The era in which Nebra, Quiróz, and Castellanos lived was an exciting time full of changes. The Bourbon Reforms, which sought to make government more efficient, were being implemented in New Spain. There were also clashes of culture in eighteenth-century New Spain. In 1768, during Castellanos’ term as chapelmaster, the Archbishop of Guatemala wrote to the King to request that bullfights and public executions be terminated because of the chaos that they created outside of the cathedral doors.\textsuperscript{26} Naturally this put the Archbishop at odds with certain constituencies in the community. These types of conflicts were common in the Spanish world during the eighteenth century and actually had their roots in the seventeenth century. Indeed, the Archbishop of Mexico City had similar concerns and attempted to ban cockfighting in 1688 without success.\textsuperscript{27} The late eighteenth century was also when the Society of Jesus was expelled from all Spanish Territories. Juan Pedro Viqueira Albán discusses this cultural tension and what he calls the “decline of propriety” in New Spain.\textsuperscript{28} The crown was concerned with promoting proper behavior and partially instituted this through the Bourbon Reforms. These reforms affected New Spain in profound ways according to Viqueira, “…these measures created a more orderly society by instituting new mechanisms of education, control, and the repression of popular classes of Mexico City.”\textsuperscript{29} Viqueira’s point illustrates the concerns of the government and elite. He concludes that, “…the government had succeeded in more efficiently curbing those customs of the populace that the enlightened officials considered depraved.”\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{26} Stevenson, “Guatemala Cathedral,” 54.
\textsuperscript{27} Juan Pedro Viqueira Albán, Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico (Lanham, MD: Scholarly Resources, 1999), 6.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., general theme presented throughout the book.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., xxii
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., xxii
These ideas and concepts were not as strictly Iberian as they may appear on the surface. The Spanish elite’s image of a proper society was not just Hispanocentric, but Eurocentric. The constituents of Santiago’s power class included non-Spanish southern Europeans. The hiring of the Italians Ignacio Jerusalem and Santiago Billoni in Mexico City and Durango respectively, shows an interest in Italian music. Quiróz’s collection of music by Italian masters also confirms this interest. Elite Spanish society also espoused French manners in the New World during this time.\(^\text{31}\) In short, this was a cosmopolitan age in New Spain, and its accompanying music was galant.

The spread and preference of the galant style by Europe’s religious and secular nobility has been discussed widely in recent years. Lesser focus has been put on the extent to which it spread to the New World and its importance there. The collection of galant music assembled by Quiróz, whether written by composers of Italian, Spanish, or even German (Hasse) origin illustrates that importance. The writing of American-born composers like Quiróz and Castellanos in the galant style further reinforces this idea. Nebra’s mass is but one component of this musical picture and is an artifact that sheds light on musical circulation in the Atlantic World.

\(^\text{31}\) Ibid., xvi
Figure 3.1, Choirbook 1 legend, AHAG. Unknown scribe. Used with permission of the AHAG

**Translation:** Book of Masses copied from that which was written by P. Gaspar Fernandes in the year 1602. Another six masses are now added which were acquired from Europe by the solicitation and diligence of Manuel Joseph de Quirós, Master of the Chapel, who has dedicated to, with deserved recognition, the venerable and illustrious Dean and Cabildo (Cathedral Chapter) of this holy metropolitan church of Guatemala in this year of 1760.

AMDG [*Ad majorem Dei gloriam*] For the greater glory of God.
The rest of page intentionally left blank to allow for formatting of music notation.
Mass for Eight Voices in D major
with Violins, Oboes, and Clarino

I. KYRIE

José de Nebra
Edited by Javier José Mendoza

[Andante]
II. GLORIA

Glo - ri - a in ex - cel - sis De - o

[Allegro]

Oboe

Clarino

Violin I

Violin II

C Soprano I

H

O Soprano II

I Alto

R I

Tenor

C Soprano

H

O Alto

I R

Tenor II

Bass

Basso Continuo

Et in te - rra pax, et in te - rra pax pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - ne vo - lun - ta - tis.

Et in te - rra pax, et in te - rra pax pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - ne vo - lun - ta - tis.

Et in te - rra pax, et in te - rra pax pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - ne vo - lun - ta - tis.

Et in te - rra pax, et in te - rra pax pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - ne vo - lun - ta - tis.

Et in te - rra pax, et in te - rra pax pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - ne vo - lun - ta - tis.

Et in te - rra pax, et in te - rra pax pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - ne vo - lun - ta - tis.
\[\text{pax homini-bus, pax homini-bus bo-ne vo-lunta-tis.}\]
Oboe
Clarinet
Violin I
Violin II
Soprano I
Soprano II
Alto
Tenor
Soprano
Alto
Tenor
Basso Continuo

18

a - do - ra - mus te;
Gra - ti - as, Gra - ti - as a - gi-mus

a - do - ra - mus te;
Gra - ti - as, Gra - ti - as a - gi-mus

a - do - ra - mus te;
Gra - ti - as, Gra - ti - as a - gi-mus

a - do - ra - mus te;
Gra - ti - as, Gra - ti - as a - gi-mus

te;
glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te. Gra - ti - as, Gra - ti - as

te;
glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te. Gra - ti - as Gra - ti - as

te;
glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te. Gra - ti - as Gra - ti - as

te;
glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te. Gra - ti - as Gra - ti - as

te;
glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te. Gra - ti - as Gra - ti - as

Basso Continuo

41
Domine Deus, Rex cælestis, De-us Pa-ter o-mni-po-tens.

Domine Deus, Rex cælestis, De-us Pa-ter o-mni-po-tens.

Domine Deus, Rex cælestis, De-us Pa-ter o-mni-po-tens.

Domine Deus, Rex cælestis, De-us Pa-ter o-mni-po-tens.

Domine Deus, Rex cælestis, De-us Pa-ter o-mni-po-tens.

Domine Deus, Rex cælestis, De-us Pa-ter o-mni-po-tens.

Domine Deus, Rex cælestis, De-us Pa-ter o-mni-po-tens.
Oboe

Clarino

Violin I

Violin II

Soprano I

Soprano II

Alto

Tenor

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Basso Continuo

Do - mi - ne Fi - li u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su Chri - ste.

Do - mi - ne Fi - li u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su Chri - ste.

Do - mi - ne Fi - li u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su Chri - ste.

Do - mi - ne Fi - li u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su Chri - ste.

Do - mi - ne Fi - li u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su Chri - ste.

Do - mi - ne Fi - li u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su Chri - ste.

Do - mi - ne Fi - li u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su Chri - ste.

Do - mi - ne Fi - li u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su Chri - ste.

Do - mi - ne Fi - li u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su Chri - ste.
Fi - li - us Pa - tris. Qui tol - lis, qui tol - lis pec
Fi - li - us Pa - tris. Qui tol - lis, qui tol - lis pec
Fi - li - us Pa - tris. Qui tol - lis, qui tol - lis pec
De - i, Fi - li - us Pa - tris. Qui tol - lis,
De - i, Fi - li - us Pa - tris. Qui tol - lis,
De - i, Fi - li - us Pa - tris. Qui tol - lis,
De - i, Fi - li - us Pa - tris. Qui tol - lis,
Oboe

Clarinò

Violino I

Violino II

Soprano I

Soprano II

Alto

Tenore

Soprano

Alto

Tenore

Basso Continuo

Qui sedes ad

pe de precatiorem nostram.
ad dextrae Patris, Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris,

ad dextrae Patris, Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris,

ad dextrae Patris, Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris,

ad dextrae Patris, Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris,

ad dextrae Patris, Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris,

ad dextrae Patris, Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris,

Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris, ad dextrae Patris, ad dextrae Patris,

 Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris, Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris,

 Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris, Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris,

 Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris, Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris,

 Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris, Qui sedes ad dextrae Patris,
Oboe

Clarino

Violin I

Violin II

Soprano I

Soprano II

Alto

Tenor

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Basso Continuo

87

quoniam tu solus Sanctus, quoniam tu solus Sanctus,
quoniam tu solus Sanctus,
quoniam, quoniam tu solus Sanctus,
quoniam, quoniam, quoniam tu solus Sanctus,
Oboe

Clarino

Violin I

Violin II

Soprano I

Soprano II

Alto

Tenor

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Basso Continuo

Let the Lord be my helper.

Let the Lord be my deliverer.

Let the Lord be my helper.

Let the Lord be my deliverer.
Oboe

Clarino

Violin I

Violin II

Soprano I

Soprano II

Alto

Tenor

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Basso Continuo

tu solus Al-tis-simus, Jesu
Vivo

Oboe

Clarino

Violin I

Violin II

Soprano I

Soprano II

Alto

Tenor

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Basso Continuo

Chri - ste. Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu,

Chri - ste. Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu,

Chri - ste. Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu,

Chri - ste. Cum San - cto

Chri - ste. Cum San - cto

Chri - ste. Cum San - cto

Chri - ste. Cum San - cto
III. CREDO

[Allegro]

Oboe
Clarinet
Violin I
Violin II
Soprano I
Soprano II
Alto
Tenor
Soprano
Alto
Tenor
Bass
Basso Continuo

Cre - do in un - um De - um

Pa - trem o - mni-po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - re,

Pa - trem o - mni-po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - re,

Pa - trem o - mni-po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - re,

Pa - trem o - mni-po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - re,

Pa - trem o - mni-po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - re,

Pa - trem o - mni-po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - re,

Pa - trem o - mni-po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - re,

Pa - trem o - mni-po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - re,
S. I.  visi-bi-li-um omni-um et in-vi-si-bi-li-um. et in u-num Domini-num

S. II.  visi-bi-li-um omni-um et in-vi-si-bi-li-um et in u-num Domini-num

A.  visi-bi-li-um omni-um et in-vi-si-bi-li-um et in u-num Domini-num

T.  visi-bi-li-um omni-um et in-vi-si-bi-li-um et in u-num Domini-num
Oboe

Clarino

Violin I

Violin II

Soprano I

De-um de Do-o, lu-men de lu-mi-ne, De-um ve-rum

Soprano II

De-um de Do-o, lu-men de lu-mi-ne, De-um ve-rum

Alto

De-um de Do-o, lu-men de lu-mi-ne, De-um ve-rum

Tenor

De-um de Do-o, lu-men de lu-mi-ne, De-um ve-rum

Soprano

De-o, lu-men de lu-mi-ne, De-um ve-rum de Do-o

Alto

De-o, lu-men de lu-mi-ne, De-um ve-rum de Do-o

Tenor

De-o, lu-men de lu-mi-ne, De-um ve-rum de Do-o

Bass

De-o, lu-men de lu-mi-ne, De-um ve-rum de Do-o

Basso Continuo
nostram salutem descendit, descendit, descendit,

nostram salutem descendit, descendit, descendit,

nostram salutem descendit, descendit, descendit,

nostram salutem descendit, descendit, descendit,

stram salutem descendit, descendit, descendit, descendit,

stram salutem descendit, descendit, descendit, descendit,

stram salutem descendit, descendit, descendit, descendit,

stram salutem descendit, descendit, descendit, descendit,

stram salutem descendit, descendit, descendit, descendit,
et homo factus est.

et homo factus est.

et homo factus est.

et homo factus est.

et homo factus est.

et homo factus est.

et homo factus est.
et homo factus est.
Vivo

Cru-ci-ﬁx us e-ti-am pro nobis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to, pas-sus pas-sus et se-pul-tus

Cru-ci-ﬁx us e-ti-am pro nobis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to, pas-sus pas-sus et se-pul-tus

Cru-ci-ﬁx us e-ti-am pro nobis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to, pas-sus pas-sus et se-pul-tus

Cru-ci-ﬁx us e-ti-am pro nobis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to, pas-sus pas-sus et se-pul-tus

Cru-ci-ﬁx us e-ti-am pro nobis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to, pas-sus pas-sus et se-pul-tus

Cru-ci-ﬁx us e-ti-am pro nobis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to, pas-sus pas-sus et se-pul-tus

Cru-ci-ﬁx us e-ti-am pro nobis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to, pas-sus pas-sus et se-pul-tus

Cru-ci-ﬁx us e-ti-am pro nobis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to, pas-sus pas-sus et se-pul-tus

Cru-ci-ﬁx us e-ti-am pro nobis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to, pas-sus pas-sus et se-pul-tus
Oboe

Clarinet

Violin I

Violin II

Soprano I

Soprano II

Alto

Tenor

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Basso Continuo
Oboe
Clarino
Violin I
Violin II
Soprano I
Soprano II
Alto
Tenor
Soprano
Alto
Tenor
Bass
Basso Continuo

Qui cum Pa - tre, qui cum Pa - tre et Fi - li - o si - mul a -

Qui cum Pa - tre, qui cum Pa - tre et Fi - li - o si - mul a -

Qui cum Pa - tre, qui cum Pa - tre et Fi - li - o si - mul a -

Qui cum Pa - tre, qui cum Pa - tre et Fi - li - o si - mul a -
Vivo

rum et vitam ven-tu-ri sae-cu-li. A-men


rum et vitam ven-tu-ri sae-cu-li. A-men


rum et vitam ven-tu-ri sae-cu-li. A-men


rum et vitam ven-tu-ri sae-cu-li. A-men


IV. SANCTUS AND BENEDICTUS

[Andante]
 cel - sis in ex - cel - sis, ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis, in ex - cel - sis,

in ex - cel - sis, ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis, in ex - cel - sis,

s o - ss a-na in ex - cel - sis, ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis, in ex - cel - sis,

cel - sis in ex - cel - sis, ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis, in ex - cel - sis,

ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis, in ex - cel - sis,

ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis, in ex - cel - sis,

ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis, in ex - cel - sis,
di - cta - tur qui ve - ni - nit in no - mi - ne Do -
Be - ne - di - cta - tur qui ve - ni - nit
Be - ne - di - cta - tur qui ve - ni - nit
Be - ne - di - cta - tur qui ve - ni - nit, qui ve - ni - nit in no - mi - ne
Be - ne - di - cta - tur qui ve - ni - nit, qui ve - ni - nit in no - mi - ne
Be - ne - di - cta - tur qui ve - ni - nit, qui ve - ni - nit in no - mi - ne
Be - ne - di - cta - tur qui ve - ni - nit, qui ve - ni - it in no - mi - ne
qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

qui ven-it in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni
in nomine Domini
Hosanna in excelsis,

in nomine Domini
Hosanna in excelsis,

in nomine Domini
Hosanna in excelsis,

in nomine Domini
Hosanna in excelsis,

in nomine Domini
Hosanna in excelsis,
Vota mundi miserere nobis. Agnus

qui tollis pecata mundi miserere nobis.
pa - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem, pa - cem.

pa - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem, pa - cem.

pa - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem, pa - cem.

do - na no - bis pa - cem, pa - cem.

do - na no - bis pa - cem, pa - cem.

no - bis pa - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem.

7 7 4
CHAPTER 5
CRITICAL NOTES

Critical Notes

Discrepancies between the manuscript and the performing edition are recorded in these Critical Notes. The notes are organized by movement, measure, and beat when necessary. The column on the left is the measure range. Numbers separated by a period (.) indicate the measure number and the beat number within the measure. For example, M. 25.3 indicates measure 25 beat three.

**Kyrie**

The *Kyrie* presented challenges in the text underlay. In some of the parts not all syllables are accounted for because of elisions. Words are often placed under passages of music with little direction as to what syllable goes with what note. Text has been standardized. For more information see the Critical Report.

Mm. 54-55 
Choir II Alto, these notes are low in the Alto range, especially the F in m. 55. This is what is notated in the manuscript and points to the fact that male Altos were likely the intended choir for this mass.

Mm. 54-55 
Choir II Tenor and Bass, the text underlay of these two voices do not match in the original parts.

**Gloria**

Mm. 10-12 
Violin II, dynamics added to match Violin I.

Mm. 10-13 
Clarino, forte dynamic added to match other voices. Decrescendos added on trills to reflect the dynamics in other voices.

Mm. 10-14 
Basso Continuo, dynamics added to match other voices.

M. 11.1 
Oboe and Violin I, C-sharp changed C-natural.

M. 14 
Oboe and Violin I, F-sharp changed F-natural.

Mm. 36.4-37 
Choir I all voices, notation is unclear. Based on the text underlay it has been notated as a suspension.

M. 55 
Oboe and Violins, piano dynamic added to match Basso Continuo.

M. 55 
Violin II, notated in alto clef in the manuscript.
M. 55  Basso Continuo, figures are notated 4 6. See figure 5.1.

M. 57  Oboe, Clarino, Violins, and Basso Continuo, forte dynamic added.

Mm. 57-58  Oboe and Violins, C-sharp changed to C-natural.

M. 58  Basso Continuo, C-sharp changed to C-natural.

M. 58  “Ad dexteram patris” appears as “ad dextera~ patris” in some of the parts. The “~” indicates a consonant. This method is used to save space. Text has been standardized.

M. 59.3  Violin II, C-sharp changed to C-natural.

M. 62  All voices, piano dynamic added.

M. 62.1  Choir I, Soprano II, A-natural changed to A-sharp to match Soprano I of Choir II.

M. 70  Oboe, Violins, and Basso Continuo, forte dynamic added.

M. 71.2  Oboe and Violins, G-natural changed to G-sharp. A-natural changed to A-sharp.

M. 79.2  Oboe and Violins, G-natural changed to G-sharp.

Mm. 80-82  Basso continuo, figure notated 2 4" in all three measures.

M. 82.2  Oboe and Violins, G-natural changed to G-sharp.

M. 84  Choir I, all voices, forte dynamic added

M. 85  Choir II, forte dynamic added

M. 90  Oboe, Violins, and Basso Continuo, A-changed to A-sharp.

M. 93.2  Oboe and Violins, G-natural changed to G-sharp. A-natural changed to A-sharp.

M. 106.2  Choir I Alto, G-natural changed to G-sharp to match Soprano II of Choir I.

M. 112.4  Choir I Tenor, C-sharp changed to C-natural.

M. 115  Choir II Soprano I, G-natural changed to G-sharp to match G-sharp in Alto of Choir I.
Choir II Soprano I, C-natural is as it appears in the manuscript. Although the C-natural clashes with the Basso Continuo this type of passing tone does occur in music of the period. Nebra was likely more concerned with the horizontal aspects of the vocal line than the vertical aspects.

Credo

M. 5.3 Choir I Soprano I, quarter note D. This is an assumption, the notation is in the binding of the manuscript and cannot be seen.

M. 18.4 Violin II, this pitch was notated as an E in the manuscript, it has been changed to a D to match Violin I.

M. 22.3 Choir II Tenor, reconstructed. Notes not visible, too far in binding.

M. 25.1 Choir I Alto, notated as half note in manuscript, it has been changed to a quarter note to match the rhythm of the rest of Choir I.

M. 34 All parts, forte dynamic has been added.

M. 36 Choir II Soprano, the manuscript indicates “eco.” Notated as piano dynamic.

M. 36 Choir II Bass, dynamic is marked piano in the manuscript. This does not match the direction for “eco” in the soprano line. All lines are indicated as piano.

M. 36 Choir II Alto and Tenor, given piano dynamic to match Bass and Basso Continuo.

M. 40 Choir I all voices, forte given to match continuo.

Mm. 40-41.1 Choir I Soprano, notation is unclear. Based on the text underlay it has been notated as a suspension.

M. 42.3 Choir II Soprano, piano dynamic added to match continuo and other voices. In the manuscript the soprano line is given “eco” as an instruction, notated as piano dynamic.

M. 45 Violins and Oboe, given forte dynamic to match Basso Continuo.

M. 47 Choir I all voices, given forte dynamic to match Basso Continuo.

M. 49 Choir II Soprano, given piano dynamic to match other voices and Basso Continuo, originally notated as “eco.”
M. 49  Basso Continuo, sharp left out of figured bass. Changed to match m. 47.

M. 50  Violins and Oboe, given piano dynamic to match Basso Continuo.

M. 52  Choir I all voices, given forte dynamic to match Basso Continuo.

M. 58  Choir I Soprano, reconstructed. Notes not visible, too far in binding.

M. 58  Choir II Soprano, Alto, and Tenor, given forte dynamic to match Bass, and Basso Continuo.

Mm. 60-61  Choir II Tenor, notation in the manuscript is unclear. Notated as a suspension.

M. 63  Violin, Clarino, and Basso Continuo, dynamic added.

Mm. 65-68  Violin II, notated in alto clef in the manuscript.

M. 69  Allegro tempo marking added. There is no tempo marking at m. 69 in the manuscript; there is a Vivo marking at m. 71 implying that there was a move to a slower tempo before it. It seems appropriate that the entire “Et resurrexit” section would be slower.

M. 83  Choir I Tenor, pitch duration changed to quarter note, marked half note in the manuscript, changed to quarter to match the rest of the choir.

M. 108  Choir I Soprano, Alto, and Tenor, a half note notated in the manuscript, all other voices have a dotted half note marked. Soprano, Alto, and Tenor have been changed to match the other voices.

M. 128.3  Violin II, D-sharp added so that it fits the chord, and follows the instruction from the figured bass. The sharp is indicated in the continuo.

M. 131  Choir II Tenor, “-tre” of “patre” added. Not legible in the manuscript, it is stitched in the binding.

M. 135  Choir I all voices, notation is unclear. Based on the text underlay it has been notated as a suspension.

M. 141.2  Choir II Tenor, half note not visible, it is stitched into the binding. D chosen to match Bass.

Mm. 174.3-174.4  Choir I Soprano I, reconstructed. Notes not visible, too far in binding.

Mm. 178-179  All voices, texting of amen. The text underlay of amen is not consistent, nor clear in the vocal parts of the manuscript. The symbol · · is used to indicated repeated text, which makes the composer’s intent more
ambiguous in some cases. The text underlay has been made consistent across all of the voices.

**Sanctus and Benedictus**

M. 29.1 Choir I Soprano I, C is notated in the manuscript. It has been changed to D to match the Basso Continuo and Tenor line.

M. 32.3 Choir I Soprano I, pitch changed from E to D. This agrees with the chord and the music in measure 2.

M. 36.2 Choir I Tenor, two pitches appear to be notated as divisi in the manuscript. Likely to be a correction, the pitches are G and B.

M. 41 Choir I Alto, text underlay appears Do-o-mi-ni, but slur indicates otherwise. Text underlay changed to reflect slur.

Mm. 44-46 Oboe, Clarino, Violins, and Basso Continuo, rhythm changed to match voices. Rhythm in the manuscript is the same as the Sanctus and is awkward with the Benedictus text. This conforms with mm. 14-16 in the Sanctus section. The homorhythmic texture is retained with this change.

M. 49 Basso Continuo, C-natural does not appear in the manuscript.

M. 59 Choir I Soprano I, pitches are ambiguous in the manuscript. There are attempted corrections, and smudges obscuring the notes. Pitches in the Benedictus changed to match the corresponding measure in the Sanctus (m. 29).

M. 59 Violin II, First pitch appears as an E in the manuscript; it has been changed to a D.

**Agnus Dei**

No changes.

Figure 5.1, MS 740 AHAG, Basso Continuo page 2.
CHAPTER 6
CRITICAL REPORT

The Edition

This edition of José de Nebra’s Mass for Eight Voices was prepared with the intent that it would be of use to modern performers presenting the work in concert. Editorial decisions have been made with this in mind. As a performer, I have made an effort to not impose a personal musical interpretation on the edition included here. The product is an edition that conveys the original manuscript to the performer with editorial marks only added when deemed important and necessary. The user of this edition should have a working knowledge of the era and performance practice to inform their own interpretation.

The Manuscript

Nebra’s Mass for Eight Voices in D major with Violins, Oboes, and Clarino is held at the Archivo Historico Arquidiocesano de Guatemala (AHAG). The manuscript is listed as number 740 and consists of 101 sheets including the following parts: Soprano 1, Soprano 2, Alto, Tenor in Choir 1, and Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass for Choir 2. The following instrumental parts are also included: Oboe, a second Oboe part that is marked “O Clarín” (or Clarino), Violin 1, Violin 2, Accompaniment, and a second accompaniment part marked Accompaniment Continuo. (The issue of the Clarino part is discussed more in depth later in this chapter.) The accompaniment parts are the same and do not indicate that one was intended for bass ripieno—they are duplicates. There is no score included in the set of manuscript parts. Nebra’s name appears on each part. The score included in this dissertation was created from each individual part. The parts are well preserved and are in good condition considering their age. The corners and edges of the
pages show typical signs of wear; there are some tears in the music as well as repairs and corrections. Some of the parts could be copies of originals. It is likely that most, if not all, of the pages are original and date to the middle of the eighteenth century.

**Methodology**

The manuscript is likely the only surviving copy of this mass by Nebra.⁠¹ Because it is the only source, the editorial decisions could only be based on this manuscript. Within the manuscript itself, certain vocal parts have been given more validity than others based on whom the scribe is thought to be. This was necessary because the vocal parts do not always agree. Score order has been standardized. Individual part names have been given in English. The word “clarino” is used instead of “trumpet” to convey the usage of the historical instrument rather than the modern trumpet. Clefs also have been modernized and transposed into clefs that modern singers are accustomed to reading. The Soprano parts originally were notated in soprano clef and have been transposed to treble clef. Alto parts were written in alto clef have been reset to treble clef. The Tenor parts were written in Tenor clef and also been transposed to treble clef sounding one octave lower than written.

*Scribes and Handwriting*

The set of parts appears to have been copied by at least four different hands, although the parts are unsigned. The name Alberich is notated in the top right corner of the Soprano I of Choir I part (see figure 6.1). Bernardo Alberich is listed as a scribe in documents from the time.² Alberich was also a cellist in the service of the Royal Chapel in Madrid. Alberich’s tenure

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¹ A catalog of extant works by Nebra and their locations is included in María Salud Álvarez Martínez, *José de Nebra Blasco: vida y obra* (Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando el Católico,” 1993). I also did a review of the archive at the Monastery of El Escorial in Madrid. The work does not appear in the catalog of Durango Cathedral, and is also not known to be in Mexico City.

coincided with the reign of King Felipe V, just as Nebra’s, and when the throne changed hands (when Nebra was kept as the second organist [see Chapter 2]) Alberich was also allowed to stay, but at half his salary. According to Morales, Alberich was a festero, a church musician who led religious celebrations on feast days, and succeeded the contralto Casiano Lopez in 1741. Alberich is likely the scribe of the part that bears his name. This handwriting also corresponds to the Alto and Tenor parts of Choir I (see figures 6.2-6.4). Alberich does not appear to have copied any of the parts for Choir II. For the purposes of the dissertation I do not to speculate as to the scribes of the instrumental parts. The remaining vocal sections of the manuscript were copied by others, possibly even people living in Guatemala. Table 1 illustrates which parts were written by whom.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Scribe</th>
<th>Benedictus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Choir I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soprano I</td>
<td>A*</td>
<td>D**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soprano II</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alto</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choir II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soprano</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alto</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bass</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1, Scribes thought to be responsible for creating the set of parts of Nebra’s Mass for Eight Voices.

*Scribe A is Bernardo Alberich.

**Scribe D is likely Raphael Antonio Castellanos.

A second scribe wrote the Soprano II part of Choir I. I have designated this scribe as Scribe B (see figures 6.6 and 6.7). Scribe B appears to have completed the Soprano and Bass

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4 Ibid., 339.
parts for Choir II as well (see figures 6.8 and 6.9). A third scribe wrote the Alto and Tenor parts of Choir II (see figures 6.10 and 6.11).

In each of the eight vocal parts the Benedictus appears to be written by a fourth hand. The Benedictus was likely added in Guatemala by a local scribe, the most probable candidate being Raphael Antonio Castellanos—chapellmaster of the Guatemala Cathedral from 1765 to 1791 (see chapter 3). The movement could have been chanted originally, or the singers could have simply repeated the music of the Sanctus and inserted the proper text. Aside from the different handwriting the notated music is in an odd place: in every vocal part, at least a portion of the Benedictus comes after Agnus Dei at the end of the work with an awkward instruction to skip the Agnus Dei and go to the Benedictus (see figure 6.12). After the Benedictus there is another instruction to return to the Agnus Dei on the preceding page. The Benedictus was inserted at the end of the work using blank staves left in the staff paper from the stitching and construction of the booklets. The instrumental parts do shed some additional light on this issue—in some of the parts the words, “y Benedictus” (and Benedictus, as in Sanctus and Benedictus) has been added after the word “Sanctus.” The handwriting is different and the ink is a different tone and hue (see figure 6.13).

Asserting that the handwriting of the Benedictus insert belongs to Castellanos is problematic because Castellanos’ handwriting is inconsistent. Figure 6.12 shows the Benedictus and the instructions that were added. The inconsistencies in the calligraphy can be noted in figure 6.14 and are underlined in red. Note that the style of the letters “D” and “B” are different within the same page. Following is an inset showing the instructions to go from the Sanctus to the Benedictus and an aria signed by Castellanos (see figure 6.15). Although the handwriting is inconsistent, I believe it does belong to Castellanos; he appears as Scribe D in the table above.
Because of the haphazard nature of the way the Benedictus was notated certain editorial changes had to be made to the instrumental parts so that the rhythm would match the vocal parts. The Benedictus is not written out for the orchestra, only a repeat sign indicating to repeat the music of the Sanctus. These changes are recorded in the Critical Notes.

**Text**

In the mass and the incipits included in the catalog of Nebra’s works, texts have been modernized. The updated text leaves fewer questions of diction for performers. The original text is included in Appendix A and shows archaic spelling of the Latin. One such example is “Kirie eleison,” which has been changed to the standard, “Kyríe eleíson.” To leave it as in the original would likely leave questions for performers, such as whether the words should be pronounced differently from the standard. An example of the issue of inconsistent spelling is the Tenor of Choir I—within measures of each other Alberich uses the spelling “eleyson” and then “eleison” (see figure 6.18). The interchangeable use of “I” and “Y” suggests that the vowels are treated the same; however, changing the spelling to the modern standard simplifies this issue.

In addition to inconsistencies of spelling, syllabification and elisions are also inconsistent among the vocal parts. For discrepancies in these areas, it was necessary to choose certain parts that would be used as the source with the most integrity. The parts copied by Alberich were chosen to be the standard from which to draw these details because of Alberich’s relationship with and proximity to Nebra at the Royal Chapel in Madrid. His manuscripts are likely to be more accurate than those copied by the unknown scribes. The copy by Alberich is clean and is the most carefully crafted. Some of the other parts are severely faded making them hard to read (see figures 6.5 and 6.7). Even though Alberich’s work is clear, syllabification was less than detailed, which was normal among manuscripts from the era. In cases where not enough detail
was given, modern standards of syllabification are adhered to, and I strove for consistency among the vocal parts.

Elisions have also been made homogenous as much as possible throughout all of the movements and among the vocal parts. Alberich was careful to account for each syllable of each word in the text underlay of the voice parts that he wrote. Scribe C was not as concerned with accounting for each syllable (see figure 6.11 “Christe leyson”). In this case the elisions are implied but not explicitly notated. For the purposes of this edition, every syllable has been added and elisions have been clearly notated.

Reconstructions and Chant

There are instances where reconstructions were necessary because, when the manuscript was last bound, some notes became hidden within the binding of the booklets. These passages are included within large brackets in the score and are recorded in the Critical Notes.

Chant has been added to the opening of the Gloria and the Credo. These are merely suggestions and represent one possibility. The chants are taken from the Liber Usualis and have been included for the convenience of the performer.

Accidentals

In some instances it was necessary to add accidentals. Accidentals added by the editor are notated within brackets. In general accidentals have been added to agree with the figured bass, and also in cases where the vocal parts were in conflict. Courtesy accidentals have not been included in this edition.

Expressive Markings

Trills appear in the edition as they appear in the manuscript. This notation varies between ♯ and ♯♯. Dynamic markings in brackets have been added by the editor. Dynamic marks were
added in cases where the vocal and instrumental lines did not agree with each other or with the Continuo parts. Dynamics have also been added at the start of the mass to provide guidance for the performers. Finally, there are cases where a dynamic is indicated that is the same as the previous one marked. In these cases the editor has chosen a logical location to insert the contrasting dynamic. These instances are recorded in the Critical Notes. Slurs appear as they do in the manuscript. Dotted slurs are those added by the editor to indicate multiple notes on a single syllable and melismatic passages. Triplets have been bracketed throughout the score regardless of how they appear in the manuscript.

*Figured Bass*

The figured bass is notated as in the manuscript except when necessary to standardize the notation. Chord inversions often appear as a numeral with a superscript, i.e., $4^6$ rather than 6-4. These have been stacked and made uniform.

*Instrumental Parts*

The instrumental parts are clean and in readable condition. There is one part for Violin I and one for Violin II. There is also an Oboe part with the heading “Oboe unis. A8.” The unison marking implies it is intended for multiple Oboes. The Oboe part is not reflected in any of the titling of the work.

Another issue of this edition is the Clarino part. The covers on all vocal parts regardless of scribe, list “Missa a 8 con violines y clarín.” Because the title page wording is singular, I gathered that the work was written for one Clarino. The Clarino part has had the word “Oboe” added along with the word “o” meaning “or” (see figure 6.19). These parts this seem to indicate that the original set was for Oboe (one or multiple) and one Clarino, even though this contradicts the titling. In Guatemala, the work was likely performed with two Oboes, or Oboe and Clarino. It
is very clear in the original manuscript that the piece was written for violins and “clarín,” singular. The accompaniment part also lists “Accompto. A 8 con Vs y cln,” again singular not plural. This is listed not only on each cover, but also on the first page of each vocal and instrumental part. For this edition I have decided to title the score, Mass for Eight Voices in D major with Violins, Oboe, and Clarino to reflect the parts available. Because there are Oboe and Clarino parts included, I have set these instruments in the score, even though the Clarino part is given the option of being a second Oboe part.

**Performance considerations**

It is important for the interpreter of this mass to keep in mind that this music was not intended for performance in a concert setting; the purpose of this music was to be sung during mass. Other considerations include size of ensemble and performance space and venue. An awareness of eighteenth-century performance conventions is also helpful. One passage of particular interest is m. 45 of the Kyrie to the end of the movement. There are triplet figures in the instrumental accompaniment that dominate the texture. Orthographically this is set against dotted eighth-sixteenth note figures in the voices. This does not indicate rhythmic dissonance or a two against three feel as the notation visually implies, but to have the voices tripletize the dotted eighth-sixteenth note rhythm in order for the sixteenth notes to line up with the last eighth note of the triplet figures. To approach it as written would create an unstable sounding execution.

**Performance circumstances**

A mass of this nature likely would have been performed on special occasions, such as Feast Days. Given the performing forces on hand in Guatemala, the original instrumentation likely was adapted to suit local resources. It is probable that performances of this mass would have used Oboes, especially since there was a change on the manuscript part to give the option,
“or Oboe.” The cathedral acts lists payments to José María Curra as Oboist, which indicates that there was an Oboist working during the time that this mass was likely to have been in use in Guatemala.\textsuperscript{5} Two people were also playing Dulcian at the cathedral during this time.\textsuperscript{6} The Oboes with Dulcian on the Continuo part would have paired nicely. As these players are listed on the payroll they likely participated in the realization of performances of this mass.

Cathedral documents also list payments to high male singers suggesting that this mass was performed by an all-male chorus. The vocal parts likely were sung one to a part as eight men are listed in the cathedral chapter acts as singers.\textsuperscript{7} Castellanos involved choirboys in the musical activities of the cathedral in addition to adult males.\textsuperscript{8} The addition of the boy choir would have reinforced the adult choir. Musical performance for events like Christmas involved more musicians; in 1767 Castellanos was contracted to provide Christmas music for the Confradía de Jesús, for this project he employed ten boys and 18 adults.\textsuperscript{9} The violin parts likely were performed with one player per part as well. Vicente Sáenz and Jesús Estrada Aristondo are listed as violinists during Castellanos’ tenure.\textsuperscript{10}

The manuscript also suggests that there were adaptations made in performances. The instrumental parts and vocal parts include instructions that indicate to skip an instrumental interlude in the Gloria. There is a meter change to 3/4 at measure 70, the multi-measure rests in the vocal parts are all circled. In the Alto of Choir II part the section is circled with an instruction to not count those rests, “no se quenta,” (see figure 6.20). The Tenor of Choir II also has this direction, effectively creating a cut in the music. The instrumental parts also reflect this cut, in

\textsuperscript{6} Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{7} Lemmon, \textit{Guatemala}, 7.
\textsuperscript{9} Ibid., 53
\textsuperscript{10} Lemmon, \textit{Guatemala}, 7.
this case the parts indicate not to play the music between the symbols- *, “no se toca a la señal,” (see figures 6.21 and 6.22). It is probable that these types of adaptations were common at the cathedral.

Figure 6.1, AHAG MS 740, Soprano I of Choir I cover. Scribe A, Alberich.
Figure 6.2, AHAG MS 740, Soprano I of Choir I cover. Scribe A, Alberich.
Figure 6.3, AHAG MS 740, Soprano I of Choir I part, page 1. Scribe A, Alberich.

Figure 6.4, AHAG MS 740, Alto of Choir I, page 1. Scribe A, Alberich.
Figure 6.5, AHAG MS 740, Tenor of Choir I part, page 1. Scribe A, Alberich
Figure 6.6, AHAG MS 740, Soprano II of Choir I, cover. Scribe B, Unknown.
Figure 6.8, AHAG MS 740, Soprano of Choir II, page 1. Scribe B, Unknown.
Figure 6.9, AHAG MS 740, Bass of Choir II pages 1-2. Scribe B, Unknown.
Figure 6.10, AHAG MS 740, Alto of Choir II, page 1. Scribe C, Unknown.
Figure 6.11, AHAG MS 740, Tenor of Choir II page 1. Note the occurrences of Kirie leyson, and Christe leyson, first “e” of eleyson has been omitted in each case. The elision is implied.
Figure 6.12, AHAG MS 740, showing added Benedictus in what would have been a blank staff. Figure inset, instructions for the Benedictus. Scribe D, likely R.A. Castellanos.

Figure 6.13, AHAG MS 740, Violin 1 part, Sanctus (likely Scribe B) shows “y Benedictus” added by a different hand (likely R.A. Castellanos).
Figure 6.14, AHAG MS 740, R. A. Castellanos, inconsistency in notation of capital B and D.
Figure 6.15, AHAG, *Divino atlante* by R. A. Castellanos. Handwriting comparison.
Figure 6.16, AHAG, Inset of signed aria, *Divino atlante* by R.A. Castellanos. Note the letters written in “atlante” compared to Figure 6.17.

Figure 6.17, AHAG MS 740, Inset with directions indicating that the Benedictus is located after the Agnus Dei. Handwriting thought to be that of R.A. Castellanos.
Figure 6.18, AHAG MS 740, Tenor of Choir I shows inconsistency of the spelling of “eleison.” Scribe A, Alberich.

Figure 6.19, Divino atlante Clarino or Oboe part.
Figure 6.20, AHAG MS 740, Alto of Choir II. Rests circled and instruction to not count the rests added in Guatemala.

Figure 6.21, AHAG MS 740, Clarino, Gloria. Instruction showing not to play up to the ✡.
Figure 6.22, AHAG MS 740, Violin I, Gloria. Instruction indicating to cut the section between the symbols.
APPENDIX A

MASS FOR EIGHT VOICES IN D MAJOR

JOSÉ DE NEBRA BLASCO

TEXT AND TRANSLATIONS

Kyrie

Kyrie eleison.
Christe eleison.
Kyrie eleison.

Kyrie

Lord have mercy
Christ have mercy
Lord have mercy

Gloria

Gloria in excelsis Deo.
Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

Gloria

Glory to God in the highest. And on earth peace to people of good will.

Laudamus te, benedicimus te,
adoramus te, glorificamus te,
gratias agimus tibi propter
magnam gloriam tuam,

We praise you, we bless you, we adore you,
we glorify you,
we give you thanks for
your great glory,

Domine Deus, Rex caelestis,
Deus Pater omnipotens.
Domine Fili unigenite, Jesu Christe
Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris,
qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis;
qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe
deprecationem nostram.
Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis.

Lord God, heavenly King,
O God, almighty Father.
Lord Jesus Christ, Only Begotten Son,
Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father,
you take away the sins of the world, have
mercy on us; you take away the sins of the
world, receive our prayer.
You are seated at the right hand of the Father,
have mercy on us.

Quoniam tu solus Sanctus, tu solus
Dominus solus altissimus,
Jesu Christe, cum Sancto Spiritu,
in gloria Dei Patris.
Amen.

For you alone are the Holy One, you alone are
the Lord, you alone are the most high,
Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit,
in the glory of God the Father.
Amen.
Credo

Credo in unum Deum,
Patrem omnipotentem,
 factorem caeli et terrae,
visibilium omnium et invisibilium.
Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum,
Filium Dei unigenitum, et ex Patre natum
ante omnia saecula.
Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine
Deum verum Deo vero,
genitum, non factum, consubstantiale Patri;
per quem omnia facta sunt.
Qui propter nos homines,
et propter nostram salutem,
descendit de caelis.

Et incarnatus est
de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine,
et homo factus est.

Crucifixus etiam pro nobis
sub Pontio Pilato;
passus et sepultus est,
et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas,
et ascendit in caelum
sedet ad dexteram Patris.
Et iterum venturus est cum gloria
iudicare vivos et mortuos,
cuius regni non erit finis.

Et in Spiritum Sanctum,
Dominum et vivificantem;
qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.
Qui cum Patre et Filio
simul adoratur et conglorificatur;
qui locutus est per prophetas.

Et unam sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam
Ecclesiam.
Confiteor unum baptismum in remissionem
peccatorum.

Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum,
et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.

Credo

I believe in one God,
the Father almighty,
Maker of heaven and earth,
of all things visible and invisible.
And in one Lord Jesus Christ,
the Only Begotten Son of the God, born of the
Father before all ages.
God from God, Light from Light
tru God from true God,
begotten, not made, consubstantial with the
Father;
through him all things were made.
For us men and for our salvation he came down
from heaven.

And by the Holy Spirit was incarnate of of the
Virgin Mary,
and became man.

For our salvation he was crucified under
Pontius Pilate, he suffered death and was
buried, and rose again on the third day in
accordance with the Scriptures. He ascended
into heaven and is seated at the right hand of
the Father.
He will come again in glory to judge the living
and the dead and his kingdom will have no
end.

And in the Holy Spirit,
the Lord, the giver of life;
who proceeds from the Father and the Son.
Who with the Father and the Son
is adored and glorified,
who has spoken through the prophets.

And one, holy, catholic and apostolic
Church.
I confess one baptism for the forgiveness of
sins.

And I look forward to the resurrection of the
dead and the life of the word to come. Amen.
Sanctus

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus,  
Dominus Deus Sabaoth.  
Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua.  
Osanna in excelsis.

Benedictus qui venit  
in nomine Domini.  
Osanna in excelsis.

Agnus Dei

Agnus Dei,  
qui tollis peccata mundi,  
miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei,  
qui tollis peccata mundi,  
miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei,  
qui tollis peccata mundi,  
dona nobis pacem.

Sanctus

Holy, Holy, Holy  
Lord God of hosts.  
Heaven and earth are full of your glory.  
Hosanna in the highest.

Blessed is he who comes in the name  
Of the Lord.  
Hosanna in the Highest.

Agnus Dei

Lamb of God,  
who takes away the sins of the world,  
have mercy on us.

Lamb of God,  
who takes away the sins of the world,  
have mercy on us.

Lamb of God  
who takes away the sins of the world,  
grant us peace.
Included below is the text as it appears in the manuscript as written by Bernardo Alberich. Alberich did not copy any of the parts for Choir II. There are cases where certain text is not sung by Choir I; in those cases the parts written by Scribe C were used. (See Table 1 in the Critical Report, Chapter 5)

**Kyrie**

Kirie eleyson  
Christe eleyson  
Kirie eleyson

**Gloria**

Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis.  
Laudamus te. Benedictimus te.  
Adoramus te. Glorificamus te.  

Gratias agimus tibi  
propter magnam gloriam tuam.  

Domine Deus, Rex celestis,  
Deus Pater omnipotens

Domine filli unigenite, Jesu Christe  
Domine Deus, Agnus Dei,  
Fillius Patris.

Qui tollis peccata mundi,  
miserere nobis.  
Qui tollis peccata mundi,  
suscipe deprecationem nostram.  

Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris,  
miserere nobis  
Quoniam tu solus Sanctus.  
Tu solus Dominus.
Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe.

Cum sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris
Amen.

Credo

Patrem omnipotem
factorem celi et terre,
visibilium omnium et invisibilium.

Et in unum Dominum
Jesum Christum
Filium Dei unigenitum,
et ex patre natum ante omnium secula

Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine,
Deum verum de Deo vero.
Genitum, non factum,
consubstantialem Patri,
per quem omnia facta sunt.
Qui propter nos homines
et propter nostram
salutem descendit de celis

Et in carnatus est de Spiritu Sancto
ex Maria virgine
Et homo factus est

Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato
passus, et sepultus est.

Et resurrexit tertia die
secundum scripturas.
Et ascendit in celum
sedet ad dexteram Patris
Et iterum venturus est
cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos
Cuius regni non erit finis.

Et in spiritum sanctum Dominum
et vivificantem
Qui ex Patre, filioque procedit.
Qui cum Patre, et fillio simul adoratur
et conglorificatur
Qui locutus est per Prophetas
Et unam sanctam catholicam et Apostholicam Ecclesiam
Confiteor unam Baptisma
in remisionem peccatorum.
Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum
et vitam venturi seculi.
Amen.

Sanctus

Sanctus Sanctus, Sanctus,
Dominus Deus sabaoth.
Pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua.
Ossanna in excelsis.

Benedictus (text not copied by Alberich)

Bendictus qui venit
in nomine Domini.
Ossanna in excelsis.

Agnus Dei

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
miserere nobis

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
dona nobis pacem
This catalogue is a listing of pieces by Nebra held at the Archivo Histórico Arquidiocesano de Guatemala (AHAG). The catalogue augments the list prepared by Robert Stevenson in 1966. Stevenson’s listing contains thirteen works by Nebra, this list includes twenty-eight, an additional fifteen works. One work listed in the Stevenson text, Ecce enim veritatem dilexisti is listed as a movement selected from the Miserere a duo. The Miserere a duo was not available when I reviewed the works of Nebra in Guatemala. The Misereres by Nebra warrant an in depth-study on their own given that the extant Misereres by Nebra held in Spanish archives have been of much interest to Hispanic musicologists. Stevenson’s catalogue, Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas has been a valuable tool, but is limited by the fact that it does not include incipits of the pieces listed. Incipits have been included here using the catalogue of Nebra’s work included in Álvarez as a model. The catalogue of works at Durango Cathedral by Drew Davies has also been used as a model.

These pieces point to the rich repertoire performed at the Cathedral of Santiago de los Caballeros in Guatemala during the second half of the eighteenth century. They were acquired through the work of Quiróz and later Castellanos, noted by some of the manuscripts having been copied by each of them.

The works are ordered according to manuscript number. There are some gaps in the numbering. Archaic spellings have been modernized except in the cases of the titles for ease in searching these works in the archive itself. Any changes to titles are noted in the footnotes. Incipits include the first music written in a particular work making a point to include the opening melody and the voice. Recitatives include the voice only.

1. Cuando el Maná
   Cantata, 1734; incomplete. A major- G minor, with Violins and Oboe.
   “Quando el Maná” “Cant. al ssmo. 1734.”

S: (recitative)

\[\text{Cuando el Maná llo-vía el có-fi-ro la tie-rra pre-par-ra-rá y así su fi-no albo do nde ca-}\]

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1 Maria Salud Álvarez Martínez, José de Nebra Blasco: vida y obra (Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando el Católico,” 1993).

2 Drew Edward Davies, Catálogo de la Colección de Música del Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Durango (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas UNAM and ADABI, 2014).
S: (aria)  
*Aria Alegre no Viva*

Vl. 1: (aria)  
*Aria Alegre no Viva*

S: (recitative)³  

S: (aria)⁴  
*Aria Viva*

Vl.1: (aria)  
*Aria Alegre y Viva*

³ “Recibir” appears as “recivir” in the manuscript. For the purposes of this catalogue spellings have been modernized.

⁴ There is a variation in the tempo marking between the Soprano and Violin parts.
2. **Miserere**

   **Miserere**  

   **S.1:**  
   Andante

   **Ms. 728**

   

3. **Presenta la Batalla** D major  

   **Aria; incomplete.** “Con violins, oboes, clarines, y timbales. Jph. Nebra, Sra Catuja.” Violin, and drums. No Violin 2, no Clarino or Oboe, and no voice part.

   **Ms. 729**

   

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5 When I initially reviewed this manuscript there was a loose Violin part marked 728, the rest of this manuscript did not have a catalogue number and was located apart from the loose Violin part. These sheets that were filed separately are actually components of the same piece.

   A **Miserere mei** matching this incipit is listed in Álvarez, but the AHAG is not listed as one of the archives where the work can be found. This is probably due to the fact that the bulk of the work was not filed together. The catalogue lists 1750 as the original composition date, and states that the work was abridged in 1761. The 1761 date matches the date listed on the manuscript in Guatemala City.

   This manuscript can also be found in three archives in addition to the AHAG, APR under Leg. 1557, nos. 897 and 889; the Cat. Cuenca under XXVI, no 2; and the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris under D-9515, see catalogue prepared by Álvarez in Maria Salud Álvarez Martínez, *José de Nebra Blasco: vida y obra* (Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando el Católico,” 1993).
4. *Volad suspiros*\(^6\)

Aria. D minor.

S:

\[\text{Vivo}\]

\[\text{Vo-lad su-spi - ros pues hoy mi, a - ma-do se - me a au - sen - ta-do}\]

\[\text{Vl.1:} \text{Vivo}\]

\[\text{Ya rasga la esfera}\]

5. *Ya rasga la esfera*

Aria. Bb major.
“Aria a nra. Señora, Con Violines y Clarines pospuestos y no Obligados, “Ya rasga la Esfera,” Por Dn. Jph. Nebra, Clarines por Raphael Antonio Castellanos.”\(^8\) “fue a Ciudad Real.”\(^9\)


S: (aria)

\[\text{Aria Alegre}\]

\[\text{Ya ras-ga la es-fe-ra fla-man-te va}\]

---


\(^7\) This is noted on the modern file folder containing the manuscript.

\(^8\) The manuscript was likely copied by R.A. Castellanos. The handwriting and signature match manuscripts written by Castellanos. See figures C.1, C.3, and C.4. Figures C.4 and C.5 show Castellanos’ signature on his aria, *Divino atlante*. In addition to the signature, the hue of the ink appears to be the same, also pointing to a local copyist and local production of this manuscript rather than it being imported from Spain.

\(^9\) Indicating that the original went to Ciudad Real, present day San Cristobal de Las Casas in Chiapas, Mexico. See figure C.2. This is another aspect that points to the manuscript being locally produced given the necessity of preserving a copy after sending the original away.
6. *Grave en mi pecho*  
Aria. D major.  
“Aria con violines al Sagrado nombre de María, Grave en mi pecho. De Dn. Joseph Nebra.” “Tiene letra humana.” “copia Quiróz.” Violins I and II, Accompaniment, and Voice. Included in the parts is a Violin part that has been transposed up a fifth possibly for a Piccolo Violin. There is no recitative included.

S:

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\[\text{Incipit Soprano}\]
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Grave en mi pecho tu nombre Santo el que te ha hecho
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Vl.1:

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\[\text{Incipit Violin I}\]
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7. *Entre candidos bellos accidentes*  
Cantata consisting of two arias, E minor and G major.  
“Cantada Sola al Santissimo con Violines, Dos Arias,  
1. Al tierno esposo amante. 2. Del piélago violento.  

---

10 Unlike the Soprano part, there is no tempo specified.  
11 This is notated on the file folder. All of the parts appear to have been copied by Quiróz.  
12 Titled according to the recitative. It may also be listed as *Al tierno esposo amante*.  
13 According to Angulo-Díaz, this is the only cantata held at the AHAG that was created by a local copyist, in this case Manuel José de Quiróz. See Raul Angulo-Díaz, *José de Nebra: Cantadas* (Asturias: Ars Hispana, Fundación Gustavo Bueno, 2011), 14.  
14 The cover of the manuscript also credits Quiróz, see figure C.6.  
15 Listed as two separate arias rather than one cantata with two arias in Stevenson. Given that both arias are listed on the title page of a single set of parts, I have chosen to classify this as one work. The work is mistakenly listed as “Del prelago violento” in Stevenson rather than “Del piélago violento” as in “from the violent depths.”
S: (recitative)\(^{15}\)

En-tre cán-di-dos be-llos ac-ci-den-tes quien has-ta el fin amó se oculta

S: (aria)

Al tier-no, es-po-so A-man-te tu pecho en armado, tu

S: (recitative 2)

Del mar del mun-do hor ri-ble y al-te-ra-do Iris es a-pa-ci-ble y fa-vor-able que quian-do á un con-

S: (aria 2)

Andante

Del pié-la-go vi-o-len-to no te mas la tor-men-ta, no te-mas la tor-men-ta

V1.1: (aria 2)

\(^{15}\) Angulo-Díaz lists the text as “entre cándidos, bellos accidentes, quien hasta el fin amó se muestra fino, que a salud siendo a las gentes, que a comer llegan…” “Muestra” should read, “se oculta,” as the two words are elided so they appear to be one word. See figures C.7-C.8.
8. *Las Granaderas*\(^{16}\)

Ms. 737

Bailete G major for four voices

“Bayleyte con Violines, y Trompas, Intitulado: Las Granaderas, Por Dn. Joseph Nebra, Navidad.”

“Se trobó el principio y secundo el de 1750, Navidad.”\(^{17}\)

S, S, S, T, Vl.1, Vl.2, Tpt.1, Tpt.2, B.C.

---

S.1: (bailete)

\[\text{\frac{\text{\textbf{\textcolor{black}{5}}}}{\text{\textbf{\textcolor{black}{5}}}}\text{\textbf{\textcolor{black}{5}}}}\]

Pues nuestros maridos distantes se miran

---

Vl.1: (bailete)

---

S.1: (seguidilla)

---

Vl.1: (seguidilla)

---

S.1: (marcia)

---

*Tacet*

---

Vl.1: (marcia)

---

\(\text{\textbf{\textcolor{black}{Andante}}}\)

---

\(^{16}\) This work can also be found at archive at the Monastery of El Escorial under catalogue number 1234, and at the Biblioteca Municipal in Madrid under call number M-68/29. See Álvarez, *Nebra*, 95.

\(^{17}\) Like *Al tierno esposo amante*, *Las Granaderas* appears to have been copied by Quiroz. See figure C.9.
S.1: (duo)

Vl.1: (duo)\(^{18}\)

S.1: (tonadilla)

S.1: (seguido)

Vl.1: (tonadilla)

Vl.1: (seguido)

9.  

_Pues el Sol Divino nacido se mira_  

Ms. 738  

Bailete D major  


Dia de Pascua 85, 1750”

---

\(^{18}\) \(8^{ob}\) section was originally notated in viola clef on the manuscript, presumably to avoid ledger lines.
T.1: (introducción)

**Intro-Solo**

con la aclamación dios da bes-ти-das con mil pri-

S.1: (estribillo)

Pues el sol di-vi-no na-ci-do se mira

Vl.1: (estribillo)

Des-a-fi-an las flores luzes y astros luzes y astros

S.1: (seguidillas)

Suenen resuenen las vo-zes mar-cia-les

Vl.1: (seguidilla)

10. **Suenen resuenen**  
Villancico G major  
“Villancico a 4 Con Violines y Clarín. Ala Concepción de  
nra. Señora. Suenen resuenen. Dn Joseph Nebra. año de  
1762.” “Maytines año de 1778.”  

S.1 (estribillo)
11. *Vamosle buscando*  
Juguete G major  
2 Noctorno, Vamosle buscando.” “copia R. A. Castellanos.”  
Violins I and II, Oboe, Continuo, Sopranos I and II, Tenor.

S.1:

Vl.1:

12. *Que contrario señor*  
Cantata  

S.1: (recitativo)

---

19 This is notated on the file folder.
S.1: (aria)²⁰

Aria Cantabile

Vl.1: (aria)

Aria Cantabile

S.1: (recitative)²¹

S.1: (aria)

Aria Alegre

13. Missa a 8 (Mass for 8 voices in D major) Ms. 740

Mass D major²²

Fourteen individual parts. All vocal parts list title as, “Missa a 8 con Viols. y Clarín.” Included in the fourteen parts, is one part for Oboe, and one part for “Oboe, or Clarín.” Violins I and II, 2 Oboe or Clarín parts, and Continuo. Voices separated into two choirs; Choir I, Sopranos I and II Alto, and Tenor, Choir II, Soprano, Alto Tenor, Bass. D major.

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²⁰ “Convida,” meaning “to invite,” appears as “combida” in the manuscript.
²¹ In the manuscript “deje” appears as “dexe,” and “descuido” appears as “descuydo.”
²² See score included in this dissertation for notated music.
14. *Al que en solio de rayos*\(^{23}\)  
Villancico G major  
“Villancico General a 8 con Violines y Trompas. Al que en solio de.”  
Oboes I and II, Trumpets I and II, Violins I and II, and Continuo (two copies included). Voices separated into two choirs; Choir I, Sopranos I and II, Alto, Tenor, Choir II, Soprano (two copies), Alto (two copies), Tenor (two copies), Bass (two copies).

S.1:  
\[\text{Al que en solio de rayos} \quad \text{es plenos ciñe}\]

Vl.1:  
\[\text{Al que en solio de rayos ciñe}\]

15. *Alienta Fervorosa*  
Cantata  
Voice, Oboe, Violins I and II, Harp, Organ. There is a dedication on the cover page, para Jeronimo. The last name is not legible, but appears to start with a “B.”

S: (recitative)  
\[\text{Alienta fervorosa} \quad \text{alma si quier res gra cia su fi cien te} \quad \text{para volar al cielo que te es}\]

S: (aria)  
\[\text{Aria Allegro}\]

\[\text{Vue - - - - - la}\]

\(^{23}\) A villancico by this title is also conserved at the Durango Cathedral in Mexico. A work by the same title and in the same key is listed in Davies, however the incipit is different. It is possible that the works are different but incorporate the same text. Álvarez lists the work as the same, but further investigation would be needed to confirm that. Given that the opening of the music is so different, including the time signature, it could be a different work entirely. See Drew Davies, *Catálogo*, 381.
Vl.1: (aria)

**Aria Allegro**

S: (recitative)

En su mesa divina se ofrece a mor gra-cia y consuelo que

S: (aria)

**Aria Viva**

Ven ven ven del Líbano ven espasa ve-lla re-cibe el pa-ra

Vl.1: (aria)

**Aria Viva**

16. **Sonoras liras festivas trompas**

Villancico D major

“Responsión general a 8” Oboe, Clarin, Violin I, Violin II (two copies), Continuo (two copies). Voices separated into two choirs; Choir I, Soprano I and II, Alto, Tenor, Choir II, Soprano (two copies), Alto (two copies), Tenor (two copies), Bass (two copies). Duplicate parts marked, “Dup”

S.1:²⁴

**Estribillo arioso**

So-no-ras li ras fes-ti-vas trom pas

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²⁴ Both the Soprano and Violin parts read “ayroso.”

Ms. 743
The form of the villancico is in the typical layout, estribillo with 5 coplas, or a refrain with 5 verses.

17. **Robustas Trompas**  
Ms. 744  
“Responsión general A 8, copia Quiroz, con violines y clarines, Robustas trompas.” Clarinos I and 2, Violins I and II (two copies each), Continuo, Accompaniment a 8. Voices separated into two choirs; Choir I, Sopranos I and II, Alto, Tenor, Choir II, Soprano, Alto Tenor, Bass (two copies). Duplicate parts marked, “Dup”

S.1:

18. **Rompan Los Vagos**  
Ms. 745  
“Cantada C major  
De Nebra.” “88. 99” Sopranos I and II, Aria a duo, alto, tenor. Violins I and II, Accompaniment, Organ. Print on cover is in red and black ink, which is unique among the scores held at the AHAG.

S.1: (estribillo)
V.1: (estribillo)

S.1: (coplas)

S.1: (recitativo)

Vl.1: (coplas)

S.1: (recitativo)

Tacet

S.1: (aria a due)

Vl.1: (aria a due)
19. **Para un triunfo q el orbe festeja**

Villancico D major


Violin I (two copies), Violin II, continuo, organ. Voices separated into two choirs; Choir I, Sopranos I and II, Alto, Tenor, Choir II, Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass (two copies).

**S.1**

![Score](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

**Vl.1:**

para un triunfo que el orbe festeja alegre

20. **Salve regina**

Salve regina for eight voices C minor


**S.1**

![Score](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

**Vl.1:**

Salve Regi________________________ na Sal

21. **Dulzura espiritual**

Cantata C minor- Eb major


**Ms. 747**

**Ms. 748**

**Ms. 749**

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25 The Scribe appears to be Bernardo Alberich (Listed as Scribe A in Chapter 3).
S.1: (recitative)

Aria Grave

Ay que dulce es la pena de un Alma

S.1: (aria)

Dulzura espiritual s.1 recit incipit part 1

Dulzura espiritual s.1 part 2 aria

Dulzura espiritual s.1 part 3 recit

Dulzura espiritual vl.1 part 2 aria

Dulzura espiritual vl.1 part 4

S.1: (recitative)

Dicho a quel afecto que gustar las dulces aguas per-

S.1: (aria)

Lleve entera confianza a las aras de tu Amor

VI.1: (recitative)

Tacet

S.1: (aria)

Lleve entera confianza a las aras de tu Amor
22. *El celeste combite*\(^2^6\)
Ms. 750
Quartet F major
“Cuatro al Ssmo. con violines, El celeste combite.” “Nebra 1743.”

S.1:  

\[\text{El celeste convite que Dios dispone para el hombre hace}\]

Vl.1:  

\[\text{El celeste convite}\]

23. Miserere  
Ms. 751
Miserere C major
“Miserere, a4 y a8, Nebra, 1743.”
Violins I and II (two copies each), Accompaniment (three copies, one with figures). Voices separated into two choirs; Choir I, Sopranos I and II, Alto, Tenor, Choir II, Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass
Movements:
Miserere
Et secoolum (canto llano)
Amplnis
Quoniam
Tibi soli
Ecce enim
Asperges me
Auditui mei
Averta faciem (canto llano)
Neproycias
Libera me
Quoniam
Sacrificium (canto llano)
Gloria

\(^{26}\) “Combite” is an archaic spelling of “convite,” a feast or banquet. In this case the title means, “the heavens feast,” or “celebrate.”
24. **Bello Pastor**

Cantata E minor

“Cantada al Santissimo, Para contralto con violines y oboe, Bello Pastor.”

Violins I and II, Continuo (two copies), voice. Oboe part is missing.

A: (recitative)

A: (aria)

Vl.1 (aria)

25. **Con jubilo en el orbe**

Villancico Bb major

“Responsion general a8 y cop. a Nra. Señora con violines. Con Jubilo en el orbe.” Violin I, Violin II (two copies), Continuo (two copies).

Voices separated into two choirs; Choir I, Sopranos I and II, Alto, Tenor, Choir II, Soprano (two copies), Alto, Tenor (two copies), Bass (two copies).

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27 Appears to be in the same hand as some of the movements in the mass. Handwriting is addressed in the Critical Report (Chapter 5).
This villancico includes an estribillo and four coplas, or a refrain and four verses

26. *Canten acordes con ecos suaves*  
Villancico D major  
“Villancico al SS\(^m\)o. a cuatro con Viol\(^5\) y Clarín, De D\(^9\) Joseph de Nebra, Año de 1762.” “Canten acordes con ecos suaves.” “Ala concep\(^b\) de nra. S\(^r\)a y al Espíritu Santo.” “fue a Santiago Nunualco.”\(^n\) The copy is in the hand Raphael Antonio Castellanos. Notation on the scores mentions that work was performed in 1778 at the Altar de Corpo. Violins I and II, Bass, Soprano (two copies), Alto (two copies), Tenor (two copies), Bass (two copies).

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\(^{28}\) Both the Soprano and Violin parts read “ayroso.”

\(^{29}\) Indicating that the original copy went to Santiago Nunualco, which is in present-day El Salvador.
27. **Venid almas creyentes**  
*Ms. 756*

Cantata F major-D major


A: (recitative)

A: (aria)

Vl.1: (aria)

A: (recitative)

A: (aria)

Vl.1 (aria)
Llegad, llegad creyentes
Cantata Bb major

S: (recitative)\(^{31}\)

**Aria Cantabile**

Vl.1 (aria)

**Aria Cantabile**

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\(^{31}\)“Saciar” and “vuestra” appear as “saziar” and “buestra” in the manuscript.
Figure C.1, AHAG MS 751, *Ya rasga la esfera*. Aria by José de Nebra. Clarino part by R. A. Castellanos.
Figure C.2, Detail of Figure C.1, “Fue a Ciudad Real” indicating that the original manuscript was sent to Ciudad Real, present day San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico.

Figure C.3, Detail of Figure C.1, Example of R. A. Castellanos signature. “Clarines por Raphael,” indicating that clarino parts were written by R. A. Castellanos.
Figure C.4, AHAG. Aria by R. A. Castellanos, Divino Atlante.

See detail, Figure C.5

Figure C.5, Detail of Figure C.4, example of R. A. Castellanos signature.
Figure C.6, AHAG MS 734. Cantata consisting of two arias, *Al tierno esposo amante* and *Del pielago violento* by José de Nebra.
Figure C.7, AHAG MS 734.

Figure C.8, Detail of Figure C.7, AHAG MS 734.
Figure C.9, AHAG MS 732. *Las Granaderas* by José de Nebra.


Nebra Blasco, José de. Missa a 8. Archivo Histórico Arquidiocesano de Guatemala, MS 740.


