In 1710 the deteriorating eyesight of chapelmaster Antonio de Salazar necessitated that he find an assistant to help with his musical obligations and teaching duties at the Mexico City Cathedral and the Public School (Escoleta Pública). Overriding a seniority system that would have placed Francisco de Atienza y Pineda as his right-hand man, Salazar chose as his assistant his own aspiring pupil, Manuel de Sumaya.¹ Instead of

¹ I would like to express my deepest thanks to Robert Snow for having sent me facsimiles of the pieces discussed in this article years ago when I first developed an interest in Sumaya and his music. I am indebted to his profound generosity and tireless encouragement.


Recently, the Peruvian scholar Aurelio Tello has added important new findings regarding Sumaya and his output. Consult Tello’s: Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Oaxaca: Catálogo, Serie Catálogos I (Mexico City: Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información Musical [CENIDIM], 1990); Intro. to Manuel de Sumaya, Cantadas y Villancicos de Manuel de Sumaya, rev., ed. & trans. by Aurelio Tello, Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Oaxaca III, Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México

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looking to past service (Atienza having served as Salazar's aid in 1703) Salazar used merit and potential as the salient criteria for his decision, and it proved to be a wise one. For the next half-century, Sumaya composed some of the most magnificent gems of the New World, inspired works that rival in subtlety, splendor and compositional craft those of his better known European contemporaries.

The adolescent Sumaya first appears in the Cathedral records in a document dated 25 May, 1694, in which the Cathedral Chapter arranges for the youngster to study organ privately with the Cathedral's Principal Organist, José de Ydíáquez, and composition with the chapelmaster, Antonio de Salazar. He is identified as a recent graduate of the choirboys (the resident child singers known as los Seises). They praise his musical talents that had been amply demonstrated ever since he entered the service of the Cathedral (probably around 1690 as a boy of ten to twelve years in age) and gladly award him a stipend of 30 pesos for clothing. The first row between Sumaya and his older but less talented rival, Francisco de Atienza, occurs in February 1710 when Atienza protests Sumaya's selection as assistant to the chapelmaster Salazar. Atienza had established himself in the number-three slot back in 1695 with only Salazar and principal organist Ydíáquez outranking him. He also had garnered some experience serving as Salazar's assistant in 1703. Robert Stevenson and Steven Barwick have suggested that Sumaya may have journeyed to Italy in that year, thus explaining why Salazar settled for a lesser talent in Atienza—necessitated by Sumaya's absence—and why Sumaya showed such intimate familiarity with the fads of European musical taste even as a lad. One can imagine the slight, then, when Atienza was skipped over in preference for a "mere" choirboy. Immediately, Sumaya proved himself worthy as the two consummate artists—Salazar and Sumaya—collaborated on at least three Latin himnos or motets in which the teacher Salazar composed the *prima pars* and left the task of composing the subsequent and concluding *secunda pars* to his pupil Sumaya. They are exquisite four-voice pieces in a pseudo-Renaissance

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VII (Mexico City: CENIDIM, 1994); and his intro. & commentary to *Tres Obras de la Catedral de Oaxaca, Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México III* (Mexico City: CENIDIM, 1983).

A third scholar, Julio Estrada, has contributed significantly to our knowledge of Sumaya. Consult his *Música y músicos de la época virreinal*, orlogue, revision & notes by Andrés Lira (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1973), esp. pp. 102-21.


2 There are three motets in Choirbook VI in the Museo Virreinal de Tepotzotlán near Mexico City that identify Salazar as the composer of the *prima pars* and Sumaya as the composer of the *secunda pars*. They are: *Egregie Doctor Paule* (ff. 3'-6); *Christe Sanctorum decus* (ff. 6'-7); and *Miris modis repel11e liber*, (ff. 12'-14). Although *Iesu dulcis memoria* (ff. 1'-3) does not have a specific ascription for the *prima pars*, it does label the composer of the *secunda pars* as Sumaya. Given the location of this piece in the section in Choirbook VI of jointly authored motets—and given that the ascription to Sumaya only occurs halfway through the piece rather than at its beginning—it is likely that Salazar is the composer of the *prima pars*, making this a fourth jointly-authored composition.
Manuel de Sumaya

style. It can be safely assumed that the exquisite a cappella vocal settings authored entirely by Sumaya and recorded in the 1717 choirbooks now housed at Tepotzotlán date from this decade when Sumaya was under the tutelage of Salazar's artistic pedagogy. With the appointment of the new viceroy (Don Fernando de Alencastre Noroña y Silva, Duke of Linares) in 1711, Sumaya was presented with the opportunity to write an opera to be performed in the Viceroy's palace on 1 May, 1711. This early date gives Sumaya the honor of being the first native-born American to have composed an opera. The Italian text was written by Silvio Stampiglia, but the published libretto is bilingual (Italian and Castilian), and given Sumaya's demonstrated skills as a libretto translator, we might assume that this translation was his doing as well. Unfortunately, the opera score is lost.

Sumaya continued to pile up distinctions. In 1714 he was promoted from second organist at the Cathedral—a position which he had held since 1708—to principal organist. His ascent in the Cathedral's hierarchy culminated in his appointment as chapelmaster in 1715. The eyesight of his mentor Salazar had degenerated to the extent that near-blindness compelled the elder master to relinquish his post. The Cathedral Chapter announced a competition to determine his successor, and once again the two principal applicants were Sumaya and his arch-rival Atienza. Thrust into the public arena of musical combat, the two competed against each other.

Arioso Deus all of the cited compositions are for four voices distributed SATB. I list here the Sumaya works in these choirbooks using the pagination supplied by Stevenson (pagination that disagrees somewhat with that used by Barwick); an asterisk indicates the work is published by Barwick and an ampersand indicates the work is available from Russell Editions. Book IV: Adiuva nos Deus (ff. 1v-4) &; Miserere mei* (ff. 4v-12); De lamentatione* & (ff. 22v-33); Christus factus est* [no ascription but probably by Sumaya] (ff. 33v-35); and another Miserere mei* & (ff. 35v-45). Book VI contains the works jointly authored by Salazar and Sumaya mentioned in the previous footnote as well as the following works composed entirely by Sumaya: Maximus Redemptor (ff. 10v-11); Nobis summa Trias (ff. 14v-15); Christum Regem* (ff. 15v-16); Sacris Solemnis* (ff. 16v-17); Laudemus Deum nostrum (ff. 17v-18); Aeterna Christi munera " & (ff. 18v-20); Alma Redemptoris Mater & (ff. 20v-22); and an incomplete Ave Regina caelorum & (ff. 24v-26v).

Barwick's edition includes the following additional pieces by Sumaya not mentioned in Stevenson's catalogue that he states also are drawn from Book VI: Magnificat primi toni; Magnificat secundi toni; Magnificat terti toni; Confitebor Tibi Domine; Credidi propter quod locutus sum. There also are important sources of a cappella music in the Music Archives of the Oaxaca Cathedral, all of which are catalogued by Aurelio Tello in his Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Oaxaca: Catálogo. They are for expanded choral resources, and it is unclear as to whether they were composed during Sumaya's tenure at Mexico City or were later works that he composed after his move to Oaxaca. The Oaxaca sources include: Lauda Sion Salvatoren a7 (Caja 49.25); Clausulas de la Passion de Musica, Miercoles: Santo a4 (Caja 49.26); Lauda Jerusalem a8 (Caja 49.27); Victimae Paschali Laudes a7 (Caja 49.30); Dixit Dominus a8 (Caja 49.34); and Laudate Dominum a8 (Caja 49.35).
other for several days in exams that probed their abilities, knowledge,
and expertise in nearly every area of music. The contest officially began
on May 27; on June 3—in one of their most demanding trials—each ap­
plicant was presented with a villancico text and asked to set it to music.
This was a standard exam of the time, and we can safely assume that
they were given the customary time limit of twenty-four hours for the
work's completion. Sumaya dashed off the jaunty and imaginative Sol­
fa de Pedro for four voices and continuo and summarily was acclaimed
the victor on June 7. The Chapter awarded him the post of chapelmaster
with an annual salary of 500 pesos for his duties in the Cathedral and an
additional 200 pesos for teaching daily at the Public School.

Musical life at the Cathedral flourished under his directorship. One
of his earliest acts was to have the scribe Simón Rodriguez de Guzmán
copy out the large choirbooks now housed at the Museo del Virreinato in
Tepoztlotán. Sahagún informs us in his entries in the Gacetas de México
that Sumaya was actively composing vespers and matins services for San
Pedro (1728), the Resurrection (1730), the Assumption (1730), and ex­
tensive vespers services for the Congregation of the Oratory (1731, 1732,
1733) during their spectacular festivities each October. He expanded the
size of the Cathedral substantially in 1734 hiring many more string play­
ers, and adding violins, cellos, basses, trumpets, and other instruments
again in 1736. The Holy Office mounted magnificent spectacles each
September for their patron saint, San Pedro Arbues, and in the mid-1730s
Sumaya continued the long tradition of Cathedral chapelmasters who
composed, rehearsed and performed with the cathedral choir for the oc­
casion.

5 The records for the contest between Sumaya and Atienza had been misplaced or lost as
early as 1750, for during the subsequent contest for chapelmaster in 1750 there was a
written request for the details of the Sumaya and Atienza battle—and they were nowhere
to be found. Nevertheless, such contests were commonplace, and there is no reason to
believe that procedures were substantially different in this specific instance. For a discus­
sion of this competition and the general exam process for determining the selection of a
chapelmaster, consult Estrada, Música y músicos de la época virreinal, pp. 55, 65, 109-14. Also, invaluable information is found in Stevenson, Renaissance and Baroque
Musical Sources in the Americas, pp. 105, and his "La música en el México de los siglos
XVI a XVIII," p. 67.
6 Estrada, Música y músicos de la época virreinal, p. 112-13.
7 Gacetas de México: Castorena y Ursua (1722)—Sahagún y Arévalo (1728 a 1742), intro­
8 See Robert Stevenson, "Manuscritos de Música Colonial Mexicana en el Extranjero,"
part 1 Heterofonia V/25 (July-Aug., 1972), p. 5; Robert Stevenson, "Mexican Baroque
Polyphony in Foreign Libraries," Inter-American Music Review IX/1 (Fall-Winter, 1987),
p. 61; and Estrada, Música y músicos de la época virreinal, p. 116
9 Consult my article, "Rowdy Musicians, Confraternities and the Inquisition: Newly Dis­
covered Documents Concerning Musical Life in Baroque Mexico," a paper delivered at
de la Nación preserves the documents related to the festival of San Arbues. Sumaya signs
the receipts for having received 20 pesos in conjunction with this festival for the years
1733, 1734, 1736, and 1737. For the one intervening year of 1735, Francisco de Castillo
This productive era in Mexico City came to an end when Sumaya moved to the provincial city of Oaxaca in 1739 to follow his close friend Tomás de Montaño who was consecrated Bishop of Oaxaca on 5 September, 1738. The modern Peruvian scholar Aurelio Tello has done extensive research on this last important epoch in Sumaya’s life and published his findings in several lucid and notable publications. In spite of the protestations and supplications by the Mexico City authorities for Sumaya to return, he remained in Oaxaca until his death on 21 December, 1755.

**SUMAYA’S EARLY COMPOSITIONS**

Sumaya’s place in history would be assured, if for no other reason, because he has the distinction of being the first American to compose an opera. His craftsmanship and aesthetic sensibilities, however, reveal that he deserves attention as well for his creative and artistic brilliance. A perusal of his early works reveals a highly original artist with daring melodic gestures, a distinctive sense of harmony, and carefully planned architectural formal structures.

He is particularly fond of introducing the soprano line in the stratosphere soaring high above the other sonorities. In *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, for example, the soprano makes its second entrance by floating in an octave above the other sounding voices with the words “qua periva caeli” (m. 7) and the contrary motion of their melodies momentarily propels them even farther apart. The daring separation of sonorities is even more pronounced in the *secunda pars* where the soprano first enters an octave and a fourth above the other voices (m. 30)! *Aeterna Christi munera* similarly spotlights the soprano’s entrances in the mid-points of both the *prima* and *secunda pars* (mm. 8 & 33) by layering them above low sonic foundations. In an equally bold move in his five-voice *Adjuva nos Deus* (Example 1 below), Sumaya inserts the first soprano on a high g against an f in the second soprano that has been tied over from the previous measure. A crunching 2-3 suspension results, but not by the customary rules of preparation—but instead, the first soprano has launched into the texture with a compelling dissonance that then impels the phrase forward.

Harmonically, Sumaya has a predilection for chains of secondary dominants and all manner of seventh chords. *Alma Redemptoris Mater* provides representative examples in measures 22-24 as does his *Adjuva nos Deus* from measures 22-24 as does his *Adjuva nos Deus* from measures 81-88. A driving harmonic energy results


11 *Aeterna Christi munera* is found in Choirbook IV in the Museo Virreinal de Tepoztlan, ff. 1V-4.
that moves forward with inexorable drive towards the anticipated cadences. Imaginative voice-leading—coupled with Sumaya’s rich harmonic vocabulary—often result in the juxtaposition of two vocal lines that first appear to collide on the page. For example, the tenor in *Adjuva nos Deus* ascends from e to f-sharp at measures 20-21 simultaneously while the first soprano descends from f-natural to e. (See Example 1.) An unstable interval of a seventh thus lunges forward to an equally unstable ninth, due to the two voices’ unsettling cross relation and daring exchange of pitches—and to the listener’s utter amazement, it all works splendidly! This sort of piquant gesture is frequent in Sumaya’s and Salazar’s works and is representative of the richly flavored harmonies and bold effects of the American polyphonists.

Symmetry abounds in Sumaya’s compositions; careful planning of large architectural features is one of his hallmarks. For instance, the extant portions of Sumaya’s “Ave Regina caelorum” consist of a *prima* and *secunda pars*; both begin with an alto and tenor duet, who are then subsequently joined by the outer voices—first the soprano and later the bass.12 Midway through the section the texture builds upwards, moving the sonorities into progressively higher registers; the bass and tenor begin with a duet and are then joined by the alto and ultimately by the soprano. This structure and order of entrances is replicated in both of the extant *partes* or sections, as can be seen in Example 2.

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12 *Alma Redemptoris Mater* is found at the back of Choirbook VI in the Museo Virreinal de Tepozotlán, ff. 18v-20. Unfortunately, the final folios of the volume have been removed from the choirbook; it is clear that the final sections of *Alma Redemptoris Mater* are missing and we therefore cannot make a final judgement on its structure until the entire piece is reconstructed or found.
Example 2. Symmetry in Ave Regina Caelorum

Sumaya shows similar meticulous care in crafting the formal structure of the Lamentations of Jeremiah for Holy Saturday. The Lamentations are unique textually in the Bible. Hebrew letters stand as mysterious and untranslatable beacons that herald the beginnings of poetic lines; each letter is used three times in succession to introduce three subsequent lines of text. Sumaya takes advantage of this consistent repetitive textual structure by mapping out musical symmetries that underscore the text’s tripartite nature. When a Hebrew letter is first introduced, he has the four voices move forward in slow, rich chords with very little rhythmic activity. The second statement of any Hebrew letter is much more active and steeped in imitative counterpoint. For the third and final appearance of a letter, Sumaya returns to a setting that is non-imitative, slow and sonorous—reminiscent of the letter’s first appearance. This ternary structure (slow-and-chordal, active-and-imitative, slow-and-chordal) is immutably preserved for each of the successive letters, Heth, Teth, and Lod.

The lines of text that follow the Hebrew letters—unlike the letters themselves—are not rounded off in a ternary configuration, but instead are grouped so that they become increasingly contrapuntal, impulsive, and active. In this way, Sumaya engenders a sense of growth and forward momentum in each major section through the increased rhythmic activity of the verses—and this crescendo in activity is juxtaposed against the balanced, symmetrical (and more reserved) architecture of the letters themselves. The final culminating phrase, “Hierusalem, Hierusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum” is the longest musically of the composition, and Sumaya’s setting is one of the most exquisite in the vocal repertoire.

13 The Lamentations of Jeremiah for Holy Saturday are found in Choirbook IV in the Musco Virreinal de Tepoztlan, ff. 22v.-33. It has been recorded by Chanticleer on the compact disk Mexican Baroque: Music From New Spain, Series: Das Alte Werke (Hamburg: Teldec, 1994) Teldec No. 4509-93333-2.
Example 3. Spanish Lamentation Tone

Other details subtly reinforce the symmetrical structure of Sumaya’s Lamentations. In setting each Hebrew letter, Sumaya faithfully quotes the Spanish Lamentation tone in one of the voices and often paraphrases it in the others.\(^\text{14}\) If one graphs out the nine occurrences of Hebrew letters and the voices that preserve the Lamentation tone as a *cantus firmus*, one finds that Sumaya distributes this privilege of quotation equally among the voices: the soprano, alto, and tenor each quote the tune on two separate occasions. Sumaya gives the bass voice the Lamentation tone one extra time (which was a mathematical necessity, given that nine occurrences were to be distributed among four voices). He highlights the bass’s privilege by always placing the bass’s quotation as the second—and thus central—occurrence of the Hebrew letter. Thus, the soprano, alto, or tenor voice sings the *cantus firmus* when a letter is introduced, after which the bass states it at the fulcrum, and finally all is balanced out by the reiteration of the letter for the third and last time as the *cantus firmus* is sung once again in one of the upper voices. This pattern reinforces the ternary aspects of the textural setting that have already been discussed. (See Example 4 below.)

Sumaya takes considerable care to express the text and word relationships by his musical decisions. For example, he sets the words “Animae quaerenti illum (to the souls that seek Him)” in four-part homophonic motion—the first time he has chosen to use that declamatory device: in the succeeding line, he writes his second passage in four-part homophony at the words “salutare Dei (for God’s salvation)” that is similar to the homophonic setting employed in the previous line. Sumaya’s textures thus tie together the concepts of seeking God with the granting of salvation to those who seek Him. When Sumaya sets “Bonum est praestolari cum silencio (It is good to wait in silence),” he has all four voices come to a rest—and all sounds stop as they literally come to silence.

Example 4. Symmetry in Sumaya’s Lamentations

Example 5. Motivic Unity in Aeterna Christi munera

Sumaya aptly expresses the solitary isolation of the line “Sedebit solitarius et tacebit (He sits alone and keeps silent)” by a reduction in texture to a duet between the tenor and bass; the two upper voices are thus removed from the texture and are “alone” and “silent.” When the text conjures up images of falling and of humble lowliness with the line “Ponet in pulvere os suum (Let him put his mouth in the dust),” the melodies plummet downwards to the “dust” of the low register. The despair of that line suddenly shifts to one of hope with the words “si forte
sits soes (if hope be strong),” and Sumaya appropriately reverses the melodic direction as they too swirl upwards in an ascent of musical hope that nullifies the previous cascading line. Solemn homophony prevails twice in a row with the double occurrence of the line “Hierusalem,” and momentarily turns from mode 1 to mode 7 in an expression of uplifting optimism at the concluding hopeful supplication, “Converte ad Dominum Deum tuum (Turn to the Lord your God).”

In yet another early work, Sumaya demonstrates splendid control over structural and musical resources in his motet *Aeterna Christi munera*. He replicates the cantus firmus in slow, majestic motion in the soprano voice in the *prima pars* and then passes the same melody to the slow-moving tenor in the *secunda pars*—while the soprano sings a paraphrased version of the tune in diminution. The harmonies produce a powerful forward drive in measure 13 with one of Sumaya’s preferred harmonic devices, the use of chains of secondary-dominant chords. Sumaya generates more rhythmic activity coupled with consonant passages in flowing parallel thirds and tenths in the *secunda pars*, thereby producing a sense of motion, growth, consonant richness and burgeoning excitement as the motet unfolds. The entire work is sewn together with a motivic gesture that recurs in one guise or another throughout the piece. After an initial rest, the motive falls twice in a row with two descending intervals of a third (or in some cases the latter interval is a second), after

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15 *Aeterna Christi munera* is found in Choirbook IV in the Museo Virreinal de Tepoztlan, ff. 18v-20.
which the gesture leaps upwards by a perfect fourth or fifth. This melodic thread weaves persistently through the motet.

The importance of the falling third is underscored beginning at measure 7 as each voice enters a third below its predecessor, creating a long chain of falling thirds beginning on g and making the descent through the six other diatonic pitches until it finishes off on b-flat, as is illustrated in Example 6.

Close scrutiny of the motet reveals the rigorous symmetry between the two halves of the composition. Each idea and gesture of the prima pars is meticulously replicated and reflected in the corresponding location in the secunda pars. Example 7 lays out the musical events of the prima and secunda pars in parallel columns, illustrating the work's identical and unfailing symmetry. Example 8 provides the complete score for this composition.

Example 7. Symmetry in Sumaya's *Aeterna Christi munera*

**Prima pars**

1st Phrase

Soprano moving slowly with chant tune while other voices move faster

Head motive in imitation between T&B at the distance of a 5th (m.1)

Subsequent imitation (between T&B) of descending figure encompassing a 5th at the distance of a 5th (m.3)

Cadence on open C harmony (m.7)

2nd Phrase

Imitation by three voices (A,T,B) at the distance of a 5th, developing the falling-third motive (m.7)

Daring entrance by sky-high soprano on f, a full octave above the other voices (m.8)

Rapid ascending scale in one voice (Alto) energetically drives toward cadence (m.9)

Cadence on open F harmony (m.11)

**Secunda pars**

1st Phrase

Tenor moving slowly with chant tune while other voices move faster

Head motive in imitation between A&B at the distance of a 5th (m.25)

Subsequent imitation (between A&B) of descending figure encompassing a 5th at the distance of a 5th (m.27)

Cadence on open C harmony (m.32)

2nd Phrase

Imitation by three voices (A,T,B) at the distance of a 5th, developing the falling-third motive (m.32)

Daring entrance by sky-high soprano on f, a full octave above the other voices (m.32)

Rapid ascending scale in one voice (Bass) energetically drives toward cadence (m.34)

Cadence on complete F triad (m.36)
Example 7, cont’d

**Prima pars**

3rd Phrase

Imitation by three voices (A,T,E) at the distance of a \( \text{J} \) after a \( \text{J} \) developing ascending scales in slow \( \text{J} \), rising the distance of a 5th.  

(m.12)

Cadence on open C harmony  

(m.18)

4th Phrase

Double Canons: voices grouped into pairs, rhythmically & melodically

Melodically: the general contour of all voices spells out third relations that gradually descend in sequence, step by step

Rhythmically: a canon of steady \( \text{J} \) between T&S staggered by distance of \( \text{J} \)

B & A stagger a rhythmically-active canon by distance of \( \text{J} \)

Builds from low voices to high (T&B, then A enters, & lastly, S)

Cadence on open F harmony  

(m.24)

**Secunda pars**

3rd Phrase

Imitation by three voices (S,A,B) at the distance of a \( \text{J} \) after a \( \text{J} \) developing descending scales in rapid \( \text{J} \), falling the distance of a 5th.  

(m.37)

but utilizing the earlier motive.

\( \text{J} \)

Cadence on open C harmony  

(m.42)

4th Phrase

Double Canons: voices grouped into pairs, rhythmically & melodically

Melodically: the general contour of two voices (A&T) spells out third relations that gradually descend in sequence, step by step

Rhythmically: a canon of steady \( \text{J} \) between T&A staggered by distance of \( \text{J} \)

B&S stagger a rhythmically-active canon by distance of \( \text{J} \)

Builds from low voices to high (T&B, then A enters, & lastly, S)

Cadence on full F triad  

(m.48)

In summary, Sumaya’s extant music reveals his imaginative originality and compositional craftsmanship. His works are harmonically rich and daring, structurally well-conceived, and permeated with refined touches that are subtle and sophisticated. Truly, Sumaya had learned his
craft well. It is little wonder that his mentor and teacher, Antonio de Salazar, had such confidence in the young composer. Reexamining the contest between Atienza and Sumaya, we are reminded that the middle-aged Atienza had complained when the blind Salazar chose the younger Sumaya to be his assistant and probable successor; Atienza felt slighted, and he demanded a reason for this unacceptable rupture of the seniority system. Salazar's reply may well have been condensed to one word—merit. Rarely has a teacher gazed with such lucid clarity into the future. He had the foresight to see the promise of his brilliant pupil and envisioned the elegant musical compositions that were to issue forth from Sumaya's pen. Salazar's eyesight had failed him, but not his vision. He could see what Sumaya was to become—the greatest American composer of the eighteenth century.
Example 8. Manuel de Sumaya, *Aeterna Christi Munera*
Example 8, cont’d

Secunda pars

*Originally time value was a breve (half note)*
Example 8, cont’d

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