Vatican II, Liberation Theology, and Vernacular Masses for the Family of God in Central America

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Cover Page Footnote

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Vatican II, Liberation Theology, and Vernacular Masses for the Family of God in Central America

Bernard Gordillo Brockmann

In the second volume of his memoirs, *Las islas extrañas* (The Strange Islands), Nicaraguan poet-priest Ernesto Cardenal (1925–2020) recalled a particular trajectory taken by the Familia de Dios (Family of God) movement in Central America prior to its arrival at Our Lady of Solentiname, a contemplative community he cofounded on an island in Lake Nicaragua. He credited the Spanish priest José de la Jara (1932–1992) for having transmitted Familia de Dios as Solentiname developed a spiritual direction in the late 1960s. De la Jara taught him to dispense with giving “a sermon on the Gospel, but to have a dialogue instead, with commentary offered by everyone. [De la Jara] had learned this from a poor parish in Panama [City]—San Miguelito—famous for the Gospel commentaries they practiced, and which they learned from a poor Chicago parish. From Chicago it then passed to San Miguelito, and from there to de la Jara’s parish [San Pablo Apóstol in Managua], also famous, and from there to Solentiname.”¹ In a single, concise recollection, the memoirs summarized just how Solentiname came to embrace Familia de Dios, a Catholic program of religious education, leadership training, and community building for structurally impoverished populations. A core feature of the liberation practices implemented in experimental popular church communities, the program took place in small group gatherings where individuals connected the Gospels to everyday life through reflection and conversation. Although he highlighted three success stories, including his own remarkable community within the history

of liberation theology, Cardenal offered little detail beyond the transnational path of the Familia de Dios movement in Central America (Fig. 1). Yet the very same communities were also known for their expressive culture, particularly manifested in collective singing. Each boasted a representative sung vernacular mass, an exemplar of the changes in Catholic liturgical traditions during the 1960s: *Misa típica panameña de San Miguelito* (Panamanian Folk Mass of San Miguelito, 1966), *Misa popular nicaragüense* (Nicaraguan Folk Mass, 1969), and *Misa campesina nicaragüense* (Nicaraguan Peasant Mass, 1975). The creation of each mass was a key element in the transmission of the movement—the *Misa típica* was the model for the *Misa popular*, which informed the creation of the *Misa campesina*—as it spread in Central America and elsewhere.² The commercial LP recording of each mass contributed further to the revolutionary work of the community and the movement.

Drawing on archival and ethnographic research undertaken in Nicaragua and the United States, I will argue that the Familia de Dios masses, as they will thus be considered, are a musical embodiment of a transformation in the Catholic Church in Latin America during the 1960s, a period that amplified the voice and experience of impoverished communities. In light of particular watershed developments for the church—Vatican II, the Medellín Conference, and liberation theology—I will examine the social, political, and cultural contexts of each community, and the relationships between

them, in situating the creation of vernacular masses as integral to their liberation practices. Moreover, I will position these “grassroots masses” within a greater body of Latin American vernacular mass production and industrialization. We know little about the role and impact of music, culture, and the visual arts in the early history of Catholic liberation movements, a subject that has yet to attract much musicological interest. I thus aim to address a lacuna in the literature, while in dialogue with historical and theological examinations.

Renewal in the Catholic Church: Vatican II and the Medellín Conference

At the beginning of the 1960s, Pope John XXIII set in motion two historic initiatives that had far-reaching consequences for Catholics in Latin America, both of which were the impetus, to an extent, for the creation of vernacular masses.³ The first

initiative addressed the specific needs of the Latin American church. Communicating through a representative at the Second Religious Congress of the United States on August 17, 1961, the pope called for the U.S. church to send missionaries—priests, religious, and lay persons—to Latin America. The lack of clergy in that region had been an issue since the first decades of the previous century. In sending personnel and financial assistance, the U.S. church would not only help to fortify what was considered a systemic weakness in its sister church, but attempt to stem perceived advances made by Protestantism, secularism, and Marxism. The pope’s invocation of charity as embodied through missionary work, in addition to his recognition of Latin America as an important and influential region, was met with prompt action by Catholics from the United States and Europe.⁴ In the spirit of the papal call, priests and sisters brought

Figure 1: Map of Central America. Image: Panther Media GmbH / Alamy Stock Vector.

Familia de Dios to Panama, Nicaragua, and elsewhere in Latin America.⁵

The second initiative looked, in part, to the developing world on a global scale, yet directly impacted Latin America: the convening of an ecumenical council within the Roman Catholic Church. The Second Vatican Council (or Vatican II), which met over a period of three years (1962–65), instituted broad reforms and renewal—via constitutions, decrees, and declarations—that reverberated throughout the Catholic world (Fig. 2).⁶ The work of the council signified a broad negotiation between tradition and modernity, and saw the Catholic Church identify “with humankind as a whole, rather than emphasizing a separation or conflict between ‘church’ and ‘world.’”⁷ This turn initiated a new, postconciliar era for Catholicism. The implementation of Vatican II in Latin America, however, was the task of the Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano (CELAM), or Latin American Episcopal Council, which met for a second general conference on August 24, 1968, in Medellín, Colombia.⁸ On a historic first papal visit to the American continent, Pope Paul VI gave the opening address at the conference. The bishops proceeded beyond a mere application of Vatican II and, instead, adapted its reforms to suit the pressing needs and demands of Latin America.⁹ The overarching themes of CELAM were justice, peace, and poverty.¹⁰ The subject of liberation pervaded each theme, as did the church’s identification with the poor.¹¹ The term “option for the poor” was formulated at the conference,¹² as was the acknowledgment of the *iglesia popular* (popular church), a movement within (yet distinct from) the institutional church marked by socioeconomic concerns and socially or politically committed to the poor majority in Latin America.¹³

Figure 2: The Second Vatican Council (Vatican II, 1962–65), St. Peter’s Basilica, Vatican City.
Image: Collection of the author.

As part of their conclusions, the bishops recognized two aspects of the popular church that had emanated from Latin America. The first was *concientización* (awareness raising), a process of stimulating critical awareness through reflection and conversation. In practice, individuals come to “realize that their situation is not a result of blind fate, but of a humanly devised system maintained for the benefit of a few.”¹⁴ The process is generally recognized to have been established as a pedagogical approach by Brazilian educator-philosopher Paulo Freire (1921–1997), through his adult literacy work in Brazil during the 1960s.¹⁵ In line with the work of liberationists in the Catholic Church, Freire believed, “education, as an exercise in freedom, is an act of knowing, a critical approach to reality.”¹⁶ The bishops at CELAM drew from his work as a “basis for the liberation language” in their documents.¹⁷ Nevertheless, forms of *concientización* had already emerged from within the church independently of Freire’s efforts and influence (discussed below).¹⁸

The other aspect endorsed by the bishops was the *comunidad eclesial de base* (CEB), or Christian base community, made up of “people from the same neighborhood [or parish], who would meet informally [in

small groups] with a discussion leader to reflect on their lives [and] their problems, within the context of Christian principles.”¹⁹ The Christian base community is where *concientización* takes place, and where participants, guided by a group leader, experience an awakening toward their own liberation. In centering the poor and oppressed, CELAM reflected Pope Paul VI’s encyclical *Populorum Progressio* (The Development of Peoples, 1967), in which development took on a dual profile as “social progress and economic growth.”²⁰ Liberation work with the poor thus aligned with the encyclical’s notion of “authentic development—[people’s] transition from less than human conditions to truly human ones.”²¹ The bishops at Medellín set the stage for the acknowledgment of a new Latin American theology—a theology of liberation—in providing “official expression and an ecclesial dimension to historical processes already underway.”²² The period saw a paradigm shift in the Latin American church from a “‘mirror’ church, reflecting the experience, pastoral approaches, and theological works of Europe, and to a lesser extent of the United States,” to that of a “‘source’ church, [drawing] inspiration and sustenance from its own historical and cultural experience, from its own pastoral needs and challenges, and . . . indigenous type of reflection.”²³ CELAM thus “reinterpreted” Vatican II in light of the Latin American experience. As I will show, the Familia de Dios method, characterized by *concientización* in a CEB context, was a notable approach to liberation and “authentic development” in Central America, and an established method indirectly affirmed by CELAM at Medellín. Music and the visual arts were aesthetic markers of the method.

A Theology of Liberation

Liberation theology is a body of academic literature produced by Latin American theologians at the beginning of the 1970s, in reflection of the pastoral work and identification of priests, religious, and lay missionaries with the experiences of the poor and oppressed in Latin America.²⁴ These theologians, whose positions were often informed by living and working alongside pastoral workers in poor communities, dialogued with official church documents in building critiques “of how social structures treat the poor and how Christians and the church itself operate.”²⁵ Among the early writers in search of a new theological lens was the priest-theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez (b. 1928), who produced a seminal and influential work, *Teología de la liberación: Perspectivas* (Theology of Liberation: Perspectives), in 1971.²⁶ In the opening lines, he situated the broad social and political conditions that motivated his critique:

This work intends to be a reflection, beginning with the Gospel and the experiences of men and women committed to the process of liberation, on this subcontinent of oppression and plunder that is Latin America—a theological reflection born of that shared experience in the struggle for the abolition of the present state of injustice and for the construction of a different society, more free and more humane.²⁷

The origins of liberation theology can be traced to a shift from traditional pastoral approaches to social and political engagement by priests and religious during the latter half of the 1960s. A number of church movements formed throughout Latin America during these years in which postconciliar clergy “made numerous

statements on political developments, wrote open letters to the [church] hierarchy on the urgent need for radical changes, and organized seminars outside official channels.”²⁸ Some represented collectives with distinct agendas to address local concerns, seen prominently in the *Movimiento de Sacerdotes para el Tercer Mundo* (Movement of Priests for the Third World), formed by Argentine clergy in 1967.²⁹ Movements came out of calls for social change and “out of the grass roots of the Latin American church.”³⁰ They confronted economic, political, and ideological processes responsible for systemic poverty, and their social manifestations, as well as the historical relationship that the church hierarchy maintained with repressive military regimes or civilian governments.³¹ It was through the institutional church that postconciliar church personnel and lay Catholics sought to advocate for and with the poor.

Part of the wave of Latin American church movements, the *Familia de Dios* movement in Central America emerged from grassroots efforts by priests, sisters, and popular communities to collectively enact liberation. Each community established its own socially committed model of church within an experimental parish shaped by inwardly directed pastoral work. Yet, over time, each also sought to address greater structural injustices through political engagement. This experience and transformation process were part of a collective struggle that would inform, and come to exemplify as praxis, the development of liberation theology in Latin America. Expressive and material culture flourished within the liberation practices of *Familia de Dios* communities, engendering an aesthetic confluence of

politics and Christian faith in music, dance, poetry, and the visual arts. As I will show, the *Familia de Dios* masses musically embodied the movement.

Sacred Music and Vatican II

The proliferation of vernacular masses in the Latin American Catholic Church during the 1960s emanates, in part, from a particular document—the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy)—the first of four constitutions approved by the bishops who convened for Vatican II.³² Promulgated by Pope Paul VI on December 4, 1963, the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* transformed the manner in which the Latin Mass had been celebrated for centuries,³³ and imposed liturgical reform on numerous of its aspects, including elements once considered immutable: language, music, and performance practice.³⁴ Vernacular languages had been employed in devotional music since the sixteenth century (e.g., the villancico in the Iberian world), yet their acceptance in liturgical practice had no historical precedent.³⁵ Although it maintained a rather strict use of Latin, concessions were made for the vernacular “since the use of the mother tongue, whether in the Mass, the administration of the sacraments, or other parts of the liturgy, frequently may be of great advantage to the people.”³⁶ The issue is brought up more precisely in masses where “a suitable place may be allotted to their mother tongue,” allowing for the vernacular to be employed in the adaptation of readings or common prayer.³⁷ Yet there were reservations on translations of the Ordinary of the Mass: “Nevertheless steps should be taken so that the faithful may also be able to say or to sing together in Latin those parts of the Ordinary of the Mass which pertain to them.”³⁸ Use

of the vernacular in the liturgy, however, was not a wholly novel phenomenon when approved during Vatican II. In the year previous to the *Concilium*, the Sacred Congregation of Rites had already approved a Latin-Spanish missal “to be used by the Spanish-speaking clergy and faithful of Latin America.”³⁹ Produced by CELAM and overseen by the Vatican, this publication appears to have been the principal reference for a number of the earliest vernacular masses created in Latin America, though local translations were also prevalent.

The *Sacrosanctum Concilium* focused on sacred music in its sixth chapter, and recognized that the music tradition of the Catholic Church was “a treasure of inestimable value, greater even than that of any other art.”⁴⁰ A number of its articles supported aspects of Catholic music culture — choirs, choral and congregational singing, music pedagogy and practice in seminaries, liturgical training for composers and singers, Gregorian chant, and editions of music tailored to individual congregations.⁴¹ In addition, attention focused on local music traditions in missions:

In certain parts of the world, especially mission lands, there are peoples who have their own musical traditions, and these play a great part in their religious and social life. For this reason, due importance is to be attached to their music, and a suitable place is to be given to it, not only in forming their attitude toward religion, but also in adapting worship to their native genius.... Therefore, when missionaries are being given training in music, every effort should be made to see that they become competent in promoting the traditional music of these peoples, both in schools and in sacred services.⁴²

The sixth chapter also addressed musical instruments, and lauded the place of the organ, held in the highest regard by the church, as the ideal instrument for liturgical celebration, yet others were allowed in worship, and only by special permission of a “competent territorial authority.”⁴³

Four years later another Vatican document, “*Musicam Sacram* – Instruction on Music in the Liturgy,”⁴⁴ elaborated at length on aspects of music in the church. It was, in essence, an extension of the *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, and quoted heavily from it, yet kept to the thesis that whichever adaptations were observed, they should be sensitive to the culture and community in which they were implemented, and should be especially mindful of the capabilities of the congregation. The reiteration of certain quotes from the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* reinforced the use of Latin in the liturgy, especially in an urban environment “where many come together with faithful of different languages,” though this was made in the context of predominantly vernacular liturgical celebrations.⁴⁵ As in the past, variations were dependent on approval from a church authority, and ultimately from the Vatican. This instruction reveals how the church used diplomatic language to acknowledge postconciliar practices, while maintaining control over its older institutional traditions.

In 1968, CELAM briefly addressed music and the liturgy. As part of his responsibilities endowed by Vatican II, a bishop was to regulate the liturgy at the level of the local church.⁴⁶ He was “to make use of the diocesan commissions or inter-commissions recommended by the Council, made up of experts in the liturgy,

Bible, pastoral care, music, and sacred art.”⁴⁷ CELAM recognized the limits of resources and availability of sufficient experts, and would provide them as a service through its Department of Liturgy. This included the creation of an “office of coordination of musicologists, artists, and composers to unite the efforts that are being realized in our nations.”⁴⁸

Despite having officially granted vernacular expression in the celebration of the liturgy, inspiring no shortage of postconciliar musical settings, the Vatican took a more conservative turn at the beginning of the 1970s. The *Liturgicae Instaurationes* (1970), the third “instruction” on the implementation of the *Concilium*, attempted to rein in perceived excesses in liturgical practices in the years since Vatican II.⁴⁹ Although broad in scope, the document pointed to “innovators,” and the licenses taken by them, who “have resorted to personal innovations, to hasty, often ill-advised measures, to new creations and additions or to the simplification of rites. All of this has frequently conflicted with the most basic liturgical norms and upset the consciences of the faithful. The innovators have thus obstructed the cause of genuine liturgical renewal or made it more difficult.”⁵⁰ The *Liturgicae Instaurationes* went on to limit reference materials (e.g., translations) to official publications and oversight on musical matters to conferences of bishops. The power once given to local or regional church authorities was implicitly withdrawn. The instruction prohibited “changes, substitutions, deletions, or additions” to liturgical texts, as well as alternatives to the order of mass sections. The document did not “bar any style of sacred music from the liturgy,” yet it made a qualification: “Still, not every style or

the sound of every song or instrument deserves equal status.”⁵¹ Nevertheless, the flood gates of vernacular expression opened by the *Concilium* could hardly be shut by official documents, especially in Latin America, where the postconciliar era acknowledged or engendered innovative musical creations throughout the continent, some documented on commercial recordings (see below). The first Familia de Dios masses—*Misa típica* and *Misa popular*—appeared during this period, and were distinctly local in identity. In defiance of the *Liturgicae Instaurationes*, these masses went on unaffected by its conservative turn, as did the ritual practices of their respective popular church communities. Historian Phillip Berryman has noted that while the institutional church sought to maintain control over its conventions and traditions, the popular church in Latin America was little concerned with official matters and thus set its own direction with respect to liturgy, theology, and political action. The needs of the community outweighed the impositions of religious authority.⁵²

Vernacular Masses on Recording in Latin America

The *Sacrosanctum Concilium* inspired a proliferation of vernacular masses throughout Latin America, a number of which appeared on LP recordings between 1964 and 1972 (Table 1).⁵³ Catholics from Mexico to the Southern Cone of South America produced works under diverse circumstances and with varied motivations.⁵⁴ Some were collaborative efforts initiated by postconciliar priests or sisters working with local communities, while the majority represented works composed or arranged, not infrequently by composer-performers, for commercial recording projects. Masses

tended to carry nationalist signifiers or meaning in their titles, instrumentation, or musical styles, among other features, in reflection of the local or regional identity of their creators, communities, or audiences. Drawing from traditional repertoires, much of the music underwent folklorization, a process of recontextualizing folk melodies, rhythms, and accompaniments (some contrafacta: existing melodies, newly

written texts), in addition to seeing original compositions in the style, when setting the text of the Ordinary of the Mass, or the paraliturgical texts that, in certain cases, accompanied it. In one instance, the *Misa en jazz* (1966) departed from typical settings, signaling the use of urban popular musics prevalent among mass media in Latin America.⁵⁵ Spanish was the lingua franca of these masses, yet one

<i>Title, composer/arranger</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Label, date of release</i>
<i>Misa criolla</i> (Ariel Ramírez)	Argentina	Philips, 1964 ⁱ
<i>Misa chilena</i> (Raúl de Ramón)	Chile	RCA Victor, 1965 ⁱⁱ
<i>Misa a la chilena</i> (Vicente Bianchi)	Chile	Odeon, 1965 ⁱⁱⁱ
<i>Oratorio para el pueblo</i> (Ángel Parra)	Chile	Demon, 1965 ^{iv}
<i>Misa incaica en Quechua</i> (Marcelo Grondin and Germán Quiñones)	Bolivia	Lyra, 1965 ^v
<i>Misa mexicana</i> (Delfino Madrigal Gil)	Mexico	Musart, 1965 ^{vi}
<i>La misa en México</i> (Rafael Carrión)	Mexico	CBS, 1965 ^{vii}
<i>Misa ranchera</i> (Anselmo Murillo)	Mexico	ESM, [1965] ^{viii}
<i>Misal campirano</i> (José Arraiza)	Mexico	Unknown, [1965] ^{ix}
<i>Misa en jazz</i> (Tino Contreras)	Mexico	Musart, 1966 ^x
<i>Misa típica panameña de San Miguelito</i> (José N. Ríos)	Panama	Mykland, [1967] ^{xi}
<i>Misa panamericana</i> [or “Misa de mariachi”] (Jean-Marc Leclerc and Mariachi “Hermanos Macías”) ^{xii}	Mexico	Aleluya, late 1960s ^{xiii}
<i>Misa criolla [de bodas o peruana]</i> (Jorge Madueño and Chabuca Granda)	Peru	Triunfo, 1969 ^{xiv}
<i>Misa popular nicaragüense</i> (Manuel Dávila, Ángel Cerpas, Luciano Sequeira, and José de la Jara)	Nicaragua	INDICA, 1969 ^{xv}
<i>Misa folclórica colombiana</i> (Mario Giraldo G. and Rubén Darío Vanegas Montoya)	Colombia	Orbe, 1969–70 ^{xvi}
<i>Misa tepozteca</i> (Jean-Marc Leclerc and Gérard Krémer)	Mexico	Arion, 1972 ^{xvii}

Table 1: Latin American Vernacular Masses on Recording (Selection), 1964–72.⁵⁶

i The initial Argentine pressing of the mass omits the year of publication, yet an advertisement in a Catholic magazine published in Buenos Aires confirms its release in 1964; see “Por primera vez en la historia de la música! Misa Criolla,” *Criterio* 1465–66 (Dec. 24, 1964): 967.

ii Raúl de Ramón, Los Cantores de Santa Cruz and Los de Ramón, *Misa Chilena*, RCA CML-2255, 1965, 33⅓ rpm.

iii Vicente Bianchi, Jaime Soval, and Coro Chile Canta, *Misa a la chilena*, Odeon LDC-36521, 1965, 33⅓ rpm. 36521, 1965, 33⅓ rpm.

iv Ángel Parra, Isabel Parra, and Coro Filarmónico de Santiago, *Oratorio para el pueblo*, Demon LPD-012, 1965, 33⅓ rpm.

v Los Padres Oblatos y el Coro de la Parroquia de Llaguagua, *Misa incaica en Quechua*, Lyra LPL 13023, 1965, 33⅓ rpm. The Bolivian record company Discolandia released the LP in Bolivia under the Lyra label, and in Peru under the Oden label. Ethnomusicologist Fernando Ríos has dated the recording to 1965; see Fernando Ríos, *Panpipes & Ponchos: Musical Folklorization & the Rise of the Andean Conjunto Tradition in La Paz, Bolivia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 188.

vi Delfino Madrigal Gil, Sergio Cardona Guzmán, Mariachi de Miguel Díaz, and Coro de Cámara de la Ciudad de México, *Misa mexicana*, Musart Records 1072, 1965, 33⅓ rpm.

vii Rafael Carrión, Los Tilingos (Jorge Valente), Duetto América, Trio Los Mexicanos, and Coral Mexicano del Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes (Ramón Noble), *La misa en México*, CBS CIL-6, 1965, 33⅓ rpm. Although most accessible recordings date to 1974, the label number and year of this mass are taken from Jean-Marc Leclerc, *Misa tepozteca: Desarrollo de la música litúrgica en Tepoztlán, México*, Sondeos 16 (Cuernavaca: CIDOC, 1966), 15.

viii Anselmo Murillo, Antonio Maciel, Sergio Rizzardí, Mariachi “México” de Pépe Villa, Trio Jarocho “Los Caimanes,” Coro Femenino de Madrigalistas, and Coro Masculino de Madrigalistas, *Misa ranchera*, Estudios Sonoros Mexicanos B1137, [1965], 33⅓ rpm.

ix Leclerc, *Misa tepozteca*, 14. Leclerc lists this mass among the LP recordings he assessed during the process of creating the *Misa panamericana*, yet gives no more information

beyond the title and composer. It may refer to the following recording for which I have incomplete information: Los 3 Gallos y Coro Escala Anáhuac, *Misal Campirano / Noche Buena*, LP12429, [33⅓ rpm].

x Tino Contreras, *Misa en jazz / Historia del jazz*, Musart ED 1216, 1966, 33⅓ rpm.

xi José Nelson “Pepe” Ríos, Franco Poveda, and members of the San Miguelito community, *Misa típica panameña de San Miguelito*, Mykland Productions, [1967], 33⅓ rpm.

xii For a background to the creation of the *Misa panamericana* and *Misa tepozteca*, both created in 1966, see Leclerc, *Misa tepozteca*; and Todd Hartch, *The Prophet of Cuernavaca: Ivan Illich and the Crisis of the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 46. The masses by Madrigal, Carrión, Murillo, and Arraiza were taken into consideration by Leclerc for inclusion in the *Misa panamericana*, but he settled on the Kyrie of the *Misa mexicana*, and the Credo and Sanctus of *La misa en México*. The Agnus Dei of the *Misa a la chilena* was included in the *Misa panamericana*. However, this was not the only Chilean music in Leclerc’s project, as songs recorded years earlier by Los Perales, a quartet of Catholic seminarians, were adapted for the Entrada, Comunión, and Salida. In addition to the existing Mexican and Chilean music found in the *Misa panamericana*, the Gloria was taken from a Brazilian work by J. A. de Souza.

xiii Mariachi “Hnos. Macias,” *Misa panamericana*, Discos Aleluya A-015, [late 1960s], 33⅓ rpm.

xiv Jorge Madueño and Chabuca Granda, *Misa criolla [de bodas o peruana]*, Triunfo LTPS 1011, 1969, 33⅓ rpm.

xv Coro de la Comunidad Cristiana de San Pablo Apóstol, *Misa popular nicaragüense / Salmos de Ernesto Cardenal y canciones de William Agudelo*, INDICA PP-336, 1969, 33⅓ rpm.

xvi Mario Giraldo G., Rubén Darío Vanegas Montoya, and Coro Franciscano de la Porciúncula, *Misa folclórica colombiana*, Orbe OB-ST 0002, [1969–70], 33⅓ rpm. I am grateful to musicologist Egberto Bermúdez for dating this recording. Egberto Bermúdez, in discussion with the author, Dec. 10, 2020.

xvii Gérard Krémer, *Misas y fiestas mexicanas: Misa tepozteca / Misa panamericana*, Arion ARN 34174, 1972, 33⅓ rpm.

work employed an indigenous language, the *Misa incaica en Quechua* (1965), suggesting a breadth of yet-to-be-documented expressions or practices that emanated from popular Catholicism before Vatican II.⁵⁷

The dissemination of Latin American vernacular masses on LP began with the release of the *Misa criolla* (Creole Mass) on the Philips label in 1964 (Fig. 3).⁵⁸ Argentine composer-performer Ariel Ramírez (1921–2010) created a model mass after Vatican II, set to an officially

approved Spanish translation, and established a marketing format: the entire mass appeared on side A, while the reverse contained the work *Navidad nuestra* (Our Christmas), composed by Ramírez and Félix Luna (1925–2009).⁵⁹ Subsequent recordings followed this format, and presented Christmas-themed, folkloric, or popular songs set to devotional texts on the reverse.⁶⁰

In addition to oral transmission, the industrialization of vernacular mass

Figure 3: *Misa criolla* (Philips, 1964), LP jacket, front. Image: Collection of the author.

recordings contributed significantly to their dissemination, popularity, and influence during the 1960s. The equivalent in sheet music production is a noteworthy rarity for this period.⁶¹ Commercial recordings allow the listener to appreciate the sonorities, instrumentations, and performance practices as initially conceived or committed to recording by their respective creators or participants, in the years immediately following the *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. This may be a self-evident observation, in general, yet it is a noteworthy quality of the Familia de Dios masses. The participants heard on the LP of either the *Misa típica* or *Misa popular* were not professional or formally trained musicians hired for a given project, as was the case with many of the other recordings. The community members themselves were agents in recording the musical work that they had brought to life and sustained as a collective. Their respective LPs are thus historical ethnographic documents that sonically place the listener within the community's central religious ritual. A hearing of an

LP situates the listener as part of the community, allowing for an ephemeral reflection on its Christian experience, at a historical moment in which it flourished. Recordings of the Familia de Dios masses, therefore, go beyond mere representation, and are thus a musical documentation and embodiment of postconciliar communities.

Vernacular mass texts are based on translations from the Latin, yet these may vary according to the source of translation. In light of the nuance and variety of texts exhibited by the masses surveyed, I have classified translations into three types—direct, interpolated, or inspired. Direct translations are based on sources from the Catholic Church, such as official publications or consulted authorities, as already noted. Interpolated texts employ direct translation as a point of reference, yet have newly written accretions that complement or gloss existing text. For example, the first line of the Kyrie (traditionally, “Lord have mercy”) in the *Misa tepozteca* illustrates this type: “From your saved people, Christ Lord have mercy; walking on the earth, we have faith in You, Lord.”⁶² Inspired texts notably depart from or have little resemblance to the first two types, and may take significant poetic license in the construction of a new text. In his *Oratorio para el pueblo*, Ángel Parra reconceived the Gloria, from the traditional “Glory to God in the highest, and peace to His people on earth” into “May you have glory in heaven, and may you find peace on earth, because life is very hard when there is a lack of will.”⁶³ Familia de Dios masses fall under the latter two categories. The *Misa típica* and *Misa popular* employ interpolated translations, while the *Misa campesina* has an inspired text. Each evinces the manner in which a given community adapted a

translation to suit their needs, in reflection of their circumstances, situated within a particular sociopolitical experience.

Familia de Dios in Panama

Chicago Origins

The Familia de Dios movement originated as a program of socioreligious education developed by Leo Mahon (1926–2013) in Chicago in the mid-1950s. Mahon worked closely with marginalized Puerto Rican migrant men looking to establish a community, while guiding their integration into the church and society.⁶⁴ Out of this effort came the Archdiocese of Chicago's first Puerto Rican lay group, Los Caballeros de San Juan (The Knights of Saint John), a club that practiced "a culture of faith oriented around nurturing an ethnic community of feeling and aspiration, which looked inward toward preserving the integrity of the group."⁶⁵ Among its social and devotional practices was to "develop 'self-help' consciousness among the members and to give [them] an opportunity to discover ... their own problems ... and how to deal with them," an activity that appears to have been a form of *concientización*.⁶⁶

Mahon's work with the Caballeros evolved into the twelve-week Familia de Dios course. Among the more salient features of the course was its method, which replaced a typical hierarchical lecture format with that of a conversation among equals, thus enacting *concientización* through dialogue based on the Gospels. In gatherings no different than a Christian base community, the leader of the lesson—either a priest, sister, or lay person—guided the dialogue along a specific line of questioning, based on themes, with everyone in attendance commenting as they deemed appropriate.⁶⁷ The purpose of the course was to redefine

the place and voice of the lay person by dismantling the traditional top-down structure, allowing for individuals to develop critical awareness via their own agency. More important, the process also located and trained lay leaders who would eventually substitute for priests altogether. The first cohort of Caballeros took the name Hermanos de la Familia de Dios (Brothers of the Family of God). Mahon transformed the experience into *La familia de Dios: Un curso para catequistas* (The Family of God: A Course for Catechists), a Spanish-language manual edited with Maryknoll Sister Mary Xavier O'Donnell (1902–1988) and the Hermanos, published by the Cardinal's Committee for the Spanish Speaking in Chicago.⁶⁸ The book included music, "Melodies for Paraliturgical Ceremonies," with devotional texts in Spanish, which came out of successful experiments by the Maryknoll Sisters working with Mahon to inspire congregational singing at Sunday Mass.⁶⁹ The employment of vernacular music in Chicago, though paraliturgical in function, set a precedent for the role of music in the building of a community and the rituals practiced by its members. This foreshadowed the turn toward vernacular singing in the liturgy, once sanctioned by Vatican II, as Familia de Dios became a movement.⁷⁰

The San Miguelito Mission

In 1963 Mahon took the Familia de Dios course to Panama, where he founded an "experimental parish" at San Miguelito, an impoverished sector located on the periphery of the capital, made up of several neighborhoods and churches with a population numbering in the tens of thousands.⁷¹ Sponsored by the Archdiocese of Chicago, Mahon led a group of priests in

response to the papal call for contributing to the Latin American church. The implementation of the course took priority as the group began to identify, in particular, with the urban worker communities of the parish and Panamanian culture.⁷² Sisters were also part of the pastoral initiatives in the early years of the mission, including a group of Maryknolls from 1965 onward.⁷³ Phillip Berryman recalled a set of principles involved in a new model of parish formation:

1. Work with men first, and then with their wives and other women.
2. Have a basic course called [Familia de Dios] in small neighborhood group discussions connecting basic human experiences to scripture.
3. Move toward a basic conversion, through weekend retreat (*cursillo*).
4. Form a neighborhood-based church community and expand it through the basic course and *cursillo*.⁷⁴

Participation in the Familia de Dios course—*concientización* within the context of a Christian base community—planted the seeds for expanding a sense of self and community. The *cursillo*, or *Cursillo de Iniciación* (Short Initiation Course), led “to an emotional conversion experience” in which participants committed fully to the community.⁷⁵ In turn, the parish built a network of Christian base communities. The *concientización* practiced at San Miguelito was not unlike the concurrent method of Paulo Freire.⁷⁶ Mahon noted, however, a significant difference between Freire’s approach in Brazil and the one practiced at San Miguelito:

[Freire] searched for the key words in the lives of the people and used those words to promote dialogue, making the people conscious of themselves, their

needs, and their dreams. His ingenious method empowered the poor to meet the real person within. Our approach did much the same, but we merged common secular topics with religious ones. This helped people get in touch with the profound, the noble in themselves and in their culture. Their attitude toward themselves, toward their future, and toward God began to change.⁷⁷

The Familia de Dios method was one of the socio-theological tendencies that Vatican II indirectly “assumed and legitimated.”⁷⁸ The pastoral work at San Miguelito took on a revolutionary character as Mahon and his fellow priests departed from convention through what was understood as radical praxis: “stop wearing cassocks; live among the people; ... meet in people’s homes rather than the church; stress evangelization and conversion over sacramentalization; present a challenging vision of life rather than abstract or moralistic rules.”⁷⁹ The process was also seen in the construction of an innovative *centro parroquial* (parish center), the primary physical location for worship, replacing the traditional church or chapel, and other community activities (Fig. 4).⁸⁰ This approach, along with the steady growth and success of the parish, made San Miguelito a destination for “hundreds of priests, sisters, and lay people,” some of whom “adapted its methods throughout Latin America.”⁸¹ The Maryknoll Sisters were key to the transnational adoption of the Familia de Dios method.⁸² The course was a fundamental tool in a socially committed project shaped by means of trial, error, and persistence. It was a seed that contributed to the development of an alternative pastoral and administrative model at San Miguelito as it grew into a movement and spread to other parts of Central America.⁸³ Individuals from El Salvador, Guatemala,

Honduras, and Nicaragua trained there and brought the knowledge back to their respective countries.⁸⁴ The pastoral work later took a political turn following the Medellín Conference in 1968, and with Panama's transition to a military regime the following year, led by Omar Torrijos (1929–1981), a left-wing nationalist and populist who maintained a cordial yet occasionally strained relationship with San Miguelito.⁸⁵

Figure 4: Parish center, Cristo Redentor, San Miguelito Mission, Panamá City, Panamá. Photo: John Enright.⁸⁶

Folk Mass for a Panamanian Community

The *Misa típica* came out of the musical experiments that José “Pepe” Nelson Ríos (1938–2016), who had joined the community in 1964, devised by incorporating folkloric song as part of San Miguelito's rituals.⁸⁷ A self-taught singer and guitarist, his repertoire included devotional texts set to Panamanian folk melodies (contrafacta). Mahon subsequently appointed Ríos parish musician and invited him to create a setting of the Ordinary of the Mass in a similar vein.⁸⁸ In collaboration with Sister Graciela⁸⁹ and other members of the community, Ríos created the music and prepared the text. In an effort to create a liturgical work without model or precedent in the Panamanian Catholic Church, the

collaboration prioritized community identity and accessibility. Two criteria guided the process: “1) That the music should be adapted to the corresponding section of the mass, without losing its Panamanian flavor. 2) That the community be able to sing it.”⁹⁰ Ríos completed the first sections of the *Misa típica* by the end of 1965, with the rest mostly finished by the middle of the following year.⁹¹ The mass soon became a musical emblem for San Miguelito, a melding of its expressive culture and liberation practices. The Familia de Dios course had laid the foundations for building the family and community. The community grew from the rituals and programs that fortified a sense of unity. The celebration of the liturgy defined the fundamental unity of the parish. The singing of the *Misa típica* was thus the musical consummation of the San Miguelito community. Mahon understood the work to have been “one of the first to come out of an indigenous culture in Latin America; it was the first in Central America.”⁹² Upon hearing the *Misa típica*, a visitor predicted, “when the San Miguelito Mass is recorded and circulated, it will be recognized as an expression of religious sentiment as impressive as the Missa Luba.”⁹³

Members of San Miguelito recorded the *Misa típica* on LP, released commercially by Mykland Productions for a local market toward the end of 1967.⁹⁴ On the front of the jacket is a photograph of a mural “dedicated to liberation” and located at Cristo Redentor, the parish center at San Miguelito (Fig. 5).⁹⁵ In one of several murals she painted while in residence at the mission, Chicago artist Lillian Brulc (1923–2012) called the work “The New Passover.”⁹⁶ She situated the imagery in relation to the community: “The event of the First Passover is recalled and represented as it is

actually being re-experienced in Panama.”⁹⁷ The image is a composite of vignettes that elide into one another, each a representation of the experience of the poor and oppressed within the Panamanian church. On the left side, a “small group gathers around a leader and discusses the Word of God,” a familiar setting where courses take place. A singer-guitarist depicted prominently in the scene reinforces the integral role of music within the fundamental liberation practices at San Miguelito. To the immediate right, a number of “San Blas Indians meet in similar fashion around a teacher.” Above these groups “hovers a guiding angel,” in a highly stylized illustration of an abiding spiritual presence among Catholics. On the right side, workers build “the foundations of the New Church,” elaborated in the construction of a wall meant to keep out “figures in clerical garb,” individuals whose preaching was considered antithetical to “freedom and respect for life.” Within this group “another type of priest-leader” passes on the “Living Word,” a reference to Familia de Dios as a process for developing lay leaders to replace the role of priests. In the center, starkly framed by the surrounding scenes, stands “a Panamanian farmer with a bamboo stalk across his shoulders, making a cruciform shape.”⁹⁸ The bucolic image of the rural *campesino* (peasant), dislocated in an urban environment, subtly suggested a topos: a *Cristo Campesino* (Christ-Peasant), whose suffering on earth, though not visually apparent in the mural, was the focus of the church after Vatican II. Along with other murals Brulc completed at Cristo Redentor in 1965, the altar mural is a holistic representation of a socially committed Catholic Church. Mahon recalled that its subject challenged “the domination of the establishment, the politicians, the military,

and the clergy.”⁹⁹ During celebrations of the liturgy, the San Miguelito community was thus enveloped by imagery in reflection of their postconciliar experience, as they sang of faith, unity, and liberation.

Figure 5. *Misa típica panameña de San Miguelito* (Mykland Productions, 1967), LP jacket, front. Image: Collection of the author.

The LP recording exhibits a wealth of Panamanian folk music (Table 2).¹⁰⁰ The dance types evident in the mass—*tamborito*, *torrente*, *gallino*, *punto*, *cumbia*, *capricho*, and *son de tuna*—suggest a conscious effort on Ríos’s part to incorporate a diversity of regional musics in representing the San Miguelito community. He also employed contrafacta, particularly evident in the Sanctus, subtitled “Melodía clásica panameña” (Classic Panamanian melody). A departure from typically lively settings, the *tamborito* “Hojita de Guarumá” appears as a solemn, lyrical melody sung in unison with no accompaniment, save for a strummed guitar chord to open the section, and a brief cadential gesture at the end (AV Ex. 1).¹⁰¹ The use of the native *tambor* (drum), guitarlike *bocona* (variant of the *mejoranera*),

and guitar are central to the instrumental accompaniment of the mass. Ríos is the soloist throughout much of the work, and the *coro* (choir), a metonymy for the congregation, is either featured in a given section or interacts with Ríos in a call-and-response manner.

Among the more striking vocal features heard on the recording is the *saloma*—a free, melismatic wail or utterance sung on a vocable—a musical expression particular to Panamanian *campesino* culture.¹⁰² According

to Manuel and Dora Zárate, the *saloma* “employs both the natural and falsetto voice, and uses as text, a simple vocalization or poetic stanza.”¹⁰⁴ The wail is a hallmark of the more contemplative sections of the *Misa típica*: Introduction, Kyrie, and Agnus Dei. Its presence in the Kyrie is particularly compelling: Ríos sings a *saloma* with increasing floridity after every choral response of “have mercy on us,” accompanied by a lone guitar (see AV Ex. 2 on article download page). The *coro* also

<i>Section</i>	<i>Text incipit and vocal forces</i>	<i>Dance type and instrumentation</i>
I. Saloma de introducción	“Vamos, señores” (solo)	[unaccompanied]
II. Invitación	“Vamos, vamos todos a la misa” (solo and chorus)	<i>Tamborito panameño</i> (guitar and <i>tambor</i>)
III. []	“Canta la lengua al glorioso” (solo and chorus)	<i>Torrente de llanto</i> (guitar)
IV. Kyrie	“Señor, señor, ten piedad” (solo and chorus)	<i>Capricho montañero</i> (guitar)
V. Gloria	“Gloria a Dios en el cielo” (solo and chorus)	<i>Son de tuna</i> (guitar and <i>tambor</i>)
VI. Aleluya	“Aleluya. . . Porque sea grande su amor” (solo and chorus)	<i>Torrente de Valdivieso</i> (<i>bocona</i> and guitar)
VII. Credo	“Creemos en Dios” (chorus)	<i>Cumbia lenta</i> (violin and guitar)
VIII. []	“Recibe, recibe Padre” (chorus)	<i>Punto coral</i> (guitar and <i>tambor</i>)
IX. Sanctus	“Santo, santo es el Señor” (chorus)	<i>Melodía clásica panameña</i> “Hojita de Guarumá” (guitar)
X. Agnus Dei	“Cordero de Dios” (solo and chorus)	<i>Gallino</i> - Lamento lento (guitar)
XI. Comunión	“Siempre en Ti estoy pensando” (chorus)	<i>Torrente paso trote</i> (<i>bocona</i> and guitar)
XII. Comunión	“Bien mío, Jesús yo creo” (solo and chorus)	<i>Torrente María</i> (guitar)
XIII. Himno final	“Ahora sí que creo, Señor” (chorus)	<i>Torrente zapatero</i> (<i>bocona</i> and guitar)

Table 2: *Misa típica panameña de San Miguelito*: Sections, Text Incipits, and Musical Elements.¹⁰³

sings a *saloma* in the Himno final (final hymn). The *saloma* documented on the recording was an unprecedented hybrid musical practice not only in the Panamanian Catholic Church, but likely in Panamanian traditional music, as well. In 1962 the Zárates observed, “two types of ceremonies where the *saloma* does not have any role: in worship and at funerals; not even when it is a matter of holy processions or at wakes for children in which there is no want of music and secular song.”¹⁰⁵ In the context of the novel practices at San Miguelito, the *saloma* was a distinct musical symbol of many in the community, including Ríos, whose identity had been shaped by a hybrid rural/urban Christian experience.

Familia de Dios in Nicaragua

The Parish of San Pablo Apóstol, Managua

The Archdiocese of Managua approved the establishment of the Parish of San Pablo Apóstol (Saint Paul the Apostle) as a pilot project in 1966. José de la Jara had successfully petitioned the archdiocese for an assignment where he could take an experimental pastoral approach after Vatican II.¹⁰⁶ Resembling San Miguelito in socioeconomic profile, San Pablo was located on the periphery of the capital, and comprised several marginalized neighborhoods, some no more developed than as squatter settlements.¹⁰⁷ Women of various orders were part of the project from the beginning; notably, the Maryknoll Sisters.¹⁰⁸ De la Jara was later joined by two colleagues who (like he) had attended seminary in Ávila, Spain.¹⁰⁹ Heeding the papal call to contribute to the Latin American church, the priests and religious at San Pablo responded with a social commitment to the urban poor of Managua.¹¹⁰

San Miguelito's Familia de Dios course came to San Pablo through exchanges between the two communities beginning in late 1966.¹¹¹ De la Jara visited the Panamanian community on two occasions, first with Sister Marie Estelle Coupe (1914–1981) and married couples from San Pablo, and a second time by himself.¹¹² Experiencing parish life in full bloom, the visitors from Nicaragua elected to model their burgeoning community after San Miguelito. This involved adopting its pastoral and organizational structure, as well as its methods of religious education, beginning with the Familia de Dios course.¹¹³ Course tutors from San Miguelito, including Leo Mahon, traveled to Managua three times, twice in 1967 and once in early 1968, where they taught or led the Familia de Dios course at organized meetings for members of San Pablo.¹¹⁴ De la Jara spoke of the parish as a “Familia de Dios” during the early years of the parish. Antonio Esgueva, a former priest of San Pablo, recalled, “more than ‘base community,’ internally we used ‘Familia de Dios.’”¹¹⁵ Beyond its general implications, the reference signaled an expanded notion of the course as a holistic representation of the community, and emphasized the growth of Familia de Dios as a transnational movement.

A Nicaraguan Mass for San Pablo

As part of the exchanges between communities, members of San Pablo adopted the *Misa típica* during their first sung mass, accompanied by guitars “with an interpretation of the Panamanian version,” in June 1967.¹¹⁶ The following year, the mass served as the model for the creation of the *Misa popular* as a reflection of the parish (Fig. 6). De la Jara recalled:

Work on our Nicaraguan Mass began in the first days of February. I personally wrote the texts to the diverse and singable parts of the mass, and Manuel Dávila, in collaboration with Ángel Cerpas, composed the melodies along with their guitar accompaniments. Little by little, our Nica[raguan] work substituted the Panamanian Mass.¹¹⁷

Figure 6: Parish center, Colonia Nicrao, Parish of San Pablo Apóstol, Managua (2013). Photo by the author.

With the *Misa popular* nearly complete by the end of 1968, save for the closing “Canto de despedida” (Song of Dismissal), de la Jara added, “once it is finished, and we add the marimba, we hope it will be recorded [on LP].”¹¹⁸ He also observed that some sections had already been recorded by Radio Católica, the official radio station of the Catholic Church in Managua. The community had accepted an invitation by its director to record the mass, intended to air on Sunday mornings. The radio broadcast of the *Misa popular* was a novel religious expression heard over Nicaraguan airwaves “directed especially at those who live in remote places or for whom it is impossible to attend mass.”¹¹⁹ Later the same year, lecturers from San Pablo began to organize intercommunity exchanges. The first undertaken outside of the parish was given to members of Our Lady of Solentiname,

located a day’s travel from Managua.¹²⁰ The exchange between the two communities included the *Misa popular* and resulted in its adoption at Solentiname years prior to the creation of its own mass, the *Misa campesina*. Even before its completion, the *Misa popular* underwent oral transmission through exchanges and radio broadcast, as Familia de Dios spread to other parts of Nicaragua.¹²¹ Not unlike the *Misa típica* in significance, the San Pablo community had created a distinctly Nicaraguan musical emblem, born of their experience, that would help to inspire others in forming their own communities.

In early 1969, the archdiocesan authorities in Managua auditioned the *Misa popular*, resulting in its formal approval for celebrations of the liturgy, yet not without reservations. The audition took place at the national seminary during a conference held to discuss the role and application of Vatican II, and its adaptation by the bishops at Medellín, in Nicaragua.¹²² Clergy, religious, and prominent lay Catholics from various regions of Nicaragua participated, as did individuals from elsewhere in Central America. Church representatives heard the *Misa popular* in the context of a liturgical celebration, and they deemed it to be a “good mass.” However, they had serious reservations about one of its sections. Luciano Sequeira, a founding member of San Pablo and contributor to the creation of the *Misa popular*, recalled the critique and responses:

...the Credo could not be sung in the liturgy of the mass because one of its tenets was incorrectly expressed. [At issue was a line] in the first verse: We believe in Jesus Christ, His Son, who “was born of our people,” in place of saying that he was born of the Virgin Mary. Although

Father José de la Jara responded by noting that the Virgin Mary was also of our people, the prohibition stood. . . . By the way, we continued singing the Credo as if nothing had happened.¹²³

The controversial fragment from the Credo translated a vision of the San Pablo community, which identified more with the humanity of both Jesus and Mary than with their divinity. This was not the only critique leveled at the conference. The musicians overheard a bishop dismiss the mass via its instruments: “pinches guitarras” (miserable guitars), he said.¹²⁴ The *Misa popular* would, nevertheless, pave the way for the guitar, a once-prohibited instrument in the Nicaraguan church, to become a staple of liturgical celebrations.¹²⁵ Despite official reservations, the San Pablo parish proceeded in its own direction and with the support of de la Jara. Their decision was consistent with the historical relationship of popular communities to institutional authority.

Once complete, the members of San Pablo made a commercial LP recording of their mass for a local market. Rehearsals began in March 1969, with recording sessions taking place not long thereafter at the studios of Radio Centauro, a broadcast station known for its promotion of classical and Nicaraguan traditional music.¹²⁶ The sessions sometimes lasted well into the night.¹²⁷ Produced by Industria de Discos Centroamericana (INDICA) in San José, Costa Rica, the first run of 600 LPs arrived in Managua in July, and subsequently sold out within two months.¹²⁸ De la Jara explained the motivation for the mass in a note included with the LP, conveying the spirit in which the musicians undertook the project: “Guided by a great interest in authenticity, they banished everything artificial and false in the liturgy, bursting forth from their

guitars—already old and dusty—songs filled with the essence of the [Nicaraguan] soul.”¹²⁹ He went on to express his gratitude to the principal creators—Manuel “Manuelito” Dávila (d. 2014), Ángel Cerpas, and Luciano Sequeira.¹³⁰ De la Jara also acknowledged the community members heard collectively on the recording for their “beautiful contribution to the liturgical treasure of the Church in Nicaragua.”¹³¹

The success of the initial run of LPs called for a second, but the artwork on the record jacket provoked a controversy.¹³² The production company INDICA refused to proceed as a result of “problems of a political nature with the authorities.”¹³³ The *Misa popular* was not the only target, however; so was a collection of *Salmos* (Psalms) by Ernesto Cardenal (1925–2020), cofounder of the community of Solentiname, on side B. The artwork on the record jacket marked the transitions made by San Pablo and Solentiname from inwardly directed Familia de Dios programs into collectives of politically engaged Christian base communities, which looked outward in their struggle for social change. Drawn by Matagalpa Indian artist Leoncio Sáenz (1935–2008), the jacket image is wrapped in hybrid religio-political symbolism.¹³⁴ The front presents a dystopian crucifixion scene in which a naked, suffering *Cristo Campesino* meets his end on a makeshift cross, while flanked by witnesses (Fig. 7). At left, his family looks on with dread as a house burns in the distance. Carrion birds hover above the crucified. At right, a mélange of people completes the macabre spectacle: soldiers point their bayonets at the condemned, a seated military figure wields a bone staff, the Catholic hierarchy avert their gaze, and nondescript men crowd the background. Above them, just below the album title, a

stylized depiction of the Palacio de la Curva, home of the director of the Guardia Nacional (National Guard), looms over the scene as it did over Managua in reality, a reminder of the authoritarian regime that ruled Nicaragua during the twentieth century.¹³⁵ The scene on the jacket front is an allegory of the plight of the poor and oppressed in Nicaragua in the late 1960s. It is a thinly veiled critique of President Anastasio Somoza Debayle (1925–1980), and his placation by the ranking bishops of the Nicaraguan Catholic Church. The drawings lay bare the social and political realities in Nicaragua, and their responses through socially committed text and music on the recording. Although less complex, yet equally grim, the drawing on the back is of a torture chamber, a site where human rights abuses are conducted in secret (Fig. 8). Unlike the front, this scene is more documentary, as a vignette of the torture endured by political prisoners at the hands of a repressive state. The *Salmos* confronted a subject that had become institutionalized by the state in Nicaragua.¹³⁶ Clothed in

visual portrayals of violence and oppression, the communities represented on the LP sang of collective agency and of a struggle for liberation. The recording was thus an open *musical* letter, echoing liberation theologian Pablo Richard, “to the [church] hierarchy on the urgent need for radical changes.”¹³⁷

The recording of the *Misa popular* exhibits a variety of Nicaraguan folkloric music—*son nica*, *son de marimba*, mazurka, *bolero*, and waltz—representing the Pacific and northern regions of the country (Table 3).¹³⁸ The instrumental accompaniment, *requinto* (medium-sized guitar) and two guitars, remains consistent for much of the mass, with the inclusion of a small drum in the Credo. The *son nica* is characterized by an underlying rhythmic feature—a regular metrical pattern of 6/8–3/4—influenced by the repertoire of the Nicaraguan *marimba de arco*.¹³⁹ The employment of triple meter and major mode throughout, abiding elements of Nicaraguan traditional music, further reinforces its folkloric character. Dávila and Cerpas are heard on the recording as

Figure 7: *Misa popular nicaragüense/Salmos de Ernesto Cardenal y canciones de William Agudelo* (INDICA, 1969), LP jacket, front. Image: Collection of the author.

Figure 8: *Misa popular nicaragüense/Salmos de Ernesto Cardenal y canciones de William Agudelo* (INDICA, 1969), LP jacket, back. Image: Collection of the author.

either vocal soloists or in duo (harmonizing at the third or sixth), sometimes in a call-and-response manner with the chorus. As in the Panamanian mass, the *coro* in the *Misa popular* is made up of members of the community. The *Misa popular* does not appear to employ *contrafacta*, yet at least one section was directly inspired by the music of Nicaraguan singer-composer Camilo Zapata (1917–2009), recognized as the “father” of the *son nica*.¹⁴⁰ Carlos Carrión (ca. 1931–2019), a longtime member of San Pablo, pointed to Zapata and “Los Urrutia” (the group Don Felipe [Urrutia] y Sus Cachorros) as having been influential to the creators of the mass. He recalled, “the Canto de entrada from the *Misa popular nicaragüense* is almost a copy of a song by Camilo Zapata

called ‘A los cortes de café’ (To the Coffee Harvests).”¹⁴² A similarity between the two works, particularly their opening ritornellos, emphasizes the meaningful and deliberate choices made in the creation of the mass as a mirror of the community.

Side B: Salmos de Ernesto Cardenal y canciones de William Agudelo

The program on side B—“Psalms of Ernesto Cardenal and Songs by William Agudelo”—was a noteworthy departure from the typical contents that accompanied vernacular masses on recording (Table 4): the musical settings were songs of protest or resistance.¹⁴³ Their fundamental Christian

<i>Section</i>	<i>Text incipit and vocal forces</i>	<i>Dance type and instrumentation</i>
I. Canto de entrada	“Somos pueblo que camina” (duo and chorus)	<i>Son nica</i> (<i>requinto</i> and 2 guitars)
II. Kyrie	“Señor, señor ten piedad” (duo)	Mazurka (<i>requinto</i> and 2 guitars)
III. Gloria	“Gloria a Dios en las alturas” (soloist and chorus)	Mazurka (<i>requinto</i> and 2 guitars)
IV. Canto de meditación and aleluya	“En tu palabra, Señor, medito” (solo and chorus)	Slow waltz (<i>requinto</i> and 2 guitars)
V. Credo	“Creemos en un solo Dios” (solo and chorus)	<i>Son nica</i> (<i>requinto</i> , 2 guitars, and small hand drum)
VI. Canto de las ofrendas	“Te ofrecemos, Padre nuestro” (solo and chorus)	<i>Son nica</i> (<i>requinto</i> and 2 guitars)
VII. Sanctus	“Santo, santo es el Señor” (solo and chorus)	<i>Son nica</i> (<i>requinto</i> and 2 guitars)
VIII. Agnus Dei	“Cordero de Dios, que quitas” (duo and chorus)	<i>Son de marimba</i> / <i>son nica</i> (<i>requinto</i> and 2 guitars)
IX. Canto de la comunión	“Señor, tu eres el pan” (solo and chorus)	[Popular style] (<i>requinto</i> and 2 guitars)
X. Canto de despedida	“¡Aleluya! ¡Aleluya! El Señor resucitó” (solo and chorus)	<i>Bolero</i> (<i>requinto</i> and 2 guitars)

Table 3: *Misa popular nicaragüense*: Sections, Text Incipits, and Musical Elements.¹⁴¹

liberation theme marked a distinct type of sung religiopolitical expression—a *devotional* protest song—forming part of a greater political song repertoire of *nueva canción* (new song) that emerged from Latin America during the later 1960s.¹⁴⁴

1. 2 A.M. (EC)
2. Salmo 129 [130] (WA)
3. Salmo 136 [137] (PAC)
4. Salmo 1 (WA)
5. Salmo 5 (EC)
6. Salmo 4 (WA)
7. Salmo 150 (PAC)
8. <i>Para cantar un réquiem</i> (WA)
9. Salmo 148 (PAC)
10. <i>Resurrección</i> (WA)
11. <i>Hemos de ser sinceros</i> (CP)

Table 4: *Misa popular nicaragüense/Salmos de Ernesto Cardenal y canciones de William Agudelo* (INDICA, 1969), Side B, Track Listing.
Participants: Ernesto Cardenal (EC), Pablo Antonio Cuadra (PAC), William Agudelo (WA), and Coro Parroquial [de San Pablo Apóstol] (CP).

Ernesto Cardenal created the *Salmos* in response to a late modernity engendered by particular anxieties of the Cold War in Latin America. They came out of his experiences as a novice at the Abbey of Our Lady of Gethsemani in Kentucky during the 1950s, where the collective singing of psalms, a cyclical sacred ritual, drove him to distraction. He often updated the ancient Hebrew narratives in his mind while singing in choir, an exercise resulting in their dislocation as contemporary political imagery.¹⁴⁵ After leaving Kentucky, his imagination took

literary shape in the reconstruction, or temporal “translation” as he referred to the process, of twenty-six psalms published as a collection in 1964.¹⁴⁶ The *Salmos* are a hybrid creation in which Christian doctrine and political ideology inhabit a liminal space, a prayer-song that seeks to resist or protest the ills of modernity.¹⁴⁷ They belong to Cardenal’s early literary work, a period informed by his politically conservative background, which spoke of demands for social change made from within the Catholic Church.¹⁴⁸ They foreshadowed his turn toward socially committed production and action, later manifesting in *El Evangelio en Solentiname* (The Gospel in Solentiname) and the *Misa campesina* (discussed below).

The theme of protest pervades the *Salmos* through the invocation of “universal” and local targets, at once preserving some of the original biblical contexts and dislocating them through resignification. Cardenal’s universal targets are oppressive state institutions—the Nazi SS, the Soviet NKVD, and the FBI—as well as those apparatuses that sow fear, distrust, or misery, and are thus worthy of his contempt—war councils, peace conferences, political parties, armed forces, media for the dissemination of propaganda, and processes leading to the torture of political prisoners. Although Nicaragua is never explicitly named, his invocation of the Guardia Nacional targets a local instrument of the state historically employed to arrest social protest or dissent. Behind naming the Guardia Nacional, however, is the true target—the Somoza family—as an “indictment at the height of persecutions and repressions that the Somoza dictatorship and Central American militaries unleash on the Isthmus [during the 1960s].”¹⁴⁹ Looming above these universal and local enemies is global nuclear annihilation as a

perpetual anxiety of the Cold War in Latin America. Bound up with themes of protest, the *Salmos* embodied Cardenal's socio-theological vision for change.¹⁵⁰ María Dolores Jaramillo has asserted that they represent "the construction of a new man, and as a promise or poetic prophecy of a wish for collective liberation."¹⁵¹

The contents on side B of the *Misa popular* recording offer no explicit indication of an overarching theme. Yet, on closer inspection, a particular Catholic ritual comes into focus. The poem 2 A.M. on the first track sets the stage for the sequence that follows. Composed while Cardenal was still a monastic novice in Kentucky, the opening verse recounts his mental distractions while chanting the psalms: "2 A.M. It is the hour of the Nocturnal Office, and the dimly lit church is full of demons. This is the hour of shadows and of parties. The hour of my revelry. And my past returns. ... And while we recite the psalms, my recollections interrupt the prayer like radios and like jukeboxes."¹⁵² The lines that follow present a surreal memoryscape in which the temptations and vices of Managua's nightlife coincide with the mechanisms and consequences of state repression taking place at the same hour. The poem 2 A.M. is thus an introduction that discloses the collective function of the *Salmos* and songs on side B. As such, the poem is neither a psalm nor a song and can be removed from further consideration. The final song, *Hemos de ser sinceros* (We Ought to Be Genuine), is also removed from consideration, as it was not part of the Cardenal-Agudelo project.¹⁵³ The remaining nine pieces are ones either recited by Cardenal or Nicaraguan writer-journalist Pablo Antonio Cuadra (1912–2002) or sung by Colombian poet William Agudelo (b. 1943), a cofounder

of Solentiname. Divided into three sets or nocturns, each containing three poems, the new ordering reveals a Matins service, the canonical hour traditionally observed at two in the morning (Table 5). The poem 2 A.M. situates the formal structure of side B as a socially committed canonical hour for the post-Vatican II era, a fitting companion to the *Misa popular nicaragüense*.¹⁵⁴ This new Matins reflected changes in the Divine Office during the 1960s, which allowed for the singing or recitation of the Psalms beyond the confines of the monastery, and opening a once-exclusive ritual to popular practice. The *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, similar to the liturgy, gave explicit license for the use of vernacular translations by formal approval of a church authority.¹⁵⁵

William Agudelo set a number of *Salmos* for voice and an instrumental accompaniment of electric guitar, electric bass, and drum kit. He sang each setting in addition to his original songs, *Para cantar un réquiem* (To Sing a Requiem) and *Resurrección* (Resurrection).¹⁵⁶ In stark contrast to the Nicaraguan folkloric-popular music in the *Misa popular*, his musical settings employed a Beatles-era rock and roll style, into which he weaved plainchant. His use of rock and roll transcended local meaning, and connected the *Salmos* and his songs to broader countercultural musical expression of the period.

In setting the *Salmos* and his poems to music, Agudelo transformed them into devotional protest songs.¹⁵⁷ Salmo 129, in particular, is an exemplar of his approach. From a traditional prayer-song of the sinner, Cardenal dislocated the text of Psalm 129 into the cry of a political prisoner. In turn, Agudelo heightened its meaning by employing melodic word painting and an evocative texture in the accompaniment. The

psalm begins with the prisoner beseeching God for liberation, introduced by a snare drum punctuating a strict marchlike tempo, and the guitars following suit. The vocal melody of the first lines illuminates the text, beginning in a low range and slowly ascending until reaching the highest note on the acronym “S.O.S.,” a historical distress signal (see AV Ex. 3 on article download page). As the accompaniment holds the relentless march, the subsequent text names the enemies of this protest song as being devoid of godly traits: the unforgiving investigators, untrustworthy leaders, or their

slogans and radio transmissions. A sudden halt to the music signals a transition to a calmer, freer section sustained by the rolling of a cymbal as the chords of the guitars fade away. Agudelo set the text—that of patient waiting for liberation—in a plainchant style over a drone, recalling the monastic contexts of the psalms, while reinscribing them for a postconciliar era. The martial music of the previous section picks back up immediately and through the end of the song (see AV Ex. 4 on article download page). The hybrid musical style—plainchant in a rock and roll context—appears to have been

<i>Psalm or Song</i>	<i>Text incipit</i>	<i>Voice</i>	<i>Instrumentation</i>
[NOCTURN I]			
Salmo 129 [130]	“Desde lo profundo clamo a ti Señor!”	William Agudelo	Electric guitar, electric bass, and drum kit
Salmo 136 [137]	“Junto a los ríos de Babilonia”	Pablo Antonio Cuadra	[Recited]
Salmo 1	“Bienaventurado el hombre que no sigue las consignas”	William Agudelo	Electric guitar, electric bass, and drum kit
[NOCTURN II]			
Salmo 5	“Escucha mis palabras oh Señor”	Ernesto Cardenal	[Recited]
Salmo 4	“Óyeme porque te invoco”	William Agudelo	Guitar
Salmo 150	“Alabad al Señor en el cosmos Su santuario”	Pablo Antonio Cuadra	[Recited]
[NOCTURN III]			
<i>Para cantar un réquiem</i>	“Anastasio, Crisóstomo, Paco, Juan Pedro . . .”	William Agudelo	Electric guitar, electric bass, and drum kit
Salmo 148	“Alabad al Señor nebulosas como motitas de polvo”	Pablo Antonio Cuadra	[Recited]
<i>Resurrección</i>	“Un día vendrá en que reiremos”	William Agudelo	Guitar

Table 5: *Misa popular nicaragüense/Salmos de Ernesto Cardenal y canciones de William Agudelo* (INDICA, 1969), Side B, Ordered as a Matins Service.

unprecedented as Catholic devotional music at the close of 1960s. Its documentation on recording thus evinces a novel religious-political-cultural expression as part of the renewal of the Latin American church.

Family of God in the “Strange Islands”

In 1966, Ernesto Cardenal, William Agudelo, and Carlos Alberto Restrepo founded Our Lady of Solentiname on the island of Mancarrón, located within the Archipelago of Solentiname at the southern end of Lake Nicaragua.¹⁵⁸ They aspired to establish an experimental contemplative-artistic community as part of Cardenal’s pastoral responsibilities over the archipelago. Yet, following a number of exchanges with San Pablo in 1968, their spiritual direction took shape in the adoption of the Familia de Dios program, initially facilitated by Agudelo’s visits to Managua.¹⁵⁹ De la Jara mentored Cardenal through the process of implementing a number of its approaches, which would see the community of *campesinos* grow over time.¹⁶⁰ Among de la Jara’s key recommendations was the substitution of the sermon with a dialogue on the Gospels (*concientización*), which took place in the context of the celebration of the liturgy. Cardenal noted:

The mass [at Solentiname] began with songs and guitars, and then I gave absolution to everyone, someone read the Gospel. And then there was commentary on it. I wore no vestments, [except for] a ribbon around my head, [while] seated with the others at the foot of the altar. We smoked during this part of the mass. Visitors would sometimes be scandalized—without reason—that there “was smoking in church.” I made an effort so that there would be genuine conversation, relaxed and spontaneous, without any of the

solemnity of the “mass,” during that part. When the commentaries ended, I rose to the altar and put on my vestments for the Communion Rite, also accompanied by songs and guitars.¹⁶¹

Although Cardenal did not specify the music heard during mass, it was nonetheless an integral part of Solentiname’s liturgical gatherings and liberation practices. The Gospel dialogues proved to be a defining factor for members of the community. Many of them were documented in *El Evangelio en Solentiname*, a collection transcribed from tape recordings (and memory) over a period of many years.¹⁶² The impetus for recording the dialogues had come from de la Jara. Alejandro Guevara, a member of the community, recalled that the Spanish priest “gave us the idea of taping the commentaries and told us how to do it. . . . [Afterwards], we saw how we were developing politically.”¹⁶³ The Gospel dialogues brought the community a measure of fame as a bastion of liberation theology praxis.¹⁶⁴

Speaking Directly with God in the *Misa campesina*

After many years of singing the *Misa popular* at Solentiname, Cardenal approached singer-composer Carlos Mejía Godoy (b. 1943) to create a representative vernacular mass for the community.¹⁶⁵ Mejía Godoy had earned a reputation as a recording artist and radio personality. He was also known for his socially committed songs and activism.¹⁶⁶ With Cardenal and his brother Fernando (1934–2016) serving as theological advisors, Mejía Godoy prepared the text and music to the *Misa campesina*, in part, over several visits to Solentiname.¹⁶⁷ During these visits, he came to identify with the community and its struggles, in turn shaping the direction the mass ultimately

took.¹⁶⁸ In the spirit of collaboration, he invited various Nicaraguan musicians to take part in its creation, but, receiving little response, he proceeded to do much of the work himself. The lone individual who did collaborate, Pablo Martínez Téllez (b. 1946), nicknamed “El Guadalupano,” wrote the *Canto de meditación* (Meditation Song), memorable for the whistling in imitation of birds native to Nicaragua that begins the section (see AV Ex. 5 on article download page).

The only other section that Mejía Godoy did not create – the *Miskito lawana* (Miskitu Song) – was an existing song provided by the Capuchin priest Gregory Smutko (1931–2001), who worked among Miskitu Indian communities on the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua.¹⁶⁹ The Franciscan Capuchins established along the coast had taken interest in the Familia de Dios course through exchanges with San Pablo from 1968 onward, out of which came Smutko’s writings on the liberation experiences of

the Miskitu.¹⁷⁰ Smutko recommended the Miskitu seminarian Anselmo Nixon to sing on the recording (see AV Ex. 6 on article download page).¹⁷¹ The text is a testament of Christian faith and Native cosmovision that brings together a Miskitu history of salvation with that of the Book of Hebrews (Table 6).¹⁷²

The official premiere of the *Misa campesina* took place in Managua, at the Plaza de Cabros in the settlement OPEN 3 (today, Ciudad Sandino).¹⁷⁴ But the event was cut short by the Guardia Nacional. The brothers Cardenal helped organize a *misa campal* (outdoor mass) that included an altar placed atop a specially erected stage. As hundreds of settlement residents and others from Managua gathered near the stage, the Guardia Nacional positioned their forces on the periphery. The military allowed the *Misa campesina* to begin but abruptly interrupted the mass, leading to the arrest of Mejía Godoy and others.¹⁷⁵ Despite the mass’s inauspicious

<i>Original</i>	<i>English</i>
Miskitu nani ba won dara walaia Swak sakan storka na pain wali bangwaia. Won Aisa purara ai kupia pihni ba Miskitu nesanka ban yamni munisa.	Miskitu brothers, we must reflect, This is the story of our salvation. Let us ponder that our Celestial Father Gives the Miskitu people his blessing.
Won dama Ebrahim pain kasak luki kan Ba mita witinra Gad bui brisata. Miskitu nani sin pain kasak luki ba Won Aisa purara yamni won brisa na.	Our father Abraham had enormous faith, Which is why the Lord chose him as a guide. We, Miskitu, ought to believe In Him who is the pure fountain of Liberation.
Won dama Ebrahim Gad bui aisata Ai Waihla nanira sut pura luaia Gad mita yawonra sin baku takan sa Won waihla nanira sut pura luisa.	When the Lord spoke to our father Abraham, He gave him strength and valor to fight relentlessly. When the Lord speaks to us, his Word gives us [strength] To overcome those who sow terror.
Won dama Ebrahim Gad bui aisata Ai kyamka nani ba ailal ban takbia. Gad mita yawonra sin baku takan sa Miskitu nani ba ailal sin bara sa.	God said to Abraham: your sons will grow And will joyfully populate this beautiful nation. The Miskitu brothers will multiply To exult, united as one, the glory of the Lord.

Table 6: *Misa campesina nicaragüense* (CBS, 1977), *Miskito lawana*, Original Text and Translation.¹⁷³

premiere, the event produced a couple of noteworthy results. First, the violence toward a defenseless crowd drew further criticism of state repression, an opportune development for the underground Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN), or Sandinista National Liberation Front, which was gaining momentum in its opposition to the Somoza government.¹⁷⁶ Mejía Godoy and the brothers Cardenal were secretly affiliated with the FSLN by that point. Second, the Bishops' Conference of Managua formally prohibited the *Misa campesina* from use in liturgical celebrations. The extensive revision of the liturgical text and its associations with Solentiname were viewed as a danger to the Catholic hierarchy and their longstanding relationship with the government.¹⁷⁷ However, the mass did not disappear, as the institutional church would have preferred, but took flight once recorded commercially.

The recording label CBS released the *Misa campesina* to an international market in 1977, expanding the reputations of Mejía Godoy, Cardenal, and the Solentiname community.¹⁷⁸ Similar to

Figure 9: *Misa campesina nicaragüense* (CBS, 1977), LP jacket, front. Image: Collection of the author.

the Familia de Dios antecedents, the LP jacket front contained representative art: a reproduction of a “primitivist” painting by Solentiname artist Marina Ortega, whose work formed part of the material culture of the community (Fig. 9). The image is of a mass held in the Church of Our Lady of Solentiname. Murals depicting life on the islands adorn the walls, each a reproduction of drawings made by local children. A stylized crucifix, made of plaster, hangs at the center of the altarpiece and is framed by a red patchwork background constructed from “old metal containers of combustible liquids.”¹⁷⁹ Sitting on either side of the church, members take part while some of them play music near the altar. The painting captured many of the elements for which the Solentiname community was renowned: “revolutionary” Christian music, painting, sculpture, and the setting of the Gospel dialogues (Fig. 10). The release of the LP turned out to be a bittersweet moment for Solentiname. That same year, its members, who had long been targets of state violence and repression, saw their community dissolve and forced into exile. The Guardia Nacional laid waste to the buildings at Solentiname. And although they would later be rebuilt, the utopian experiment ended almost overnight, thus transforming

Figure 10: Church of Our Lady of Solentiname, Mancarrón Island, Solentiname Archipelago, Lake Nicaragua (2012). Photo by the author.

Ortega's painting into a historical, if nostalgic, account of Christian liberation, as it demonstrated a transcendent vision of social change.¹⁸⁰

In his sections of the *Misa campesina*, Mejía Godoy employed traditional Nicaraguan dance types—mazurka, *son de pascua*, *son de toros*, and *son nica*. He took various melodies (contrafacta) from the folk repertoire of the northern and Pacific regions of the country—*La perra renca* (The Lame Dog), *La chancha flaca* (The Skinny Pig), *Mora*

limpia (Clean Berry), and *Mamá Ramona* (Mother Ramona).¹⁸¹ The instrumentation of the mass varies from section to section, yet guitars are heard throughout, with violin and accordion intermittently taking on melodic roles. Additionally, a marimba is employed in the ritornello of the *Canto de despedida* (Table 7). The varied grouping of musicians (mostly men) that accompany Mejía Godoy are subsumed under the collective El Taller de Sonido Popular (Popular Sound Studio), a precursor to the

Section	Text incipit	Dance type and instrumentation
I. <i>Canto de entrada</i>	“Vos sos el Dios de los pobres” (solo and male ensemble)	<i>Son de pascua</i> (accordion, guitars, metal triangle, and malinche tree seedpod rattle)
II. Kyrie	“Cristo, Cristo Jesús” (solo and male ensemble)	Mazurka <i>La perra renca</i> (violin, mandolin, accordion, and guitars)
III. Gloria	“Con el más alegre son de mi pueblo” (solo and male ensemble)	<i>Son de toros</i> with <i>Mamá Ramona</i> , and <i>Mora limpia</i> by Justo Santos (clarinet, trumpet, trombone, tuba, guitars, double bass, and percussion: cymbals, snare drum, bass drum)
IV. Credo	“Creo, Señor, firmemente” (solo and male ensemble)	<i>Son nica</i> (violin, accordion, guitars, double bass)
V. Ofertorio	“Yo te ofrezco, Señor, en esta misa” (solo and mixed ensemble)	Mazurka with <i>La chancha flaca</i> as introduction (violin, accordion, and guitars)
VI. <i>Canto de meditación</i> (Pablo Martínez Téllez)	“Ante que nazca el día” (solo and male ensemble)	Mazurka-Son (guitars)
VII. Sanctus	“Por todos los caminos” (solo and male ensemble)	Mazurka (violin, mandolin, accordion, guitars, and double bass)
VIII. <i>Miskito lawana</i> (Anselmo Nixon)	“Miskito nani ba” (duo and male ensemble)	Habanera (guitar, double bass, and jawbone rattle)
IX. <i>Canción de la comunión</i>	“Vamos a la milpa del Señor” (solo and male ensemble)	<i>Son nica</i> (<i>requinto</i> , guitars, double bass, and malinche tree seedpod rattle)
X. <i>Canto de despedida</i>	“No hay cosa más bonita” (solo and male ensemble)	<i>Son nica</i> (marimba, <i>requinto</i> , guitars, and double bass)

Table 7: *Misa campesina nicaragüense* (CBS, 1977): Sections, Text Incipits, and Musical Elements.¹⁸²

ensemble Los de Palacagüina, with which Mejía Godoy has been associated for much of his professional career.¹⁸³

Mejía Godoy claimed to have refrained from listening to other vernacular masses while working on the *Misa campesina*, in a conscious effort to prevent their influence. Nevertheless, he would have certainly known the *Misa popular* over a period of many years.¹⁸⁴ On one occasion he admitted, “if the experience of the *Misa popular nicaragüense* had not occurred prior, which was, let us say, a first stage of postconciliar liturgy, the *Misa campesina* would have not been what it was.”¹⁸⁵ He later reaffirmed the mass to have been the “hija legítima” (legitimate daughter) of the *Misa popular*, thereby bestowing a symbolic genealogy and an explicit line of influence between the two.¹⁸⁶ And in doing so, his admission suggests that San Pablo’s mass may have informed his own creation more strongly than acknowledged in the past.

The inspired text of the *Misa campesina* departed notably in representation from that of its *Familia de Dios* antecedents, evident in each of their respective opening processions. Whereas the *Misa típica* begins with a straightforward call to convene, “Vamos a la misa” (Let us go to mass) (AV Ex.7 on article download page),¹⁸⁷ the *Misa popular* declares the condition of the collective as a part of a call to assembly—“We are a people that walk along the paths of sorrow, let us gather joyfully at the supper of the Lord” (AV Ex. 8).¹⁸⁸ Both initiate the celebration of the mass by self-identifying as a community that gathers to worship together. The *Misa campesina*, however, begins from a position of the individual who speaks directly to God—“Vos sos el Dios de los pobres” (You are the God of the poor)—

delivered in a local form of Spanish (AV Ex. 9).¹⁸⁹ This was an unprecedented opening textual gesture that symbolically dispensed with the priest as mediator between God and the community.

Although its unison refrain implies community in performance, sung by a group of male voices, the “lone” vocal line at the beginning musically reflects the image of God onto that of the poor and oppressed. Writer Sergio Ramírez Mercado has noted that this embodiment “draws from the ancient theological concept of God made man through all men, who were made new in the 1970s as in the time of the first Christians.”¹⁹⁰ The positionality of the individual remains stable until the Offertory, subtly making a transition to a collective “we” in the first verse. The shift coincides with the timbre of a mixed-gender ensemble, the only section to include female voices in the entire recording. The mass text thus moves from the individual as God (e.g., *Cristo Campesino* or *Obrero* [Artisan]) to the community engaged in a world made by God and in a collective voice calling for liberation. Cardenal proposed that the *Misa campesina* was “not neutral [and] cannot be neutral in a class struggle. This mass, the same as the traditional celebration, is one against oppressors, those who would hinder the distribution in fraternal communion of the fruits of nature and work.”¹⁹¹ Although the *Misa campesina* was not a creation of the Solentiname community, as were those of San Miguelito and San Pablo, the work so strongly identified with its hopes and struggles that it was embraced by the community (and received elsewhere) as its own, earning the moniker “Misa de Solentiname.”¹⁹²

The Catholic Church underwent profound renewal during the 1960s. The bishops of the Second Vatican Council elected to engage the modern world in response to its social and political challenges. Catholics saw the church acknowledge them and adapt to their realities. The once steadfast celebration of the liturgy, a bedrock of sacred rituals, now addressed local or regional identity. Latin and plainsong gave way to vernacular languages, musics, and performance practices. Taking inspiration from this wave of change, Catholic musicians, writers, and artists created diverse musical settings and textual translations of the liturgy, in addition to innovative visual art. These developments took on particular resonances in Latin America, where the bishops of CELAM sought to confront systemic poverty and injustice by affirming the experience of the poor, as well as the social and political processes that would give rise to a theology of liberation. Singing was an abiding collective expression wherever *concientización* took place, not

as a secondary feature, but as part and parcel of a ritual whole, forming a circular relationship between *concientización*, prayer, and song. This uniquely Latin American postconciliar ritual (*concientización*-prayer-song) was the fundamental building block of the liberation method for the Familia de Dios movement. The vernacular masses that emerged from San Miguelito, San Pablo Apóstol, and Solentiname musically embodied the community in reflection of its collective identity. They accompanied the transition of liberation practices from internal community building to outward social and political engagement, as enacted by postconciliar priests, religious, and lay people. If the origins of liberation theology lie in the experiences and critical awakening of the poor, they also lie in their expressions—spoken *and* sung. The Familia de Dios masses were thus musical emblems of this process within their respective popular church communities. They were *liberation* masses that sang of faith, hope, and struggle in a post conciliar world.

NOTES

1 Ernesto Cardenal, *Las ínsulas extrañas* (Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 2002), 196. "...a no tener un sermón sobre el Evangelio, sino un diálogo sobre él, comentándolo entre todos. Esto él lo había aprendido de una parroquia pobre de Panamá, la de San Miguelito, famosa por los comentarios del Evangelio que allí se hacían, y eso lo habían aprendido ellos de una parroquia pobre de Chicago. De Chicago esto pasó pues a San Miguelito, y de allí a la parroquia del Padre de la Jara, que también fue famosa, y de allí a Solentiname." Variants of this anecdote can also be found in Ernesto Cardenal, "El Evangelio en Solentiname fue Obra del Pueblo," in *Nicaragua, Trinchera Teológica*, ed. Giulio Girardi, Benjamín Forcano, and José María Vigil (Salamanca: Lóguez Ediciones and Managua: Centro Ecueménico Antonio Valdivieso, 1987), 339–43; and the prologue in Tiago Genoveze and young photographers of Solentiname, *Miradas de Solentiname: Fotografías y reflexiones* (Managua: Centro

de Escritores Nicaragüenses, 2014). Unless noted otherwise, all translations are my own.

2 From this point onward I will use an abbreviated form of each mass title.

3 Chilean theologian Pablo Richard points to a "structural crisis within the capitalist system, a crisis of Latin American dependent capitalism, and the internal restructuring of economic, political, and ideological relationships" as broad elements impacting the Catholic Church around the turn of the 1960s, which look to have played a role in the pope's historic initiatives; see Pablo Richard, *Death of Christendoms, Birth of the Church*, trans. Phillip Berryman (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987), 79.

4 Gerald M. Costello, *Mission to Latin America* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979), 44–45. This initiative ultimately failed by the end of the decade; see Phillip Berryman, "Popular Catholicism in Latin America," *CrossCurrents* 21/3 (1971): 284–301.

5 Eileen Markey, *A Radical Faith: The Assassination of Sister Maura* (New York: Nation Books, 2016), 100–102.

6 See Xavier Rynne, *Vatican Council II* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999 [1968]), and Matthew L. Lamb, and Matthew Levering, *Vatican II: Renewal within Tradition* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Pope John XXIII announced plans to call a council on Jan. 25, 1959; formally summoned the council as a *Humanae salutis* on Dec. 25, 1961; and opened it on Oct. 11, 1962. He died not long thereafter and was succeeded by Paul VI. Henceforth referred to as “Vatican II.”

7 Phillip Berryman, *Memento of the Living and the Dead: A First-Person Account of Church, Violence, and Resistance in Latin America* (Eugene, OR: Resource Publications, 2019), 71.

8 See Gerald M. Costello, *Mission to Latin America* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979), chap. 10.

9 “Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops ‘The Church in the Present-Day Transformation of Latin America in the Light of the Council’ (August 26–September 6, 1968),” in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T. Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1990), 89.

10 For the final documents produced by the conference in Medellín, as well as Pope Paul VI’s opening address, see *ibid.*, 89–119.

11 Leonardo and Clodovis Boff, *Introducing Liberation Theology*, trans. Paul Burns (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1986), 3. In my use of the noun “poor,” I draw from the work of Leonardo and Clodovis Boff, who refer to a “collective poor, the ‘popular classes’... the workers exploited by the capitalist system, the underemployed, those pushed aside by the production process.” The term thus encapsulates people within or affected by systemic poverty.

12 Phillip Berryman, *Liberation Theology* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 42–44. The qualification “preferential” was attached to the term at the following CELAM, held in Puebla, Mexico, in 1979.

13 Richard, *Death of Christendoms*, 172–76.

14 Costello, *Mission*, 153.

15 Berryman, *Liberation Theology*, 34–38. On Freire’s method, see Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014).

16 Paulo Freire, “‘Conscientizing as a Way of Liberating’ (1970),” in Hennelly, *Liberation Theology*, 6.

17 Christine Baudin Hernandez, “From ‘Supernaturalizing’ to Liberation: The Maryknoll

Sisters in Nicaragua, 1945–1975” (Ph.D. diss., St. Louis University, 2014), 170.

18 *Ibid.*, 169–70. Baudin Hernandez traces the origin of *concientización* to the “See, Judge, Act” method of the Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne (JOC), or Young Christian Workers, founded by Belgian cardinal Joseph Cardijn. Applied to working-class groups, the method encouraged a conversational style of exchange.

19 Costello, *Mission*, 154.

20 Pope Paul VI, “*Populorum Progressio* – Encyclical of Pope Paul VI on the Development of Peoples” (Vatican: The Holy See, March 26, 1967), “The Ultimate Purpose,” Article 34, http://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_26031967_populorum.html (accessed Jan. 5, 2021).

21 *Ibid.*, “A New Humanism Needed,” Article 20.

22 Richard, *Death of Christendoms*, 145.

23 Alfred T. Hennelly, “Seeds of a Liberating Theology (1950s–1962),” in Hennelly, *Liberation Theology*, 2.

24 For a selection on liberation theology in Latin America, see Hugo Assmann, *Opresión-liberación: Desafío a los Cristianos* (Montevideo: Editorial Tierra Nueva, [1971]); Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Teología de la liberación: Perspectivas* (Lima: CEP, 1971); Roberto Oliveros, *Liberación y teología: Génesis y crecimiento de una reflexión, 1966–1977* (Lima: Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1977); Leonardo Boff and Clodovis Boff, *Introducing Liberation Theology*, trans. Paul Burns (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1986); Deane William Fernald, *Third World Liberation Theologies: A Reader* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1986); Phillip Berryman, *Liberation Theology* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987); *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T. Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1990); and *Mysterium Liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology*, ed. Ignacio Ellacuría and Jon Sobrino (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993).

25 Berryman, *Liberation Theology*, 26.

26 Gutiérrez, *Teología*. Gutiérrez first used the term in a talk given in Peru weeks prior to CELAM; see Gustavo Gutiérrez, “Toward a Theology of Liberation (July 1968),” in Hennelly, *Liberation Theology*, 62–76.

27 Gutiérrez, *Teología*, 9. “Este trabajo intenta una reflexión, a partir del Evangelio y de las experiencias de hombres y de mujeres comprometidos con el proceso de liberación, en este subcontinente de opresión y despojo que es América Latina. Reflexión teológica que nace de

esa experiencia compartida en el esfuerzo por la abolición de la actual situación de injusticia y por la construcción de una sociedad distinta, más libre y más humana.”

28 Richard, *Death of Christendoms*, 150.

29 On the Movement of Priests for the Third World, see María Soledad Catoggio, “Movimiento de Sacerdotes para el Tercer Mundo y servicios de inteligencia: 1969–1970,” *Sociedad y Religión* 20/30–31 (2008): 171–89; Claudia F. Touris, “Profetismo, política y neo-clericalismo en el Movimiento de Sacerdotes para el Tercer Mundo (MTSM) en Argentina,” *Anuario IEHS* 24 (2009): 477–99; and Claudia F. Touris, “Catolicismo y cultura política en la Argentina: La constelación tercermundista (1955–1976),” Ph.D. diss., Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2012.

30 Richard, *Death of Christendoms*, 150.

31 There was some engagement with Latin American social science and Marxist thought, as church personnel searched for tools in addressing their work. This culminated in the movement *Cristianos por el Socialismo* (Christians for Socialism), initiated by a group of Chilean priests in 1971; see Berryman, *Memento*, 124–25; Berryman, *Liberation Theology*, 138–50; and Michael Löwy, *The War of Gods: Religion and Politics in Latin America* (London: Verso, 1996).

32 The other constitutions were *Lumen Gentium* (Light of the Nations, Nov. 21, 1964), *Dei Verbum* (Word of God, Nov. 18, 1965), and *Gaudium et Spes* (Joy and Hope, Dec. 7, 1965).

33 Berryman, *Liberation Theology*, 16.

34 On matters of music and the liturgy, the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* replaced an earlier set of official instructions, *De musica sacra et sacra liturgia* (1958), itself a consolidation of three notable papal documents on sacred music issued during the twentieth century, including the *Inter Sollicitudines, Motu Proprio* (Pius X, Nov. 22, 1903), Apostolic constitution *Divini cultus* (Pius XI, Dec. 20, 1928), and encyclical *Musicae sacrae disciplina* (Pius XII, Dec. 25, 1955); see Sacred Congregation of Rites, “*De musica sacra et sacra liturgia* – Instruction on Sacred Music and Sacred Liturgy” (Vatican: The Holy See, Sept. 3, 1958), <https://adoremus.org/1958/09/instruction-on-sacred-music/> (accessed Jan. 4, 2021).

35 For recent studies on the villancico, see Javier Marín López, ed., *De Nueva España a México: El universo musical mexicano entre centenarios, 1517–1917* (Seville: Universidad Internacional de Andalucía, 2020); Esther Borrego Gutiérrez and Javier Marín López, eds., *El villancico en la encrucijada: Nuevas perspectivas en torno a un género*

(Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2019); Javier Marín López, ed., *Músicas coloniales a debate: Procesos de intercambio euroamericanos* (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2018); Ireri E. Chávez Bárcenas, “Native Song and Dance Affect in Seventeenth-Century Christian Festivals in New Spain,” in *Acoustemologies in Contact: Sounding Subjects and Modes of Listening in Early Modernity*, ed. Emily Wilbourne and Suzanne G. Cusick (Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2021), 37–64; and Leonardo J. Waisman, *Una historia de la música colonial hispanoamericana* (Buenos Aires: Gourmet Musical Ediciones, 2018).

36 Pope Paul VI, “*Sacrosanctum Concilium*—Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy” (Vatican: The Holy See, Dec. 4, 1963), http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html (accessed Jan. 4, 2021).

37 Ibid., Chapter II, “The Most Sacred Mystery of the Eucharist,” Article 54.

38 Ibid.

39 “*El Ritual Bilingüe: New Latin-Spanish Ritual*,” *CIF Reports* 1/9 (February 1963): 40; and *Misal Diario Católico Apostólico Romano* (1962) (Kansas City, MO: Angelus Press, 2013).

40 Pope Paul VI, “*Sacrosanctum Concilium*,” Chapter VI, “Sacred Music,” Article 112.

41 Ibid., Articles 114–17.

42 Ibid., Article 119.

43 Ibid., Article 120. The “competent territorial authority” may refer to a bishop, a papal nuncio, or some other designated individual empowered to make decisions on liturgical matters.

44 Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, “*Musicam Sacram* – Instruction on Music in the Liturgy” (Vatican: The Holy See, March 5, 1967), http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_instr_19670305_musicam-sacram_en.html (accessed Jan. 4, 2021).

45 Ibid., Articles 47–49. Article 47 is, admittedly, somewhat confusing. It opens by citing the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* in the promotion of Latin, follows with a “however” that gives some room to employ the vernacular, and quickly returns to reinforcing the Latin by giving responsibility for its implementation to “pastors of souls.” The ambiguity may have been placed there by design, granting church authorities the option of implementing changes as they saw fit.

46 “Documentos finales de Medellín,” *Medellín: Segunda Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano, Septiembre de 1968*, digital edition by José Luis Gómez-Martínez, <http://>

www.ensayistas.org/critica/liberacion/medellin/ (accessed Jan. 4, 2021).

47 Ibid., “Liturgia,” Article 8d. “Valerse de la Comisión diocesana o interdiocesana recomendadas por el Concilio, compuestas de expertos en liturgia, Biblia, pastoral, música y arte sacro.”

48 Ibid., “Servicios de CELAM,” Article 11c. “Una oficina de coordinación de los musicólogos, artistas y compositores para aunar los esfuerzos que se están realizando en nuestras naciones, en orden a proporcionar una música digna de los sagrados misterios.”

49 Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship, “*Liturgicae Instaurationes* – Instruction on the Orderly Carrying Out of the Constitution on the Liturgy” (Vatican: The Holy See, Sept. 5, 1970), Article 3a–c, <https://adoremus.org/2007/12/liturgicae-instaurationes/> (accessed Jan. 4, 2021).

50 Ibid., [Introduction].

51 Ibid., Article 3a–c.

52 See Phillip Berryman, “Latin America: ‘Iglesia que nace del pueblo,’” *Christianity and Crisis* 41/14 (1981): 238–42.

53 My exploration is centered on vernacular mass production in predominantly Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America. Where relevant, I touch on connections to associated works in Portuguese, particularly from Brazil, yet settings in that language are beyond the scope of this article. For a study of vernacular traditions and the mass in Brazil, see Fernando Lacerda Simões Duarte, “A língua vernácula na música católica no Brasil desde o século XIX: Cânticos espirituais e as representações acerca da participação ativa dos fiéis nos ritos religiosos,” *Opus* 22/ 2 (2016): 115146; Fernando Lacerda Simões Duarte, “Cânticos Christãos, ou os Hymnos mais Celebres do Officio Ecclesiastico, traduzidos em portuguez: uma chave para a compreensão das continuidades no uso da língua portuguesa na música religiosa católica,” *Opus* 26/3 (2020): 144; Glaura Lucas, “Drums in the Experience of Black Catholicism in Minas Gerais, Brazil,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Music and World Christianities*, ed. Suzel Ana Reily and Jonathan M. Dueck (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 163186; and Cathy Ann Elias, “Liberation Theology: Affirmation and Homage in Three Brazilian Masses,” in *Christian Sacred Music in the Americas*, ed. Andrew Shenton and Joanna Smolko (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), 322.

54 The study of vernacular masses or popular musical devotion has been of particular interest to Chilean scholars; see Freddy Vilches Meneses, “Oratorio para el pueblo: Religiosidad popular

en la canción latinoamericana,” *Resonancias* 29 (2011): 41–55; Cristián Guerra Rojas, “La nueva canción chilena y las misas folclóricas de 1965,” in *Palimpsestos sonoros: Reflexiones sobre la Nueva Canción Chilena*, ed. Eileen Karmy and Farías Zúñiga (Santiago, Chile: Ceibo, 2014), 81–97; and Pablo Rojas Sahurie, “Sonido, religión y Nueva Canción Chilena: Un análisis de ‘El hombre’ de Rolando Alarcón,” *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana* 33 (2020): 241–79.

55 Though already widely established, the employment of jazz and folkloric styles was formally approved by the pope in 1969; see “Pápa aprueba música folklórica,” *Testimonio* 6 (May 1969): [6].

56 This table includes a selection of vernacular masses produced and marketed in predominantly Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America.

57 Likely intended to capitalize on the commercial success of vernacular mass recordings, non-Catholic works labeled “misa” also appeared on the market. For example, the *Misa Santería* (Cuba) and *Misa Macumba* (Brazil) were ethnographic recordings of African/Afro-descendant religious rituals; see Maurice Bitter, comp., *Misa Santería: Vaudou à Cuba*, Riviera 521102, 1967, 33½ rpm; and Maurice Bitter, comp., *Misa Macumba: Vaudou au Brésil*, Riviera 521106, 1967, 33½ rpm.

58 Ariel Ramírez, Los Fronterizos, and Cantoría de la Basílica del Socorro, *Misa criolla*, Philips 820 39PL, 1964, 33½ rpm. Philips had already achieved significant commercial success with an earlier vernacular work, *Missa Luba*, a Tridentine or pre-Vatican II setting of the Latin mass that employed Congolese traditional music, arranged by Belgian priest Guido Haazen, while working in the Belgian Congo during the 1950s; see Marc Ashley Foster, “*Missa Luba*: A New Edition and Conductor’s Analysis” (DMA diss., University of North Carolina, Greensboro, 2005). The recording of the *Missa Luba* was followed by the release of another Congolese vernacular work, *Missa Bantu*, a Mass for the First Sunday after Easter, performed by Les Soeurs Blanches, Chorus of the Congolese Sisters of Katana (Kivu), under the direction of Sister Lucrèce; see Joachim Ngoi and Les Troubadours du Roi Baudouin, *Missa Luba*, Philips 428.138 PE, 1958, 45 rpm; and Sister Lucrèce and Les Soeurs Blanches, *Missa Bantu*, Philips PCC-211, 1964, 33½ rpm.

59 Philips released or rereleased this recording in numerous markets around the globe over many years; see “Ariel Ramírez, Los Fronterizos, Choeurs de la Basilique de Socorro – Misa Criolla,” Discogs, <https://www.discogs.com/Ariel-Ramirez-Los->

Fronterizos-Choeurs-De-La-Bas%C3%ADlique-De-Socorro-Misa-Criolla/master/426100 (accessed Jan. 8, 2021).

60 The *Misa mexicana* (1965) departed from these possibilities and offered a second vernacular mass in “Gregorian chant style” on the reverse.

61 There does not seem to be a commercial production of musical scores during the 1960s, though they appear in subsequent decades. During this period, however, I have only been able to locate a single published score of an unrecorded mass: Toño Robira, Tomás A. Clavel, and Laureano Crestar Durán, *La Santa misa criolla panameña* (Panama City, ca. 1966). The work contains folkloric music in each of its sections—Kyrie (*punto lento*), Gloria (*tambor*), Aleluya (*tamborera*), Credo (*tamborito*), Ofertorio (*tuna*), Santo (*cumbia*), Cordero de Dios (*mejorana*), and “Señor, no soy digno” (*punto lento*).

62 Leclerc, *Misa tepozteca*, 161. “De tu pueblo salvado, Señor Cristo ten piedad; En la tierra caminando, confiamos en Ti, Señor.”

63 Ángel Parra, *Oratorio para el pueblo*, Text of mass, <http://www.cancioneros.com/nc/5351/0/gloria-angel-parra> (accessed Feb. 5, 2017). “Gloria tenga usted en el cielo, y que en la tierra haya paz, porque la vida es muy dura cuando hay falta voluntad.”

64 David A. Badillo, *Latinos and the New Immigrant Church* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 86–87.

65 Felix M. Padilla, *Puerto Rican Chicago* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), 127.

66 William Ferree, Ivan Illich, and Joseph R. Fitzpatrick, eds., *Spiritual Care of Puerto Rican Migrants* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), 3–4.

67 Bravo, *Parish of San Miguelito*, 20–21.

68 Leo T. Mahon and Sister M. Xavier, *La familia de Dios: Un curso para catequistas* (Chicago: Cardinal’s Committee for the Spanish Speaking, 1961). For a short biography of Sister Mary Xavier, see “Sister Mary Xavier O’Donnell, MM,” Maryknoll Mission Archives, Maryknoll Father and Brothers, Maryknoll Sisters, and Maryknoll Lay Missioners, <https://maryknollmissionarchives.org/deceased-sisters/sister-mary-xavier-odonnell-mm/> (accessed Jan. 8, 2021).

69 Bravo, *Parish of San Miguelito*, 22; Mahon and Xavier, *La familia*, 150–52.

70 The *Familia de Dios* method was later translated into English; see Leo T. Mahon and Sister Mary Xavier of Maryknoll, *A Catechism of the Family of God* (Maryknoll, NY: Maryknoll Publications, 1964); and Leo T. Mahon and Sister Mary Xavier of Maryknoll, *The Family of God: Catechist’s Manual* (Maryknoll, NY:

Maryknoll Publications, 1965). Subsequent English translations omitted the music included in the original Spanish-language publication of the catechism. Yet hymn texts were retained in some lessons where singing closed the gathering.

71 For an early history of the San Miguelito Mission, see Francisco Bravo, *The Parish of San Miguelito*, Sondeos 4 (Cuernavaca: CIDOC, 1966).

72 Ibid., 93.

73 Berryman, *Memento*, 63.

74 Ibid., 56.

75 Berryman, *Liberation Theology*, 66. The *cursillo* was an adaptation of the Spanish *Cursillo de Cristiandad* (Little Course on Christianity), combined with the Method of Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius Loyola and the Exercises for a Better World by Fr. Lombardi; see Bravo, *Parish of San Miguelito*, 178. Other programs implemented at San Miguelito were Catholic Action and Christian Family Movement.

76 On Freire’s seminal work, see his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

77 Mahon and Davis, *Fire under My Feet*, 54.

78 Marcello de C. Azevedo, “Basic Ecclesial Communities,” in Ellacuría and Sobrino, *Mysterium Liberationis*, 642.

79 Berryman, “Latin America,” 238.

80 Bravo, *Parish of San Miguelito*, 218–24.

81 Berryman, *Liberation Theology*, 67.

82 Markey, *A Radical Faith*, 101.

83 The movement also reached the United States. For an early study of the Familia de Dios movement, see Robert J. Delaney, “Pastoral Renewal in a Local Church: Investigation of the Pastoral Principles in the Development of the Local Church of San Miguelito, Panama” (Ph.D. diss., University of Münster, Germany, 1974).

84 Mahon and Davis, *Fire under My Feet*, 200.

85 Berryman, *Memento*, 106–08.

86 “Cristo Redentor, San Miguelito Mission,” Box HIST/S1000/1, Item 2021/1, Rev. John P. Enright Collection, Archdiocese of Chicago’s Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Records Center, Chicago, IL.

87 Ibid., 6; and Bravo, *Parish of San Miguelito*, 245–46. Ríos was born in the town of Chitré located in the interior province of Herrera. He received his early education at the Colegio La Salle. When he joined the San Miguelito community, Ríos was already married and living in Villa Guadalupe, a neighborhood that would eventually become part of San Miguelito.

88 “San Miguelito . . . : Sounds of a New Native Faith,” *Panama Canal Review*, August 1968: 7.

89 Sister Graciela Hernández was part of a group of Maryknoll Sisters who had arrived at San Miguelito in 1965. She was known for enriching gatherings with her guitar playing. She left San Miguelito and her religious order to marry in 1970; see Bravo, *Parish of San Miguelito*, 210; and Berryman, *Memento*, 63, 110–11.

90 Bravo, *Parish of San Miguelito*, 245–46. “1) Que la música se adapta a la parte correspondiente de la Misa, sin perder el sabor panameño. 2) Que el pueblo pueda cantarlo.”

91 “San Miguelito . . .,” 6–7.

92 Mahon and Davis, *Fire under My Feet*, 67. The creation of the *Misa típica* was followed by “dancing during the liturgy.”

93 Joseph Fitzpatrick, “Parish of the Future,” *America* 113/19 (Nov. 6, 1965): 522. For a description of the *Missa Luba*, see note 75 above.

94 I am grateful to Eileen Markey for bringing the *Misa típica* LP recording to my attention in September 2013. She had become aware of it while working on a biography of Maryknoll Sister Maura Clark.

95 Mahon and Davis, *Fire under My Feet*, 69.

96 Bravo, *Parish of San Miguelito*, 224–31.

97 Lillian Brulc, “The San Miguelito Murals,” box ADMN/A1350/614, folder “Lillian Brulc’s Remarks,” Donald Headley Papers, Archdiocese of Chicago’s Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Records Center, Chicago, IL.

98 Ibid.

99 Mahon and Davis, *Fire under My Feet*, 69.

100 Ríos, *Misa típica*, 33⅓ rpm. I deduced the date of the first release from the information on the back of the second pressing, which reproduces the text from the first, yet adds that the second was released in 1968, and underwritten by different patronage—MINSA-Publicidad. The personnel listed included José “Pepe” Nelson Ríos and Franco Poveda (singers), members of the community (chorus), Manolo Ríos (guitar), and Colaco Cortéz (violin and *bocona*). The name of the *tambor* player is omitted.

101 “San Miguelito . . .,” 6.

102 On the first scholarly study of the *saloma*, see Narciso Garay, *Tradiciones y cantares de Panamá: Ensayo folclórico* ([Bruxelles]: [Presses de l’Expansion belge], 1930). For recent studies of *música típica* in Panama, including the *saloma*, see Sean Bellaviti, *Música Típica: Cumbia and the Rise of Musical Nationalism in Panama* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020); and Melissa Gonzalez, “‘Cien por ciento nacional’: Panamanian Música Típica and the Quest for National and Territorial Sovereignty” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2015).

103 Ríos, *Misa típica*, 33⅓ rpm, and printed card “Misa típica panameña de San Miguelito,” CSMM 10/37, Subject File, Iglesia—La Paz—[1965–1977], San Miguelito Mission Records (SMM), University of Notre Dame Archives (UNDA), Notre Dame, IN (hereafter cited as “Misa típica panameña,” San Miguelito Mission Records).

104 Manuel Zárate and Dora Zárate, *Tambor y socavón* (Panama City: Talleres de la Imprenta Nacional, 1962), 242. “. . . que combina la voz natural con la del falsete y que usa como texto, la simple vocalización o la estancia poética.”

105 Ibid., 254. “...dos tipos de ceremonias en los cuales la saloma no tiene papel alguno: el culto religioso y los funerales; ni siquiera cuando se trata de procesiones propiciatorias o en los velos de angelitos en que no faltan música y cantos pocos litúrgicos.”

106 For biographical details of José de la Jara, see Félix Jiménez, *Pobres por los pobres: Las comunidades eclesiales de base de la Parroquia San Pablo Apóstol (1966–2016)* (Managua: Editarte, 2016); and José de la Jara Alonso, *Un grito desde la profundidad: poemas y pensamientos* (Seattle: Earl Avenue Press, 2018).

107 Félix Jiménez, “La Parroquia San Pablo, germen de las comunidades de base en Nicaragua,” in Girardi, Forcano, and Vigil, *Nicaragua, Trinchera Teológica*, 63–64.

108 On the Maryknoll Sisters in Nicaragua, see Baudin Hernandez, “From ‘Supernaturalizing’ to Liberation”; and Markey, *A Radical Faith*.

109 During the 1960s, the Seminary of Ávila, Spain, administrated the National Seminary in Nicaragua, making for a close relationship between the two institutions and for the provision of Spanish clergy. Mariano Velázquez and Félix Jiménez joined de la Jara in 1968. A fourth Spanish priest, Antonio Esgueva Gómez, arrived in 1972.

110 For an early history of San Pablo, as told by its lay members, see Eliseo Duarte [Juárez], Ramón Pravia, Humberto Vallecillo, Julio Robelo, and Vicente Ríos, “Cómo se formó una comunidad cristiana [pt. 1],” *Testimonio* 10 (September 1969): 12–13; “Cómo se formó una comunidad cristiana [pt. 2],” *Testimonio* 11 (October 1969): 14; and “La comunidad cristiana de San Pablo Apóstol,” *Testimonio* 12 (November 1969): 12.

111 Letters to Leo Mahon by José de la Jara, Jan. 1, 1967, CSMM 2/1, General Correspondence, A–L [1966–1967], San Miguelito Mission Records (SMM), University of Notre Dame Archives (UNDA), Notre Dame, IN (hereafter cited as Letters to Leo Mahon, San Miguelito Mission Records).

112 Ibid. For a short biography of Sister Marie Estelle, see “Sister Marie Estelle Coupe, MM,” Maryknoll Mission Archives, Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers, Maryknoll Sisters, and Maryknoll Lay Missioners, <https://maryknollmissionarchives.org/deceased-sisters/sister-marie-estelle-coupe-mm/> (accessed Jan. 10, 2021).

113 Jiménez, *La Parroquia San Pablo*, 64–65; and Duarte [Juárez] et al., “Cómo se formó una comunidad cristiana [pt. 1],” 12.

114 Typescript of “La memoria—1968,” CSMM 7/53, Comunidad Cristiana de San Pablo Apóstol, San Miguelito Mission Records (SMM), University of Notre Dame Archives (UNDA), Notre Dame, IN (hereafter cited as “La memoria,” San Miguelito Mission Records).

115 Manuelito Dávila, Carlos Carrión, and Antonio Esgueva, in discussion with the author, Jan. 7, 2014.

116 Duarte [Juárez] et al., “Cómo se formó una comunidad cristiana [pt. 1],” 12. Gospel dialogues were also part of this mass. “. . . con interpretaciones de la versión panameña.”

117 “La memoria,” San Miguelito Mission Records. In another document, lay members place the beginning of the mass project in early April 1968; see Duarte [Juárez] et al., “Cómo se formó una comunidad cristiana [pt. 2],” 14. “En los primeros días de Febrero se comenzó a trabajar en la composición de nuestra Misa Nicaragüense. Personalmente, fué componiendo las letras de las distintas partes cantables de la Misa y Manuel Dávila, con la colaboración de Ángel Cerpas, fueron componiendo las melodías con sus acompañamientos de guitarra. Poco a poco se fué sustituyendo la Misa Panameña por la nuestra Nica.”

118 Ibid. “Una vez que la terminemos, y se le aplique la marimba, esperamos sea grabada en un disco.” The original recording on LP of the *Misa popular* (INDICA, 1969) does not include marimba.

119 “Cómo se formó una comunidad cristiana [pt. 2],” 14. “. . . es dirigida especialmente a los que viven en lugares alejados o imposibilitados de asistir a la misa.”

120 “La memoria,” San Miguelito Mission Records.

121 In early 1968, priests from the towns of Condega, Pueblo Nuevo, and Somoto resided at San Pablo in order to take its methods back to their respective parishes. The Franciscan Capuchins established on the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua also took an interest and were to begin formal exchanges, but postponed moving forward as a group. Instead, individual Capuchins visited San Pablo on their own.

122 For the conference proceedings, see *De cara al futuro de la Iglesia de Nicaragua: Primer encuentro pastoral* (Managua: Fichero Pastoral Centroamericano, 1969). The event took place from Jan. 25 to Feb. 1.

123 Jiménez, *Pobres por los pobres*, 121–22. “...el Credo no se podía cantar en la liturgia de la misa porque uno de sus dogmas era incorrectamente enunciado. Y es que decía en su primera estrofa: Creemos en Jesucristo, su Hijo, que ‘nació de nuestra gente,’ en vez de decir que nació de la Virgen María. Aunque el padre José de la Jara les replicó que también la Virgen María es de nuestra gente, la prohibición quedó. . . . Por cierto, el Credo siguió cantándose como si nada hubiera ocurrido.”

124 Félix Jiménez and Luciano Sequeira, in discussion with the author, Dec. 17, 2013.

125 On prohibitions of musical instruments in the Nicaraguan church, see *Reglamento litúrgico-musical* (Leon, Nicaragua: Tipografía Los Hechos, 1937).

126 “La Comunidad Cristiana de San Pablo Apóstol,” 12. Radio Centauro was managed by Salvador Cardenal Argüello, a prominent cultural figure; see Alfredo Barrera Narváez, *Salvador Cardenal Argüello: Vida y obra* (Managua: Fondo Editorial Instituto Nicaragüense de Cultura, 1997).

127 Félix Jiménez and Luciano Sequeira, in discussion with the author, Dec. 17, 2013.

128 “Prohíben grabación del disco de ‘Los Salmos’ del P. Cardenal,” *Testimonio* 10 (September 1969): 1.

129 “Liturgia y el Pueblo,” *Testimonio* 8 (July 1969): 4. “Guiados por un gran afán de autenticidad, fueron desterrando por si mismos todo cuanto de artificial y postizo había en la liturgia, haciendo brotar de sus guitarras—viejas ya y empolvadas—canciones llenas de esencias del alma Nica.”

130 These individuals were the parish musicians at San Pablo. They led the singing at mass, in addition to other gatherings. One other musician and member of the community, Juan José Mendoza, also contributed to the creation of the *Misa popular*.

131 Ibid. “. . . bella aportación al tesoro litúrgico de la Iglesia de Nicaragua.”

132 Cardenal, *Las ínsulas*, 253.

133 “Prohíben grabación,” 1. “. . . problemas de índole político con las autoridades.”

134 Sáenz was part of Grupo Praxis, a collective of socially and politically committed Nicaraguan artists founded in 1963; see Embajada de España en Nicaragua, *Alejandro Aróstegui: Una retrospectiva* (Managua: Embajada de España, 2007); and

Pintura contemporánea de Nicaragua (Managua: Editorial Nueva Nicaragua and Ediciones Monimbó, [1980s]).

135 For a history of the Somoza family dictatorship, see Frances Kinloch Tijerino, *Historia de Nicaragua* (Managua: IHNCA-UCA, 2006).

136 Ernesto Cardenal, "Carta a los Obispos," *Testimonio* 18 (November 1970): 19.

137 Richard, *Death of Christendoms*, 150.

138 The mazurka and waltz were among the social dances imported from Europe during the nineteenth century. Local cultural processes adapted them (transculturation), resulting in varieties found in the western and northern regions of Nicaragua, as well as its Caribbean coast. A later arrival, the *bolero* heard in the final section underwent a similar process.

139 A diatonic marimba with a long, arched handle connecting both ends, pitched in D major, with a range of two octaves and a sixth.

140 Pablo Centeno Gómez, *Semblanza de Camilo Zapata* (Managua: Foro Nicaragüense de Cultura, 2004), 49; and Erwin Krüger: *Barrio de Pescadores*, comp. Erwin Krüger Maltez (Managua, 1998 [1973]), 22–24. The *son nica* was developed by Camilo Zapata in the 1930s, and popularized by Nicaraguan guitar trios Xolotlán and Monimbó, among others, from the 1940s onward. Zapata and Erwin Krüger Urroz (1915–1973) are the earliest exponents of the *son nica*, originally referred to as a "rascado" by Zapata; see Salvador Cardenal Argüello, "El folklore, 'El Taller San Lucas,' y 'Publicaciones,'" *Cuadernos de El Diario Nicaragüense*, Jan. 13, 1945: 12.

141 Coro de la Comunidad Cristiana de San Pablo Apóstol, *Misa popular nicaragüense / Salmos de Ernesto Cardenal y canciones de William Agudelo*, INDICA PP-336, 1969, 33½ rpm; and *Cantos populares* (Managua: Gruta de Javier, 1973), 9–13.

142 Manuelito Dávila, Carlos Carrión, and Antonio Esgueva, in discussion with the author, Jan. 7, 2014. The song by Zapata may have been the inspiration for another Nicaraguan popular song, Victor M. Leiva's "Temporada de café," having similar musical material in the opening ritornello.

143 On songs of protest or resistance, I draw from the work of political scientist John Street, who considers a protest song to identify "a specific issue or enemy," while a song of resistance looks to "have no such focus or narrative"; see John Street, *Music and Politics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), 44–45.

144 For an overview of *nueva canción*, see Eduardo Carrasco, *La nueva canción en América Latina* ([Santiago, Chile: CENECA, 1982]).

145 For an examination of the biblical Psalms through a liberation lens, see J. David Pleins, *The*

Psalms: Songs of Tragedy, Hope, and Justice (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993).

146 Ernesto Cardenal, *Salmos* (Medellín, Colombia: Ediciones de la Universidad de Antioquia, 1964); and *Salmos* (Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 1998), 15.

147 For a literary examination of the *Salmos*, see María Dolores Jaramillo, "Los salmos de vida y esperanza de Ernesto Cardenal," *Literatura: Teoría, historia, crítica* 1 (1997): 88–95.

148 On Cardenal's literary work in connection to the *Salmos*, see Stephen Henighan, "Ernesto Cardenal's 'Hora 0': A Conservative National Epic," *Revista canadiense de estudios hispánicos* 35/2 (2011): 329–50; José María Maritero, "'Más y más Sandinista': Tensión y ambigüedad en las memorias de Ernesto Cardenal," *Hispanófila* 172 (2014): 161–73; Iván Carrasco, "Notas sobre la poesía apocalíptica hispanoamericana," *Revista chilena de literatura* 18 (1981): 139–48; and Lilia Dapaz Strout, "Nuevos cantos de vida y esperanza: Los Salmos de Cardenal y la nueva ética," in *Ernesto Cardenal: Poeta de la liberación latinoamericana*, ed. Fernando García Cambeiro (Buenos Aires: F. García Cambeiro, 1975), 107–31.

149 Iván Uriarte, *La poesía de Ernesto Cardenal en el proceso social centroamericano* (Managua: Centro Nicaragüense de Escritores, 2000), 94. "... una denuncia al intenso momento de persecuciones y represiones que en esa década la dictadura somocista y los ejércitos centroamericanos desatan en el Istmo."

150 "Visita a Ernesto Cardenal: en su comuna de Solentiname," *El Ciervo* 21/222–23 (August–September 1972): 14–16.

151 Jaramillo, "Los salmos," 88. "... la construcción de un hombre nuevo y como promesa o profecía poética de un deseo colectivo de liberación."

152 Ernesto Cardenal, *Gethsemani, Ky* (Mexico: Ediciones Ecuador, 1960); and San Pablo Apóstol, *Misa popular*, side B. "2 A.M. Es la hora del Oficio Nocturno, y la iglesia en penumbra parece que está llena de demonios. Esta es la hora de las tinieblas y de las fiestas. La hora de mis parrandas. Y regresa mi pasado. . . . Y mientras recitamos los salmos, mis recuerdos interfieren el rezo como radios y como roconolas."

153 Félix Jiménez and Luciano Sequeira, in discussion with the author, Dec. 17, 2013. The community of San Pablo recorded one of their favorite songs used specifically to fill out side B, with de la Jara as vocal soloist. They usually sang *Hemos de ser sinceros* to begin their meetings; Manuelito Dávila, Carlos Carrión, and Antonio Esgueva, in discussion with the author, Jan. 7, 2014.

154 The only documented evidence to support this assertion lies with Pablo Antonio Cuadra, who, in addition to reciting a selection of *Salmos*, was a producer on the recording project. Cuadra had experimented with the Matins form in his set of poems entitled *Noche*, which were divided into nocturns and published as a collection in 1964. This precedent points toward Cuadra's possible intervention and ordering of the program of side B; see Pablo Antonio Cuadra, "Libro de horas," in *Obra completa*, vol. 2 (San José, Costa Rica: Asociación Libro Libre, 1984), 102–18.

155 Pope Paul VI, "*Sacrosanctum Concilium*," Chapter V, "The Divine Office," Article 101.1–3.

156 The names of the ensemble instrumentalists are omitted on the recording. Presumably, Agudelo played the guitar or electric guitar in songs where it appears, especially in Salmo 4.

157 William Agudelo, in discussions with the author, Feb. 3–20, 2020. Agudelo recalled that protest was not a motivation of his for setting the *Salmos* or other poetry to music, much less composing original songs for their own sake. His intent was to make poetry accessible through song to people who could not read or had no access to books. Both singing and the playing of guitars were some of the liberation practices at Solentiname, alongside that of painting and sculpture. These were integral to the process of "creating awareness," as Agudelo referred to *concientización*, pointing to the role of the Familia de Dios method at the heart of Solentiname's basis for community, and the social and political engagement with the outside world from which it developed.

158 The three founders had met as seminarians in Colombia, yet Agudelo and Restrepo took a different direction by the time Solentiname was established. Agudelo briefly returned to Colombia to marry Teresita Builes, who then joined him as part of the Solentiname community; see Cardenal, *Las ínsulas*, 32–33 and 67; and Margaret Randall, *Christians in the Nicaraguan Revolution*, trans. Mariana Valverde (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983), 62–68.

159 "Cómo se formó una comunidad cristiana [pt. 2]," 14; and "La memoria," San Miguelito Mission Records.

160 In Nicaragua, the term *campesino* (peasant) is generally used to refer to an individual from the countryside. More specifically, it may also refer to someone who is a farmer, fisher, or ranch worker. The community at Solentiname was not just made up of the archipelago's residents, but also included others who lived not far away, along or near the

southeastern shore of Lake Nicaragua.

161 Cardenal, *Las ínsulas*, 196–97. "La misa comenzaba con cantos y guitarras, y después que yo daba la absolución a todos, alguien leía el Evangelio. Y entonces era que se comentaba. Yo estaba sin ornamentos, con mi cinta en la cabeza, sentado con otros al pie del altar. Durante esa parte de la misa fumábamos. Algunas veces habían visitantes que se escandalizaban—sin razón—de que «en la iglesia se fumara». Yo lo hacía para que se hubiera un ambiente verdaderamente de conversación, relajado y espontáneo, sin ninguna solemnidad de la «misa», en esa parte. Después era que yo subía al altar, cuando ya habían terminado los comentarios, y me ponía los ornamentos para el rito de la Eucaristía, que era también con cantos y guitarras."

162 Ernesto Cardenal, *El Evangelio en Solentiname* (Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 1975). Although they were published in volumes from 1975, transcriptions of the dialogues appeared in print as early as 1970; see Ernesto Cardenal, "El Evangelio en Solentiname," *Testimonio* 18 (November 1970): 15.

163 Randall, *Christians*, 70.

164 For an examination of Solentiname's liberation culture in the context of similar Latin American social movements after CELAM, see Jennifer Scheper Hughes, "The Catholic Church and Social Revolutionaries," in *Religion and Society in Latin America*, ed. Lee M. Penyak and Walter J. Petry (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009), 243–67.

165 For an ethnomusicological study of the *Misa campesina*, see T. M. Scruggs, "(Re) Indigenization?: Post-Vatican II Catholic Ritual and 'Folk Masses' in Nicaragua," *World of Music* 47/1 (2005): 91–123; and "Las misas nicaragüenses: Popular, campesina, y del pueblo," *Istmo* 17 (July–December 2008), <http://istmo.denison.edu/n17/articulos/scruggs.html> (accessed Jan. 10, 2021).

166 Vidaluz Meneses, "Entrevista con Carlos Mejía Godoy sobre la historia de la Misa popular nicaragüense y la Misa campesina," in *Misa campesina nicaragüense: 25 años en el espíritu del pueblo*, ed. Herbert A. Bonilla López (Managua: CIEETS–CAV, 2001), 18–19. His first socially committed song was *Panchito Escombros* (Little Francisco of the Ruins), inspired by the aftermath of the Managua earthquake of 1972.

167 Cardenal, *Las ínsulas*, 253.

168 Meneses, "Entrevista con Carlos Mejía Godoy," 22.

169 The Franciscan Capuchin Order and the Sisters of Santa Inés had established missions along the coast earlier in the century. They were

the principal institutional Catholic presence in that part of the country. Moravian missionaries arrived in the region during the mid-nineteenth century, and boasted a stronger presence among Native and Afro-descendant populations. On the Miskitu and the Moravian Church, see Ulrich Epperlein, “El conflicto en la Costa Atlántica de Nicaragua en la década de los ochenta: Una perspectiva desde la Iglesia Morava,” *Realidad: Revista de ciencias sociales y humanidades* 83 (2001): 631–49; and Susan Hawley, “Protestantism and Indigenous Mobilization: The Moravian Church among the Miskitu Indians of Nicaragua,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 29/1 (February 1997): 111–29.

170 Letters to Leo Mahon, San Miguelito Mission Records. For a selection of Smutko’s work with the Miskitu, see Gregorio Smutko, *Pastoral indígena: Experiencia entre los Miskitos* (Bogotá: Ediciones Paulinas, 1975); “Teología moral contemporánea para las misiones,” in *Antropología y teología misioneras* (Bogotá: Ediciones Paulinas, 1975), 149–69; *La Mosquitia: Historia y cultura de la Costa Atlántica* (Managua: La Ocarina, 1985); and *La presencia capuchina entre los Miskitos: 1915–1995* (Cartago, Costa Rica: A. G. Covao, 1996).

171 In relation to Smutko, Mejía Godoy considered him a friend, and referred to him in the diminutive as “Padre Goyito.” He explicitly thanked Smutko in his acknowledgments on the back jacket of the *Misa campesina* LP (1977), along with “all of the clerics on the Pacific and Atlantic [coasts] committed to the cause of the poor.”

172 Smutko, *La presencia capuchina*, 145.

173 My translation is based on the following Spanish translation from the original Miskitu, found in Carlos Mejía Godoy and Pablo Martínez Téllez, *Misa campesina nicaragüense*, text of mass (Nicaragua, after 1977). “Hermanos miskitos, hay que meditar / esta es la Historia de nuestra salvación / pensemos que nuestro Padre Celestial / al Pueblo Miskito da su bendición. / Nuestro Padre Abraham tenía inmensa fe / por eso es que el Señor, de guía lo escogió / nosotros los miskitos debemos de creer / en El que es fuente pura de la Liberación. / Cuando el Señor habló a nuestro Padre Abraham / para luchar sin tregua le dió fuerza y valor / cuando el Señor nos habla, su palabra nos dá / para vencer a aquellos que siembran el terror. Dios dijo a nuestro Padre: tus hijos crecerán / y poblarán felices esta hermosa nación / los hermanos miskitos se multiplicarán / para exaltar, unidos, la gloria del Señor.

174 Markey, *A Radical Faith*, 171–72; and Cardenal, *Las ínsulas*, 253–54. A more modest premiere of the *Misa campesina* had already taken place at Solentiname, yet little documentation

survives to shed light on musical details. The OPEN 3 celebration is considered to be its official premiere, although it, too, suffers from a lack of documentation to situate a precise chronology of events and details of performance.

175 Ibid. The Cardenal brothers were not arrested.

176 See Phillip Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion: Christians in Central American Revolutions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1984), 58–86.

177 Meneses, “Entrevista con Carlos Mejía Godoy,” 25; and Mónica García Peralta, “La misa prohibida,” *La Prensa* (Managua), June 14, 2015. The prohibition was published on Nov. 9, 1976.

178 The success of the first recording prompted another soon thereafter (CBS S86085, 1979), with new arrangements in a pop style, sung by Spanish artists: Elsa Baeza, Ana Belén, Miguel Bosé, Sergio y Estíbaliz, and Laredo. Martínez Téllez and Mejía Godoy received invitations to participate, yet only the latter took part in the new recording. Mejía Godoy declined when he discovered that the producers had regularized the Spanish, removing those Nicaraguan terms or turns of phrases from the mass text that had marked its identity.

179 Cardenal, *Las ínsulas*, 198–99. William Agudelo and Nicaraguan painter Róger Pérez de la Rocha (b. 1949), a member of Grupo Praxis, made the reproductions. Pérez de la Rocha also gave painting classes to members of the community. “. . . viejas latas de combustible.”

180 Ernesto Cardenal, “Solentiname—The End,” *Index on Censorship* 8/1 (January 1979): 11–13.

181 Meneses, “Entrevista con Carlos Mejía Godoy,” 27–28.

182 Carlos Mejía Godoy and El Taller de Sonido Popular, *Misa campesina nicaragüense*, CBS S82049, 1977, 33⅓ rpm; and Carlos Mejía Godoy and Pablo Martínez Téllez, *Misa campesina nicaragüense*, text of mass (Nicaragua, after 1977).

183 Mejía Godoy thanked the musicians on the recording in his acknowledgments printed on the back of the jacket. But it is unclear in what sections of the mass they participated. Among the individual musicians or ensembles mentioned are Tata Beto [Humberto Aguilar Sáenz], Raúl Somarriba, “Sabino,” Bisturices Armónicos, Soñadores de Saraguasca, Hermanos Matey de Palacagiüina, Banda Popular de Diriá, Indio Pan de Rosa, and Hermanos Duarte.

184 Meneses, “Entrevista con Carlos Mejía Godoy,” 22–23. He was given a copy of the *Misa criolla*, but avoided listening to it.

185 Ibid., 22. “Si la experiencia de la ‘Misa Popular Nicaragüense’ no se hubiera dado antes,

que fue digamos un primer estadio de la liturgia post conciliar; la Misa Campesina no habría sido lo que fue.”

186 “Carlos Mejía Godoy rindiendo un homenaje a la CEBs San Pablo y ...,” Facebook page of CEB San Pablo Apóstol, Jan. 24, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/cebsanpablo/videos/972509226149445/> (accessed March 21, 2016).

187 “Misa típica panameña,” San Miguelito Mission Records. “... vamos a la misa.”

188 De la Jara, *Cantos populares*, 9. “Somos pueblo que camina por las sendas del dolor / Acudamos jubilosos a la cena del Señor.”

189 Mejía Godoy, *Misa campesina*. The use of the second person singular pronoun “vos” (you) is a common linguistic feature of Nicaraguan Spanish, also found elsewhere in Latin America. Its employment denotes relational informality, familiarity, or proximity. The combination of “vos” and the informal verb “sos” (are) in the opening to the *Misa campesina* demonstrates a certain intimacy expressed by popular communities toward God; see Róger Matus Lazo, “El voseo y el ustedeo en Nicaragua,” *El Nuevo Diario* (Managua), Oct. 30, 2009. “Vos sos el Dios de los pobres.”

190 Sergio Ramírez Mercado, “Ante que nazca el día,” in Bonilla López, *Misa campesina nicaragüense*, 6. “. . . recurre al viejo concepto teológico del Dios hecho hombre en todos los hombres, que se volvían nuevo en los años setenta como en tiempo de los primeros cristianos.”

191 Ernesto Cardenal, “Palabras de Ernesto Cardenal en la edición de la Misa campesina,” in *ibid.*, 9. “. . . no es neutral . . . no puede ser neutral en la lucha de clases. Esta misa igual que la tradición es una misa contra los opresores, los que impiden que se reparta en comunión fraterna los frutos de la naturaleza y del trabajo.”

192 Cardenal, *Las ínsulas*, 253. The *Misa campesina* inspired or informed numerous subsequent vernacular masses, a study that has yet to be undertaken. Notable works in this category include the *Missa dos Quilombos* (Mass of the Quilombos, 1981) by Pedro Casaldáliga and Milton Nascimento, and the *Misa popular salvadoreña* (Salvadoran Folk Mass, 1980) by Guillermo Cuéllar.