VILLANCICOS ABOUT MUSIC FROM SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN AND NEW SPAIN

Edited by Andrew A. Cashner

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Preface

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I am grateful to the following people and institutions for access to the primary sources on which these editions are based: the capitular archive of the Cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles (P. Francisco Vázquez, rector; the Illmo. Sr. Carlos Ordaz, *canónigo archivista*); CENIDIM, the Mexican national center for music research in Mexico City; the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona; the parochial archive of the Church of Saints Peter and Paul, Canet de Mar, in the Archdiocese of Girona, Barcelona province; the capitular archive of Segovia Cathedral (P. Bonifacio Bartolomé); the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid; and the British Library in London.

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Colophon

This edition was produced with free and open-source software on Fedora and Debian Linux operating systems. The text was typeset with the Lagrangian document-preparation system, based on the work of Donald Knuth and Leslie Lamport. The music was typeset with Lilypond, version 2.19, created by Han-Wen Nienhuys and Jan Nieuwenhuizen. I am grateful to the hundreds of volunteers who build and maintain these systems, and to those who provided specific help in programming this document.

The text typeface is EB Garamond, designed by Georg Duffner, based on 1592 type specimens by Claude Garamont. The Spanish CZ metrical symbol used in the scores was traced manually by the editor in Inkscape from a villancico manuscript by Miguel de Irízar.

The complete source code for this edition is in a Git repository at http://www.andrewcashner.com/villancicos/. Please use that site to report errors or request alternate versions, such as transposed scores, keyboard reductions, or instrumental performing parts.

Version History

- I.I December 2018 Error corrections, terminology changes (see below)I.O December 2017 Expanded bibliography and minor corrections
- 0.1 November 2017 Initial test release

Version 1.1 Revisions

Ellen Hargis of the Newberry Consort identified several errors and colleagues raised concerns about some terminology.

1. Introduction

- Surname *Gutiérrez de Padilla* used instead of just *Padilla* (The manuscripts refer to the composer as "Maestro Padilla," but the full surname is now standard in Spanish musicology)
- Term "Hispanic" replaced with alternatives (The term was meant as "in the cultural world of Spanish-speaking people, not just in Spain," but some readers perceived it as an ethnic or racial term)
- 2. Gutiérrez de Padilla, Al establo más dichoso (poem)
 - Accent: Papalotillo, l. 13
 - Translation: Papalotillo, l. 88: *Labrador* is farm owner, not laborer (Thank you to Prof. Pablo Sierra of the University of Rochester for this insight.)
- 3. Gutiérrez de Padilla, Al establo más dichoso (score)
 - Pitches: B. II, m. 172
 - Lyrics: Ch. I, mm. 18, 20; T. II, m. 93; Ti. I, mm. 220–223
- 4. Salazar, Angélicos coros (score),
 - Pitches: Ti. II, m. 42; T. II, mm. 61, 63

Introduction

At the height of the Spanish Empire in the seventeenth century, villancicos were one of the most widespread forms of religious expression and a central part of social life. These musical performances of poems in vernacular languages (usually Spanish or Portuguese) celebrated common Catholic beliefs, popular customs, and modes of devotion through metaphorical conceits both earthy and ingenious. A few villancico poets are known by name from published collections, like Vicente Sánchez (author of two villancicos in this edition), Manuel de León Marchante, and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. Most villancico poems in musical settings, though, are anonymous, and many were probably adapted and reworked by the composers themselves. In the form of printed leaflets of the poetry (*pliegos sueltos*) and in manuscript performing parts of the music they were passed from hand to hand across oceans in a global network of affiliated musicians and members of the literate elite.²

The musical settings of these poems occupied the energies of every major chapelmaster and his ensemble on all the highest feast days of the year. Though the genre originated as a form of courtly entertainment, by the beginning of the seventeenth century most villancicos were sacred both in their themes and in the venues and occasions of their performance. Sacred villancicos were often composed in sets of eight so that they could be interspersed after or in place of the Responsory chants of the Matins liturgy, especially at Christmas and Corpus Christi.³ Villancicos were also performed in church for Mass and services of Eucharistic devotion, and outside of church in Corpus Christi processions and mystery plays (*autos sacramentales*).

Though many of the sources have been lost, the surviving repertoire is vast and rich, encompassing a broad range of devotional life across the Spanish world. Villancicos present a wide range of formal structures, but most feature an *estribillo*, a motet-like section for the full ensemble, and *coplas*, strophic verses often scored for soloists or a reduced ensemble. Many of the sources specify that the *estribillo* was repeated after the *coplas*. Villancicos of this period were often scored for large polychoral ensembles of voices, probably doubled by loud wind instruments and supported by organ, harp, and other plucked strings. Others, sometimes called *tonos divinos*, are scored for a more intimate texture of a few voices with continuo. The first type are public, festival pieces; the second offer more private, contemplative experiences. With a variety of subgenres and topics from the comic to the learned, there was a villancico for everyone and nearly every occasion.

This edition offers performers and scholars a coherent set of newly edited villancicos, drawn from archives in Spain and Mexico, that share a common theme of "singing about singing." The poetry of these

I. For further introduction to the genre, see the entries for *villancico* in *Grove Music Online* and the *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*; Paul R. Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1997); Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente, eds., *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 1–14; Paul R. Laird, "Catholic Church Music in Italy, and the Spanish and Portuguese Empires," in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 42–50, 55–56. Other studies and musical editions are listed in the bibliography below.

^{2.} See Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Catálogo de villancicos de la Biblioteca Nacional, Siglo XVII* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1992) and the other catalogs and editions of poetry imprints in the bibliography.

^{3.} On Responsory settings, see Dianne Lehmann Goldman, "The Matins Responsory at Mexico City Cathedral, 1575–1815" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2014).

^{4.} My dissertation, Andrew A. Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music in Hispanic Villancicos, 1600–1700" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2015), analyzes and interprets these villancicos in the context of contemporary theological

"metamusical" pieces represents the act of hearing and making music. The musical settings of these poems, then, become discourses about music, through the medium of music itself. The thematic organization makes these pieces ideal both for concert programming and for scholarly research and teaching.

Interpretive Themes

The villancicos in this collection present a complex and multilayered discourse of music and theology. Common tropes run through these pieces and manifest traditions of poetry and music about musical performance, or about music as an abstract concept. The pieces embody a Neoplatonic theology of music in which listeners are invited to listen for echoes of higher music in the imperfect earthly music they hear. The following brief interpretive notes may serve as an initial guide to understanding these pieces.

Cererols and Gutiérrez de Padilla: Christ as Singer and Song

The first two pieces, Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto by Joan Cererols and Voces, las de la capilla by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, are villancicos for Christmas that represent the newborn Christ as both singer and song. Extending on an exegetical tradition going back to Bernard of Clairvaux and Augustine, these pieces celebrate Christ as the Verbum infans, the Word of God made flesh (John 1:1), but as an infant, unable to speak a word. Since Christ in his incarnate body is himself the Word, these pieces portray his inarticulate cries as a form of music, as the tuning note—the "sign of A (la, mi, re)"—to which the music of a renewed creation will be harmonized. Joan Cererols, monk and chapelmaster of the choir school of the Benedictine Abbey of Our Lady of Montserrat near Barcelona, has his ensemble bid the heavenly spheres themselves to cease their imperfect music and "listen to the newest consonance" of Christ. Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, priest and chapelmaster of Puebla Cathedral in New Spain (Mexico), presents Christ as the heir of the musician-king David, the masterpiece of the divine chapelmaster who puts God and Man in harmony through his Incarnate body, which is made known through his infant voice.

The composers match the musical conceits of the poetry with the appropriate musical devices, such as the eight-voice fugue in strict counterpoint in late sixteenth-century style (like that of Palestrina, Morales, and Guerrero) that Cererols creates for *contrapunto celestial*. Cererols even illustrates the idea of Christ as the *cantus firmus* for a restored heavenly music by developing the motive of a descending stepwise fifth throughout the estribillo, culminating in a concluding section in the style of a cantus-firmus motet. Cererols illustrates "the newest consonance" by setting the word *consonancia* on a prominent, unprepared, and repeated dissonance. By drawing listeners' attention to the imperfection of worldly music through this ironic symbol, Cererols points them in Neoplatonic fashion past the sounding music, to listen for an unhearable, higher music of Christ the divine Word.

Gutiérrez de Padilla also creates musical devices to illustrate the arcane music-theoretical and theological references in his poem. He quotes the plainchant *tonus peregrinus* on the words *peregrino tono*. The chapelmaster has half his ensemble exhort the other half to "keep count with what is sung" while they are literally counting their rests. Then the other chorus sings about "awaiting the thirty-three" (a reference to Christ's Passion) with exactly thirty-three notes. Both choirs join together to represent the celebration of heavenly beings, humans, and beasts singing in the manger, in the style of a madrigal, scored for voices

literature. This edition corrects and supersedes the musical editions in the dissertation.

^{5.} Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 108-132.

^{6.} Ibid., 133-284.

"three by three, two by two, one by one." The *estribillo* climaxes with an epitome of Catholic belief about Christ's Incarnation, "Everything in man is to ascend, and everything in God is to descend." Gutiérrez de Padilla sets the first line to an ascending line in normal triple meter and juxtaposes this against the second phrase, which he sets as a long descending line in *sesquialtera* (hemiola), written using all blackened noteheads. Thus the theological and musical are closely linked in both pieces, so that one's knowledge of theology informs understanding of the musical structure, and one's knowledge of music theory and ability to perceive musical-rhetorical devices gives insight into theological conceptions of Incarnation, voice, and hearing.

Irízar, Carrión, Cáseda: Hearing and Faith

Next are two settings of the villancico poem, *Si los sentidos queja forman del Pan Divino*, by successive chapelmasters at Segovia Cathedral in the later seventeenth century.⁷ The poem, attributed to Vicente Sánchez of Zaragoza, presents a contest of the senses, to be judged by their merits in relationship to faith. The contest is similar to the one in Pedro Calderón de la Barca's Corpus Christi play *El nuevo palacio del Retiro* of 1634. ⁸ The coplas articulate commonly held beliefs about the powers of the senses and emphasize that the mystery of the Eucharist confounds every sense. Hearing is given the first prize because only through believing in what is heard, and not through the other senses, can one rightly perceive Christ's presence in the sacrament. The poem uses music to exemplify the sense of hearing. Irízar's festival setting evokes the contest musically through polychoral dialogue and perhaps evoking the keyboard genre of *batalla*. Carrión's continuo song, by contrast, invites a more personal reflection on the nature of sensation.

José de Cáseda's setting of *Qué música divina* intersects both with the metamusical conceits of the pieces by Gutiérrez de Padilla and Cererols and with the discourse on sensation in the Irízar and Carrión villancicos. The central conceit of this piece for Eucharistic devotion presents Christ in his Passion as a *vihuela*. The poem applies patristic allegorical traditions of the *cithara* and *lira* to a distinctly Spanish instrument. The music played on this instrument is "not for the senses"; it "elevates the senses" and "confounds the mind's powers." If it could be heard it would sound "false"—dissonant, out of tune, or as *musica ficta*. Similar to Cererols evoking divine consonance through earthly dissonance, Cáseda appears to employ deliberate solecisms to represent this "false" music, like the parallel fifths and direct octaves on the word "tuneful," or the cadential patterns on "various cadences" that tempt singers to add accidentals in the wrong places. He evokes the seven-course vihuela in several ways through the vocal texture, most notably through the strumming texture at the end of the estribillo.

Though Cáseda lived and worked in Zaragoza, this piece survives only in the collection of the Conceptionist Convento de la Santísima Trinidad in Puebla. In performing this piece, the chorus of nuns whose names are preserved in the parts would in a sense *become* a vihuela, embodying an instrument while presenting that instrument as a symbol of Christ's body.

This piece demonstrates a strain of villancico composition quite removed from the popularizing, folkloric types of villancicos that have become better known, such as the pieces that follow in this edition.

^{7.} Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 285-338.

^{8.} Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*, ed. Alan K. G. Paterson, Autos sacramentales completos de Calderón 19 (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 1998); Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 52–107.

^{9.} Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 375-405.

^{10.} Powers or faculties of the *anima sensitiva* (sensitive soul)— intellect, cogitation, imagination, and memory; see Fray Luis de Granada, *Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe [Pt. 1]*, ed. José María Balcells (Madrid: Cátedra, 1989), 439–484.

II. Cesar D. Favila, "Music and Devotion in Novohispanic Convents, 1600–1800" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2016).

Instead this is an exercise in contemplative devotion worked out through a musical craft that emphasizes both ingenuity and affective power.

Gutiérrez de Padilla and Salazar: Singing in Christ's Stable

The last two pieces in this edition return to the stable in Bethlehem to unite humans and angels in the music of Christ's Incarnation. In a piece for the new cathedral of Puebla (consecrated three years earlier in 1649), Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla and his ensemble call up a colorful host of characters "to the most blessed stable" to sing and dance for the baby Jesus.¹² This *ensaladilla* is a potpourri of different song and dance styles, probably referencing pre-existing music known to the hearers. A group of shepherds sing something called the "New Trojan" to the music of "tempered panpipes." A buffoon mule-skinner's mule barges into the stable in search of straw; the befuddled candy vendor tries to excuse himself before the Christ-child, whom he obsequiously calls "Sir Baby," while struggling to control his mule—a struggle evoked through disorderly rhythm. Next a group of "mountain folk," whose language marks them as agricultural laborers, dances a gentle "Papalotillo." This name is derived from a Nahuatl word, and these characters may be meant to represent indigenous people.

The final section of the piece is a complete, self-contained *negrilla* or "black villancico," a common subgenre. Here Gutiérrez de Padilla's ensemble of Spaniards and Spaniard-descended *criollos* presented caricatures of Africans and their music, in a mocking imitation of African speech. In the midst of a pseudo-African dance, the black characters are suddenly joined by a chorus of angels in singing *Gloria*—but the blacks sing in the ternary meter typical of villancicos while the angels sing in the duple meter more commonly used for Latin-texted liturgical music, and evoke a plainchant intonation.

Gutiérrez de Padilla's "little salad" tosses together characters from different racial and economic strata to present an idealistic vision of the whole colonial society united around the body of Christ. This composer, who was both a university-educated priest and a slave-owner, brings the highest and lowest beings together in harmony while paradoxically keeping them apart, reflecting a Neoplatonic concept of the social hierarchy. While this piece and other "ethnic villancicos" have much to teach about how Spanish elites perceived their relationships to the other groups under their control, performers should consider seriously how it might be possible to present such a piece today in an ethically responsible manner. 15

The last piece in the collection is a typical representation of angelic music at Christmas, by Antonio de Salazar, who became chapelmaster of Mexico City Cathedral.¹⁶ This delicate villancico, with its lilting

^{12.} Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 406-467.

^{13.} Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez, ed., *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la época Palafoxiana* (Puebla: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, Secretaría de Cultura, 2010).

^{14.} On Spanish colonial music and musical institutions as reflecting and reinforcing hierarchical social structure, see Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); David Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Bernardo Illari, "The Popular, the Sacred, the Colonial and the Local: The Performance of Identities in the Villancicos from Sucre (Bolivia)," in Knighton and Torrente, *Devotional Music in the Iberian World*, 409–440; Jesús A. Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race, and Status in New Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

^{15.} Geoffrey Baker, "The 'Ethnic Villancico' and Racial Politics in 17th-Century Mexico," in Knighton and Torrente, *Devotional Music in the Iberian World*, 399–408; Geoffrey Baker, "Latin American Baroque: Performance as a Post-Colonial Act?," *Early Music* 3, no. 36 (2008): 441–448. On the relationship between Spanish representations of Africans and their actual situation, see Cécile Fromont, "Dancing for the King of Congo from Early Modern Central Africa to Slavery-Era Brazil," *Colonial Latin American Review* 22, no. 2, 184–208; Baltasar Fra Molinero, *La imagen de los negros en el teatro del Siglo de Oro* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1995).

^{16.} Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 29-34.

rhythms, is from the same convent collection as the Cáseda piece, in Puebla de los Ángeles, the original "city of the angels." Salazar uses imitative counterpoint to represent the angelic chorus coming down to earth, much as Cererols did in his celestial fugue. The convent sisters who sang this piece at Christmas embodied and incited the affects that theologians considered most characteristic of this feast—wonder and joy.

Performance Suggestions

Spanish Pronunciation

Spanish-speaking ensembles should feel free to pronounce the Spanish according to their own accent. Other ensembles are encouraged to work with local native speakers and experts whenever possible to shape their pronunciation and understanding, so that they can perform these pieces in a way that Spanish-speaking audience members will understand and recognize as a part of their own cultural heritage.

Instrumentation and Voicing

These villancicos are scored for an ensemble of voices with instrumental bass or continuo groups. Vocal ensembles varied in size, from one-to-a-part groups to much larger polychoral forces. Most of the pieces also feature prominent solo parts, particularly in the *coplas*.

The lowest voice parts in these pieces are meant to be performed on instruments. They are only provided with short incipits of the text to orient the performer, and in several cases instruments like bajón (dulcian, bass curtal) or organ are specified. Though there is need for more research into the specific instrumentation of Spanish musical ensembles, it is plausible that the bass line was performed in most cases by a continuo group of bajón doubled by harp, organ, and possibly other instruments like the vihuela de mano.¹⁷ In pieces without figured bass, continuo players—which could include any polyphonic instruments like keyboard or plucked strings—likely improvised harmonies to match the other voices.

The upper voices could have been doubled on *bajoncillos*, *chirimías* (shawms), *sacabuches* (sackbuts), and other instruments according to local resources and suited to the occasion. There is as yet no clear evidence, though, that church ensembles of seventeenth-century Spain or Spanish America included percussion instruments when performing in the liturgy.¹⁸

Ensembles should not be deterred by the lack of early instruments or by vocal ranges outside their resources. It would be entirely within the spirit of the performing traditions that these sources represent, for a school or community chorus to substitute modern instruments for their historic relatives. At a minimum, it is appropriate to use any keyboard, preferably with bassoon or cello, for the continuo, and bassoon or cello for the instrumental bass lines. If more instruments are available, a small organ (or a good digital sample of an 8' flue-type stop), harp, and classical guitar could be added to the continuo section. Vocal parts could be doubled with bassoons, oboes, trombones, or any other available instruments.

If possible, it would be appropriate to use soloists or a reduced ensemble for the first chorus in polychoral pieces, and for the coplas. In this way a chorus of more modest ability, such as a high school choir, could be paired with more advanced soloists, such as college students or adult community members.

^{17.} On the changing instrumentation in one Spanish institution, see Álvaro Torrente, "The Sacred Villancico in Early Eighteenth-Century Spain: The Repertory of Salamanca Cathedral" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1997).

^{18.} For a critique of exoticizing practices in recent villancico performances, see Baker, "Latin American Baroque"; Drew Edward Davies, "Finding 'Local Content' in the Music of New Spain," *Early Music America* 2, no. 19 (2013): 60–64.

If there are more instrumentalists than singers, there should be at least one singing voice per chorus to present the text. Instrumental parts and continuo realizations are available from the editor upon request.

Pitch Level

In encountering Spanish choral music of this period, musicians more familiar with other repertoires may be surprised by how high the vocal ranges are. Many of the Tiple (treble) parts have tessituras above f'', and none of the pieces have texted bass parts, these parts being played instrumentally instead. Either Spanish ensembles performed these pieces at a lower pitch level than notated (because of a lower general pitch, or through transposition), or Spain cultivated a lost art of angelically high singing. Modern ensembles should sing the pieces at a pitch level or transposition that works for them. In addition to the two transposed scores already included, other transpositions are available from the editor upon request.

Rhythm, Meter, and Tempo

The meters and barlines in the edition are only conveniences to make the pieces plainly legible and performable. Performers should not always take the barlines as guides to accentuation, nor should they assume the music lacks natural accentuation. Mensural meters do not necessarily imply any particular pattern of rhythmic accentuation. Most of the time poetic declamation should be the primary guide for pacing and emphasis. In other cases, when a set style of dance or song seems to be evoked, a regular rhythmic pattern may win out over poetic nuances. Regarding such rhythmic patterns, it should be noted that no one has yet provided conclusive evidence for the presence of African or American indigenous rhythms in villancicos.

The sign **C** indicates a duple meter that should be felt "in two." The sign **C**3 indicates a ternary meter that should be felt "in one." Often triple meter is syncopated or altered by hemiola (also called *sesquialtera*) to create patterns of accentuation that differ from the normal ternary groupings indicated by the barlines. In José de Cáseda's *Qué música divina*, for example, after shifting to **C**3, the composer makes novel use of *sesquialtera*. Starting in m. 19 Cáseda creates a sustained pattern of stresses in groups of three imperfect semibreves, such that the music could be rebarred in modern $\frac{3}{4}$.

In most cases, it seems appropriate to maintain a tempo relationship of three minims (half notes) in $\mathbb{C}3$ to one minim (half note) in $\mathbb{C}3$. By maintaining this tempo relationship it is usually possible to maintain a consistent pulse throughout the whole piece. A resting heart rate of about sixty beats per minute generally makes a good tempo, such that in $\mathbb{C}3$, $\mathbb{C}3$ = 60 and $\mathbb{C}3$ = 180.

Authenticity and Flexibility

In the editor's opinion, an authentic performance of a seventeenth-century villancico would be one that is not only meaningful to present-day performers and their audience, but that also opens a window to experiencing what made the piece meaningful to its original performers and hearers. Performers should seek out the distinctive character and significance of each piece, but should also feel free to adapt the pieces to suit their own resources and social context. It would be better to have a spirited, respectful, musically sensitive performance with modern instruments, for example, than to have no performance at all because historic instruments were not available.

^{19.} Robert L. Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014), 157.

The sources for this edition are performing parts that, on the one hand, were used as practical tools for performance in a particular place, and, on the other hand, represent traditions of performance that cannot be completely fixed in place or time. Even within one institution, such as the Conceptionist convent in Puebla from which come the parts for Salazar's *Angélicos coros* and Cáseda's *Qué música divina*, these parts were used and reused possibly over generations. In some cases, later performers made corrections, added barlines, sewed in new lines of lyrics or even new music to replace certain strophes. There is no single way that these pieces were performed throughout their terms of service as part of the local repertoire.

Moreover, these pieces represent single instances of a repertoire that circulated around the globe. José de Cáseda lived in Zaragoza and set a text by a poet from his same region, Vicente Sánchez; but this setting is only known from the surviving parts in the Puebla convent. The spelling in those parts reflects New Spanish, not Zaragozan pronunciation.²⁰ The piece may have been rearranged or adapted for female ensemble from a lost original with different scoring. On some occasions, a particular sister may have fallen ill and her vocal line may have been played instrumentally.

Historic performers made these pieces their own and performed them in a way that fit their local needs in terms of personnel, instrumentation, acoustic space, and other factors. They performed these pieces in a way that was intelligible and meaningful to them and to their hearers. Modern performers are continuing in the same spirit when they make practical adaptations for their circumstances.

Ethical Responsibility

While some amount of adaptation seems appropriate for this repertoire, performers are urged never to lose sight of the religious, social, and political contexts of these pieces in their early modern origins. These villancicos are all devotional pieces, used at some point in liturgical worship, but they do not fit easily into modern notions of sacred and profane, and embody both "piety and play."²¹ If we perform villancicos with too much solemnity, listeners may miss the elements of fun and virtuosity; but if we perform them too flippantly, the audience may fail to recognize them as expressions of human spirituality and ingenuity.

These pieces cannot be cleanly separated from the social values of the colonial era that this music both reflected and reinforced. A piece like Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla's *Al establo más dichoso* bears the imprint of imperial Spain's racial hierarchy. It is documented that the composer himself owned an Angolan slave,²² and the representation of "Angolans" in the piece caricatures their bodies and voices as deformed and deficient, even as it perhaps strives to present them in a sympathetic light as offering devotion to Christ and joining with the angelic chorus. As Geoffrey Baker has argued, it would be ethically irresponsible to perform such a piece merely as an exotic curiosity, or worse, as though it were a twenty-first century celebration of ethnic diversity.²³

Indeed, performers, scholars, and community members ought to engage in serious discussions about what performing such a piece might mean in a contemporary context. In the right setting, such as a community workshop with appropriate opportunities for critique, response, and discussion, the piece might be used effectively to raise issues of great contemporary relevance. In the wrong context, though, the piece could actually perpetuate the negative racial stereotypes that are built into it.

^{20.} For example, *consonancias* is spelled *consonansias* in the Puebla parts, even though Cáseda's ensemble in Zaragoza probably used a sound like English TH for the final C.

^{21.} Andrew A. Cashner, "Playing Cards at the Eucharistic Table: Music, Theology, and Society in a Corpus Christi Villancico from Colonial Mexico, 1628," *Journal of Early Modern History* 18, no. 4 (2014): 383–419.

^{22.} Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez, "Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla desde el ámbito civil: Un *corpus* documental," in Mauleón Rodríguez, *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la época Palafoxiana*, 179–242.

^{23.} Baker, "Latin American Baroque."

EDITORIAL REPORT

Abbreviations

A.	Alto, Altus	M., mm.	Measure (bar), measures
Ac.	Acompañamiento, basso continuo	N., nn.	Musical note, notes
B.	Bajo, Bassus	OED	Oxford English Dictionary Online
Ch.	Chorus		(accessed 2017)
CN	See critical notes	S.	Soprano; Used in part listings for
Corr.	Editorial correction		highest voice to distinguish Tiple vs. Tenor (e.g., "SSAT")
DRAE	Real Academía Española,	Sugg.	Editorial suggestion
	Diccionario de la lengua española, 23rd ed.	T.	Tenor
Imprints	Consensus reading of poetry	Ti.	Tiple: Treble, boy soprano
1	imprints	Ti. I-1	Chorus 1, First Tiple
Leg.	<i>Legajo</i> (archival folder)		

Pitch and Octave Designations

This edition uses upper- and lowercase pitch names together with prime symbols to indicate specific pitches. These designations map onto Helmholtz octave numbers as follows:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} C' & C_1 & & c' & C_4 \\ C & C_2 & & c'' & C_5 \\ c & C_3 & & c''' & C_6 \end{array}$$

Archival Sigla

Siglum	Country	Archive
E-Bbc	Spain	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya
E-CAN	Spain	Canet de Mar, Arxiu Parròquia de Sant Pere i Sant Pau de Canet de Mar, Bisbat de Girona, Fons Capella de Música
E-Mn	Spain	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España
E-SE	Spain	Segovia, Catedral, Archivo Capitular
MEX-Pc	Mexico	Puebla, Catedral, Archivo Capitular
MEX-Mcen	Mexico	Mexico City, CENIDIM (Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información Musical Carlos Chávez)
GB-Lbl	United Kingdom	London, British Library

Editorial Policies

Sources

The sources for each poem and its musical setting are listed in the critical notes. Select images of the sources are included in their own section below. The music is preserved in individual manuscript performing parts in looseleaf sets or bound partbooks. For the villancico by Miguel de Irízar, the composer's draft score also survives.

The texts and translations are based on the poetic text in the musical settings. They have been annotated and sometimes corrected in comparision with the surviving poetry imprints of the same or related villancico poems. The poems are generally anonymous but are often adapted from existing poems or poetic types.

The manuscript parts were practical tools for performers. They all bear evidence of frequent use over a long period: they are soiled along the creases in the paper where performers held them up, and they include the names of multiple performers, corrections in different hands, and added accidentals and barlines. Aspects of notation that seem ambiguous to a modern scholar were not, apparently, impediments to effective performance from the originals. The goal of this edition, in keeping with the nature of its sources, is to enable the practical performance and study of these villancicos through a clear and consistent notation.

Orthography

Spelling and punctuation have been modernized and standardized. Though in doing this some information about historic local pronunciation is lost, a standard orthography allows performers to present the works in a way that will be most intelligible to their audiences.²⁴ The exception to this rule is in the *negrilla* of Gutiérrez de Padilla's *Al establo más dichoso*, in which it seemed more responsible to present the pseudo-African dialect in its original orthography. Possible equivalents in proper Spanish are given in the footnotes.

Translations

The villancico poems in this edition are complex examples of the Spanish literary technique of *conceptismo*, in which the poem is governed by a central conceit that links two (or more) ideas together in an extended metaphor.²⁵ In these poems, music forms one side of the conceit, and a theological concept like Christ's Incarnation or Passion forms the other side, though this is an oversimplification. The wording of the Spanish is deliberately ambiguous so that one can read the poems concentrating on either or both sides of the metaphor. This means that it nearly impossible to translate the poetry into English and preserve the delicate balance of double and sometimes triple meanings. For Spanish words with two meanings, English equivalents with a similar range of meaning were chosen; but in other cases multiple alternatives had to be provided. The translations are as literal as possible while still conveying at least one level of the original sense. In some cases, the meaning of a cryptic phrase only becomes clear when read in the context of contemporary theological and devotional literature. Perplexed readers are urged to consult the

^{24.} The phonetic orthography in the performing parts does suggest that *ci* and *ce* were pronounced like *si* and *se* in New Spain and Catalonia, rather than with the TH sound in modern peninsular Spanish (as in *thick*).

^{25.} Mary Malcolm Gaylord, "The Making of Baroque Poetry," in *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, ed. David Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 222–237.

detailed exegesis of these poems in the editor's dissertation, as the translations are based on rigorous textual criticism and historically grounded contextual interpretation.

Voice and Instruments

The original names for voices and instruments have been preserved (though spelling has been standardized, so *Baxo* is rendered as *Bajo*). *Tiple* refers to a treble singer, usually a boy. Several terms are used for continuo parts, such as *Acompañamiento*, *General*, or *Guión*. The edition preserves indications of solo and instrumental parts when they appear in the original. Original figured bass is preserved, but continuo realizations are left to the discretion and creativity of the performer. Separate instrumental parts and realized keyboard parts are available on request from the editor.

Editorial Text

Italic text indicates editorial underlay, usually where there are signs (%) in the sources that specify that the preceding text should be repeated. Other textual additions by the editor, such as standardized section headings, are enclosed in square brackets.

Pitch Level

All pieces are transcribed at their original notated pitch level. The preparatory staves at the beginning of each piece show the original clefs, signatures, and the first note. Two pieces, *Suspended, cielos* by Joan Cererols, and *Qué música divina* by José de Cáseda, are also provided in transposed editions that may be more practical for modern ensembles.

Accidentals

Accidental placement in the partbooks is contextual and sometimes ambiguous to a modern reader. The original notation has no \natural symbol, using B \sharp and E \sharp instead. In a few cases, indicated in the critical notes, scribes use a \sharp sign as a cautionary accidental. One common use was to warn the singer *not* to apply a sharp according to *musica ficta* conventions.²⁶

The edition presents the pitches with their accidental inflections when unambiguously specified in at least one source. According to modern convention, these accidentals are valid until the next barline. Thus repeated accidentals in the source are omitted if the modern convention does not require them; and in a few cases accidentals are added where modern notation demands. Editorial suggestions for other accidentals, mostly according to *musica ficta* conventions, are set above the staff.

Repeats

Some of the sources indicate repeated sections by using barlines with dots (like modern repeats), or by giving the incipit of the music and text to be repeated; often there is also a *signum congruentiae* at the point of repetition or a textual note. In most cases, the estribillo was reprised after the last copla was sung (like the respond in a Responsory chant). Some pieces call for a reprise after each copla or after certain

^{26.} Don Harrán, "New Evidence for Musica Ficta: The Cautionary Sign," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29, no. 1 (1976): 77–98; Don Harrán, "More Evidence for Cautionary Signs," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31, no. 3 (1978): 490–494.

groups of coplas. In many sources, the repeat of the estribillo is not specified, and it is possible that it was not always reprised, especially as villancicos became longer and more complex.²⁷ This edition uses modern repeat barlines for short repeated sections and indications of "D.C. al Fine" or "D.S. al Fine" with the \$\frac{8}{2}\$ symbol, though these Italian texts are not used in the originals.

Rhythm, Meter, Tempo

The original music was written in mensural notation, with few barlines in the performing parts.²⁸ The duple-meter sections of these pieces were written in **C** meter, which the seventeenth-century Spanish theorists Pedro Cerone and Andrés Lorente refer to as *tiempo menor imperfecto* or *compasillo*.²⁹ In this meter, the *compás* or *tactus* consisted of a semibreve divided into two minims.³⁰

The other common meter for seventeenth-century villancicos was notated with the symbol $\sqrt[6]{c}$, a cursive **CZ**. Lorente says that this is a shorthand for \mathbb{C}_2^3 or \mathbb{C}_3 , where these signs all indicate *tiempo menor* de proporción menor, a proportion of \mathbb{C} meter. The compás consists of one perfect semibreve (\circ), which is divided into three minims (\circ), instead of the two minims of \mathbb{C} (\circ).

In the sources, deviations from the normal ternary groups are indicated through coloration. When noteheads in **C**3 meter are blackened, this often indicates a shift to *sesquialtera* or hemiola. In *sesquialtera* two groups of three minims are exchanged for three groups of two minims; and three imperfect semibreves take the place of two perfect semibreves.

The edition presents the rhythms of the sources according to modern conventions of meter and barlines. The music has been notated in \mathbf{C} for duple meter and $\mathbf{C}3$ for triple meter. The original meter signs are shown in preparatory staves or above the staff. The original note values have not been reduced. Mensural coloration is indicated with short rectangular brackets above the staff. Ligatures are indicated by long rectangular brackets. Beaming is unchanged.

Regarding tempo, the theoretical 3:2 proportion of minims between \mathbb{C}_2^3 and \mathbb{C} does not necessarily imply the same proportion of tempo. In actual practice, a 3:1 tempo relationship often makes more musical sense, so that three minims in triple meter together take the same amount of time as one minim in duple meter. Thus two *compases* of CZ would have about the same duration as one *compás* of C.

^{27.} Álvaro Torrente, "Cuando un estribillo no es un estribillo: Las formas del villancico en el siglo XVII" (Paper presented at the Congreso Internacional, "Nuevas perspectivas en torno al villancico y géneros afines en el mundo ibérico (ss. XV–XIX)," Universidad Internacional de Andalucía, Baeza, 2014).

^{28.} Spanish composers like Miguel de Irízar did use barlines when they notated in score format. Irízar writes two *compases* per bar in both triple and duple meters, occasionally squeezing in a third *compás* for an odd number of groups. Cerone advises students who wish to write out a score from parts to write barlines every two *compases*; Cerone (*El melopeo y maestro*, 745).

^{29.} Cerone, El melopeo y maestro, 537; Andrés Lorente, El porqué de la música, en que se contiene los quatro artes de ella, canto llano, canto de organo, contrapvnto, y composicion (Alcalá de Henares, 1672), 156, 210.

^{30.} José Vicente González Valle, "Relación música/texto en la composición musical en castellano del s. XVII: Nueva estructura rítmica de la música española," *Anuario musical* 47 (1992): 103–132; José Vicente González Valle, "El *compás* en la época del *Compendio de musica* de Hernando de Cabezón," *Anuario musical* 69 (2014): 119–158.

^{31.} Lorente, El porqué de la música, 165.

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Critical Notes

Joan Cererols, Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto

Sources

I. Description (CAN) E-CAN: AU/0116, Canet de Mar, Arxiu Parròquia de Sant Pere i Sant

Pau de Canet, Bisbat de Girona, Fons capella de música; Manuscript performing

parts of complete piece with coplas

Annotation "Villancico al SS.^{mo} S.^{to}/ Suspendet cielos a 8/ Cererols"

Parts SSAT, SATB, *Acompañamiento*; B. II is instrumental

2. Description (Bbc) E-Bbc: M/765/25, Manuscript performing parts, previously unattributed

Annotation "Villansico a 8"

Parts SSA, SATB, missing T. I and Acomp.; estribillo only, no coplas; alternate text

3. Description (MEM) Modern edition: Joan Cererols, Joan Cererols III, ed. David Pujols,

Mestres de l'Escolania de Montserrat 3 (Monestir de Montserrat, 1932), xxv,

221-236, based on CAN

Joan Cererols (1618–1680) was a monk at the Benedictine Abbey of Our Lady of Montserrat, a pilgrimage site at the top of a mountain north of Barcelona and home of Europe's oldest continually established singing school for boys, the Escolania de Montserrat.³² Joan Pau Cererols Fornell was baptized in 1618 in the nearby village of Martorell, the youngest child of Jaume Cererols, a tailor. His mother died when he was ten, and only a few months later Joan entered the boarding school as a chorister at the Escolania. He entered the novitiate of the Monsterrat Benedictines at age 18, in 1636, and remained at the monastery until his death in 1680. He served for many years as chapelmaster of the Escola (the choir of boys and men), teacher in the Escolania, and sacristan of the abbey church. According to a monastery chronicle, Cererols was also an excellent poet and theologian, and his pupils included distinguished chapelmasters and organists throughout Catalonia and the rest of Spain.

This critical edition is based on two manuscript sources of this villancico, CAN and Bbc, the latter previously unknown. It should supersede the earlier edition by David Pujols, which was based on CAN only and included some errors. Most critically, MEM mistakenly omits the breve rest in this edition's measure 39, thus shifting the Alto fugue entrance one bar earlier through m. 47. This edition is not only based on an additional manuscript source but also improves on the earlier Montserrat edition by indicating editorial additions and mensural coloration, correcting text underlay, and including the manuscript's figured bass.

^{32.} Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 227–284. This biographical sketch is based on Grigori Estrada, "Esbós per a un estudi de l'obra de Joan Cererols (1618–1680)," in *Joan Cererols i el seu temps: Actes del I Symposium de Musicologia Catalana*, ed. Francesc Bonastre (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1985), 7–23; Ferran Balanza i González, "Joan Cererols (1618–1680): L'entorn familiar; Regest dels documents de l'Arxiu Parroquial de Martorell; Notes inèdites obre Gabriel Manalt i Domènech (1657–1687)," in Bonastre, *Joan Cererols i el seu temps*, 25–75.

The two manuscript sources present minor variants of the same piece of music. Both sources are probably copies based with some degree of separation on an original exemplar by Cererols at the Abbey of Montserrat. The original was most likely lost when the abbey library burned in the nineteenth century.

Only CAN includes all the voice parts and the coplas, and thus it is the primary source for this edition (Figure 1).³³ In comparing the parts that survive in both versions, there are only a few significant differences in Bbc:

- One phrase of text is changed to make the piece fit a Eucharistic dedication. The text of CAN makes
 more sense as a Christmas piece, despite the dedication to the Blessed Sacrament on the cover leaf of
 the group of partbooks.
- 2. The highest voice part has a different final phrase in the estribillo.
- 3. Bbc includes the performance instructions *eco* and *falsete*.
- 4. Bbc differs in the use of accidentals on C, F, and B; in most cases it is more explicit, writing out accidentals in situations where *musica ficta* practice would suggest them anyway.

This edition primarily follows CAN but does include the dynamic markings from Bbc in parentheses. Bbc writes out more accidentals explicitly, clarifying the usage of *musica ficta*.

Related Sources

This villancico is the only complete musical setting yet found of one of the most popular villancico poems of the seventeenth century. The poem as set by Cererols is one variant of a textual tradition extending back as early as a Royal Chapel performance in 1651.³⁴ A distinct branch of later variant versions may be traced to the work of Manuel de León Marchante from 1675.

This family of villancico poems is attested in the following imprints:

```
Madrid
                  E-Mn: R/34199/27
1651
      Calatayud GB-Lbl: 11450.dd.8 (54)
1668
      Alcalá
                  Reprinted in Marchante, Obras poéticas (Madrid, 1733), 139
1675
      Seville
                  E-Mn: VE/83/10
1680
1681
      Seville
                  E-Mn: VE/79/7
                  E-Mn: VE/129/2, GB-Lbl: 1073.k.22 (07)
1683
      Zaragoza
      Madrid
                  E-Mn: VE/88/80
1689
```

Cererols's text incorporates aspects of both the early Royal Chapel tradition and the versions influenced by Marchante. In a few passages, indicated in the notes below, the text of the coplas in the Canet manuscript departs from the consensus of the other poetic imprints from this villancico tradition. This edition preserves the text in CAN but corrects a few phrases in which the consensus reading of the other imprints makes more sense both poetically and grammatically.

^{33.} Francesc Bonastre, Josep Maria Gregori, and Andreu Guinart i Verdaguer, *Fons de l'Església Parroquial de Sant Pere i Sant Pau de Canet de Mar* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura i Mitjans de Comunicació, 2009), 60–61.

^{34.} E-Mn: R/34199/27, omitted from Biblioteca Nacional de España, Catálogo de villancicos; see Figure 2.

Specific Notes

Measure	Voice	Edition	Sources, Rationale
2	A. I	Coloration starts n. 1	CAN: Same; Bbc: Starts on n. 2; cf. Ti. I-1, Ti. I-2, T. I
Ю	Ti. I-2	N. 1, C# ficta	CAN, Bbc: C; C# avoids cross-relation with Ti. II
23-24	T. II	M. 24, n. 2 & m. 25, n. 1, F# ficta	CAN, Bbc: F; cf. mm. 21–22 contour, harmony
23-24	A. II	Tened, tened, tened	CAN: tened % parad; Bbc: tened % tened; cf. mm. 21 (Ti. I-2, A. I), m. 23–24 (T. II)
24	T. II	N. 3, <i>a</i> ′	CAN: Same; Bbc: f'; cf. m. 21 (A. I), m. 24 (A. II)
25	T. II	N. 4, cautionary F\$	CAN, Bbc: F; F\(\approx \) avoids cross-relations with Ti. I-2, A. II entrances
26–28	Ch. I	Tened, tened, parad	CAN, A. I: tened tened parad; CAN: Ti. I-1, Ti. I-2, T. I: tened % parad; Bbc, Ti. I-1, A. I: tened parad parad; Bbc, Ti. I-2: parad tened parad
29-30	Ti. I-2	M. 29, n. 2, F# <i>ficta</i> ; m. 30, n. 2, F# <i>ficta</i>	CAN, Bbc: Both F \natural ; cf. imitation m. 32 (Ti. I-2), mm. 77-78 (A. II); contrapuntal motion into octave vs. Ac.
39	Ti. II	N. 3, cautionary C	CAN, Bbc: C; descending motion
41	B. II	N. 1, B♭	CAN, Bbc: B; cf. explicit Bb in Ac.; una nota super la
44	Ac.	N. 1, C#	CAN, Bbc: C; cf. explicit C# in B. II; ascending motion
49	Ti. II	N. 2, C#	Bbc: Same; CAN: C; cadence
50	Ti. I-2	Ficta F\u00e4-F\u00e4-F\u00e4	CAN, Bbc: F-F-F; first F resolves cadence; next Fs lead up to G (sugg.)
55-56	T. II	Coloration starts m. 56, n. 1	Bbc: Same; CAN: Starts m. 55, n. 1; cf. Ti. II, A. II, B. II, Ac.
57-58	Ti. I-2	Ficta	Cf. mm. 29–30
67	Ti. I-1	N. 4, G#	Bbc: Same, CAN: G; contrapuntal motion into octave vs. Ac; inversion of fugue subject
67	Ac.	N. 2, C#	CAN, Bbc: C; cf. explicit C# in T. I
67	Ac.	N. 4, B\$	Bbc: Same; CAN: B#; Cautionary sharp to indicate natural (cancels <i>una nota super la</i>)
68	B. II	N. 3, F\$	Bbc: Same; CAN: F#; Cautionary sharp to indicate natural, cf. fugue subject, unison Ac.

Measure	Voice	Edition	Sources, Rationale
73-74	Ti. I-2	M. 74, nn. 1–2, slur	CAN: Same; Bbc: Slur, m. 73, n. 4-m. 74, n. 1
75–86	All	Y con sollozos tiernos, un niño soberano	CAN, Imprints: Same; Bbc: Y desde un pan divino, un hombre soberano
85	A. II	Nn. 1–2, slur	CAN: Same; Bbc: Omit
86	T. I	N. I, <i>a</i>	CAN: <i>b</i> Bbc: Missing voice part; cf. B. II, Ac.; MEM (corr.)
89	Ti. I-2	Nn. 3–5, C# <i>ficta</i>	CAN, Bbc: C; cf. motive, m. 90 (T. II); explicit C# in Bbc, m. 92 (T. II)
92	T. II	Nn. 3-5, C#	Bbc: Same; CAN: C; cf. m. 89
94	A. I	N. 2, Bb ficta	CAN, Bbc: B; cf. motive, mm. 89, 90; descending motion
95	T. I	Nn. 3–5, C# <i>ficta</i>	CAN, Bbc: C; cf. mm. 89, 92
97	T. I-1	Nn. 3-5, F#	Bbc: Same; CAN: F; cf. mm. 90, 93
100	T. II	Nn. 1-3, C#	Bbc: Same; CAN: C; cf. mm. 89, 92, 95
105-108	T. I-1	$g^{\prime\prime}$ – $g^{\prime\prime}$ – $d^{\prime\prime}$ – $d^{\prime\prime}$	CAN: Same; Bbc: $g''-g''-a''-bb''-a''$
106	Ti. I-2	N. I, minim	CAN: Same; Bbc: Semibreve (corr.)
107	Ti. I-2, A. II	F# ficta	CAN, Bbc: F; cadence, anticipating explicit final F# in m. 108; cf. motive m. 1, 29–30, 130–131 (sugg.)
109-114	All	Las fugas que el primer hombre formó	Imprints: Same; CAN: Las fugas del primer hombre formó; Bbc: Coplas missing
III	Ac.	N. 1, C#	CAN: C; cf. explicit C# in T. I
120	A. I	N. 1, Bb ficta	CAN: B; una nota super la
130	Ti. I-1	N. 2, F# ficta	CAN: F; cadence; anticipate explicit final F# in m. 131; cf. motive m. 1, 29–30, 107 (sugg.)
131	Ti. I-2	Fermata	CAN: Omit; cf. Ti. I-1, Ti. I-2, T. I, Ac. (corr.)
132–138	All	Qué mucho si a los despeños	Imprints: Same; CAN: Qué mucho que a los despeños
134	Ti. I-1	N. 2, F# ficta	CAN: F; cf. 137 (sugg.)
137	Ti. I-1	N. 2, F# <i>ficta</i>	CAN: F; cf. explicit F# in repeated passage, m. 243
139	Ti. I-1	N. 6, F# <i>ficta</i>	CAN: F; cf. explicit F#in repeated passage, m. 192
146	Ti. I-2	Nn. 1–2, C# <i>ficta</i>	CAN: C; cf. explicit C# in repeated passage, m. 199; voice exchange in m. 148
151	Ti. I-2	N. 2, C# ficta	CAN: C; cf. m. 130 (sugg.)

Measure	Voice	Edition	Sources, Rationale
I54	Ti. I-1	N. 1, C# ficta	CAN: C; cf. motive m. 155 (Ti. I-2), m. 158 (Ti. I-1); explicit C# in imitation, m. 159 (Ti. I-2), & repeated passage, m. 196
155	Ti. I-2	N. 1, F# ficta	CAN: F; cf. explicit F# in parallel passage, m. 208 (Ti. I-2)
157	Ac.	N. 2, <i>f</i>	CAN: Notehead missing bc. of tear; cf. MEM
158	Ti. I-1	N. 1, F# ficta	CAN: F; cf. m. 155
160	Ti. I-2	N. 2, F# ficta	CAN: F; cf. m. 130, 151
164	Ti. I-1	N. 2, F# ficta	Cf. explicit F# in m. 111
164	Ac.	N. 1, C#	Cf. m. III
166	Ch. I	Breath mark after n. 1	CAN, Ch. I: Semiminim rest after n. 1 (cf. m. 113); cf. MEM (corr.)
173	A. I	N. 1, Bb ficta	Cf. m. 120
178–180	A. I	La disonancia	CAN: las disonancias; cf. Ti. I-1, Ti. I-2, T. I, Imprints
182	Ti. I-2	N. 1, C# ficta	Cf. m. 129
183	Ti. I-1	N. 2, F# ficta	Cf. mm. 130, 151
187	Ti. I-1	N. 2, F# ficta	Cf. m. 134
190	Ti. I-1	N. 2, F# ficta	Cf. m. 137
196	Ti. I-1	N. 1, F# ficta	Cf. explicit F# in m. 143
205	Ti. I-2	N. 1, C# ficta	Cf. explicit C# in m. 152
206-214	Ti. I-1	desentono	Imprints: Same; CAN: desatento; cf. Ti. I-2
207	Ti. I-1	N. 1, C# ficta	Cf. m. 154, explicit C# in m. 159
208–214	All	tan vano	Imprints: Same; CAN: tan grande; Meter is <i>romance</i> in <i>a-o</i> (corr.)
211	Ti. I-1	N. 1, F# ficta	Cf. m. 158, explicit F# in m. 208 (Ti. I-1)
213	Ti. I-1	N. 2, F# ficta	Cf. m. 130, 151, 160
216–219	All	Sustenido	Imprints: Same; CAN, A. I, T. I: Same; CAN, Ti. I-1, Ti. I-2: susteniendo
217	Ac.	N. 1, F# ficta	Cf. explicit F# in m. 111
219	All	Breath mark after n. 1	Cf. m. 166
219	Ti. I-1	N. 1, F# ficta	Cf. explicit F# in m. 113
220	Ti. I-1	N. 5, F# ficta	Cf. mm. 114, 167
227	A. I	N. 1, Bb ficta	Cf. mm. 120, 173
229-236	All	Lo inmenso a espacio	Imprints: Same; CAN: lo inmenso spacio

Measure	Voice	Edition	Sources, Rationale
236	Ti. I-1	N. 2, F# ficta	Cf. mm. 130, 151, 160, 213
249	Ti. I-2	Semibreve rest	CAN: Omit; cf. mm. 143, 196 (corr.)
260	Ti. I-1	N. 1, C# ficta	Cf. m. 154, 159, 207, explicit C# in m. 265 (Ti. I-2)
263	Ti. I-1	N. 2, Bb ficta	Cf. motive m. 260 (Ti. I-1); una nota super la
264	Ti. I-1	N. 1, F# ficta	Cf. m. 155, 158
266	Ti. I-1	N. 2, F# ficta	Cf. m. 130, 151, 160, 213 160
267	Ti. I-1	N. 1, F# ficta	CAN: F; cf. explicit F# in mm. 108, 131, 161, 184,
			214, 237; unless F\(\) is deliberate before repeat of estribillo

Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Voces, las de la capilla

Sources

I.	Description	MEX-Pc: Leg. 3/3, In manuscript partbooks, Navidad del año de 1657
	Annotation	"A 6/ Padilla"
	Parts	SAT, ATB; B. II is instrumental (bajón and other continuo instruments)
2.	Description	Modern edition: Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, <i>Tres cuadernos de Navidad: 1653, 1655 y 1657</i> , ed. Mariantonia Palacios and Aurelio Tello (Caracas: Fundación Vicente Emilio Sojo: Consejo Nacional de la Cultura, 1998)

This piece is from the complete cycle of villancicos composed by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla for the cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles and performed at Christmas 1657.³⁵ This composer, whom the manuscripts refer to simply as Padilla, was born near Málaga in southern Spain around 1590.³⁶ He served as chapelmaster of churches in Jérez de la Frontera and Cádiz before emigrating to New Spain around 1622. In 1628 he was named assistant to Gaspar Fernández, the ailing chapelmaster of the cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles. His earliest dated villancicos survive from that year.³⁷ Padilla succeeded to the post after Fernández died in 1629, and continued as chapelmaster at Puebla until his own death in 1664.

The only primary source for this villancico is a set of partbooks, each labeled *Navidad del año de 1657* (Figure 3).³⁸ The Tiple I partbook has the additional marking "en 8 quadernos," confirming the total of eight notebooks for the whole cathedral ensemble, typically organized in two choirs of four voices each.

^{35.} Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 133-226.

^{36.} Mauleón Rodríguez, *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la época Palafoxiana*; Nelson Hurtado, "Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla: El insigne maestro de la catedral de Puebla de los Ángeles (Málaga, c. 1590; Puebla de los Ángeles, 8-IV-1664)," *Heterofonía* 138–139 (2008): 29–67; Robert Murrell Stevenson, "The 'Distinguished Maestro' of New Spain: Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 35, no. 3 (1955): 363–373.

^{37.} Cashner, "Playing Cards at the Eucharistic Table."

^{38.} Lincoln B. Spiess and Thomas Stanford, eds., Archivo de música sacra de la catedral de Puebla, microfilm (Mexico City, 1967); E. Thomas Stanford, Catálogo de los acervos musicales de las catedrales metropolitanas de México y Puebla y de la Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia y otras colecciones menores (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2002).

The partbooks include all the villancicos needed for performance at Matins for Christmas and Epiphany of the 1657–1658 liturgical year, plus the hymn *Christus natus est nobis*.

Only six partbooks contain the music for *Voces, las de la capilla*, scored (as the parts indicate) *a 6*. Tiple and Bassus of Chorus II are not included. The Altus I and Tenor II parts for this piece include the composer's name, "Padilla." The partbooks show signs of repeated use over many years.

The bass part is in the partbook of Bassus, Chorus I, but this part plays with the voices of Chorus II throughout the piece. Typical of Padilla's scores, this part only includes brief textual incipits to help an instrumentalist coordinate with the ensemble.

The handwriting, ink, and paper are consistent with that used in the composer's other extant Christmas cycles in the cathedral archive, and it seems reasonable to believe this to be his own hand. There is a pronounced decline in the quality of the handwriting across each sets from 1651 to 1659, consistent with a physical decline in Padilla's later years. In 1660, he signed a power-of-attorney document citing his failing health, and died four years later.³⁹

The one previous edition of this piece contains an error based on the misreading of rests, as discussed below.⁴⁰ The one professional recording of this piece is based on an erroneous reading of the repeats.⁴¹

The setting is rich in musical symbols and puns that match the conceits about music in the poem. These are some of the less obvious examples:

- On *cuenta* (mm. 6–7), the voices sing a long, offbeat note that requires special counting, and this whole strophe is sung by Chorus I while Chorus II counts rests.
- In the *respuesta* (mm. 28–44), which mentions "the thirty-three"—Christ's traditional age at his crucifixion—the voice parts have thirty-three notes in the original notation.
- Padilla evokes madrigal style with literal word painting throughout; in mm. 45–59 he depicts singing at the Christmas stable "in one choir and the other" through polychoral texture and imitation, and "three by three, two by two, one by one" by the number of voices.
- For "the sign of *A* (*la, mi, re*)" (mm. 67–69)—a reference to Christ as "*alpha* and *omega*" in musical terms—the voices sing pitches corresponding to the named syllables as they sing them; likewise for "his eyes set on *mi*" (m. 72).
- On the words *peregrino tono* (mm. 128–130), the A. I sings G–Bb–A–G, which is the final cadence of the plainchant *tonus peregrinus* in the transposed *cantus mollis* of the villancico.
- To illustrate the words *máxima y breve*, the T. II sings the word *máxima* on a breve (m. 153).

Structure of Repeated Sections

Like many of villancicos by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, this one begins with an introductory section for a portion of the ensemble. In the edition this is labeled *introducción* after the model of contemporary poetry imprints. Next the full ensemble sings the *estribillo* (refrain). Two *coplas* (verses) follow, the first sung by Chorus I and the second by Chorus II. Finally the estribillo is repeated.

The repeat of the estribillo is indicated clearly. In all the parts there is a *signum congruentiae* at the beginning of the estribillo (m. 45 in the edition). In every part except Tiple I, after the end of the coplas, the scribe has written the first few notes of the estribillo and the *signum* to point back to the estribillo.

^{39.} Mauleón Rodríguez, "Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla desde el ámbito civil."

^{40.} Gutiérrez de Padilla, Tres cuadernos de Navidad: 1653, 1655 y 1657.

^{41.} Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Música de la Catedral de Puebla de los Ángeles*, Ars Longa de Habana, directed by Teresa Paz (Seville: Almaviva, 2005).

The *introducción* has two parts: the first section has two stanzas of poetry and is sung by Chorus I; the second is a *respuesta* (response) section sung by Chorus II. The one recording of this piece errs in performing both stanzas of the Chorus I section first and then performing the respuesta once. While that arrangement might seem logical, the parts all clearly indicate through the *signum congruentiae*, notated rests, incipits, and *custodes* that the first part of the introducción (with the first stanza of poetry) proceeds immediately into the respuesta, and then the whole section is repeated from the beginning with the second stanza of poetry. This means that the respuesta is sung twice, once after each stanza of the introducción.

Related Sources

A 1649 catalog entry from the collection of Portuguese King John IV appears to indicate an earlier setting of the same or similar text as Padilla's. The citation is listed under the works of Francisco de Santiago, who was chapelmaster of Seville Cathedral until his death in 1644: "Vozes las de la capilla. solo. Ya trechos las distancias. a 9."⁴² The imprint survives for a related poem, *Cantores de la capilla*, which was performed at Seville Cathedral for Epiphany 1647. This was probably set to music (now lost) by Santiago's successor Luis Bernardo Jalón. ⁴³

Specific Notes

Measure	Voice	Edition	Sources, Rationale
2	Ti. I	Ε¢	Cautionary E# to counteract una nota super la rule
8	Ti. I	Ε	Cautionary E#, cf. m. 2
44	T. II	aguardan	aguarda; cf. all other voices (corr.)
82	A. II	Bar rest	Omitted; cf. correct rests in T. II, B. I; cf. error here in Palacios and Tello ed. (corr.)
92-93	T. II	Slur	Slur extent unclear, cf. text underlay
121	B. I	Εþ	Eξ; cf. explicit Ebin A. I; una nota super la, cf. m. 123
126	T. II	Semibreve	Breve (corr.)
128	A. I	F 	$F\sharp$, likely a cautionary accidental indicating $F\sharp$; counteracts <i>ficta</i> tendency to sharp the F in G–F–G gesture, avoids Bb/F \sharp sonority unusual for Padilla; cf. mm. 130–131
130-131	A. I	Fϸ	F#, certainly a cautionary accidental indicating F‡; cf. simultaneous F‡ in Ti. I; cf. m. 128

^{42.} Paulo Craesbeck, ed., *Primeira parte do index da livraria de mvsica do mvyto alto, e poderoso rey Dom João o IV. nosso senhor* ([Lisbon?], 1649), caixão 26, no. 674.

^{43.} Villancicos que se cantaron en la S. Iglesia Metropolytana de Sevilla, en los Maytines de los Santos Reyes. En este año de mil y seiscientos y quarenta y siete (Puebla de los Ángeles, private collection, courtesy of Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez); edition of poem in Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 209.

Miguel de Irízar, Si los sentidos queja forman del Pan Divino

Sources

1. Description (P) *E-SE*: 5/32, Manuscript performing parts (copyist's hand)

Annotation "Al SS." a 8. Si los sentidos"

Parts SSAT, SATB, Acompañamiento

2. Description (S) E-SE: 18/19, Manuscript draft score in Irízar's hand for Corpus Christ 1674 at

Segovia Cathedral

Annotation "Fiesta del SSantissimo de este año del 1674"

Parts SATB, SATB, continuo only in coplas

In a rare case of a surviving draft score of a villancico, Irízar composed the piece in one of his makeshift notebooks made from received letters, with the music on the reverse sides and in the margins of the letters. ⁴⁴ The score (S) is drafted with written barlines every two *compases* both in duple and triple meter; when a single odd compás is left at the end of a section Irízar groups it with what follows. When a colored (imperfected) semibreve extends across a barline, Irízar centers the note on the line, since mensural notation did not allow for ties.

The performing parts (P) appear to be in the hand of a professional copyist and correspond closely with the score. The score agrees with the parts in pitches and rhythms in the estribillo, differing only in a few cases of accidentals, where *musica ficta* practice made the notation of some accidentals optional. Generally, the edition uses accidentals that are present in either source, weighting the parts more heavily since these were actually used for performance.

The score lacks the *General* continuo part in the estribillo. In the coplas, Irízar originally composed separate four-voice settings of the first two coplas, but then at the bottom of the page drafted the setting for Tiple solo and continuo that appears in P, with a slightly different beginning to the continuo part. It may have been a later idea to combine the solo setting with the end of the four-voice setting for the *Respuesta a las coplas* on the "tag line," "No se den por sentidos los sentidos." This is the first use of the continuo, suggesting that Irízar decided after composing the rest of the piece to add the continuo part (*General* in P).

Lyrical Text

In S, Irízar simply wrote the poetic text out in a single line underneath each system, with no text underlay in the individual voices. Thus all text underlay in this edition is based on P. Figures only appear in the coplas.

The text corresponds closely with a poem later attributed to Vicente Sánchez in the *Lyra Poética* (Zaragoza, 1688), 171–172. Irízar died in 1684, so either he had access to an earlier version of Sánchez's text

^{44.} Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 285–338; José López-Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Segovia*, 2 vols. (Segovia: Diputación Provincial de Segovia, 1988); Matilde Olarte Martínez, "Miguel de Irízar y Domenzain (1635–1684?): Biografía, epistolario y estudio de sus Lamentaciones" (PhD diss., Universidad de Valladolid, 1992); José López-Calo, "Corresponsales de Miguel de Irízar," *Anuario musical*, no. 18 (1963): 197–222; Pablo-Lorenzo Rodríguez, "Villancicos and Personal Networks in 17th-Century Spain," *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies* 8 (1998): 79–89.

through his correspondence network, or Sánchez's text is an improvement on a pre-existing poem that Irízar used. Irízar does not include one of Sánchez's coplas and arranges the strophes differently.

The notated melody for the coplas does not fit every stanza equally well. The singer was apparently expected to adapt the rhythm to fit the poetry for the subsequent stanzas.

Specific Notes

Measure	Voice	Edition	Sources, Rationale
7	Ti. I-1	C#	P: C\(\alpha\); S: C\(\alpha\)
9	T. II	F	P: F#; S: F4; cf. Ti. I-2 F4 in P and S (cautionary accidental in P?)
15	Ti. I-1, I-2	Slur	P: Slur; S: No slur; cf. text underlay
18	A. I	C#	P: C#; S: C\$
34	T. II	C#	P: C#; S: C\(\pi\); cf. Ti. I-1 C\(\pi\)
44	Gn., n. 3	A	P: <i>G</i> ; cf. B. II (corr.)
51	T. II	F#	P: F#; S: F4; cf. Ti. I-2 F#
56	T. I	Nn. 1–3, Slur	P: No slur; S: Slur; cf. text underlay

Jerónimo de Carrión, Si los sentidos queja forman del Pan Divino

Sources

I.	Description	E-SE: 28/25, Manuscript performing parts
	Annotation	"Villan." Al Santissimo Sacramento. Solo. Si los Sentidos quexa forman./ M. ro
		D. ⁿ Geronimo de Carrion"
	Parts	Solo, Acompañamiento

Jerónimo de Carrión (1660–1721), who succeeded Miguel de Irízar as chapelmaster of Segovia Cathedral after Irízar's death in 1684, sets a version of the same villancico poem as Irízar's *Si los sentidos*. ⁴⁵ Carrión's text corresponds more closely to the version attributed to Vicente Sánchez in 1688. He follows Sánchez's ordering of the coplas but does not include two of Sánchez's coplas. Like Irízar, Carrión apparently expects the soloist to adapt the rhythm of the coplas to fit the poetry of the subsequent stanzas.

As in many later seventeenth-century villancicos, there is no sign indicating that the estribillo should be repeated. This repetition was customary with earlier villancicos, but the recurring tag line at the end of each copla may have been made it unnecessary to repeat the whole estribillo.⁴⁶

Compared to the other villancicos in this volume, the music in duple meter seems to call for a slower tempo relative to the music in C3, with a feel closer to modern $\frac{4}{4}$.

^{45.} Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 70-84, 331-336; López-Calo, La música en la Catedral de Segovia.

^{46.} Torrente, "Cuando un estribillo no es un estribillo."

José de Cáseda, Qué música divina

Sources

1. Description MEX-Mcen: CSG.154, Manuscript performing parts from collection of the

Convento de la Santísima Trinidad, Puebla

Annotation "A 4/ D." Joseph de Caseda"

Parts SSATB; B. is instrumental

Like Salazar's *Angélicos coros* (in this edition), this piece is in the Colección Sánchez Garza at CENIDIM, the Mexican national music research center, in Mexico City.⁴⁷ The collection is originally from the Convento de la Santísima Trinidad, a Conceptionist convent in Puebla. There are numerous works in the collection ascribed to José de Cáseda and his father Diego, who were both chapelmasters in Zaragoza.⁴⁸

This is a set of individual performing parts. A tear along the fold at the bottom obscures a few of the notes. The parts bear the names of the convent sisters listed below. The name of the Alto, Madre Belona, also appears in Salazar's *Angélicos coros*.

Tiple 1 Tomasita
Tiple 2 María de Jesús
Alto Madre Belona
"Thenor" Rosa María de Jesús

Bajo (no name)

The bass part is instrumental: it has only incipits of the text and includes figured bass. Given the piece's central conceit of Christ as a *vihuela*, that instrument would seem to be an apt choice to feature in the continuo group.

Coplas

In the original version of this manuscript, coplas 1, 4, and 6 are scored for the full ensemble and the music for them is written out only once. Coplas 2, 3, and 5 are sung by soloists with the same accompaniment part for each; thus the Bajo part for the solo strophes is only written out once in the MS. The full-ensemble coplas actually require small adjustments for the different text underlay, so they are all written out in full in the edition.

The MS includes repeat signs after the first phrase in every copla. In the solo coplas, the accompaniment has the repeat sign placed one semiminim later than the vocal lines, indicating a "first ending." The edition simply writes out the repeated music in the solo coplas.

The Tenor part has an alternate setting of copla 4 written on a separate strip of paper and sewn onto the original performing part to cover the original music (Figure 8).⁴⁹ By lifting the sheet it is still

^{47.} Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 375-403.

^{48.} Pedro Calahorra Martínez, *La música en Zaragoza en los siglos XVI y XVII: II, Polifonistas y ministriles* (Zaragoza, Spain: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 1977); *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Cáseda, Diego de," by Robert Murrell Stevenson, and the relevant entries in the *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*.

^{49.} Many of the pieces in the Sánchez Garza collection have alternate versions, most commonly of poetic text, sewn

possible to see most of the original setting of the solo copla 5, except for a few passages obscured by the stitching at the top. The music for copla 5, as edited here, appears to be identical to that for copla 2; the obscured passages are indicated with brackets in the edition.

The alternate setting on the sewn-in sheet uses a G2 (treble) clef instead of the C3 clef of the Tenor part, and duplicates the Tiple 2 line in the original full-ensemble setting of copla 4, except that the repeated high g'' in mm. 138–139 is replaced with d''. This version appears to be intended as a solo setting of copla 4, with the female Tenor switching to a higher register for this copla. Perhaps it was used in an abridged version of the piece with fewer coplas, or in a version arranged for reduced voices.

Solecisms

There are several instances of what appear to be compositional mistakes; I have argued, though, that these are intentional solecisms meant to communicate a conceit of musical "falsehood" (see copla 5). The condition of the manuscript indicates frequent use, so any solution to these problems must account for the fact that the sisters actually performed the piece from these manuscripts, in their current form.

In mm. 3–4, there are parallel fifths followed by direct octaves in the outer voices, which cannot be avoided through *musica ficta* or any simple editorial correction. This is either intended by the composer, or was copied incorrectly. If intentional, it may be an error or an aspect of personal style. Since the text here is *acorde* (tuneful), and in light of other such oddities described below, this may be a deliberately ironic gesture.

In mm. 69–70, there appears to be a cross-relation between the Tiple 2 ($B\flat$) and the Tenor ($B\natural$). On its own, the Ti. 2 would sing all B flats in this phrase, as no accidentals are included. To match the motive used throughout this section, though, the Ti. 2 would sing B flats in m. 69 and then B natural in m. 70.

The Tenor, though, has a sharp on the B in m. 44, normally indicating B natural (Figure 7); this would produce a cross relation. The Tenor B sharp is probably not a cautionary accidental because the phrase would not normally call for a *ficta* alteration, and it would seem more obvious to use a flat symbol for this purpose. Thus the most likely solution seems to be (as indicated in the editorial accidentals) for the Ti. 2 to break the motive and sing all B naturals.

Specific Notes

Measure	Voice	Edition	Sources, Rationale
3-4	Ті. г , В.	Parallel fifths, direct octaves	As written; See discussion of solecisms above
32	Ti. 1	Slur, n. 3-4, 5-6	Slur, n. 3–6; cf. text underlay
36	Ti. 2	N. 1, Eb	E; cf. explicit Eb in Ti. 1
56	All	Tempo a espacio	Ti. 1 No marking; Ti. 2, A., B. aspacio; T.
			espacio

or pasted in. These alterations provide evidence for the repeated use of these pieces for varying occasions and according to changing aesthetics and devotional needs.

^{50.} Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 375-403.

Measure	Voice	Edition	Sources, Rationale
69-70	Ti. 2, T.	Ti. 2 B\ ficta, T. B\	Ti. 2 Bb assumed without accidentals vs. T. explicit B#; intentional cross-relation?
70-71	B.	g-c'	Obscured by tear; part of g and c' still visible
81	Ti. 1	N. 4, Eb	E; cf. explicit Eb in T., B.
124	A.	Cf. m. 109, Ti. 1	Obscured by sewn-in sheet
147-148,	T.	Cf. mm. 101–102,	Obscured by sewn-in sheet
150-151		104–105, Ti. 1	

Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Al establo más dichoso

Sources

Description MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/3, In manuscript partbooks, Navidad del año de 1652
 Annotation "Ensaladilla"
 Parts SATB, SATB; both bass parts are instrumental, with indications for bajón

This piece is part of Padilla's cycle of villancicos for Christmas 1652 at Puebla Cathedral, copied as a set into individual partbooks, possibly in Padilla's own hand. ⁵¹ This is the earliest of this composer's extant Christmas cycles for which all the partbooks survive.

The partbooks bear the names of some of the Puebla chapel performers in various places. The name of Francisco Rodríguez is in the Tiple I part, and that of Sr. Nicolás Griñón is in the Tenor II.

The Puebla cathedral chapel was usually organized in two choirs, but since this piece does not utilize polychoral textures, the edition presents the voices in a single-choir layout.

This musical "salad" features multiple sections with contrasting styles with the names of songs or dances, which were likely based on specific music or types of music already known to the audience. Because of these multiple sections and large amount of repetition within sections, the parts are written in an abbreviated manner. This edition writes out most of the reprises and other repeated material to achieve a more straightforward presentation for performers. Examples of this include the stanzas of the *Nuevo Troyano* and the *responsión* reprise of the *Papalotillo*.

The piece has been recorded once prior to this edition.⁵²

Bass Parts

Both bass parts are intended for instrumental performance. They have only incipits of the text to help orient the player. The Bassus I part contains this marking after the *Nuevo Troyano* and before the *Papalotillo*: "antes del papalotillo diçe el harriero con el otro bajon" (Before the *papalotillo* the mule skinner "speaks" with the other bajón). This implies that both bass parts were played on the bajón, not to exclude other continuo instruments like harp. The sections labeled D'uo (the *Arriero* and the beginning of the *Negrilla*)

^{51.} Andrew A. Cashner, "Rhythm as Representation of Society in an *Ensaladilla* from Colonial Puebla, Mexico, 1652" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Louisville, KY, 2015); Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 406–462.

^{52.} Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Maitines de Navidad, 1652*, México Barroco/Puebla VII, Angelicum de Puebla, directed by Benjamín Juárez Echenique (Mexico City: Urtext, 1999).

are actually, in modern terms, vocal solos with accompaniment, perhaps intended for a single vocalist with solo *bajón*.

If a vocal solo with $baj\acute{o}n$ is a $D\acute{u}o$, then the section marked $Papalotillo\ Solo$ would seem to be a true solo without any accompaniment at all. The scribe has only written a four-bar accompaniment pattern in the bass, with unspecific indications to repeat. This edition therefore includes the bass line for the $Papalotillo\$ only for the $Papalotillo\$ o

The "Gloria"

In the midst of the *Negrilla*, which caricatures people of African descent, an "Angolan" character (T. II) sings, "Listen, for we are singing like the angels." Then the two upper voices of the first chorus (Tiple and Altus I) sing the angels' song from Luke 2 in Spanish, "Gloria en las alturas y en la tierra, paz," continuing in the ternary meter of the preceding section (Figures 4 and 5). This section is labeled "A 3" in the Tiple I part.

The Tiple II and Altus II parts contain only one phrase of notated music for the *ensaladilla*. Both are labeled "A 3 de la ensaladilla," and contain music for the Spanish "Gloria," but in C meter instead of the CZ meter of the other voices. The Tiple II melody quotes a common plainchant intonation of the *Gloria in excelsis* of the Mass.

The Tiple II part actually includes an earlier version in CZ that has been crossed out and replaced with one in C. The only way to align these voices with those of Chorus I is to maintain the theoretical 3:2 proportion of minims between CZ and C meter so that the perfect semibreve in CZ is equal in time to the semibreve in C.

The reason for the marking "A 3," when there is notated music for four voices, is unclear. Given the crossed-out and corrected music in the Tiple II, it is also possible that "A 3" functions primarily as a rehearsal marking, and that Padilla changed his mind about the scoring after writing out the Chorus I parts, but left the marking intact.

Specific Notes

Measure	Voice	Edition	Sources, Rationale
108, 112, 132, 136	T. I	Semibreve-minim	As written; but possibly an error; cf. other voices minim-semibreve
113–128	B. I	Tacet	MS provides only phrase in mm. 105–12, without clearly indicating repeats; that phrase could be repeated to accompany the coplas
129–136	Chorus I, all	Responsión reprise after each pair of coplas	Repeat structure unclear; it is possible the <i>responsión</i> is only meant to be reprised after the final copla

Measure	Voice	Edition	Sources, Rationale
136	All	Fermata, all voices	Fermata only in T. I; given the following text ("Hush!") it is possible that this voice alone is to hold past the cutoff of the others (as in the recording by the Angelicum de Puebla)
215-223	All	Polymetric Gloria, C meter vs. CZ	As written, with heading "A 3" of unclear meaning; see discussion of "Gloria" above

Antonio de Salazar, Angélicos coros con gozo cantad

Sources

Like Cáseda's *Qué música divina*, this piece is in the Colección Jesús Sánchez Garza at CENIDIM, from the Convento de la Santísima Trinidad in Puebla.⁵³ The collection includes many works by Salazar, who may have been trained in Puebla before becoming chapelmaster at Mexico City Cathedral.⁵⁴ The performing parts bear the names of the convent sisters who performed them (Figure 6). The name added in a later hand to the Tiple I-1 part, "Belona," would appear to be the same person who performed the Alto in Cáseda's *Qué música divina*.

Tiple	I-1	Madre Andrea, [different hand:] belona
Tiple	I-2	Madre Assumpsion
Alto	I	Madre Sacramento
Tiple	II	Madre Thomasa, [on verso, different hand:] Alphonsa de S.ta crus [cruz]
Alto	II	Madre Rosa
Tenor	II	Ynesica Baeza
Bajo	II	Madre Mariana

The *Guión* part is in a different, less mature, hand than the others. It is written in portrait orientation rather than landscape, and includes barlines in the C meter sections. The part may have been recopied at a later date to replace a worn original.

The other modern edition does not indicate mensural coloration or specify added lyrical text and accidentals. In the coplas some of the lyrical text is incorrect (*alcanzar* instead of *alcázar*, *sabe* instead of *cabe*), and the text for the fourth copla is missing.

^{53.} Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 123-125.

^{54.} *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Salazar, Antonio de," by John Koegel; Goldman, "The Matins Responsory at Mexico City Cathedral, 1575–1815," 109–157.

Specific Notes

Measure	Voice	Edition	Sources, Rationale
20	Gn., n. 3	ЕЬ	E; cf. explicit Eb in Ti. I-2
54	Gn., n. 4	ЕЬ	E; cf. explicit Eb in Ti. I-2
61	Ti. I-1, n. 2	Вβ	B, no accidental but Bb key signature; cf. explicit Bb in Ti I-2
61	Ti. II, n. 1	Вβ	B, no accidental but Bb key signature; cf. explicit Bb in Ti. I-2
61	Gn., n. 3	F#	F; cf. explicit F# in B. II
67	Ti. II, n. 2	f'	g'; cf. other voices F (correction)
68	Guión	Fermata	No fermata
75-79	A. I	derribado busca, viena a edificar	lo derribado busca quien viene a edificar; too many syllables for the notes (correction)

Source Images

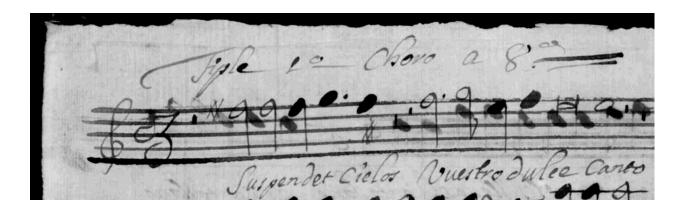


Figure 1: Cererols, Suspended, cielos, E-CAN: AU/0116, Tiple I-1 part (image courtesy Diocese of Girona)⁵⁵

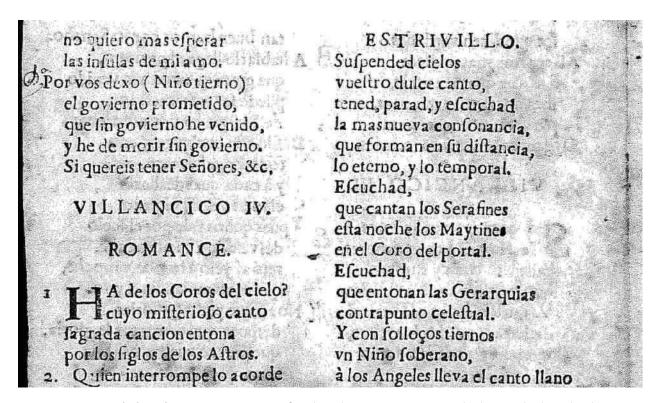


Figure 2: *Suspended, cielos*, poetry imprint of earliest known version, Madrid, Royal Chapel, Christmas 1651, *E-Mn*: R/34199/27 (image courtesy Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid)

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Figure 3: Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla, MEX-Pc*: Leg. 3/3, Tenor I partbook, *introducción* and beginning of *estribillo* (microfilm image, courtesy Archdiocese of Puebla)



Figure 4: Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Al establo más dichoso, MEX-Pc*: Leg. 1/3, Tiple I partbook, *Negrilla*, with corrections to music and text underlay for the polymetrical *Gloria* "a 3" (microfilm image, courtesy Archdiocese of Puebla)

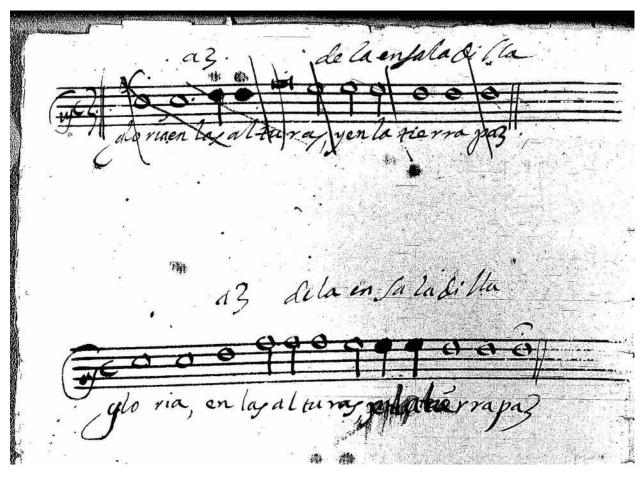


Figure 5: Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Al establo más dichoso*, *MEX-Pc*: Leg. 1/3, the polymetrical *Gloria* in Tiple II partbook, including an earlier draft in CZ meter (microfilm image, courtesy Archdiocese of Puebla)



Figure 6: Salazar, *Angélicos coros, MEX-Mcen*: CSG.256, Tiple I performing part with the names of two performers, sisters in the Convento de la Santísima Trinidad, Puebla (photograph by Andrew Cashner, courtesy CENIDIM, Mexico City)



Figure 7: Cáseda, *Qué música divina, MEX-Mcen*: CSG.154, Tenor performing part, end of *estribillo*, with explicit B sharp (natural) on *potensias desmaya* (photograph by Andrew Cashner, courtesy CENIDIM, Mexico City)

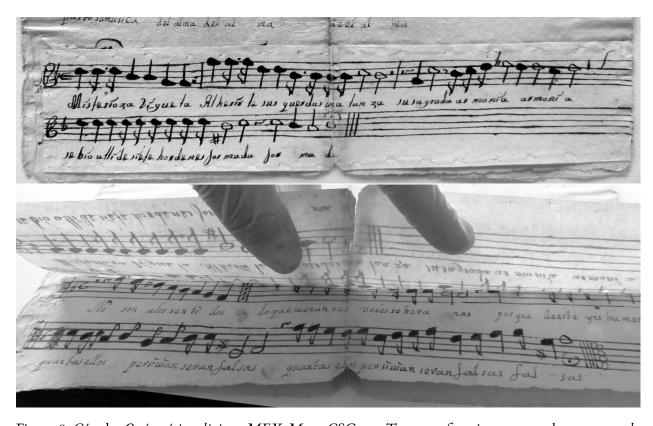


Figure 8: Cáseda, *Qué música divina*, *MEX-Mcen*: CSG.154, Tenor performing part: replacement *copla* sewn over original music (top), and view of the original beneath (photographs by Andrew Cashner, courtesy CENIDIM, Mexico City)

Texts and Translations

Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto (Montserrat, ca. 1660)

Anonymous text from setting by Joan Cererols (*E-CAN*: AU/0116); variant versions in seven poetry imprints after 1651

[ESTRIBILLO]

Suspended, cielos,
vuestro dulce canto;
tened, parad, escuchad
la más nueva consonancia
que forman en su distancia
lo eterno y lo temporal.
Escuchad,
que entonan las jerarquías
en sonoras armonías
contrapunto celestial.
Y con sollozos tiernos
un niño soberano
a los ángeles lleva el canto llano.

Suspend, O heavens,
your sweet chant.
Hold, stop, and listen
to the newest consonance
that the eternal and the temporal
are forming in their distance.
Listen,
for the hierarchies are intoning
in resounding harmonies
celestial counterpoint.

And with tender sobs,
a sovereign baby boy
bears the plainsong to the angels.

COPLAS

- Las fugas que el primer hombre formó en desatentos pasos al compás ajusta un Niño de las perlas de su llanto.
- Qué mucho si a los despeños que le ocasionó un engaño, bella corriente de aljófar, grillos le previene blandos.
 - 3. Una voz que ha dado el cielo, de metal más soberano a ordenar entra sonora la disonancia del barro.
 - 4. Concierto tan soberano

- I. The flight/fugue that the first man made in heedless paces
 is set aright by a baby boy to the measure of the pearls of his crying.
- 2. What wonder, if from the falls that a deceit caused him, the lovely mother-of-pearl stream gently restrains him with shackles.

20R

- 3. A voice that heaven has given, of the most sovereign timbre, to bring order, enters resounding into the dissonance of the clay.
 - 4. So sovereign a concord/concerto

¹² un niño soberano] In place of ll. 11–12, the Eucharistic *Bbc* version has "y desde un pan divino/ un hombre soberano" (and through divine bread, a sovereign man).

¹⁴ Las fugas que el] CAN has "Las fugas del," but all the poetry imprints have "que el."

¹⁸ Qué mucho si] Corrected after poetry imprints; CAN has "Qué mucho que."

¹⁸ despeños Probably a musical term (for ornamentation?).

²¹ grillos le previene blandos] Translation uncertain.

sólo pudo ser reparo, con una voz tan humilde, de un desentono tan vano.

- 5. En las pajas sustenido dulcemente se ha escuchado ligar en pajas lo eterno, reducir lo inmenso a espacio.
- 6. Divina cláusula sea
 deste eterno canto llano,
 que forma en su movimiento
 de cada punto un milagro.

could only be a resolution, with so humble a voice, of so vain a discord.

- 5. Upon the straw sustained sweetly he has been heard binding in straw the eternal, reducing the immense to this space.
- 6. Let there be a divine cadence of this eternal plainsong, which forms in its movement a miracle from each note.

35R

²⁹ un desentono tan vano] *CAN*: Tiple I-1 has "desatento" (inattentiveness) instead of "desentono" (untunefulness); both vocal parts have "tan grande" instead of the metrically correct "tan vano" in the poetry imprints.

³⁰ sustenido] *CAN*: Tiple I-1 and 2 have "susteniendo" (sustaining/sharping); but Altus I and Tenor I have "sustenido," in agreement with the poetry imprints.

³⁰ sustained] Musically, "sharp."

³² binding] Musically, "tying" or forming a ligature.

³³ lo inmenso a espacio] All the poetry imprints have this text; the CAN partbooks have "lo inmenso spacio," most likely a contraction for the same.

³³ to this space] Musically, "slowly."

³⁷ note] Literally, "point."

Voces, las de la capilla (Puebla, 1657)

Anonymous, from musical setting by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Navidad del año de 1657 (MEX-Pc*: Leg. 3/3)

[Introducción]

1. Voces, las de la capilla, cuenta con lo que se canta, que es músico el rey, y nota las más leves disonancias a lo de Jesús infante y a lo de David monarca.

RESPUESTA

Puntos ponen a sus letras los siglos de sus hazañas. La clave que sobre el hombro para el treinta y tres se aguarda.

[Introducción] cont.

2. Años antes la divisa, la destreza en la esperanza, por sol comienza una gloria, por mi se canta una gracia, y a medio compás la noche remeda quiebros del alba.

[Repeat Respuesta]

[Estribillo]

Y a trechos las distancias en uno y otro coro, grave, suave y sonoro, hombres y brutos y Dios, tres a tres y dos a dos, uno a uno, y aguardan tiempo oportuno, I. Voices, those of the chapel choir, keep count with what is sung, for the king is a musician, and he notes even the most venial dissonances, in the manner of Jesus the infant prince, as in the manner of David the monarch.

The centuries of his heroic exploits are putting notes to his lyrics.
The key that upon his shoulder awaits the thirty-three.

2. Years before the sign, dexterity in hope, with the sun [on *sol*] a "glory" begins, upon me [*mi*] a "grace" is sung, and at the half-measure, the night imitates the trills of the dawn.

And from afar, the intervals in one choir and then the other, solemn, mild, and resonant, men, animals, and God, three by three and two by two, one by one, they all await the opportune time,

2 cuenta Pay attention to.

- 3 nota] Takes note of.
- 5 the infant prince] *Infante* means both infant and prince.
- 9 key] Or clef.
- 12 dexterity in hope In Golden Age literature *destreza* connotes heroic skill in combat, particularly in *esgrima* or swordsmanship. Musically, the term suggests virtuosity. The whole phrase sounds like a heraldic device (*divisa*) or motto, summing up Christ's mission.
- 13 with the sun] Here begins a series of musical plays on words: *sol* and *mi* are solmization syllables with double meanings; *gloria* and *gracia* probably refer to the songs of Christmas in both history and liturgy like the *Gloria in excelsis*.
 - 17 intervals Both musical intervals and astronomical distances between planetary spheres.

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30R

quién antes del tiempo fue.
Por el signo a la mi re,
puestos los ojos en mi,
a la voz del padre oí
cantar por puntos de llanto.

¡O qué canto!

tan de oír y de admirar, tan de admirar y de oír.

Todo en el hombre es subir y todo en Dios es bajar.

COPLAS

 I. Daba un niño peregrino tono al hombre y subió tanto que en sustenidos de llanto dió octava arriba en un trino.

2. Hizo alto en lo divino y de la máxima y breve composición en que pruebe de un hombre y Dios consonancias. the one who was before all time. Upon the sign of *A (la, mi, re)*, with eyes placed on me [*mi*] at the voice of the Father I heard singing in tones of weeping—

Oh, what a song! as much to hear as to admire, as much to admire as to hear!

Everything in Man is to ascend and everything in God is to descend.

1. A baby gave a wandering song to the Man, and ascended so high
that in sustained weeping
he went up the eighth [day] into the triune.

2. From on high in divinity, of the greatest and least, he made a composition in which to prove the consonances of a Man and God.

³⁴ wandering song] Or "pilgrim song," or the musical tonus peregrinus.

³⁶ sustained weeping] Musically, "sharps of weeping."

³⁷ he went up the eighth [day] into the triune.] Musically, "he went up the octave in a trill."

³⁸ on high] Alto also denotes the musical voice part.

³⁹ of the greatest and least] A play on the name of very long and short music notes.

⁴⁰ prove] Or "test."

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Si los sentidos queja forman del Pan Divino (Zaragoza, 1688)

Vicente Sánchez, Lyra Poética (Zaragoza, 1688), 171–172; Variant versions set by Miguel de Irízar (I) and Jerónimo de Carrión (C) at Segovia Cathedral (E-SE: 5/32, 28/25)

Estribillo

Si los sentidos queja forman del Pan Divino, porque los que ellos sienten no es de Fe consentido, hoy todos con la Fe sean oídos. No se den por sentidos los sentidos.

COPLAS

1. Si en ellos va el no ver bien los ojos de que se admiran, pues mal verán lo que miran si no miran lo que ven, si su ceguedad es quien los tiene impedidos, no se den por sentidos los sentidos.

- 2. Entre velos transparentes, no se ve Dios Encarnado, que el color se la ha mudado, y lo hazen sus accidentes, si en nubes rayos lucientes están escondidos,
- 3. Toca el tacto pero yerra que si en que es pan se equivoca, aunque todo un Cielo toca, no toca en Cielo, ni en tierra, toca misterio, y si encierra

no se den por sentidos los sentidos.

- portentos no oídos, no se den por sentidos los sentidos.
- 4. Que tenga voto, no es justo, el gusto en este Manjar, que el gusto en él no ha de entrar

a complaint about the Divine Bread, because what they sense is not by faith consented, Let the senses not resent it.

If the senses make

today let them all with faith be heard.

- 1. If in them the eyes that admire cannot see well, since they shall see poorly what they see if they do not look at what they see, if their blindness is what keeps them impaired, let the senses not resent it.
- 2. Within transparent veils, God Incarnate is not seen, for the color has been changed, and its accidents are doing it. If in the clouds flashing rays are hidden,

let the senses not resent it.

3. Touch touches but it errs, for if in what is bread it is mistaken, even though it touches all of Heaven, it touches neither Heaven nor earth, it touches a mystery, and if it encloses unheard portents, let the senses not resent it.

4. It is not fair that Taste

should have a vote on this Morsel, for Taste shall not come into this,

5 hoy todos con la Fe] C: todos hoy con la fe.

WEB LIBRARY OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC (www.sscm-wlscm.org), WLSCM no. 32

⁶ No se den por sentidos los sentidos | Darse por sentido, idiom for taking offense at something

⁶ Let the senses not resent it] Or, Let the senses not be considered senses.

⁷ Coplas] Irízar sets Sánchez coplas in the order 1, 7, 6, 4, 3, and 5; he omits 2. Carrión sets 1, 3, 4, 6, 7; omits 2, 5.

²¹ yerra] I: ierra; C: hierra; probably variants of erra (errs, misses).

²² que si] C: pues.

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45R

50R

55R

aunque el Manjar entre en gusto: mas si les causa disgusto no ser admitidos, no se den por sentidos los sentidos.

5. Para que el Manjar alabe lleve el gusto con afán que al que sabe que no es pan sabe a más de lo que sabe, mas si en su esfera no cabe y se hallan perdidos, no se den por sentidos los sentidos.

6. Si el olfato se le humilla con Fe a entenderle la flor le maravilla su olor porque huele a maravilla mas si para percibilla no llegan rendidos, no se den por sentidos los sentidos.

7. Porque a Dios puedan gustar, en los puntos sus concentos, todos sus cinco instrumentos la Fe los ha de templar, sino los puede ajustar para ser oídos,

no se den por sentidos los sentidos.

though the Morsel may come into Taste, but if it causes distaste that the senses are not admitted, *let the senses not resent it.*

5. So that he might praise the Morsel bring on taste eagerly, for of that which he knows is not bread he knows more than what he knows, but if it does not fit in his sphere and the senses find themselves lost, let the senses not resent it.

6. If smell humbles himself, by Faith to understand the flower, he wonders at its aroma because it smells wondrous, but if in order to perceive it the senses do not submit, let the senses not resent it.

7. So that they could taste God, their tuneful concords on the notes, Faith must temper all their five instruments, moreover, Faith can adjust them so that they may be heard; let the senses not resent it.

³⁶ lleve] I: llegue (arrive).

³⁷ al que] I: aunque (even though).

³⁸ a más] I: más.

⁴⁵ porque huele] I: por guele; C: porque guele.

⁴⁵ it smells wondrous] Or, he smells in a wondrous/miraculous manner.

⁴⁶ percibilla] I: a percebilla (=percibirla: notice, discern, recognize).

тоR

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Qué música divina (Zaragoza and Puebla, ca. 1700)

Anonymous text from setting by José de Cáseda (*MEX-Mcen*: CSG.256); coplas attrib. Vicente Sánchez, *Lyra poética* (Zaragoza, 1688), 191

[Estribillo]

Qué música divina,
acorde y soberana
afrenta de las aves
con tiernas, armoniosas consonancias,
en quiebros suaves, sonoros y graves,
acordes accentos
ofrece a los vientos
y en cláusulas varias
sentidos eleva,
potencias desmaya.

COPLAS

- I. Suenen las dulces cuerdas de esa divina cítara y humana, que aún sol que es de los cielos, forma unida la alta con la baja.
- 2. De la fe es instrumento y al oído su música regala donde hay por gran misterio en cada punto entera consonancia.
- 3. De el lazo a este instrumento sirve la unión que sus extremos ata: tres clavos son clavijas y puente de madera fue una tabla.
- 4. Misteriosa vihuela, al herirle sus cuerdas una lanza, su sagrada armonía se vió allí de siete órdenes formada.
 - 5. No son a los sentidos lo que suenan sus voces soberanas porque de este instrumento

What divine music,
tuneful and sovereign,
rivals that of the birds
with tender, harmonious consonances,
in trills mild, sonorous and solemn;
it offers tuneful accents
to the winds,
and in varying cadences
elevates the senses,
confounds the [mind's] powers.

- I. Let the sweet strings sound of that divine and human *cithara*, who, the very sun/*sol* who is in the heavens, forms the high [string] and the low in unity.
- 2. Of faith he is the instrument, and his music regales the ear when, by a great mystery, there is in every point a perfect consonance.
- 3. Serving as the string on this instrument is the union that ties together his extremes: three nails are the pegs and a crossing of wood was a soundboard.
- 4. Mysterious *vihuela*, when a lance wounded/plucked your strings, your sacred harmony was seen there, formed of seven orders.
- 5. They are not for the senses, that which your sovereign notes sound, for, of this instrument

⁵ suaves, sonoros y graves] Cf. Voces, las de la capilla (Gutiérrez de Padilla), "grave, suave y sonoro."

¹² divina cítara y humana] The central conceit of the coplas connect Christ, in his Passion, to a string instrument. The Spanish *vihuela* is linked to an older allegorical tradition of the *cítara* and the *lira*.

¹³ aún sol] Sánchez edition has *un son* (a sound).

²⁴ herirle] Sánchez: berirla.

²⁶ se vió allí] Sánchez omits *allí*, preserving the pattern of eleven-syllable lines.

²⁶ de siete órdenes formada] The seven-course *vihuela* as metaphor for the seven sacraments, signified by the blood and water coming from Christ's pierced side (John 19:34).

cuantas ellos percibían serían falsas.
 6. Su primor misterioso,
 que a los cielos eleva al que lo alcanza
 no lo come el sentido
 porque es pasto su música del alma.

as many notes as they perceived will be false.

6. Your mysterious virtuosity, which elevates to the heavens the one who achieves it: sensation does not eat it, for your music is fodder for the soul.

³⁰ cuantas] Sánchez: quantos.

³⁰ falsas] Notes that are out of tune, out of temperament, incorrect, or that use *musica ficta* accidentals.

³² lo] Sánchez: le.

15R

20R

Al establo más dichoso (Puebla, 1652)

Anonymous, from musical setting by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Navidad del año de 1652 (MEX-Pc*: Leg. 1/3)

[Introducción] a 4

Al establo más dichoso, donde triunfa la victoria, principio a siglos de gracia, la noche más venturosa,

Buena noche y la más buena, pues a pesar de las sombras en su mitad amanece quién con tanta luz entolda.

Un zagal de aquel contorno, en su templada zampoña, tocando el Nuevo Troyano, cantó en la pajiza choza:

[Nuevo Troyano] Solo y a 4

En Belén cantando estan, todo es gloria, todo es cielo, y en un portalico pobre se ha estrechado él que es inmenso.

Fuego derrite la nieve, y entre tanta nieve el fuego a cada llama bosteza, lo acendrado deste estremo.

Míranse por todos lados, en cada paja un lucero, una antorcha a cada viso y un Dios grande aunque pequeño.

[Introducción a 4]

Después Bartolo, él de marras, arriero de cala y gorra que fue espadachín de antaño, y hoy mercader de panochas, At the most blessed stable, where victory triumphs, beginning of centuries of grace, the most fortunate night,

A merry eve, the best, since despite the shadows at its midpoint dawns one who with so much light overwhelms it.

A shepherd-boy from that scene, on his tempered panpipes, 10R playing the "New Trojan," sang in the straw-filled hutch:

In Bethlehem they are singing, all is glory, all is heaven, and in a poor little stable he who is immense has confined himself.

Fire melts the snow, and among so much snow, the fire yawns to each flame, that which is purified from this extreme.

Look around on all sides: in each bit of straw, a blazing star, a torch at each glance and a God who is great, though little.

Next Bartolo—you know the one—

a mule skinner in plain clothes,
who was a swordsman in days gone by,
and now, a vendor of candies,

⁵ Buena noche y la más buena] La Nochebuena is Christmas Eve.

²⁶ de cala y gorra] The manuscripts have *cala* clearly, but the meaning is unclear. Possibly a mistake for *de capa y gorra* (in plain, simple clothes) (DRAE).

²⁷ in days gone by] Or perhaps in a previous villancico?

²⁸ panochas] In Mexican Spanish, slabs of hard brown sugar or candies made from them (DRAE); etymological source for English *penuche* (OED).

35R

40R

45R

55R

6oR

En busca de una mulilla que se le fue por tramoya, a darse una buena noche en las pajas misteriosas,

Al portal con los pastores se entró arrojando bramonas y a quién ocupa el pesebre, dice como que se entona: In search of a little mule who went off from him in a scheme to give himself a merry eve in the mysterious straw,

Into the stable with the shepherds
he entered, braying up a storm,
and to the one who occupies the manger,
he says as it is intoned:

EL Arriero: Responsión a Dúo

Señor niño, voto a San... ya lo dije, y esto sobra para que entienda que vengo puesto a lo de aquí fue Troya

No se me asuste le digo ni de inocente se ponga, cuando me dicen que sabe lo que su padre no ignora.

Es bueno que de mis mulas, la más lucia y la más gorda me la traiga a este pesebre sin decir esta es mi boca,

Y yo sin haber vendido las cargas de mis melcochas, ande en flores y con flores pregonándola a mi costa.

Si arrobar viene a los hombres, paréceme cosa impropia dar principio con mi mula, si no ha de ocupar carroza.

Pero ya he considerado, si mi decir no le enoja, que por la escarcha pretende el aliento de su boca.

Y por vida de Bartolo, que en aquestas y en esotras, Sir Baby, I swear to Saint Somebody... well now I've said it, and it's more than enough for you to understand that I come on account of all this "Troy"/mess.

Don't be afraid of me, I tell you, Sir, or play innocent when they tell me that you know whatever is not unknown to your father.

It's just great that of all my mules, the most brilliant and the most fat should bring me to this manger without telling me anything,

And that I, without having sold all my stock of sweets, 50R should have to play nice, hawking it at my own expense.

If you come to enrapture men it seems to me an improper thing to have my mule go first, if she's not even going to carry the wagon.

But now I've been thinking, if my saying so doesn't make you mad, that on account of the frost you ought to have the breath from her mouth.

And upon the life of Bartolo, whether in these things or any others,

³⁷ Señor niño, voto a San...] Bartolo refers to the Christ-child as "Sir" or "Lord," and addresses him with formal *Usted* forms, but in the same breath begins to curse, using a figure of speech that stops short of actual blasphemy.

⁴⁰ lo de aquí fue Troya] Idiom for a disastrous mess (DRAE); with double meaning referring to Bartolo's mule as a Trojan horse, bringing him unawares to the stable, and referring back to the "Nuevo Troyano."

⁴⁶ the most brilliant and the most fat] Or, "the nicest and fattest one."

⁴⁸ sin decir esta es mi boca Idiom for keeping silent.

⁴⁸ without telling me anything Or, referring to Bartolo rather than to the mule, "without anything to say."

⁵¹ ande en flores y con flores] Andar en flores is an idiom for refusing to argue; con flores, possibly sweets.

⁵³ arrobar] Play on a robar (to steal).

cuando por esto la quiera, que aquí se las traiga todas.

Abra esa boca de perlas con que tanto me enamora, y pida que estos serranos no pretenden otra cosa.

Un baile quieren hacerle, que *papalotillo* nombran y como cantemos todos, más que rueden las panochas.

Papalotillo: Solo Ven y verás un donoso chiquito. Míralo bien, que en sus ojos me miro.

RESPONSIÓN A 4

Ven y verás un donoso chiquito.

Míralo bien, que en sus ojos me miro.

COPLAS

Míralo bien, como llora y suspira, siendo del padre la misma alegría.

Míralo bien entre pobres alajas, grano fecundo escondido entre pajas.

Míralo bien que aunque agora se estrecha, nos ha de dar una fértil cosecha.

Míralo bien con terneza y cuidado, que ha de ser pasto y pastor desvelado.

Míralo bien, corderito amoroso, que ha de huir de las garras del lobo.

Míralo bien, pequeñito pastor, pues cuando grande será labrador.

Responsión a 4

Ven y verás un donoso chiquito. Míralo bien, que en sus ojos me miro.

[Introducción a 4] El Angola Minguelillo

if you should want anything, they should all be brought here for you.

Open that mouth of pearls, with which I am so enamored, and request that these mountain folk don't try anything else.

They want to do a dance for you, that they call *papalotillo*, and so, let us all sing, and let the candies go round all the more.

Come and you will see a genteel little boy. Look on him well, for in his eyes I see myself.

Come and you will see a genteel little boy. Look on him well, for in his eyes I see myself.

Look on him well, how he cries and sighs, which at the same time is his father's joy.

Look on him well: jewels among the poor, a fertile seed hidden in the straw.

Look on him well, though now bundled up, he will give us a fertile harvest.

Look on him well, with tenderness and care, for he will be revealed as pasture and pastor.

Look on him well, a little lamb full of love, for he will flee from the claws of the wolf.

Look on him well, the tiny shepherd, for when he is big he will be the farm owner.

Come and you will see a genteel little boy. Look on him well, for in his eyes I see myself.

Little Miguel the Angolan,

WEB LIBRARY OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC (www.sscm-wlscm.org), WLSCM no. 32

70R

65R

75R

8oR

85R

⁷⁰ papalotillo] Diminutive of papalote (kite or paper toy), derived from Nahuatl papalotl (butterfly) (RAE).

⁸¹ bundled up] Comparing the swaddled infant to a seed; in a theological sense, "confines himself."

⁸⁴ pasture and pastor | Pasto, livestock feed (and allegorically, the Eucharist); pastor, shepherd or religious minister.

⁸⁸ farm owner] Labrador, landowner and employer of farm laborers.

⁹¹ El Angola Minguelillo] Diminutive of Miguel, an African of the Angolan "nation" or brand, likely a slave.

acaudillando su tropa, no quiere ser el postrero en la fiesta en que se goza.

Dejando el tumbacatumba y gruñendo a lo de Angola, desenvainó con la voz, de su tizón la tizona. marshalling his troop, does not wish to be the last one at the party that is being enjoyed.

Leaving the "tumbacatumba" and grunting like the Angolans do he unsheathed his voice, like pulling a sword from his charred log.

Tell me, cousin, where is

the baby who was born?

for we know his relatives

and we come to seek him.

There he his,

Negrilla: [Introducción] Dúo y a 6

Diga plimo donde sa? la niño, de nacimenta pluque samo su palenta y la venimo a buscá.

Aytá, aytá, cundiro entle pajita su ojo como treyita y uno buey y uno mulita con su baho, cayentá. Turu turu yega,

aytá aytá.

Caya, caya, mila no panta que duelme la siguetito. Sesú, Sesú, que bonito, sucuchá, que cantamo lo angelito: a candle among the straw, his eye like a little star, and an ox and a little mule with its belly to warm him.

Come on, everybody, there he is.

Hush, hush, look, don't

Hush, hush, look, don't startle him, for the tiny boy is sleeping.
Jesu, Jesu, how lovely,
listen, for we are singing like the angels:

A 3

Gloria en las alturas y en la tierra paz.

Glory in the heights and on earth, peace.

[Estribillo a 6]

Valamindioso que lindo cantá,

For my God, O what a lovely song,

115R

95R

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105R

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⁹⁵ el tumbacatumba] Apparently a nonsense word, possibly imitating African drumming and the sounds of Angolan languages like Kikongo. Cf. the refrain of Padilla's 1651 *ensaladilla*, "Tumbucutú, cutú, cutú."

⁹⁸ desenvainó... de su tizón la tizona] Mocking the voice and singing of this African character. *Tizona* means sword (after the Cid's weapon), playing on the idea of Minguelillo leading a quasi-military "troop" (as in the Black Kings Festivals of New Spain). *Tizón* means a charred log or piece of coal, referring to Minguelillo's dark-skinned, muscular neck, and to the perceived dark, gravelly sound of his voice.

⁹⁹ Negrilla] *La negrilla* (Little black song) is the name of a subgenre of villancico representing black characters, using pseudo-African dialect Spanish.

¹⁰² Diga plimo... busca] Possible equivalent in proper Spanish: "Diga primo, ¿dónde está/ el niño de nacimiento?/ porque sabemos sus parientes/ y lo venimos a buscar."

¹⁰³ Aytá] Written in MS as aytá and aýta; probably for ahí está (there he is), answering the question donde sa.

¹⁰⁷ aytá... cayentá] "Ahí está,/ candela entre pajitas,/ su ojo como estrellita,/ y un buey y una mulilla/ con su bajo callentar."

¹⁰⁹ Turu turu yega,/ aytá, aytá] Possibly, "Todos, todos llegan,/ ahí está"; or pseudo-African nonsense.

¹¹³ Caya... lo angelito] Possible equivalent: "Calla, calla, mira, no le espanta,/ que duerme el chiquitito,/ Jesús, Jesús, qué bonito,/ esuchar, que cantamos a lo del angelito" or "a lo angélico."

¹¹⁵ Valamindioso que lindo cantá] Dubious possible equivalent: "Para mi Dios, O que lindo cantar."

aytá, aytá, sucuchá, sucuchá, aytá, aytá, aytá.

Coplas a 6

Caya, caya, chiquito, *aytá*.
Que tlaemo plecente, *aytá*.
Mantiya pañalito, *aytá*.
Y uno papagayito, *aytá*.
Que savemo habra.

[Repeat estribillo of negrilla]

Mi siñol Manuele, *aytá*.

ese papa he sablosa, *aytá*.

pluque sa linda cosa, *aytá*.

mantequiya con mele, *aytá*.

ay, Sesú, le, le, le, le, aytá.

ro, ro, ro, ro, caya.

[Repeat estribillo of negrilla]

there he is, listen, there he is.

Hush, hush, baby boy, for we are bringing you a present:

a little blanket, a diaper, and a little poinsettia, for we know how things go [with babies].

My Lord Emmanuel, this potato, how tasty, 125R since this is a nice thing, butter with honey, ay, Jesu, lulla, lulla, ro, ro, ro, hush.

¹²² papagayito] Flor de Nochebuena, poinsettia, native to Central America (DRAE).

¹²³ Caya... savemo habra] "Calla, calla, chiquito,/ que traemos un presente,/ una mantilla, un pañalito,/ y un papagayito,/ que sabemos habrá."

¹²⁷ Mi siñol... mele] "Mi señor Manuel/, esa papa, qué sabrosa,/ porque está linda cosa,/ mantequilla con mel."

¹²⁹ le, le... ro, ro] Common nonsense lullaby words.

Angélicos coros con gozo cantad (Puebla, ca. 1680)

Anonymous, from musical setting by Antonio de Salazar, Puebla, Convento de la Santísima Trinidad (*MEX-Mcen*: CSG.256)

Estribillo

Angélicos coros con gozo cantad la gloria a Belén, que es casa de pan. Celestes esferas, estrellas y luces, bajad, bajad, y el cielo de la tierra de gloria llenad. Que sólo aquel lugar que el mundo desprecia de Dios es capaz.

COPLAS

- Para nacer Dios hombre, escoge este portal, que él solo es digno alcázar de tanta majestad.
- 2. No puede en los palacios nacer su inmensidad, porque Dios sólo cabe en él de la humildad.
- 3. Aquestas ruinas quiere porque con caridad lo derribado busca, quién viene a edificar.
- 4. Naced, Señor divino, que la justicia ya del cielo está mirando, que nace la Verdad.

Angelic choirs,
joyfully sing
"Glory" to Bethlehem,
the "House of Bread."
Celestial spheres,
stars and lights,
descend, descend,
and fill earth's heaven
with glory.
For only that place
which the world discounts
is capacious for God.

15R

20R

- For God to be born as a man he chooses this stable, for it alone is a worthy palace for such great majesty.
- 2. Not in the palaces can his immensity be born, because there is only room for God in the one that is humble.
- 3. He favors these ruins because with compassionate love he seeks that which is torn down, since he comes to build.
- 4. Be born, divine Lord, for lo, justice is looking down from heaven, for the Truth is born.

⁴ casa de pan] Bethlehem means "House of Bread" in Hebrew; linking Incarnation and Eucharist.

⁸ el cielo de la tierra] Perhaps, the sky, as opposed to supernatural Heaven (cielo Empyreo).

²⁰ él de la humildad] The stable or the Christian.

²¹ ruinas] The stone ruins of Christ's stable, as in contemporary paintings; and the contrite Christian.

Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto

[De Navidad.] A 8.

Anonymous

JOAN CEREROLS (1618–1680)



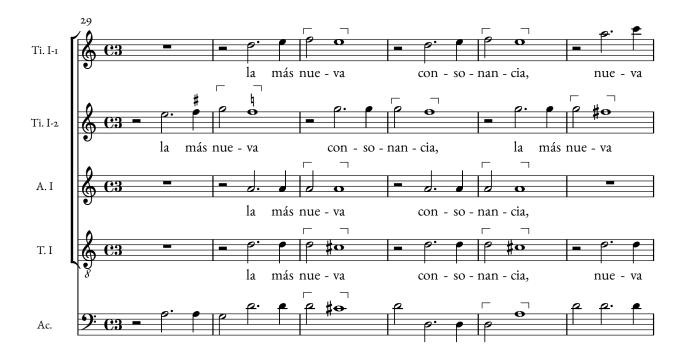
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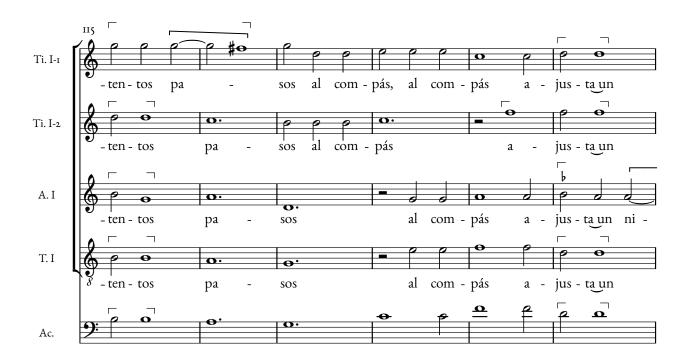












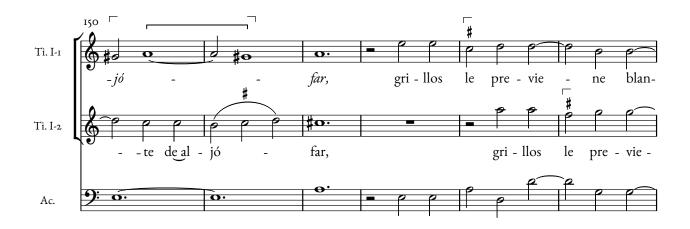






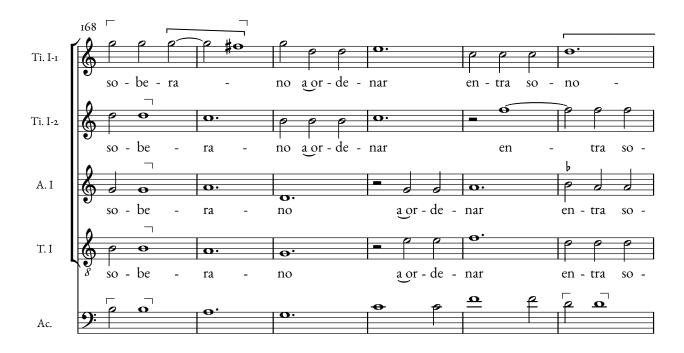


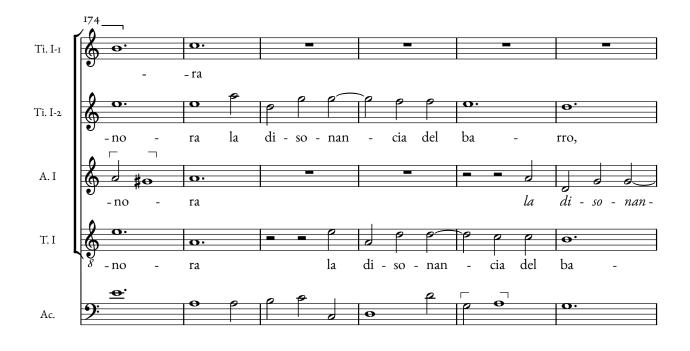


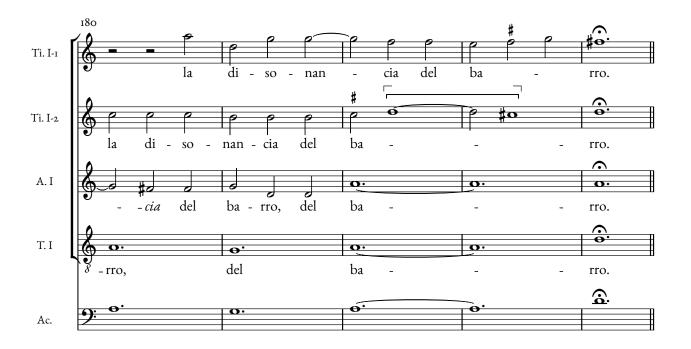


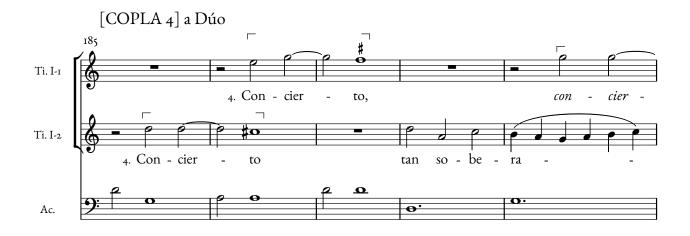


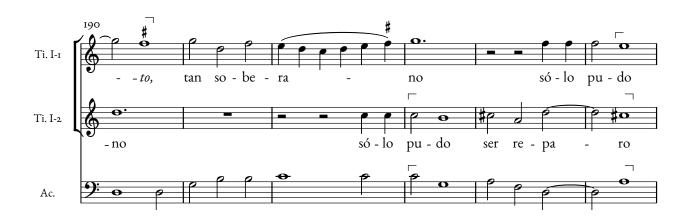




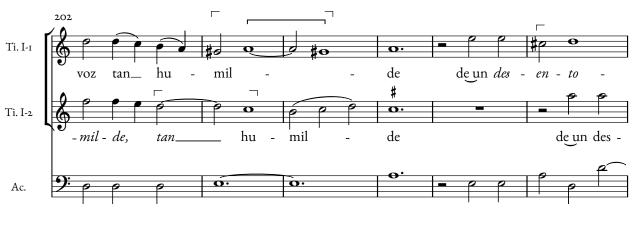


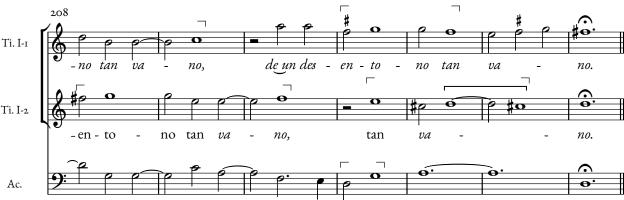


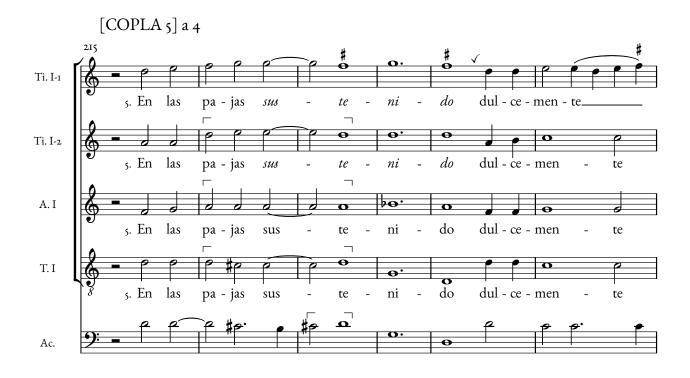






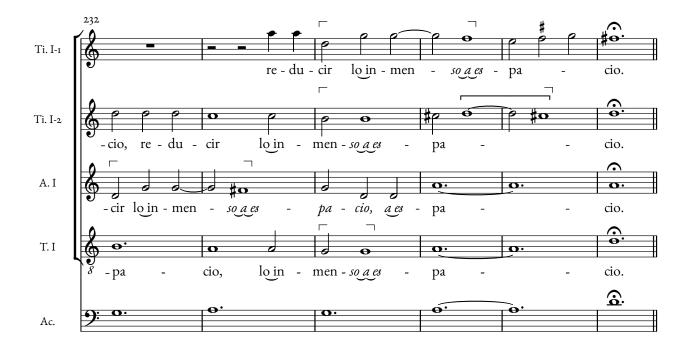








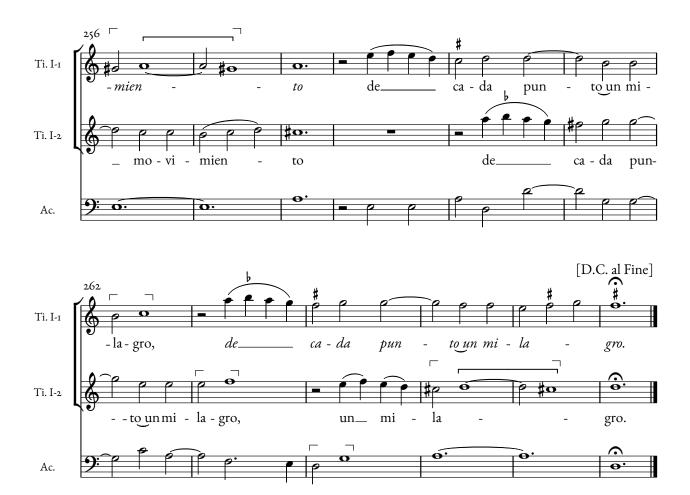












TRANSPOSED EDITION

Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto

[De Navidad.] A 8.

Anonymous

JOAN CEREROLS (1618–1680)

[ESTRIBILLO] a 8



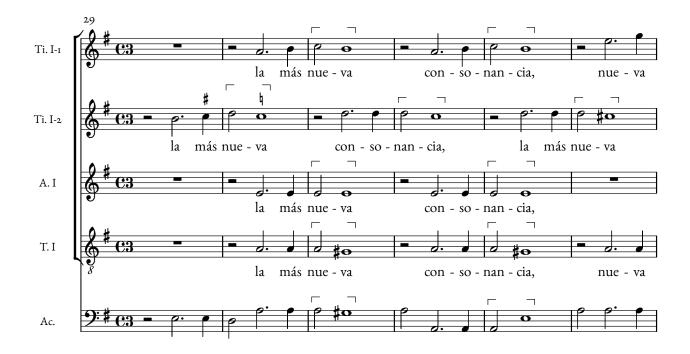
Canet de Mar (E-CAN: AU/0116), complete; Barcelona (E-Bbc: M/765/25), incomplete variant of estribillo









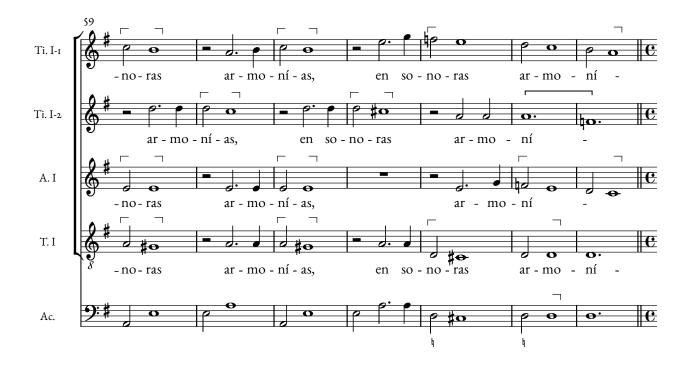




























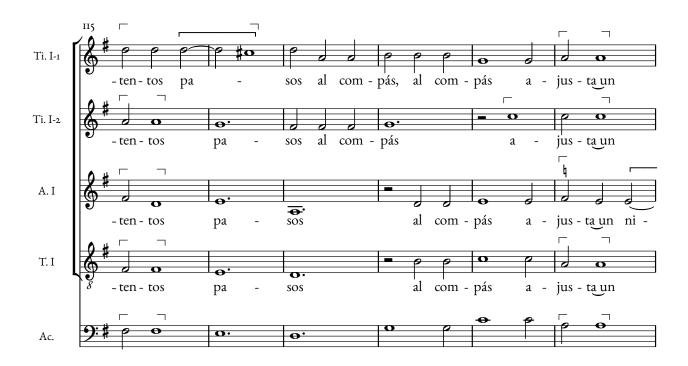


















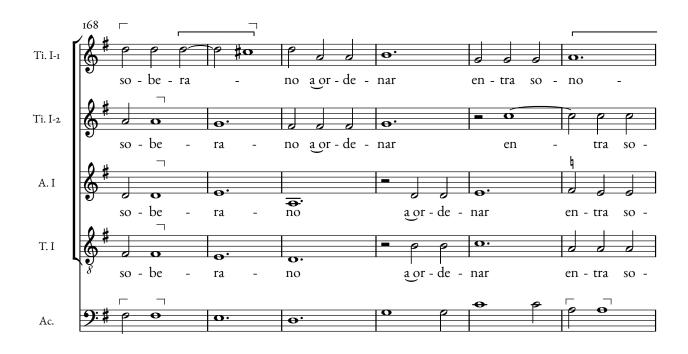


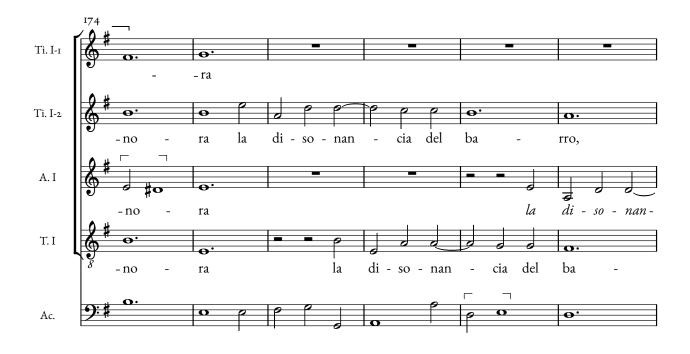


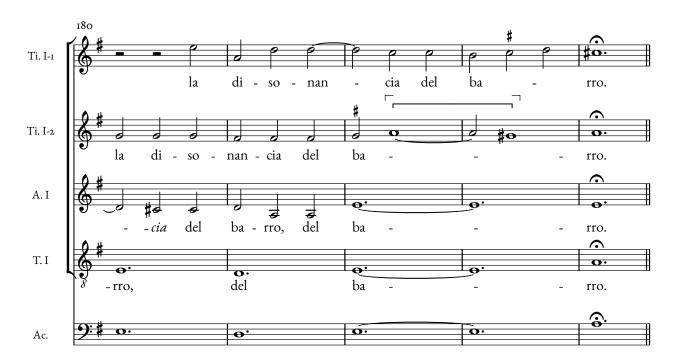


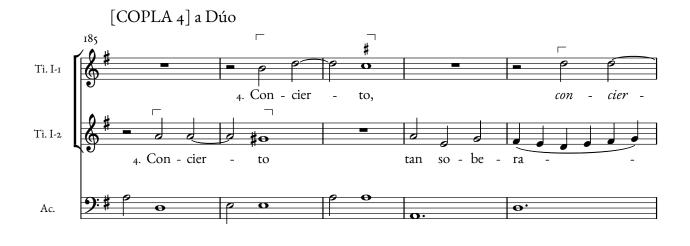


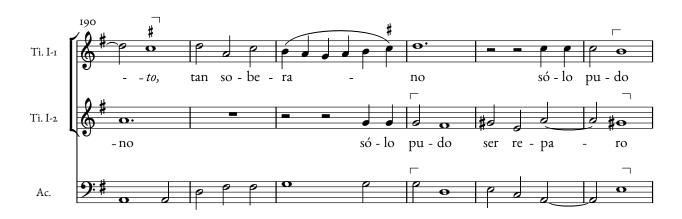




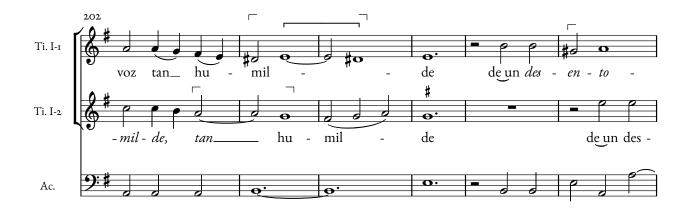






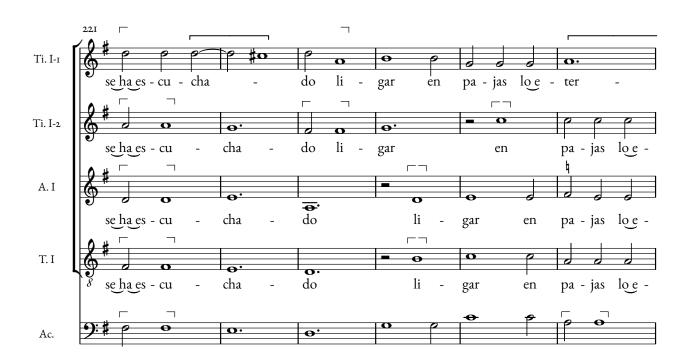








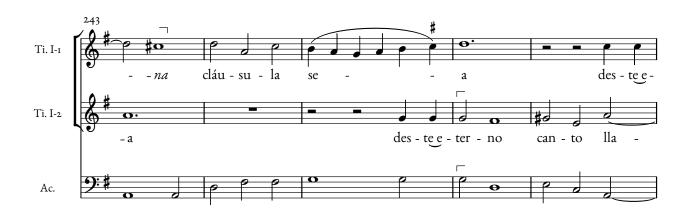




















Voces, las de la capilla

[De Navidad.] A 6.

Anonymous

JUAN GUTIÉRREZ DE PADILLA (ca. 1590–1664)

[INTRODUCCIÓN] a 6



Puebla, Cathedral Archive (MEX-Pc: Leg. 3/3), Navidad del año de 1657

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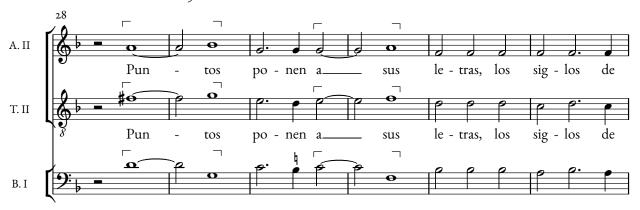
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RESPUESTA a 3

















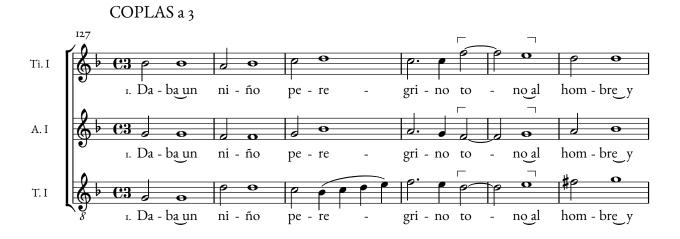




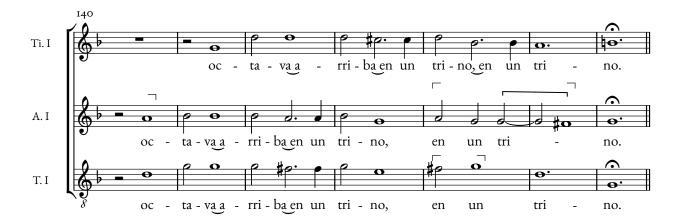














Si los sentidos queja forman del Pan Divino

Al Santísimo [Sacramento]. A 8.

Attr. Vicente Sánchez

MIGUEL DE IRÍZAR (1635–1684)

[ESTRIBILLO] a 8



Segovia, Cathedral Archive (E-SE: 5/32, 18/19), Corpus Christi 1674





























- 2. Porque a Dios puedan gustar en los puntos sus concentos, todos sus cinco instrumentos la fe los ha de templar, sino los puede ajustar para ser oídos, no se den por sentidos los sentidos.
- 3. Si el olfato se le humilla con fe a entender la flor le maravilla su olor por guele a maravilla, mas si para apercebilla no llegan rendidos, no se den por sentidos los sentidos.
- 4. Que tenga voto no es justo el gusto en este manjar, que el gusto en él no ha de entrar, aunque el manjar entre en gusto, mas si les causa disgusto no ser admitidos, no se den por sentidos los sentidos.
- 5. Toca el tacto pero yerra pues en que es pan se equivoca, aunque todo un cielo toca, no toca en cielo ni en tierra, toca misterio y si encierra portentos no oídos, no se den por sentidos los sentidos.
- 6. Para que el manjar alabe llegue el gusto con afán, que aunque sabe que no es pan, sabe más de lo que sabe, mas si en su esfera no cabe y se hallan perdidos, no se den por sentidos los sentidos.

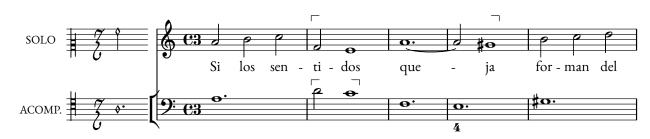
Si los sentidos queja forman del Pan Divino

Villancico al Santísimo Sacramento. Solo.

Attr. Vicente Sánchez

JERÓNIMO DE CARRIÓN (1660–1721)

ESTRIBILLO







Segovia, Cathedral Archive (E-SE: 28/25)









COPLAS







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- 2. Toca el tacto pero yerra, que si en que es pan se equivoca, aunque todo un cielo toca, no toca en cielo ni en tierra, toca misterio y si encierra portentos no oídos, no se den por sentidos los sentidos.
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Qué música divina

[Al Santísimo Sacramento.] A 4.

Anonymous; Coplas attr. Vicente Sánchez

JOSÉ DE CÁSEDA (fl. 1691–1716)



Mexico City (MEX-Mcen: CSG.154); orig. Puebla, Convento de la Santísima Trinidad



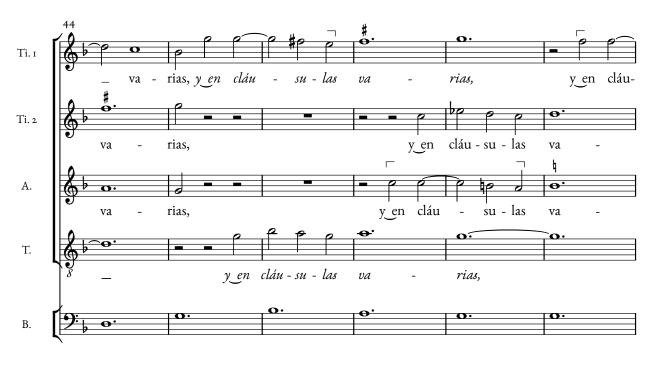


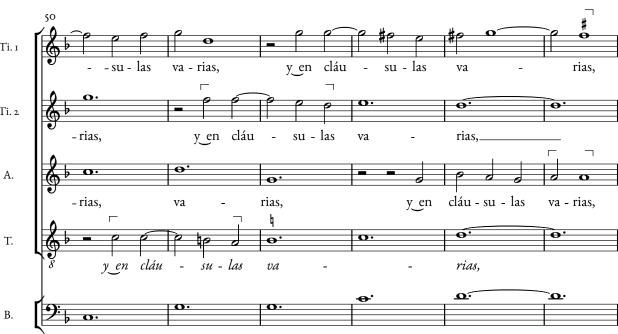


























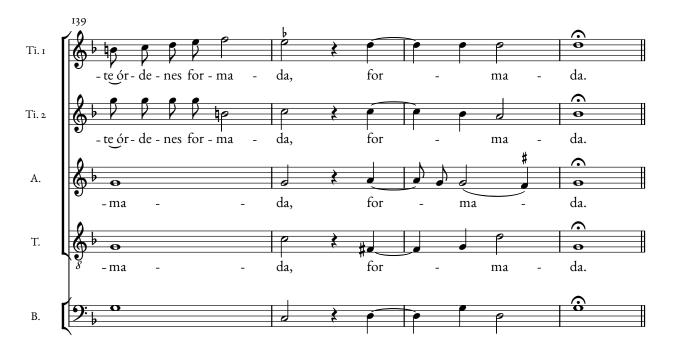








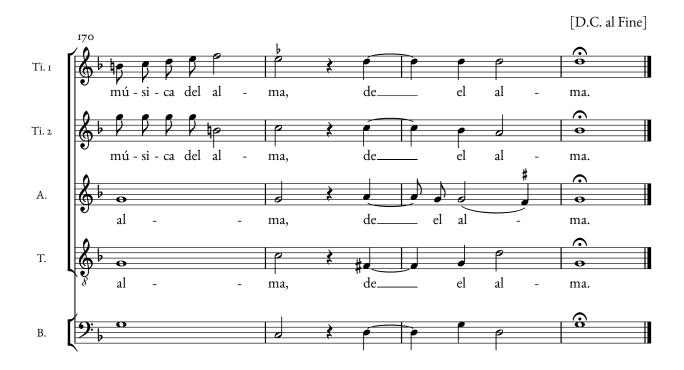












TRANSPOSED EDITION

Qué música divina

[Al Santísimo Sacramento.] A 4.

Anonymous; Coplas attr. Vicente Sánchez

JOSÉ DE CÁSEDA (fl. 1691–1716)



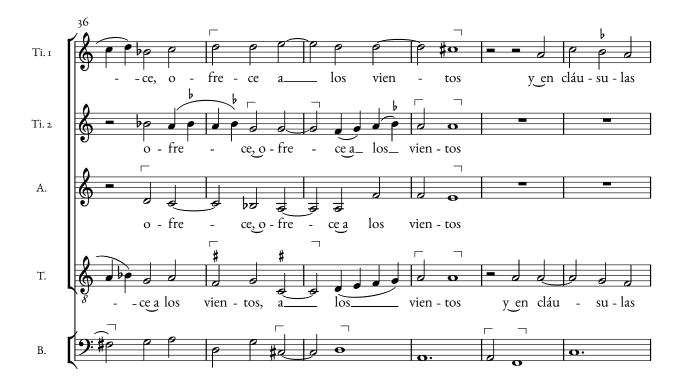
Mexico City (MEX-Mcen: CSG.154); orig. Puebla, Convento de la Santísima Trinidad

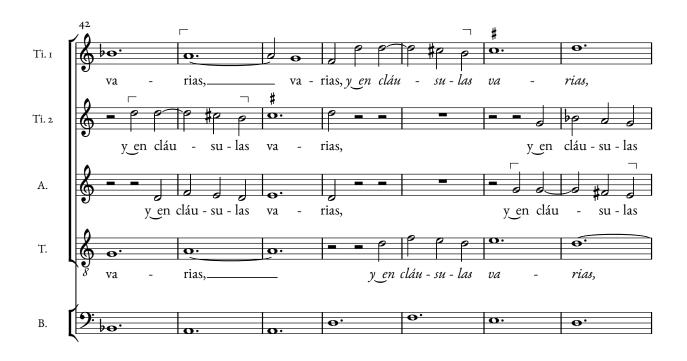




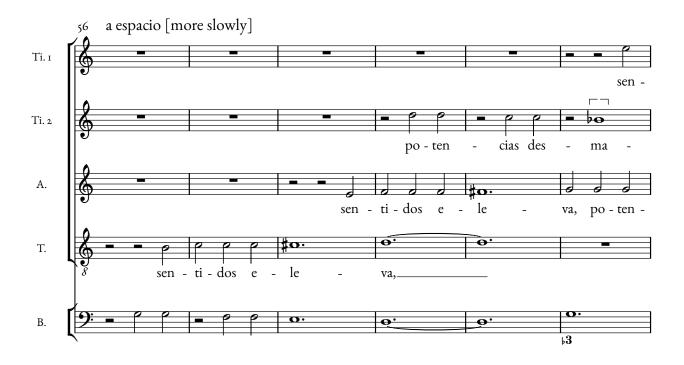


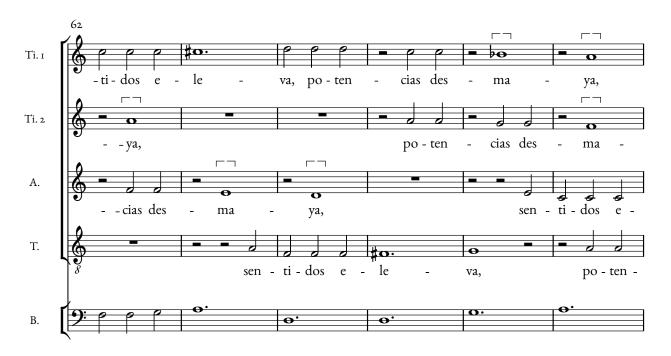












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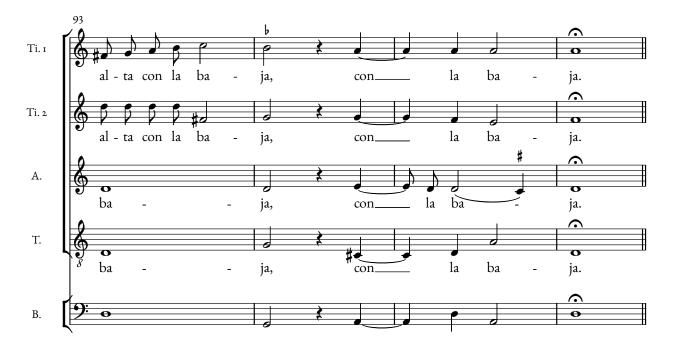


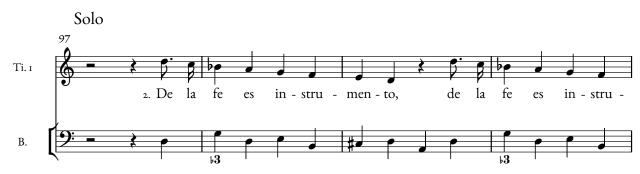
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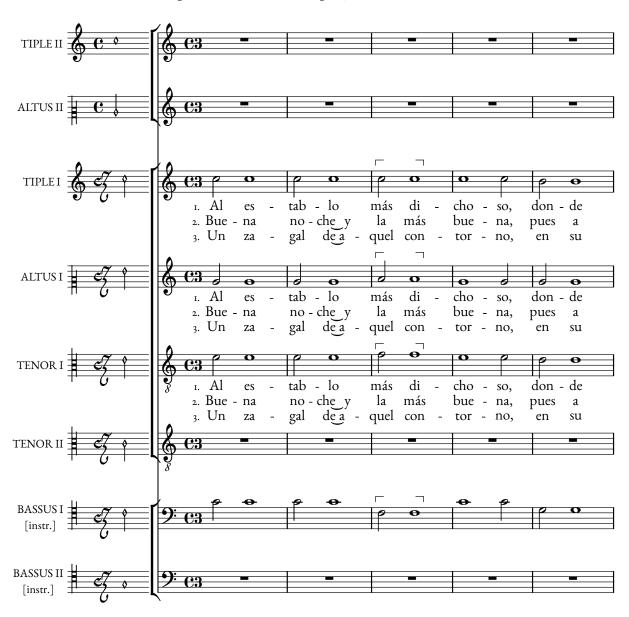
Al establo más dichoso

Ensaladilla. [De Navidad. A 8.]

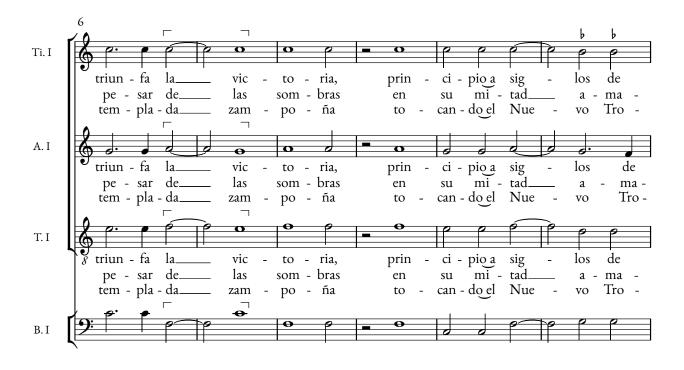
Anonymous

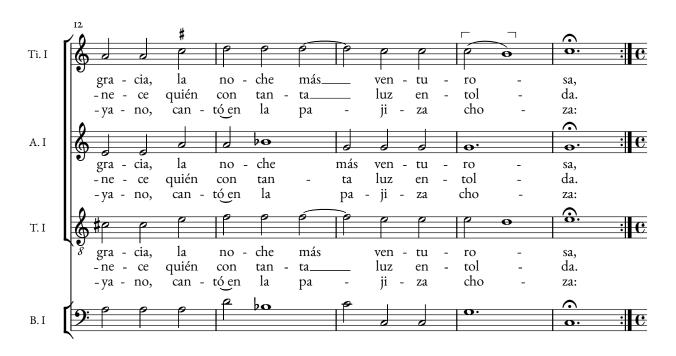
JUAN GUTIÉRREZ DE PADILLA (ca. 1590–1664)

[INTRODUCCIÓN] a 4



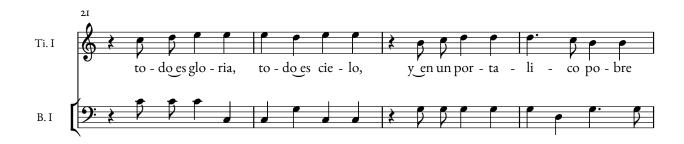
Puebla Cathedral Archive (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/3), Navidad del año de 1652

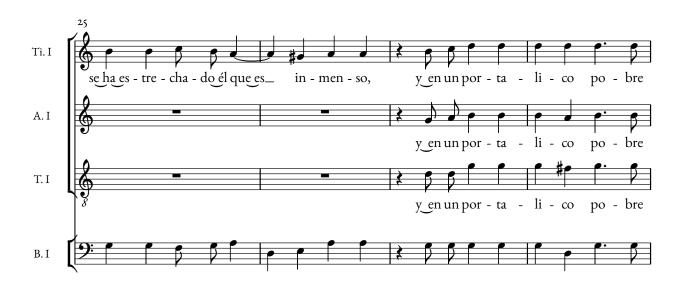




[NUEVO TROYANO] Solo y a 4









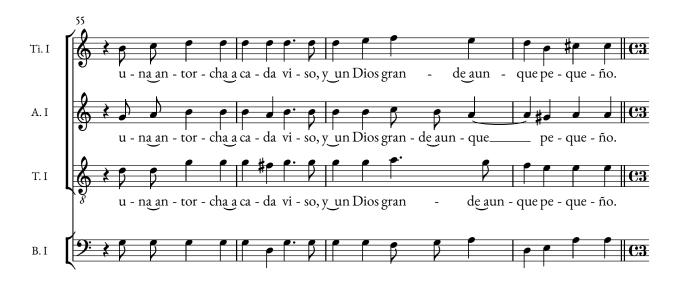




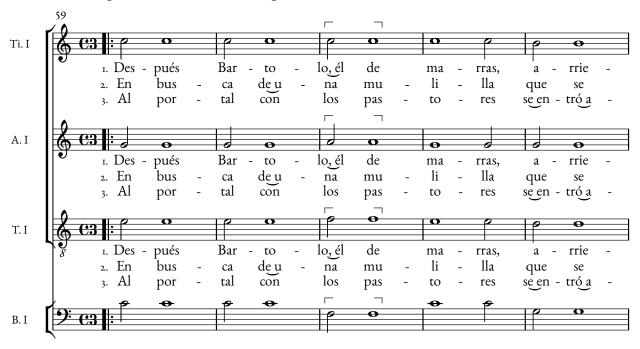


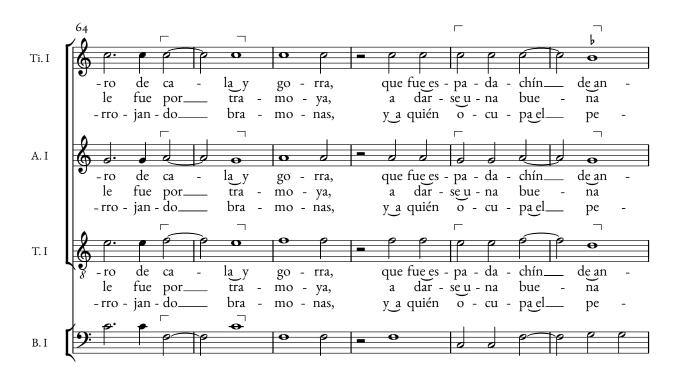






[INTRODUCCIÓN a 4]

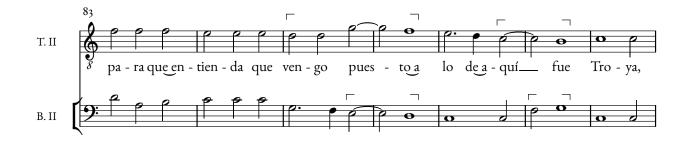






EL ARRIERO: RESPONSIÓN Dúo







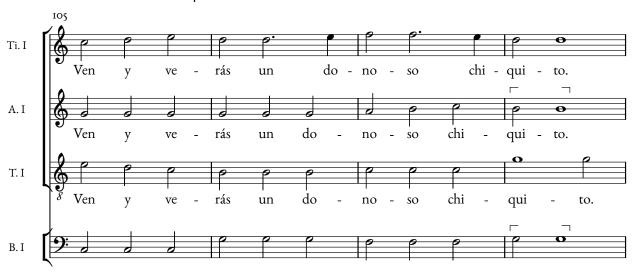
- 2. No se me asuste le digo ni de inocente se ponga, cuando me dicen que sabe lo que su padre no ignora.
- 3. Es bueno que de mis mulas, la más lucia y la más gorda me la traiga a este pesebre sin decir esta es mi boca,
- 4. Y yo sin haber vendido las cargas de mis melcochas, ande en flores y con flores pregonándola a mi costa.
- 5. Si arrobar viene a los hombres, paréceme cosa impropia dar principio con mi mula, si no ha de ocupar carroza.

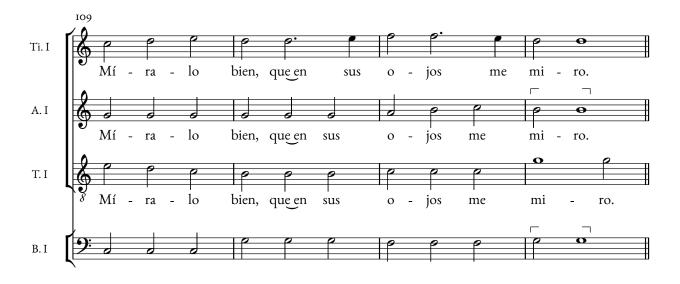
- 6. Pero ya he considerado, si mi decir no le enoja, que por la escarcha pretende el aliento de su boca.
- 7. Y por vida de Bartolo, que en aquestas y en esotras, cuando por esto la quiera, que aquí se las traiga todas.
- 8. Abra esa boca de perlas con que tanto me enamora, y pida que estos serranos no pretenden otra cosa.
- Un baile quieren hacerle, que papalotillo nombran y como cantemos todos, más que rueden las panochas.

PAPALOTILLO: SOLO

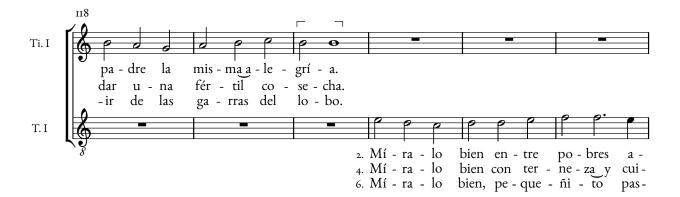


RESPONSIÓN a 4





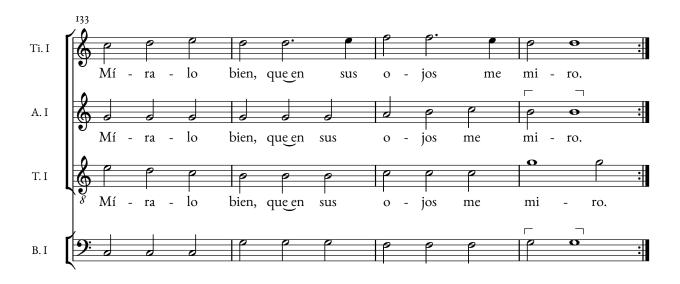




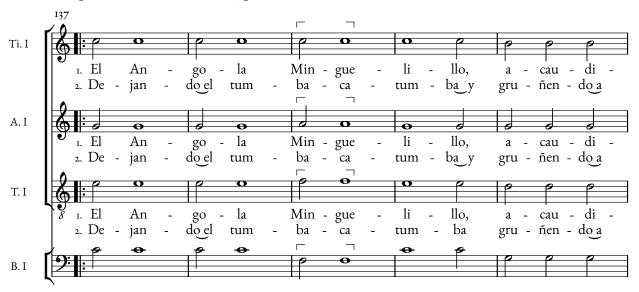


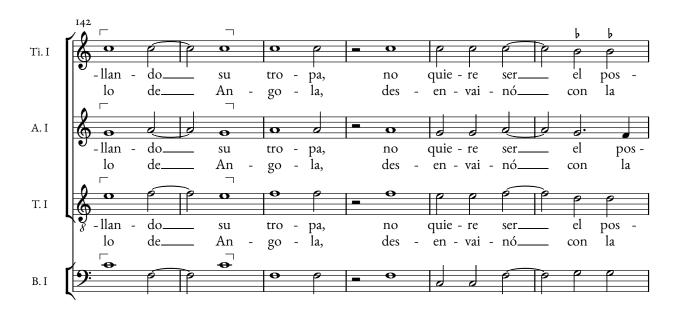
RESPONSIÓN [reprise]

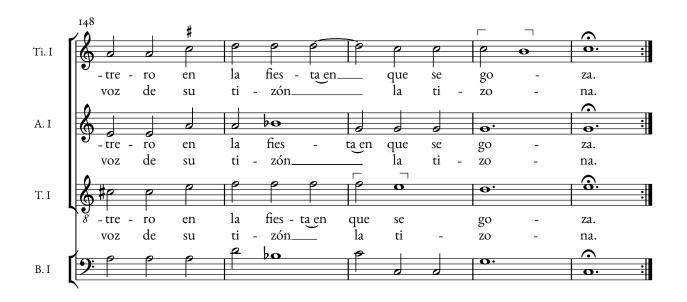




[INTRODUCCIÓN a 4]



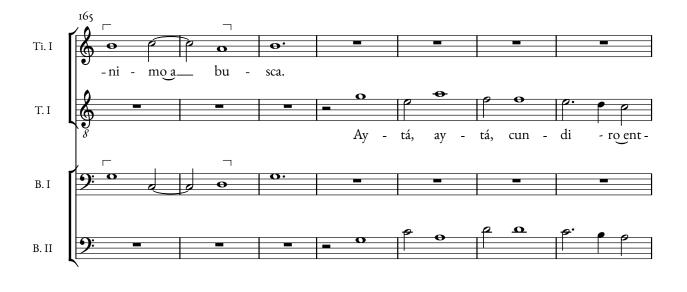


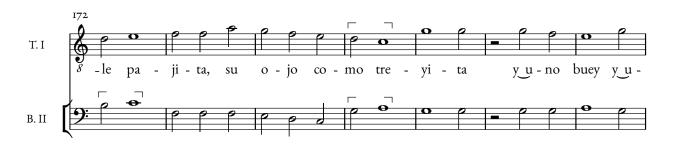


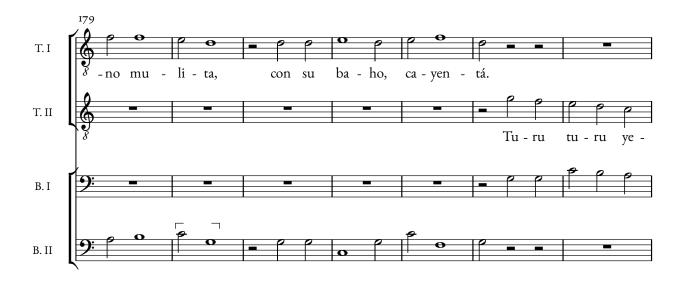
NEGRILLA: [INTRODUCCIÓN] Dúo y a 6



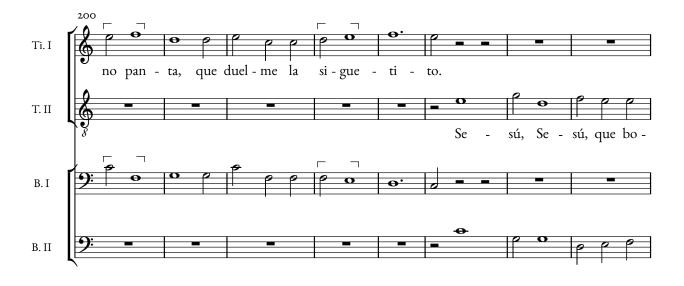




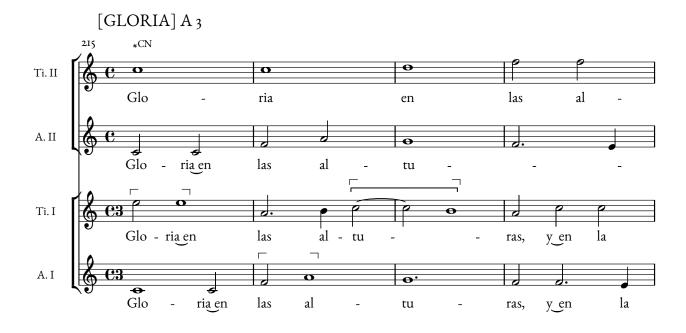


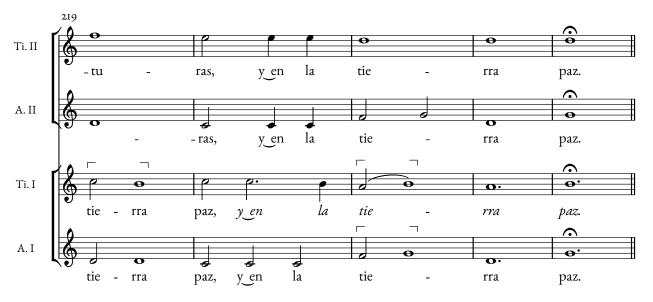






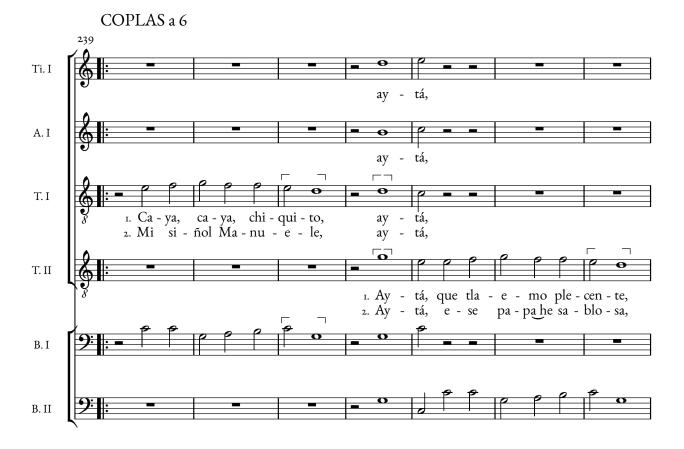




















Angélicos coros con gozo cantad

De Navidad. A 8.

Anonymous

ANTONIO DE SALAZAR (ca. 1650-1715)

ESTRIBILLO a 8



Mexico City (MEX-Mcen: CSG.256), originally Puebla, Convento de la Santísima Trinidad



























